

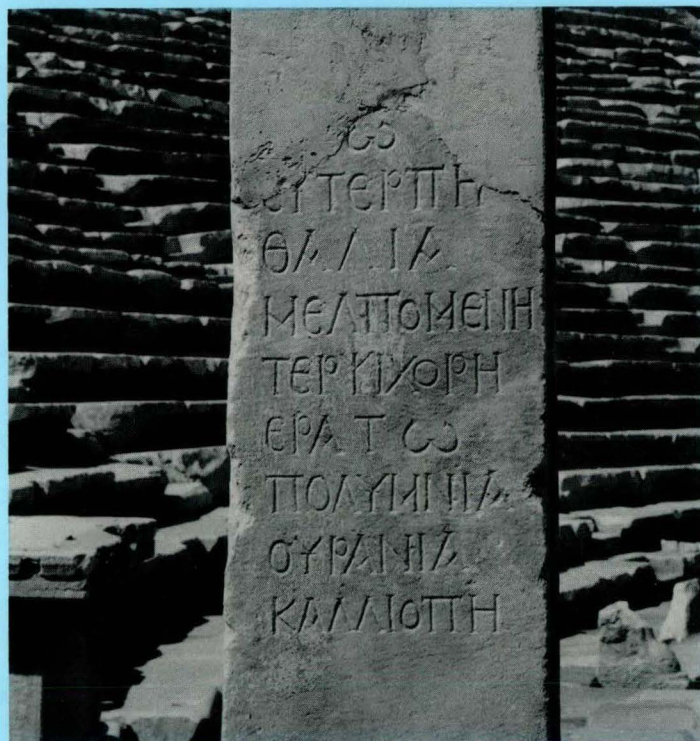
PERFORMERS AND PARTISANS AT APHRODISIAS IN THE ROMAN AND LATE ROMAN PERIODS

CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ

WITH APPENDIX IV BY

NATHALIE DE CHAISEMARTIN

A STUDY BASED ON INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CURRENT
EXCAVATIONS AT APHRODISIAS IN CARIA



SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES
JOURNAL OF ROMAN STUDIES MONOGRAPH NO. 6
1993

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APHRODISIAS

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First published in 1993 by
The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies
31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PP

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British Library Catalogue in Publication Data.
A Catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library.

ISBN 0-907764-17-7

Printed in Great Britain by
W. S. Maney and Son Ltd.
Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL

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PREFACE

This book has taken a long time to emerge, from what was originally an idea for an article. But the logic behind its development derives from the plan for the publication of the inscriptions of Aphrodisias which Joyce Reynolds and I evolved several years ago. After the publication of the group of documents which had a public, empire-wide significance (J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, *Journal of Roman Studies Monograph 1* (London, 1982)) we decided to publish the late antique material (that is, the inscriptions which could be dated after A.D. 250) as a separate entity (C. M. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, *Journal of Roman Studies Monograph 5* (London, 1989)). We are now actively engaged in preparing the final volume — the corpus of all the Greek inscriptions from Aphrodisias, dating from the middle Hellenistic period to the mid-third century A.D. There are, however, several areas where the simple division of material as inscribed before and after A.D. 250 is unreliable. I am particularly unsure about the division of many of the funerary inscriptions; but another group of texts whose division seemed either impossible or unhelpful was that of the inscriptions in the auditoria. These are exceptionally abundant at Aphrodisias, and, for the most part, cannot be dated at all closely; but it is clear that this body of material continued to grow throughout the late antique period, and is far more informative if it is considered as a whole. The focus of this publication, therefore, is to illustrate a phenomenon which was both continuous and changing over several centuries — the world of public entertainments at Aphrodisias.

This account illustrates our particular debt to the Society for the Promotion for Roman Studies. Since the 1960s, the *Journal of Roman Studies* has published a series of articles presenting new material from the excavations at Aphrodisias, and it is the Society's monograph series, launched with the help of a bequest by Kathleen Atkinson, which has enabled the publication of the two volumes mentioned above, and the present publication. We are very grateful to the Society and to its publications committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Fergus Millar (for the first two volumes) and of Professor Malcolm Todd (for the current one), and to Professor Averil Cameron, Editor of the *JRS Monograph series*.

All of us who work at Aphrodisias are indebted to New York University, and to the many generous donors who have made our work there possible; in the case of the Theatre, from which so much of the material here is drawn, we are particularly grateful to the National Geographic Society. I would also like to thank various bodies for practical and financial support for my work at Aphrodisias; in particular the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, King's College London and the University of London (Hayter Fund) for help with travel expenses, and the British Academy for help with photographic costs. I am especially grateful for generous contributions from the Marc Fitch Fund towards the costs of illustrating this volume, and the M. Aylwin Cotton Foundation towards the costs of its publication.

I owe thanks to several bodies and individuals for access to material, in particular to Mme J. Robert for the gift of Deering's original copies of Aphrodisian inscriptions; to The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for permission to consult the copies of inscriptions made by R. Wood in 1750; to Professor A. Laronde for access to the squeezes made by Paul Gaudin; and to Dr Ulrike Outschar for examining material in Vienna on my behalf. Professor P. Herrmann very kindly allowed me to see the inscriptions from the

Theatre seats at Miletus in advance of publication. The photographs are all taken by Mossman Roueché, except for nos 6.2, 11.A, E and F, 12, 19, 20, 21 and 43 which are by Mehmet Ali Döğençi.

I owe a great deal to friends who have read and commented on all or part of the manuscript: Ewen Bowie, Averil Cameron (who has also been extensively involved in its editing and production), Peter Herrmann and Frank Kolb (both for Chapter vi), Barbara Levick (editor), Fergus Millar, Stephen Mitchell, and Lynn Pitts (sub-editor). Over the last few years I have benefited from various discussions of aspects of this material, both at seminars in the Centre for Byzantine Studies at Birmingham University and at the Centre Gustave Glotz in the Sorbonne, but also with many individuals; I should mention in particular Glen Bowersock, Peter Brown, Alan Cameron, Walter Cockle, Robin Cormack, Denis Feissel, Bernard Gredley, Christopher Jones, and John Martindale. This book is a collaborative effort, and as always it is not easy to disentangle my own work from that of other colleagues at Aphrodisias — in particular Joyce Reynolds, whose share in readings and interpretations is especially great in the Appendices. Without her encouragement, and the support of Mossman Roueché, this book would not have been completed.

But it is a source of great sorrow that my greatest debts incurred in the preparation of this publication are not to the living, but to the dead. The references on almost every page make clear the extent of my dependance on the work of Louis Robert: without his fundamental work in this field, this book would not have been possible, and I very much regret that I was not able to discuss this material with him before his death in 1985. In working on the seating arrangements in the auditoria I had many very helpful discussions with my friend and teacher Elizabeth Rawson — a dialogue which was brutally interrupted by her death in 1988. The manuscript was largely complete by 1990, and in September of that year I was discussing the title with Kenan Erım, the man whose vision and energy enabled and sustained the excavations at Aphrodisias for thirty years. It is to his endeavours that we owe the large quantity of new material in this book: and his generous support and understanding provided the opportunity to work on both new and old material with exceptional freedom. It is perhaps only since his sudden death in November 1990 that we have come to appreciate fully the extent of his work on our behalf; and this publication, together with many others which will follow, should demonstrate the extent to which his work has contributed to our understanding of antiquity.

*King's College London
Spring 1992*

ABBREVIATIONS

I. PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM APHRODISIAS

For a fuller account of earlier copies and editions of inscriptions found at Aphrodisias, see *ALA* xvi–xviii.

<i>ALA</i>	C. M. Roueché, <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity</i> (London, 1989).
<i>A&R</i>	J. M. Reynolds, <i>Aphrodisias and Rome</i> (London, 1982).
Bailie	J. K. Bailie, <i>Fasciculus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (London and Dublin, 1846).
Fellows	C. Fellows, <i>An Account of Discoveries in Lycia</i> (London, 1841).
Francke	J. V. Francke, <i>Griechische und lateinische Inschriften, gesammelt von Otto Fr. Richter</i> (Berlin, 1830).
Franz	J. Franz, publishing copies made by H. Loew, 'Inscriptiones Graecae', <i>Annali del Istituto</i> (1847), 105–31.
Henzen	W. Henzen, publishing copies made by E. Falkener, 'Inscriptiones Graecae', <i>Annali del Istituto</i> (1852), 115–37.
Kubitschek and Reichel	W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel; references are to their unpublished notebooks ('K' and 'R'), and to their publication of some of the inscriptions they copied at Aphrodisias, <i>Anzeiger der kaiserlicher Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien</i> (1893), 100–3.
Leake	W. Leake, from copies made by J. P. Deering, 'Inscriptions from Aphrodisias', <i>Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature</i> (1843), 232–45, 288–303.
Liermann	O. Liermann, <i>Analecta epigraphica et agonistica, Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses x</i> (Halle, 1889).
Paris and Holleaux	P. Paris and M. Holleaux, 'Inscriptions de Carie. I. Aphrodisias', <i>BCH</i> 9 (1885), 324–48.
Reinach	T. Reinach, from copies and squeezes made by P. Gaudin, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', <i>REG</i> 19 (1906), 79–150, 205–98.
Sestini	Domenico Sestini, <i>Viaggi e opuscoli diversi di Domenico Sestini</i> (1807), including inscriptions copied at Aphrodisias.
Sherard	William Sherard, manuscript copies of inscriptions at Aphrodisias, in BM Add. 10101.
Wood	Copies of inscriptions made by R. Wood in 1750, now in the possession of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

II. GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for ancient sources follow the forms used in *LSJ*, or, for later material not included there, A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), sometimes expanded. For secondary literature the abbreviations are those in *L'Année philologique* (sometimes expanded), and *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, with the following additions:

<i>Aphrodisias Papers</i> 1	C. Roueché and K. T. Erim (eds), <i>Aphrodisias Papers</i> (Ann Arbor, 1990).
<i>Aphrodisias Papers</i> 2	R. R. R. Smith and †K. T. Erim (eds), <i>Aphrodisias Papers</i> 2 (Ann Arbor, 1991).
<i>BMC Caria</i>	<i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Caria</i> (London, 1897).
BMT	R. C. Bell and C. M. Roueché, 'Pavement signs and gameboards in the Greek and Roman periods: a British Museum typology', in I. Finkel (ed.), <i>British Museum Colloquium on Ancient Games</i> (London, forthcoming).
<i>BullÉp</i>	J. and L. Robert, <i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> , annually in <i>REG</i> (1938–84).
<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin, 1825–77).
<i>CIL</i>	Th. Mommsen <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1863–).
<i>CJ</i>	P. Krueger (ed.), <i>Codex Justinianus</i> (Berlin, 1895).
<i>Colloquium Lille</i>	J. de la Genière and K. T. Erim (eds), <i>Aphrodisias de Carie, Colloque de l'Université de Lille III</i> (Paris, 1987).
<i>CTh</i>	Th. Mommsen (ed.), <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> (Berlin, 1905).
<i>Hell.</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica</i> I–XIII (Paris, 1940–65).
<i>I.Cret.</i>	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> (Rome, 1935–50).
<i>I.Didyma</i>	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma II, Die Inschriften</i> (Berlin, 1958).
<i>I.Eph.</i>	H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach <i>et al.</i> , <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (IGSK 11–17) (Cologne, 1979–81).
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> I–XIV (Berlin, 1873–).
<i>IGC</i>	H. Grégoire, <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure</i> (Paris, 1922).
<i>IGLS</i>	L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (Paris, 1929–).
<i>IGR</i>	R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (Paris, 1906–27).
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien</i> (Cologne, 1968–).
<i>IGUR</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (Rome, 1968–).
<i>I.Iasos</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> I (IGSK 28. 1) (Cologne, 1985).
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (Berlin, 1892–1914).

<i>I.Magn.</i>	O.Kern, <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin, 1900).
<i>I.Pergamon</i>	M. Fränkel, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon, Pergamon</i> viii.2 (Berlin, 1890–5).
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna (IGSK 23–4)</i> (Cologne, 1982–90).
<i>I.Tralles</i>	F. G. Poljakov, <i>Inschriften von Tralles und Nysa I (IGSK 36.1)</i> (Cologne, 1989).
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> (Oxford, 1961).
LBW	P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines</i> (Paris, 1870).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> ⁹ (Oxford, 1940).
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> (Manchester/London, 1928–).
<i>Milet</i>	T. Wiegand <i>et al.</i> , <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899</i> , 1– (Berlin, 1906–).
Mionnet	T.–E. Mionnet, <i>Description des médailles antiques, grecques et romaines</i> (Paris, 1806–8), with <i>Supplément</i> (Paris, 1819–37).
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (Leipzig, 1903–5).
OMS	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta</i> 1–vi (Amsterdam, 1969–).
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> (Paris, 1903–).
RE	G. Wissowa <i>et al.</i> , <i>Paulys Real–Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Berlin, 1893–).
SEG	J. J. E. Hondius <i>et al.</i> , <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923–).
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> (Copenhagen 1942– , Fitzwilliam, 1931– , von Aulock, 1957–).
SIG	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> ³ (Leipzig, 1915–24).
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (Vienna, 1901–).

EPIGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

The epigraphic conventions used in this volume are those set out in *SEG*.

CHAPTER I. PROVIDING ENTERTAINMENTS

ENTERTAINMENTS AT APHRODISIAS

Three places of public entertainment have so far been excavated at Aphrodisias: the Stadium, the Theatre, and the Odeon. The buildings of the Theatre bore several formal, public, building inscriptions,¹ and so, probably, did those of the Odeon and the Stadium; each of these buildings also displayed statues of prominent figures, with formal, public inscriptions describing them.² The primary purpose of this volume is to publish the remaining inscriptions found in those structures — the private or informal inscriptions — along with other texts which inform us, not about the building history of those structures, or the distinctions of citizens who were honoured in them, but about the actual use which was made of them. In order to explain these texts, it has been necessary to examine the provision of public entertainments in the Roman world, and the changes which took place in the late Roman period, for all of which Aphrodisias provides uniquely important evidence.

The Stadium (Fig. 1) — constructed for foot-racing and other athletic sports, but also used for gladiatorial combats — has always remained above ground, and was seen by all the early visitors to the site. The current excavators undertook a survey, and clearing work, and conducted a sondage at the southern side. The survey showed that at the eastern end a smaller arena had been created; this must have taken place after the Stadium had ceased to be used for athletic contests, but it is not possible to establish a firmer date, nor to determine the exact purpose of such an enclosure.³

The Theatre (Fig. 2) was the main focus for stage and musical performances, and came to be used for gladiatorial combats; it probably also served for assemblies of the People of the city. It has been described by Professor K. T. Erim,⁴ and is currently the subject of study by N. de Chaisemartin and D. Theodorescu.⁵ It was built in the second half of the first century B.C., the freedman of Augustus, C. Iulius Zoilos, being one of the chief benefactors. It was substantially repaired on several occasions, and eventually remodelled to permit the use of the orchestra for wild-beast spectacles. The stage is dominated by a frieze, supported on fourteen Doric half-columns; the frieze bears the dedicatory inscription of Zoilos,⁶ and Texts 2–3 were painted on the back of it. Further texts were inscribed on the back of these columns (6). The colonnade masks the front of the stage-building, which had six windowless rooms built into it; the inscriptions from the entrances to those rooms are published here as 1. Further texts were cut on the wall of the stage-building (7). Subsequently, perhaps in the third century, a series of brick walls was constructed between each of the columns along the back of the stage, plastered over, and painted with a trellis decoration. Only three of the fourteen intercolumniations were left open. This had the effect of creating a permanent back-stage corridor between the

¹ See J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 15–28, for the texts and a discussion.

² Such statues continued to be erected well into the fifth century A.D.; see *ALA* 65.

³ See K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias* (London/New York, 1986), 67–70. For a similar development in the Stadium at Ephesus, J. Keil, *Führer durch Ephesos*⁵ (Vienna, 1964), 61–3, F. Miltner, *Ephesos, Stadt der Artemis und des Johannes* (Vienna, 1958), 32–4.

⁴ 'Il Teatro di Afrodisias', in D. de Bernardi Ferrero, *Teatri Classici in Asia Minore* IV (Rome, 1974), 162–6; *idem*, *Aphrodisias*, 79–88.

⁵ See their preliminary report, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 29–66.

⁶ *A & R*, Doc. 36.

columns and the stage-front, and two semi-chambers at either end; one of these was plastered and decorated in the sixth century (9).⁷ In the auditorium, a raised podium for a 'seat of honour' was rather roughly inserted in the central block of seating, most probably for use by an imperial governor. It will certainly have been so used after Aphrodisias became a provincial capital (as she was perhaps of Caria-Phrygia in the mid-third century, certainly of Caria in the early fourth).⁸

The Odeon (Fig. 3) is a small concert-hall, used for small-scale stage performances and also for lectures and recitals; it may well also have been used as the meeting-place of the Council. It lies to the south of the Temple, and survives probably to half its original height; the building, which appears at one stage to have been roofed, was probably constructed in the late first or early second century A.D.⁹ There are three doorways onto the stage, behind which runs a narrow corridor, on the plastered walls of which were graffiti (11). It was repaired on several occasions (one of which is recorded in 12) and perhaps remodelled in the middle or late fifth century; the inscription recording that work refers to the building as a 'palaestra', perhaps a reference to its use for educational purposes;¹⁰ but it seems likely that it was used both for entertainments, competitive or otherwise, and for lectures or public discussions.

ENTERTAINMENTS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

These buildings at Aphrodisias are excellent examples of their different types, but in no way unique; each of them is paralleled in many other cities of the eastern Roman Empire, by similar buildings constructed, or extensively embellished, during the first, second, or early third centuries A.D. They reflect the lavish programmes of public building of all kinds undertaken by the provincial cities in that period of peace and prosperity; but they also indicate the wide range of public spectacles and entertainments which had always been a central element in the life of the Greek city, and which became more and more widely available, and increased steadily in scale and importance, under the Empire. Such entertainments were presented in one of two ways. They could be put on as shows — ἐπιδείξεις, θεωρίαι, ἀκροάματα — presented by individuals or by cities;¹¹ thus a lady at Aphrodisias paid for 'the best recitals (ἀκροάματα) in Asia',¹² and an Aphrodisian poet is honoured for his recitals (88.ii). But by far the most important occasions for public spectacles were the contests — ἀγῶνες — which were part of the festivals in honour of particular divinities. The essential elements of a festival were a procession — πομπή, a sacrifice — θυσία, and a contest. Appendix I sets out all the evidence which we have for such festivals at Aphrodisias.

Our present understanding of the importance and significance of such contests in the life of the Greek cities from classical times and throughout the Roman period is chiefly

⁷ R. Cormack, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 109–22.

⁸ C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 99–102.

⁹ See K. T. Erim, *Illustrated London News* (20 February 1965), 23; idem, *Aphrodisias*, 62–7.

¹⁰ *ALA* 43, where see discussion.

¹¹ L. Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος', *REG* (1936), 235–54, 244 f. (= *OMS* 1, 671–90, 680 f.); 'Inscriptions grecques de Phénicie et d'Arabie', *Mélanges syriens offerts à René Dussaud* (1939), 729–38, 737–8 (= *OMS* 1, 601–10, 609–10).

¹² Most recently published as *MAMA* viii, 492b; on the term see L. Robert, 'Cours 1973–1974, Collège de France', *Ann. Coll. France* (1973–74), 533–46, 536–7 (= *OMS* v, 51–64, 54–5) with references there. Cf. Appendix I.xiv.

due to the work of Louis Robert; as well as many studies on aspects of the subject throughout his life, he gave a most lucid overall description in one of the last of his works, the opening address to the VIIIth International Epigraphic Congress in 1982.¹³ Every Greek city had its local cult, and would hold at least one festival in honour of the local deity, celebrated by a procession, a sacrifice, and a contest, at regular intervals. Such contests normally consisted of athletic competitions — γυμνικά — or competitions in the performing arts — μουσικά —, or a combination of the two; and many included horse-racing competitions — ιππικά.

In the classical period, four of these festivals had an exceptional status: the contests held at Olympia, Delphi (the Pythia), the Isthmus, and Nemea were of a different order from all other such contests; they made up the 'Circuit' — περίοδος — and a victor in all four could describe himself as a 'Circuit victor' — περιοδονίκης¹⁴ or περίοδος.¹⁵ They were 'sacred' — ἱεροί — and victory in them was rewarded not by a money prize, but by a crown; they were therefore also called στεφανίται, 'crowned'. The material reward for the contestant was not provided by the organizers of the contest, but by the city from which he came. In acknowledgement of the glory that a city obtained when their citizen was victorious, they would reward him with local privileges:¹⁶ typically the entitlement to free maintenance by the city, and the right to drive in — εἰσελεύσιν — to the city in a triumphant return; contests where victory was rewarded with such a right were described as εἰσελαστικοί.¹⁷ The international recognition of a contest as deserving reward with such privileges was denoted by the title 'worldwide' — οἰκουμενικός.

A further source of reward for such a victor would be that he could demand a higher fee to appear in shows — ἐπιδείξεις.¹⁸ In some cases a very distinguished victor could expect a payment to ensure his appearance at an international contest. Most competitors would expect to maintain their income by competing in local festivals, which, not having such international status, had to attract competitors by money prizes — θέματα — and so were known as θεματίται or ταλαντιαῖοι — such as the Lysimacheia at Aphrodisias.¹⁹ But it is a useful reminder of the workings of the ancient world that the privileges of the victors at international contests were apparently never rendered superfluous by the competing attraction of financial rewards. The continuing importance of such privileges is indicated by a document of the third century A.D. from Oxyrhynchus in which a victor offers proof of his victories in order to obtain what by then had become the most valuable of all such awards — ἀτελεία — freedom from civic obligations.²⁰

The existence and continuation of these privileges indicate the importance of victories by their citizens to the individual cities. When a victor was proclaimed, it was with the formula νικᾷ ὁ δεῖνα, 'so-and-so wins', followed by his ethnic.²¹ A man so

¹³ 'Discours d'ouverture', *Actes du VIIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine à Athènes, 1982* (Athens, 1984), 35–45 (= *OMS* vi, 709–19).

¹⁴ H. Montgomery, 'περιοδονίκης', *RE* 19 (1937), 813–6; see e.g. 67, 74, 75.

¹⁵ L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), 122–3.

¹⁶ For these rights as being confirmed in law, see e.g. L. Robert, 'Sur des inscriptions d'Ephèse. Fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes', *RPh* NS 41 (1967), 7–84, 16–7 (= *OMS* v, 347–424, 356–7), commenting on an inscription at Ephesus of c. 300 B.C.

¹⁷ See Robert, 'Discours d'ouverture', 43–4; cf. 57.11.

¹⁸ H. W. Pleket, 'Olympic benefactors', *ZPE* 20 (1978), 1–18, 9.

¹⁹ Appendix i.iv, with 50.20, 53.1; cf. 67.20–2, 91.ii.11, for victors referring to this general category.

²⁰ *P.Oxy.* 3116 (275/6). For freedom from taxation as a reward for competitors see also the description by Malalas of the Olympic contest at Antioch, 288–9.

²¹ Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 430–1.

proclaimed was said to have ‘brought the crown to his city’ or simply ‘crowned his city’,²² as for example when the victory of Nero at the Olympics in 67 was proclaimed: ‘the proclamation was: Nero Caesar wins this contest and crowns the people of Rome and the inhabited world, which belongs to him’, τὸ δὲ δὴ κήρυγμα ἦν· Νέρων Καῖσαρ νικᾷ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ στεφανοῖ τόν τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην.²³ The response to this announcement must have been an acclamation by the crowd, ‘Nero wins’, νικᾷ. That such formulae continued well into the later empire is implied by a story told in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus: when a popular charioteer at Apamea called Philereinos failed to win a race, ‘his partisans stood up and shouted at him “Philereinos is not taking the palm to the city”’, ἀνέστησαν οἱ τοῦ μέρους αὐτοῦ κράζοντες αὐτῷ, Φιλέρημος εἰς πόλιν βαῖν οὐ λάμβανει. Their acclamation was almost certainly a variant on the standard acclamation of victory.²⁴ The acclamation νικᾷ, which was characteristic of the great riot in Constantinople in A.D. 532, was therefore a traditional term with an ancient pedigree. Moreover, contests were also the occasions for public announcements of a political kind — for example, honours to a benefactor were regularly proclaimed at contests, by the same herald who (having won the competition for heralds which opened each contest) was responsible for proclaiming the victors; it is, therefore, not at all surprising that many phrases used in the acclamations of officials and emperors originated in the terminology of contests.²⁵

In the new world created by the conquests of Alexander, the original sacred contests of the four centres in old Greece were no longer sufficient. The Hellenistic kings established new sacred contests in their new capitals, and the Greek cities of the East started to apply for sacred status for their existing contests, or for new foundations. Such applications involved obtaining the recognition of other cities and rulers that a contest was to be considered as sacred: that is, that it would reward victors with a crown, and that such ‘sacred victors’ — ἱερονίκαί — would be recognized as such, and appropriately rewarded, by their own cities. The process of obtaining such recognition is illustrated by a series of documents inscribed on the wall of the temple of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maeander, recording a series of embassies sent by the Magnesians to cities and to rulers throughout the Hellenistic world, in the late third century B.C., to obtain their recognition of the contest in honour of Artemis Leucophryene as sacred.²⁶ Many of the new contests were modelled on those of the classical Circuit, and so might be called ‘Pythian’, or ‘Olympic’.²⁷ A confused understanding of this is reflected by Malalas, when he explains the Olympia at Antioch by saying that the people of Antioch used the money from a foundation left to them under Claudius to ‘buy’ the contest from Greek Olympia.²⁸

There was a great surge in the establishment of contests, and the upgrading of existing contests to international status, in the Hellenistic period.²⁹ Under the Roman

²² See below, 91.i.9–11; cf. Robert, ‘Sur des inscriptions d’Ephèse’, 17–28 (= *OMS* v, 357–68); idem, ‘Les épigrammes satiriques de Lucillius sur les athlètes’, *Entretiens Hardt* 14 (1969), 181–295, 195 (= *OMS* vi, 317–431, 331); J. and L. Robert, *Claros* 1 (Paris, 1989), 20–1.

²³ Dio Cassius LXIII.14.

²⁴ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale* 152 (*PG* 86.3, col. 3017).

²⁵ See for example, on the phrases εἰς αἰῶνα, εἰς ἀπ’αἰῶνος, the observations of L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938), 108–112.

²⁶ *I.Magn.*, nos 16–87; cf. L. Robert, ‘Deux concours grecques à Rome’, *CRAI* (1970), 6–27, 6 (= *OMS* v, 647–68, 647).

²⁷ cf. Appendix i. i and xiii.

²⁸ Malalas 248–9, 286; for the possible significance of this see Pleket, ‘Olympic benefactors’, 15–18.

²⁹ Robert, ‘Discours d’ouverture’, 37–8 (= *OMS* vi, 711–2), ‘Recherches épigraphiques II’, *REA* (1936), 5–28, 18 (= *OMS* ii, 768–91, 781).

Empire, they increased at an even greater rate;³⁰ a new cult demanding new festivals and contests was that of the emperors, celebrated both at individual cities, and at provincial level.³¹ For individual cities, the establishment of the international status of a contest became simpler, since the essential recognition could now be obtained from the emperor; the grant of such status was a standard form of imperial benefaction, and was recognized as a gift — δωρεά.³² A last flurry of such activity is found in the mid-third century, when several emperors — notably Gordian, Valerian, and Gallienus — seem to have accorded sacred status to a particularly large number of contests.³³ The emperors followed the model of Hellenistic kings in establishing contests of the Greek type at Rome; some of these were short-lived, but two at least became important fixtures in the Greek cycle of contests. Gordian instituted the second of these, the festival of Athena Promachos, which survived at least until the early fourth century, and Aurelian instituted a festival for Sol, which was still being celebrated under Julian.³⁴ It is worth noting that Constantine honoured his new capital by establishing a contest: ἐπετέλεσεν αὐτὸς πρῶτος γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα.³⁵

THE LATER EMPIRE

It is just after this burst of activity in creating or upgrading contests that our knowledge of agonistic life is radically altered. The main source of our information about contests and contestants in the Hellenistic and Roman world is inscriptions — particularly inscribed texts honouring the benefactors who presided at contests, and the men who competed in them. From the middle of the third century, honorific inscriptions decrease dramatically in number; and those which are put up during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries tend to give far less detailed information than those of the earlier periods about the persons honoured. There is, therefore, a distinct change in the kind of information available to us; what is far less clear is how we should interpret that change, and whether, when we cease to have information on a particular institution, we can safely conclude that that institution had diminished in importance or even ceased to exist. Thus, thanks to the papyri, we know that in Egypt agonistic activities were flourishing in the very last decades of the third century;³⁶ a new contest, with athletic, cultural, and equestrian events, and international status, was established at Oxyrhynchus as late as A.D. 273.³⁷ There is also a constant tension in the sources between the traditional respect for festivals, and Christian disapproval of such activities.

³⁰ See for example, A. J. S. Spawforth, 'Agonistic festivals in Roman Greece', in A. M. Cameron and S. Walker (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (London, 1989), 193–7.

³¹ S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge, 1984), 104, with references there.

³² Discussed on several occasions by L. Robert, most recently 'Une vision de Perpetuë martyre à Carthage en 203', *CRAI* (1982), 228–76, 228–9 (= *OMS* v, 791–839, 791–2), where see references. For the celebration of such a grant at Aphrodisias see below, Appendix 1, 58–64.

³³ L. Robert, 'Monnaies hellénistiques', *Rev.Num.* 19 (1977), 7–47, 10–13 (= *OMS* vi, 169–209, 172–5).

³⁴ Robert, 'Deux concours grecs à Rome'.

³⁵ T. Preger (ed.), *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* II (Leipzig, 1901–7), 144; the familiar terminology leads me to see this as a reference to establishing a contest in the old style; cf., however, G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (Paris, 1984), 172 and n.60.

³⁶ See, for example P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* (Cologne, 1986), with the informative reviews — (hostile) R. S. Bagnall, *Gnomon* 60 (1988), 42–5, on which see also R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 74 (1988), 244–6, and (favourable) M. Poliakoff, *JRA* 2 (1989), 295–8.

³⁷ Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*, no. 1.16 (with commentary) and no. 8.

It is clear that festivals did continue in the late Roman period; there were more days set aside for festival celebrations at Rome in the mid-fourth century than in the mid-third.³⁸ Despite the pagan associations of these activities, new spectacles were also provided in the new capital of Constantinople, not attached to pagan festivals, but, following Roman precedent, to the appointment of magistrates, to the increasingly frequent celebration of triumphs,³⁹ or to imperial anniversaries;⁴⁰ and the language in which they are described implies that competition continued to be an important element of such spectacles. If anything, the competitive element may have increased in importance, since after the public celebration of sacrifices had been forbidden by Theodosius in 391, the surviving elements of such festivals must have been the procession and the contest — now finally separated from any idea of competing in order to offer the very best to the gods. In the sixth century Malalas refers to the festival of Mars as still being celebrated at Rome, the Brumalia as still being celebrated at Constantinople, and the ‘Consilia’ (Consualia) as still celebrated by provincial governors.⁴¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus points out that the Brumalia were celebrated under all the Christian emperors until Romanus Lecapenus tried to suppress them.⁴² That is not to say that the Brumalia of the tenth century bore any resemblance to those of ancient Rome, but that they were to some degree perceived as being the same festival; Romanus banned them in the name of ‘piety’ — εὐλαβεία.

The tone of the late Roman imperial legislation regulating contests and spectacles makes it clear that the imperial government was concerned that such entertainment should continue to be provided.⁴³ The original Olympic festival at Elis was abolished in 392, perhaps because of its prominence;⁴⁴ but the Olympia at Antioch, for example, continued until their abolition by Justinian in 521.⁴⁵ The description of a pagan festival at Edessa, under Anastasius, suggests that it may still have been taking place in a fixed — ?five-yearly — cycle.⁴⁶ Despite the criticisms by the Church of such entertainments, the only general alteration imposed by the Christian emperors was the prohibition of gladiatorial combats by Constantine, which seems to have succeeded only insofar as it coincided with a natural decline in such activities (see below, p. 76). A law of 425 forbade ‘every pleasure of the theatres and the circuses’ (*omnis theatrorum adque circensium voluptas*) everywhere, on Sundays and certain feast days, not because of their intrinsic immorality, but in order not to distract people from their Christian obligations;⁴⁷ but the emperor Leo had to forbid officials to attend the theatre on a Sunday, suggesting that performances had continued.⁴⁸ ‘Public pleasure’ was a matter of imperial concern, and local benefactors were welcome to mount entertainments:

We do not disapprove, rather we urge that the enthusiasms of a happy populace be embraced, so that the spectacles of an athletic contest should be re-established.

³⁸ A. Müller, ‘Das Bühnenwesen in der Zeit von Constantin der Grosse bis Justinian’, *Neue Jahrbücher* 23 (1909), 36–55, 37–8.

³⁹ See M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Cambridge, 1986).

⁴⁰ A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), 537–40.

⁴¹ Malalas 173, 179, 183.

⁴² Const. Porph., *De Cer.* 606.9 ff.

⁴³ cf. *CTh* xv.7.3 (A.D. 376).

⁴⁴ Cedrenus 323D.

⁴⁵ Malalas 417.

⁴⁶ *Chronicon pseudo-Dionysiacum vulgo dictum*, trans. J.-B. Chabot, *CSCO* 121 (Syriac series 66) (1949), under A.D. 809, and A.D. 813.

⁴⁷ *CTh* xv.5.5 (= *CJ* iii.12.6)

⁴⁸ *CJ* iii.12.9.11

non invidemus, sed potius cohortamur amplectenda felicitis populi studia, gymnici ut agonis spectacula reformatur.⁴⁹

To restrict spectacles too much might produce gloom, argues a law of Arcadius: 'Iudicras artes concedimus agitari, ne ex nimium harum restrictione tristitia generetur'; the emperor goes on to ban just the excessively unseemly festival of the *maiouma*, but even that ban seems not to have lasted (see below on 65).⁵⁰ Very similar opinions were expressed, on behalf of Theodoric, by Cassiodorus.⁵¹

Imperial policy was spelled out again by Justinian, in his legislation specifying the proper expenditure by consuls:

If this (sc. a consular display) has been devised in order that spectacles (*spectacula*) be held for the pleasure of the people, and these also are established by us for horse-racing and for the display and the slaughter of wild-beasts, and for the delights of acting and the stage, our people will not be deprived of these things.⁵²

The tensions between the Christian view of the corrupting nature of spectacles, and the imperial wish to provide pleasures (*voluptates*) for the populace, are most apparent in the legislation on performers (discussed below, pp. 27–8). Emperors did occasionally suspend entertainments, but as a punishment to the community — as Theodosius did after the riot of the statues at Antioch — or in response to riotous behaviour, as when Anastasius forbade pantomime performances which had the effect of 'dividing the audience with hatred', ἐμπερίζοντο τῷ μίσει.⁵³ If the provision of contests altered and diminished in the later empire it was for practical and local reasons.

FINANCING ENTERTAINMENTS

The essential element in the survival or disappearance of contests must have been finance. Most of the festival contests of the Hellenistic and Roman periods seem to have been financed chiefly from foundations — gifts or bequests invested, usually in land, to provide the necessary income.⁵⁴ Our understanding of such foundations has been enormously increased by the publication, by Michael Wörrle, of the documents from Oenoanda, which set out, in exhaustive detail, the arrangements made by a local benefactor, Claudius Demosthenes, for a new festival, established in A.D. 125.⁵⁵ To ensure that such a foundation remained secure, a prudent benefactor would obtain imperial approval.⁵⁶ The administration of these funds was sometimes difficult, and ancient cities were ill-adapted to protecting and maintaining them.⁵⁷ The imperial authorities were concerned that staging festivals should not drain city finances.⁵⁸ They also wished to

⁴⁹ *CTh* xv.5.3 (A.D. 376), to the proconsul of Africa, retained as *CJ* xi.41.1.

⁵⁰ *CTh* xv.6.2; see G. Ville, 'Les jeux de gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', *MEFRA* 72 (1960), 273–335, 308.

⁵¹ *Variae* iii.51.5.

⁵² Just., *Nov.* 105.1, of A.D. 536.

⁵³ *Procop. Gaz.*, *Pan.* 16, pp. 17–18.

⁵⁴ See R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*² (Cambridge, 1982), 132 ff.

⁵⁵ M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitliche Kleinasien*, *Vestigia* 39 (Munich, 1988); see also the review article by S. Mitchell, 'Festivals, games and civic life in Roman Asia Minor', *JRS* 80 (1990), 183–93.

⁵⁶ Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest*, 172–82.

⁵⁷ For a typical situation, cf. 91.i.25–30; cf. also H. W. Pleket, 'Some aspects of the history of the athletic guilds', *ZPE* 10 (1973), 197–227, 221–2.

⁵⁸ Mitchell, 'Festivals, games and civic life', 190.

ensure that existing funds were properly and effectively maintained; an excellent illustration of this is provided by the letters written in the 180s to the Aphrodisians by one or more imperial *curatores* who were looking into the funds financing their various festivals.⁵⁹ Similarly, at Antioch under Commodus, the funds for various festivals, including one established in the first century, were reorganized by imperial authority.⁶⁰ Some festivals will have been financed directly from temple funds, and some from civic income;⁶¹ the majority, perhaps, were financed from more than one source.⁶² In most cases, however, there was still a need for generous benefactors, appointed as *agonothetai*, which I have translated as 'contest-presidents'; these officials were charged with the organization of a festival, and, in theory, if a contest was adequately funded, should not necessarily have to spend money except on additional refinements. In practice, there was always a chance to spend, if only to meet incidental costs and add to the splendours of the occasion, for example, by providing supplementary entertainments — the spectacles (ἐπιδείξεις) mentioned above — alongside the main competitive events.⁶³ In other cases, where the funding was not adequate, the *agonothete* might make a more substantial contribution; there is evidence for *agonothetai* providing prizes,⁶⁴ and there are signs that the term became increasingly equated with simply putting on (and paying for) a contest.⁶⁵

It seems clear that contests were still financed in these diverse ways in the later empire.⁶⁶ A basic element in their financing was apparently still provided by foundations. Those that were supported simply by the interest from money out on loan must have disappeared in the great inflation of the late third century; those that were based on land-holdings should largely have survived, even if some holdings might have been diminished in the years of financial uncertainty. The result, typical of a period of inflation, is likely to have been an arbitrary pattern in the disappearance or survival of contests, depending on the accident of how they had been funded. It is also possible that some such funds might have been affected by the confiscations of temple property under Constantine; but it is clear that foundations remained the basic form of finance for contests. Thus, when Julian wished to help the city of Antioch to finance chariot-racing, he made a gift of land.⁶⁷ It is only because of Malalas' close relationship to the city of Antioch that we know that the Praetorian Prefect Antiochus Chuzon, a native of Antioch, gave funds to Antioch 'for the horse races, . . . and for the Olympic festival and the Maioumas';⁶⁸ there is every reason to believe that similar grants may have been made to some other cities.

Imperial grants of money also continued to be made on specific occasions. In the fourth century, there are references in the correspondence of Libanius to imperial contributions being made to men acting as Syriarch — president of the provincial council

⁵⁹ Below 50–53.

⁶⁰ Malalas 284–6.

⁶¹ cf. the πολιεῖτικὸς ἀγὼν at Aphrodisias, below, Appendix I.vii.

⁶² See the useful observations on the varied sources for funding contests by H. W. Pleket, 'Olympic benefactors', 2–4.

⁶³ A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City* (Oxford, 1940), 230, 234; for Aphrodisias, see Index s.v. ἀγωνοθέτης.

⁶⁴ L. Robert, 'Ἀμφιθαλής', *Studies Ferguson* (HSCP 1940), 509–19, 515 (= *OMS* I, 633–43, 639); for a *xystarch* doing the same thing, see below, 91.i.28–30.

⁶⁵ For the term in the later period, see below, 65, and C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 101–2.

⁶⁶ Müller, 'Das Bühnenwesen', 37–8.

⁶⁷ Julian, *Misopogon* 370D.

⁶⁸ Malalas 362; *PLRE* II, Antiochus 10, with the comments of J. Caimi, *Annali della facoltà di giurisprudenza di Genova* 20 (1984–5), 82–3.

of Syria, with responsibility for staging festivals in honour of the emperor.⁶⁹ On one occasion Libanius refers to such a grant as being made 'according to ancient custom', κατὰ νόμον ἀρχαίων,⁷⁰ and on another he cites as a precedent an imperial subvention which had been given to the father of the current Syriarch;⁷¹ but in both cases Libanius had to write to those at court to ensure that the money actually came.⁷² At Aphrodisias a governor in the fifth century is described as 'agonothete and Maioumarch', implying that he had seen to the provision of festivals, and another governor in the sixth century, who was also a citizen of Aphrodisias, is described as 'agonothete'.⁷³

Such subventions appear to have become increasingly standardized — as in the regulation, under Justinian, of the amounts to be contributed by the *augustalis* of Egypt (320 solidi), and by the local councillors (100 solidi), towards the costs of chariot-racing at Alexandria.⁷⁴ Similarly, an inscription of the sixth century from Caesarea, in Palestine, apparently details the amount to be set aside from imperial, and also perhaps from municipal, taxes to meet the costs of chariot-racing.⁷⁵ Gascou has demonstrated the increasing 'fiscalization' of the financing of entertainments in sixth-century Egypt, where some taxes were being paid directly towards the financing of spectacles; he suggests that this regularization of the arrangements lies behind the apparent increase in the quantity and quality of chariot-racing in Egypt in the sixth century.⁷⁶ At Constantinople the bulk of the expenditure on entertainments must always have been made by the emperors, and, after the lapse of the consulate in 542, all such expenditure was imperial. Thus, when Procopius was criticizing Justinian for the diminution, or suppression of public spectacles, he claimed that in the provinces he removed the civic funds that were intended to finance them; but in describing the situation at Constantinople he simply says that Justinian closed the auditoria 'in order that the Treasury should not have to pay the many people who made their living from that source', τοῦ μὴ τὰ εἰωθότα χορηγεῖν τὸ δημόσιον πολλοῖς . . . οἷς ἐνθένδε ὁ βίος.⁷⁷ Similarly, it is clear that in sixth-century Rome performers were being paid directly from the treasury; there are references to the 'monthly payments' (*menstrua*) made by the city prefect to pantomime dancers.⁷⁸

The overall trend was to 'fiscalization' — that is, to the financing by central government of all entertainments; but as long as the provincial cities and their foundations survived, financing continued to be piecemeal. The main threat to foundations was — as it probably always had been — the appropriation of the money or the land by powerful individuals;⁷⁹ in 451 Marcian, legislating against such activity, specified the need to protect 'property for providing contests' (*agonotheticae possessiones*).⁸⁰ In the sixth century, Procopius described the cities of the empire as

⁶⁹ J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, 'The Syriarchy in the fourth century', *Historia* 8 (1959), 113–26 (= idem, *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest* (London, 1990), xi).

⁷⁰ *Ep.* 1159 (363).

⁷¹ *Ep.* 970.2 (390).

⁷² *Ep.* 1147–8, 970–1.

⁷³ Appendix 1, 65, and *ALA* 65.

⁷⁴ Justinian, *Edicta* 13.15; A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton, 1949), 210.

⁷⁵ B. Lifschitz, 'Une inscription byzantine de Césarée en Israël', *REG* 70 (1957), 118–32.

⁷⁶ J. Gascou, 'Les institutions de l'Hippodrome en Égypte', *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 185–212.

⁷⁷ *HA* xxvi.6 and 9.

⁷⁸ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.32, 33 (cf. 20) of 508–9 (for the date see *PLRE* II, Agapitus 3); see also below, p. 149.

⁷⁹ For just one example from the Roman period illustrating the difficulties of preserving an endowment, see *MAMA* ix, pp. xxvi–xlii. On imperial legislation aimed at dealing with this problem see J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Baltimore, 1953), 963–80.

⁸⁰ Marcian, *Nov.* 3.1.

having incomes — πόροι — from ‘civic or festival funds’, πολιτικῶν ἢ θεωρητικῶν, which were confiscated by Justinian.⁸¹ That such funds continued to exist is also implied by laws aimed at preventing their misuse. The emperors legislated against the transfer by provincial governors of shows — *editiones* — which had been established by past generations — *antiquitas* — or chariot-teams from one city to another;⁸² presumably this would usually consist in the transfer of such resources to the provincial capital. Similarly, the transfer of shows from cities in Illyricum to Constantinople was forbidden in 424.⁸³ While this legislation may in part be intended to stop local *agonothetai* from being lured away to make their benefactions in a larger city, it only becomes fully comprehensible if there were also local agonistic funds in the cities, which a governor might wish to divert, as he was specifically permitted to do for the purpose of repairing city walls.⁸⁴ It also indicates that a governor might expect to enhance his own standing by using such means to ensure a splendid show in the provincial capital. A similar concern for the proper use of civic funds probably lies behind the law of 426, regulating the appointment of supervisory officials, *actuarii* and *cornicularii* ‘of the stage and of chariot-horses in various cities’.⁸⁵ The similar officials for Constantinople listed in this and in a separate ruling did probably deal largely with the spending of imperial funds;⁸⁶ but the purpose of this legislation seems to be the typical imperial concern to avoid local misadministration and embezzlement, rather than a policy of direct control. The existence of civic funds in the sixth century is also implied by a reference of the sixth-century orator Choricus of Gaza to a festival ‘at public expense’, δημοτέλης πανήγυρις.⁸⁷

It does seem likely, from the tone of the legislation, that contests were disappearing as many cities fell into decline and obscurity; it is also likely that, at those cities where contests did continue, the relative costs which had to be met by a supervising magistrate had increased. Some of the foundations will have disappeared, or decreased in value, and the increasingly popular entertainments of chariot-racing and wild beast shows were very expensive. Our view is coloured, again, by the shift in the nature of our evidence; instead of the honorific inscriptions which described the enthusiastic generosity of the *agonothetai* of earlier periods, we have two great bodies of correspondence from the fourth century — the letters of Libanius and of Symmachus — which give us a new insight into the practical problems and the expense confronting such a benefactor. The legislation, however, suggests that there were still men willing and able to undertake this liturgy. Governors had to be restrained in the size of the prizes they gave,⁸⁸ as did private benefactors,⁸⁹ senators,⁹⁰ and consuls.⁹¹ In 465 local councillors at Antioch had to be forbidden to continue acting as *agonothetai* for the provincial games of Syria, or the local Olympic contest, even if they wanted to, ‘nec si voluerint’.⁹²

⁸¹ HA xxvi.6.

⁸² CTh xv.5.1 (A.D. 372); xv.5.3 (A.D. 409, retained as CJ xi.41.5 with an additional mention of actors and wild-beasts).

⁸³ CTh xv.5.4.

⁸⁴ CJ xi.42.1.

⁸⁵ CTh viii.7.21 (retained as CJ xii.59.6); see further below, p. 59.

⁸⁶ CTh viii.7.22.

⁸⁷ Choricus, *Syn. Mim.* 103.

⁸⁸ CTh xv.9.2 (A.D. 409).

⁸⁹ xv.2.2 (A.D. 392–5).

⁹⁰ xv.9.1 (A.D. 384) retained as CJ i.16.1.

⁹¹ Just., *Nov.* 105 (A.D. 538).

⁹² CJ i.36.1, with the comments of Liebeschuetz, ‘The Syriarchy’, 125–6.

The decline of contests and entertainments in the late Roman empire therefore paralleled and followed the general development of civic life: after the mid-third century, many cities seem to have been reduced to little more than villages, and many contests disappeared. Political, economic, and cultural activity was confined to a smaller number of cities, with the provincial capitals predominant. During the late empire civic life and civic values altered in those cities in favour of larger, empire-wide trends; and during the sixth century, in Asia Minor at least, the provincial city was ceasing to be an important centre of activity. The interest of the material presented here is that Aphrodisias, as a provincial capital in the late Roman period, is a city where prosperity continued well into the sixth century, and where at least two of the three auditoria stayed in use; it thereby offers us an opportunity to consider the provision of entertainment both in the Roman and in the late Roman periods.

PART ONE
THE PERFORMERS

CHAPTER II. MIMES AND PANTOMIMES

1

Aphrodisias, like many other cities of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, has produced a large number of inscriptions relating to the presentation of contests; the full dossier is published here in Appendices I–II. In particular, the lists of festival prizes in Appendix I (52 and 53) and the inscriptions honouring competitors in Appendix II give a good idea of the range of types of entertainment that could be included in a contest; and all this information is well paralleled from other sites.

As well as the competitive performances of the kinds described in those documents, however, we know that there will also have been additional performances — both within the framework of contests, and also on other occasions. These will have included a wide range of entertainments — for the evidence for a tight-rope dancer in the Theatre see below, 8.b.ii — but particularly shows by mimes and pantomimes. The pantomime, a solo performer, performed a dance, accompanied by music, but without words; the subject matter was drawn from mythology, but was essentially serious, and the pantomime's art is regularly described as *τραγικός*.¹ Mimes performed in groups, both of men and women, and used words and music to present scenes which were often comic, but also encompassed tragic subjects.² While there is evidence on these kinds of entertainment to be found in formal inscriptions, it is far less abundant than that for the regular competitive events. The crucial importance of the new material from Aphrodisias, presented in this and the following chapter (1–12), is that it provides new information about such performers, and in particular about mimes. Moreover, these forms of entertainment, which achieved wide popularity in the Roman period, continued to be presented regularly throughout the late Roman period, so that, in examining the evidence here, we can also draw conclusions about both change and continuity in performances between the earlier and the later period.

In the Theatre and Odeon at Aphrodisias, as at other sites, there is relatively little space provided for the use of the performers. In the Theatre, there were probably rooms on an upper storey, now lost, and there were the six windowless chambers at the back of the stage. In a contest, the poets, flautists, kitharodes and other performers may well have gone in a formal procession to the Theatre, having prepared themselves elsewhere — probably in the accommodation which, in many cities, was owned by the performers' association.³ This presumably presented no great problem for performers such as harp or flute players; but for actors and mimes, there will have been a need for some backstage

¹ See L. Robert, 'Pantomimen im griechischen Orient', *Hermes* (1930), 106–22 (= *OMS* I, 654–70) esp. 108 (= 656); see also idem, 'Inscriptions grecques de Sidé en Pamphylie', *RPh* NS 32 (1958), 15–53, 52 (= *OMS* v, 155–93, 192), n.1, for further references. There is a useful discussion in G. J. Theodorides, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Profantheaters im IV und V Jahrhundert, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Predigten des Johannes Chrysostomos, Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (Thessalonika, 1940), 7–10 — I am very grateful to Professor Robert Browning for drawing my attention to (and lending me) this not easily accessible volume.

² See H. Reich, *Der Mimos: ein literar-entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Versuch* (Berlin, 1903), still a very important and interesting study; E. Wüst, 'Mimos', *RE* xv (1932), 1727–64; Robert, 'Ἀρχαϊολόγος'; Theodorides, *Beiträge*; H. Wiemken, *Der griechischen Mimos* (Bremen, 1972).

³ Such a use has been suggested, for example, for the elegant late-third-century 'House of Menander' at Mytilene; S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil and R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la maison de Ménandre à Mytilène* (Berne, 1970), 105.

space for props, or changes of costume. It is likely that the chambers at the back of the Theatre stage were used for this.

The texts published here, as 1.1–7, are from those rooms, and appear to be a series of inscriptions put up by performers for their own use; as such they are, at present, unique.

1. The following texts were found inscribed on the sides of the doorways into the rooms behind the stage front, which are here numbered from north to south—that is, from left to right. All were cut in the stone itself, except for 1.iii, which was scratched on plaster.

Room 1

i. In the doorway, on the north wall, at 1.40 above ground; cut on a rough surface. Letters irregular, lunate, 0.05–0.07.

Plate I

Φιλιστίωνος
διασκευή

Equipment of Philistion

There are slight traces of further letters on this wall.

ii. In the doorway, on the south wall, at 1.40 above ground; cut on a rough surface. To the left, the letters have been worn or rubbed away, and a hole has been cut into 1.2. Letters irregular, lunate, 0.04–0.07; perhaps two hands. There are traces of red paint in some letters.

Παρδαλᾶ μειμολόγου
Σύρου σκεύη μετὰ Φιλιστίωνα

Of Pardalas, mime. Equipment of Syrus, after Philistion.

or

Equipment of Pardalas, Syrian mime, after Philistion.

iii. On the south wall, a little further into the room, below and to the left of ii. The wall was plastered, and the letters are scratched with a very fine point on a patch of remaining plaster. 1.1: 0.025; 1.2: 0.02–0.025; 11.3–4: 0.01(ο)–0.02.

Cited: Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1976), 276; published, *ALA* 182

Plate I

Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη
τῶν Πρασίνων
κ(αὶ) τὸν μίμον τοῦ
Πρασίν(ου)

The fortune of the Greens, and of the mimes of the Green (faction) triumphs !

Room 2

No sign of letters on the north side. One letter, T, on south wall of entrance.

Room 3

This room opens onto the north side of the central stage corridor.

- i. On the wall of the corridor, left of the entrance to Room 3; 1.19 above floor. Cut on a rough surface. A hole was later cut in the inscribed surface, destroying two or three letters. Letters: lunate; 0.04–0.05.

τόπος [ἀρ]χεολόγων

Place of *archaeologi*.

- ii. On the outer, south, face of the block over the door to Room 3, at 0.10 above lintel. Carefully cut, but irregular, square letters; 1.1, 0.055–0.06; 1.2, 0.055–0.08. The second line slopes upwards.

Plate 1

Wreath	Palm
Αὐτολύκου διασκεύη ἄμαχα	
Νεμεακοῦ ἄμαχα	

Unbeatable equipment of Autolycus, of ? the Nemean (victor), unbeatable.

Room 4

This room opens onto the south side of the central stage corridor.

On the outer, north face of the block over the door to Room 4, facing text 3.ii. All the letters are square; those of 1.1, 0.07–0.075, are carefully cut, with circular stops; ll. 2, 0.05–0.07, and 3, 0.04, are less carefully cut, and appear to be a later addition, squeezed in. Line 1 is in script very similar to 3.ii.

Καπυρᾶ stop διασκεύη stop ἄμαχα
καὶ Φιλολόγου Ὀλυμπιονεΐ-
κου

Unbeatable equipment of Kapyras and of Philologus, Olympic victor.

Room 5

- i. On the north wall of the doorway, cut on a smoothed area, 1.67 above floor level. Letters carefully cut, but irregular, 0.03–0.05; similar to 3.ii and 4.i. Square sigma in 1.1, standard in 1.2; traces of red paint.

Plate 1

Νεικάνορος
διασκεύη
ἄμαχα

Unbeatable equipment of Nicanor.

- ii. Below i, on another smoothed area. Rough, lunate lettering, 0.03–0.05. There are apparent traces of previous lettering which has been erased. The second line of script is far shallower, and is cut on the very edge of the smoothed area.

Βάσσο ν υ Λ vacat
vacat
τῷ κυρίῳ

Of Bassus. ...? to the Lord.

iii and iv. On a loose block (0.49 x 0.72 x 0.33), whose upper left corner is lost, which originally formed part of the north wall of the doorway to Room 5, further in than nos i and ii. The face is smooth except for a rough rectangular area between iii and iv. The upper and lower edges are drafted. Now in the dighouse garden (excavation inventory no. 71.425).

Plate III

iii. At upper edge of block. Letters rough and badly aligned, but deeply cut; lunate; 0.03–0.04.

[Ἴου]λιανοῦ νεα-
[νισ]κολόγου
[σκε]ύη

Equipment of Iulianus, *neaniscologus*.

iv. Across lower part of block. Letters lightly cut, irregular, and badly aligned. Several in ll.1 are cut with a double outline; those in ll.2 and 3 resemble nos 3.ii, 4.i, and 5.i; 0.035–0.04. Standard sigma.

Βάσσου διασκεύη
Ἀσιονείκου καὶ
γυμνασιάρχου

Equipment of Bassus, victor in the Asian games, and *gymnasiarch*.

Room 6

i and ii. On the north wall of the doorway, on a partly smoothed face, 1.43 above ground. There are traces of several earlier inscriptions, which have been erased.

i. Lines 1–2 are cut in a clear, square hand, except for the second word in l.1; if this belongs to the text — as the sense suggests — it was added, in a cursive hand. The third line was more lightly cut, and is largely erased. Letters: 0.03–0.04; traces of red paint.

Δημητρίου ὁμηριστοῦ
διασκεύη
Α[...c.9...]Σ

Equipment of Demetrius, *homeristes*.

ii. Cut above no.i, where it appears to have been squeezed in; standard forms (with one lunate epsilon), lightly cut; the serifs are similar to those in 3.ii, 4.i, 5.i, and 5.iv; letters av. 0.035.

Ἐγενήσθη Ἀλέξανδρος

?He became Alexander.

7

The following stone, which was a stray find in 1972, perhaps belongs among these texts; now in the Museum, excavation inventory no.72.492.

The upper left corner of a plain block (W.0.53, H.0.23, D.0.17) inscribed on one face on a roughly-dressed surface. Letters clear, irregular: standard beta, square sigma; 0.05–0.055.

τόπος βιο[λόγου
 [[.....OY]] καὶ [...
 vacat ΝΕΙΟΥ vac.[
 [...

Place ? of the *bio[logus*] and of [*.....*]neius.

THE TEXTS

It appears that all these texts — with the possible exception of 1.1.iii — served the same purpose: to reserve for those named in them the rooms in whose entrances they were cut. There is no clear indication that they were contemporary with one another; 1.1.iii was certainly inscribed at a later period, when the walls on which the earlier inscriptions were cut had been covered with the plaster in which 1.iii was scratched. It is highly unlikely that, in the long history of the Theatre at Aphrodisias, these were the only such labels to have existed; they are best understood as being chance survivals of a type of text which will usually have been recorded in a more fragile medium. It is, however, quite possible that they are all the result of a brief fashion for inscribing, rather than painting, such texts; that this did not continue for very long is suggested by the fact that there are relatively few traces of erasure and re-inscribing (Rooms 1, 5 and 6; cf. also 4.i).⁴

The other indication which may suggest that most of these texts are roughly contemporary is their wording. Of the eleven earlier texts, six refer to διασκευη and one (1.5.iii) apparently to σκευη (since there is no room on the stone for the longer word). In three of these the word διασκευη has the epithet ἄμαχα. Since that can only be a neuter plural, it seems necessary to read not the feminine διασκευή or σκευή, but (δια)σκεύη, the plural of the neuter σκευος. There is a close similarity in meaning between σκευή ‘equipment, apparel’, and σκευή ‘implements, baggage, equipment’ or sometimes just ‘things, stuff’ (see LSJ s.vv.).

There are, however, two problems presented by this interpretation. Firstly, the term διασκευή is attested, but not the neuter διασκευος. Secondly, the term σκευος is not cited as having any associations with the theatre; but σκευή is attested of actor’s clothing and equipment from the classical period.⁵ These objections might be met by a suggestion of Christopher Jones, that we should read διὰ σκευή, ‘for the equipment of so-and-so’, or ‘room of so-and-so, for equipment’; this is a tempting formulation, but is perhaps undermined by the apparent parallel between the uses of διασκευή and σκευή (1.5.iii), and it seems rather fuller phrasing than we might expect in such brief texts. Moreover, διασκευή, as well as having the more general sense of ‘equipment’, is also attested in theatrical contexts, although with different senses. In several passages in the

⁴ This could also indicate that the bare walls were available for inscriptions only for a relatively short time, and that at other periods they were plastered.

⁵ LSJ s.v.1; but the word is also found in epigraphic contexts, where the neuter plural and the feminine cannot always be distinguished, used of an actor’s costume and accoutrements: J. R. Green, ‘Dedications of masks’, *RA* (1982), 237–48, at 245.

Deipnosophistae of Athenaeus it is used to refer to the reworking or second edition of a play.⁶ But in the description by Callixenus of the grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which is included in the *Deipnosophistae*,⁷ the term is used to describe the tableaux illustrating the exploits of the gods which were displayed in the procession.⁸ In perhaps a related sense Dio Chrysostom, criticizing the Alexandrians for their addiction to the theatre, describes how their laughter could be aroused by unsuitable scenes which they saw ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις καὶ διασκευαῖς, ‘in comedies and *diaskeuai*’ (*Or.* 32.94); the word here must describe some kind of spectacle with acted scenes, and very probably refers to a performance by mimes (see further below).⁹

The sense of ‘show’ or ‘performance’ cannot, however, translate the texts which we have here. Moreover, to read δια(σκευη) as a feminine singular would leave the word ἄμαχα hanging, with no connection to the rest of the sentence; this appears profoundly unsatisfactory. It seems necessary, therefore, to read these words as neuter plurals, and to assume a new word, διασκεῦος. The meaning of such a term, in the light of the related words, should also be ‘equipment’: that is, in such a context, presumably both the costumes and the other props of performers. The term διασκευή, in the passages cited above, seems to have a general sense of ‘show, spectacle’; in Callixenus it apparently refers to a static display, and so perhaps the usage in Dio derives from the visual impression made by the performers and their equipment, but it is equally likely to have the sense of ‘device, something designed’.

If, therefore, διασκεύη and σκεύη here mean ‘equipment’, that would seem to make very good sense; the rooms in whose entrances these texts were inscribed were presumably being reserved for the storing of the equipment of various performers, named in the genitive. As to the kind of performers, it was observed above that the cognate term διασκευή was used by Dio Chrysostom of some kind of performed scene, apparently distinct from a comedy, such as the scenes performed by pantomimes, or by mimes. The scenes of drunken Herakles described by Dio would have been quite inappropriate for a pantomime, but very characteristic subject matter for mime performances. It seems likely, therefore, that διασκεύη, the neuter plural, may refer to the equipment — including costumes — used by mimes in their performances. While there seems to be no Greek parallel for this usage, there are some Latin terms which seem to be used in a similar way. Mimes are described as having originally performed in the orchestra, ‘having placed their equipment’ — *positis instrumentis*.¹⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris refers to *suppellex* as characteristic of mimes.¹¹ Wiemken has published a papyrus listing the props required to present particular mime scenes.¹² That mimes could appear in very splendid costumes is made clear by the fulminations of John Chrysostom,¹³ who also describes ‘tapestries, and

⁶ 3. 75. 1–2 (110); 6. 51. 16–7 (247c); 8. 57. 9–10 (358d); 11. 97. 3–4 (496f).

⁷ Now separately edited by E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1983).

⁸ οἱ προσήκοντες μῦθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας ἐν διασκευαῖς πολυτέλεσι παρεκύντο (5. 23. 11–2, 195 a–b); οἰκείαν ἐχούσαι τῆς περὶ ἑκάστων αὐτῶν ἱστορίας διασκευὴν (5.27. 8–9, 197 d).

⁹ P. Veyne, ‘Διασκευαί: le théâtre grec sous l’empire (Dion de Pruse, xxxii, 94)’, *REG* 102 (1989), 339–45, takes the term in the sense attested by Athenaeus, meaning ‘remakes’ of earlier comedies, remodelled to contemporary taste.

¹⁰ Diomedes III, Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* I, 490 (cited by Reich, *Mimus*, 607 n.2, Wiemken, *Griechischen Mimus*, 252 n.11, taking *instrumenta* as ‘Requisiten’).

¹¹ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* II.2: ‘absunt ridiculi vestitu et vultibus histriones pigmentis multicoloribus Philistionis suppellectilem mentientes’. I am very grateful to Bernard Gredley for pointing out these references.

¹² *Griechischen Mimus*, 192–5, *P. Berol.* 13927, probably of the fifth or sixth century; discussed at 202–4.

¹³ Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 112.

couches inlaid with silver', in scenes which 'resemble the rich man's house'.¹⁴ They wore masks, and the character of a performer would be shown by what he wore — an emperor was recognized by τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας.¹⁵ Their equipment would also have included the *parapetasmata* which appear to have been backdrops on cloth.¹⁶

THE PERFORMERS

Of the performers whose inscriptions are presented here, all those whose occupation can be determined are clearly mimes. The simple term is only used in the late text, 1.1.iii; but the same Room 1 was reserved in the earlier period for a μειμολόγος, Pardalas (1.1.ii). The term *mimologus* can be used for a writer of mimes, but is also found as a simple variant on *mimus*.¹⁷ It may be that Syrus, in the next line, is a further qualification of Pardalas, as a Syrian; but Syrus as a proper name is attested of a famous writer and performer of mimes, which makes it attractive to see this as a second performer. In the same room, 1.1.i and ii refer to the διασκεύη of Philistion; his occupation is not given, but Philistion is also a name particularly appropriate for a mime, being that of one of the founders of the art.¹⁸ The reference to Syrus' equipment 'after Philistion' is probably a simple temporal statement; Syrus would have the use of the room after a performance, or perhaps a series of performances, by Philistion.

Room 2 had no surviving inscriptions; but that on the wall outside Room 3, 3.i, is a place inscription, most probably reserving that room.¹⁹ The text is damaged, but the group of persons for whom the place was reserved are described as [...]εολόγοι. If, as the context suggests, these too are performers, the easiest restoration is [ἀρχ]εολόγοι; and the traces before the epsilon are consistent with the preceding letter being a chi. This is, therefore, most probably a reference to ἀρχαιολόγοι, a term describing a kind of mime, apparently specializing in the presentation of 'ancient' stories.²⁰

The two most imposing inscriptions in this series are those which face one another across the central corridor, over Rooms 3 and 4. They appear likely to be contemporary with one another, and each refers to διασκεύη ἄμαχα; but neither gives direct information as to the art of the performers concerned. 1.3.ii is the inscription of Autolycus; the presence of a palm indicates that he had been victorious in one or more contests, and the wreath that such contests had been 'crowned', στεφανίτης — that is, the kind of contests in which victory entitled the victor to wear a wreath, στέφανος (see further below).²¹ The line below appears to refer to a second performer, Nemeakos; but this word is used as an adjective from the placename Nemea,²² and may therefore perhaps indicate a contestant, if not a victor (Νεμεονίκης) at Nemea, which was a 'crowned' contest.²³ In the facing inscription, 1.4.i, Kapuras is not further described; his name, for

¹⁴ Hom. 83 in Matt., PG 58.750, cited by Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 117.

¹⁵ Philo, *In Flaccum* 6 (cit. Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 92); cf. 11, below.

¹⁶ For other theatre costumes see Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 52–4.

¹⁷ Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος', 239 (= *OMS* 1, 675); *BullÉp* 1959.451.

¹⁸ See M. Bonaria, *Mimorum romanorum fragmenta* (Genoa, 1955), Fasti, 516–40.

¹⁹ On place inscriptions see *ALA* ch. 11, introduction.

²⁰ See Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος'.

²¹ On these symbols see E. J. Jory, 'Publilius Syrus and the element of competition in the theatre of the Republic', in N. Horsfall (ed.), *Vir bonus discendo peritus*, *Studies Skutsch* (London, 1988), 73–81, esp. 75–6.

²² e.g. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* v. 3; for other examples *RE* 16 (1937), 2313.

²³ As in the case of Pythia and Olympia, Nemean contests, modelled on the Greek Nemea, were held elsewhere: see *RE* 16 (1937), 2327.

which I have not found a parallel, apparently derives from *καπυρός*, 'loud, clear', which was used to describe the laughter of a writer of dramatic poems, Rhinthon.²⁴ A second name seems to have been added to the inscription, that of Philologus, who had won a victory at Olympian games (not necessarily the contest at Greek Olympia, but certainly 'crowned').²⁵ Although there is still no indication of the kind of contest, Philologus is a name appropriate to a performer concerned with the use of words,²⁶ and was the name of a mime actor honoured at Ephesus, T. Cl. Philologus Theseus.²⁷

In the inscription over Room 4, the name of Philologus is added to the preceding inscription, which reserved the room for Kapuras, with the connective *καί*; the implication would seem to be that they were contemporaries who both used the room, although perhaps performing on different days, or at different festivals. The next room, 5, has inscriptions recording three different users; it is possible that they too were contemporary with one another. The first, Nicanor (1.5.i), is not further described. The inscription of Iulianus (1.5.iii) is damaged; but the term describing him can be restored with certainty, as *νεα[νισ]κόλογος*, which, again, is a term describing a kind of mime — apparently a kind of 'jeune premier', specializing in representations of young men.²⁸ The third man, Bassus, apparently started to cut an inscription at the north side of the entrance, but eventually placed the full text on the south side. He had won a victory at the Asian games, the provincial games of the *koinon* of Asia,²⁹ and had also held the office of *gymnasiarch*.³⁰

In Room 6 it is clear that more than one text had been inscribed and erased. 1.6.i seems to have read *Δημητρίου διασκεύης*; the description *ὁμηριστοῦ*, after Demetrius' name, is in a different hand, and was presumably either added to the inscription, or, possibly, left over from a previous inscription which Demetrius replaced with his own. The *homeristes* was yet another kind of mime, who specialized in presenting combat scenes from Homer;³¹ Choricus describes mimes appearing 'one as a Trojan general, one as a Myrmidon'.³² The sense of the line inscribed above (1.6.ii) is far from clear: if *ἐγενήσθη* is meant as an aorist, in the rare but attested passive form, of *γίγνομαι*, then the sense would seem to be 'he became Alexander' — either perhaps 'he was born (with the name) Alexander' or, possibly, with a reference to the activities of the *homeristes*, 'he was (acted) Alexander, i.e. Paris'. It is not certain that the text numbered here as 1.7 does in fact belong to this series; but both the look of the block, and the semi-formal style of the lettering, strongly suggest that it does. If so, this is very probably a reference to a *biologus* — another common term for a mime performer.³³

If, therefore, we leave aside 1.1.iii, which is shown by its archaeological context to be later than the other texts, and 7, which is not certainly of this series, we still have eleven texts, of which three (1.1.ii, 5.iii, 6.i) certainly, and another three (1.1.i, 3.i, 4.i) probably,

²⁴ AP 7.414; apparently a kind of mime — see Reich, *Mimus*, 262; the term is also used as an epithet of bawdy songs, Athenaeus 15. 697b.

²⁵ There were several Olympic festivals in Asia Minor; see Robert, *Hell.* v, 61.

²⁶ See the comments of Robert, *Hell.* xiii, 49–54.

²⁷ J. Keil, *AAWW* 82 (1945), 10–18.

²⁸ See *BullÉp* 1959.451, on G. Bean, 'Inscriptions in the Antalya Museum', *Belleten* 22 (1958), no.53, and references there.

²⁹ Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, 61.

³⁰ See below, p. 24.

³¹ See Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος', 237 (= *OMS* 1, 673) with n. 4; *BullÉp* 1958.84, 1983.475.

³² *Syn.Mim.* 78.

³³ Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος', 238–41 (= *OMS* 1, 674–7).

are concerned with mimes. In seven of these texts we have the terms διασκεύη or σκεύη, which appear in two of the certain mime texts (1.5.iii, 6.i) and one of the probable ones (1.1.i). The evidence has been cited above which might suggest that διασκεύη was a term particularly associated with mimes; and it seems to me highly likely that all these performers were mimes.

MIMES AND PANTOMIMES

If these deductions are correct, these texts are an interesting new source of information about mime performances. The first point of particular interest is the indication of the importance attached to the mime's equipment, which is distinguished with what is virtually an acclamation — ἄμαχα, 'unbeatable'. It seems clear that the mime was expected to produce, not just a powerful piece of acting, but also a good show; and these texts, rather than being simple utilitarian signs, are also intended to emphasize the standing of the performers.

The epithet may also indicate the date of these inscriptions. Both pantomime and mime performances were originally presented as entertainments — ἐπιδείξεις — alongside the competitive sections at the sacred contests which provided the framework for all public entertainments in the Greek world; specific financial provision for such entertainments was made in the establishment of the contest of Claudius Demosthenes at Oenoanda,³⁴ and of the Olympic festival at Antioch.³⁵ They also performed at 'shows' put on by benefactors on other occasions without a competitive element;³⁶ Dio Chrysostom cites mimes in the list of entertainers which a man must be prepared to sponsor if he is to achieve public acclaim.³⁷ Mimes also performed in private houses, for example at weddings.³⁸

Pantomime performers were admitted as competitors in contests from the early years of the empire,³⁹ and were competing in international 'sacred' contests by the second century.⁴⁰ Mimes were for a long time excluded from contests; but from the later second or the third century they too were permitted to compete, although they are only attested in inscriptions as competing in the lower tier of contests, those which offered money prizes — θέματα —, rather than in the sacred contests.⁴¹ One of the chief pieces of evidence for this is an inscription of the later second or third century from Tralles, honouring a mime whose victories included one at the Asian games — making him Ἀσιονείκης, like Bassus in 1.5.v.⁴² The epithet of Bassus, together with that of

³⁴ Three days were set aside for 'mimes and recitals and spectacles, for which there are no prizes' (Wörle, *Stadt und Fest*, 8, II. 44–5).

³⁵ Malalas 285–6: 'the rest of the money (Commodus) set aside for the cost of mimes and pantomimes and the other pleasures which are celebrated at public festivals', ἀφώρισε δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα εἰς λόγον μίμων καὶ ὀρχηστικῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τέρψεων τῶν ἐν πανδήμοις ἐπιτελουμένων.

³⁶ See above, p. 2.

³⁷ *Or.* 66, 222 D II.

³⁸ Joh. Chrys., *In propter forn.*, PG 51.211.

³⁹ E. J. Jory, 'The early pantomime riots', in A. Moffatt (ed.), *Maistor: Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra, 1984), 57–66, esp. 64–5.

⁴⁰ Robert, 'Pantomimen', 119–22 (= *OMS* 1, 667–70); Price, *Rituals and Power*, 89, drawing on Robert, observes that these innovations took place first at the relatively new festivals established for the imperial cult.

⁴¹ Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος', 246–7 (*OMS* 1, 682–3).

⁴² Most recently published as *I.Tralles* 110.

Philologus, victor in Olympian games, suggests that these texts must therefore be dated after this development. This is further indicated by the use of the competitive term ἄμαχος — invincible — and the appearance of a wreath and a palm branch over the inscription of Autolycus.

In demonstrating these developments, Louis Robert pointed out that mimes clearly had a lower status than pantomimes, and seem never to have been admitted to sacred contests. But it is worth noting that the main source of our information — inscriptions — was starting to diminish in quantity from the middle of the third century, just as the mimes had started to be admitted to compete in contests, and at a time when a large number of contests were being founded, or upgraded to 'sacred' and international status.⁴³ This increase in the number of contests of higher status makes it entirely likely that mimes did come to compete in them during the third century. Philologus (1.4.i) won at Olympic games, which would necessarily have had sacred status; Autolycus (1.3.ii) whose victory symbols include a wreath, the symbol of a 'crowned' victory, probably also won at such a contest; both men are almost certainly mimes who were competitors at 'sacred' contests at some time in the third century.

The implication, therefore, in the epithet 'invincible' that these mimes were performing competitively, requires a date for the majority of these texts after the admission of mimes to contests, in the later second century; and the victories of two of them in 'sacred' contests suggests a date well into the third century. It may also be that this group of texts was inscribed after the modification of the stage by the erection of a brick wall, with plastered decoration, between the columns along the back of the stage, replacing earlier wooden screens. As was mentioned above (p. 1), that wall left three entrances onto the stage — precisely the necessary arrangement for mime and other dramatic performances.⁴⁴ There is no very certain *terminus ante quem* until the plastering of the walls of the stage rooms, which enabled 1.1.iii to be scratched in the later fifth or sixth century (see below, pp. 44f.); but the style of the script of 1.3.ii, 4.i, 5.i–iv, and 6.i–ii seems to me unlikely to be much later than the end of the third century, by comparison with other inscriptions of this period from the site.

A further issue is raised by 1.5.v, which reserves the room for the equipment of Bassus. If I am right in assuming him to be a mime, this is a remarkable indication of the status which a mime could achieve, since Bassus is described as holding the office of *gymnasiarch*.⁴⁵ This need not mean the *gymnasiarch* of the city, since mimes were supposed to be excluded from public office,⁴⁶ but of a particular organization, as is sometimes attested;⁴⁷ but it is still a position of some standing. There is evidence, however, for the wealth and status which could accrue to mimes, as to other stage entertainers;⁴⁸ and we know, for example, that in A.D. 169 the *archimimus* L. Acilius Eutyches was a decurion at Bovillae.⁴⁹ The mime honoured as a 'victor in Asian games' at Tralles, in the late second or early third century, received the typical honours of a victor — being made a member of the council, or of the *gerousia*, at various cities; he was also

⁴³ Robert, 'Monnaies hellénistiques', 10–13 (= *OMS* vi, 172–5); see above, p. 5.

⁴⁴ See Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος', 248–51 (= *OMS* i, 684–7).

⁴⁵ For this office at Aphrodisias see e.g. *MAMA* viii, Index B, s.v.

⁴⁶ At least according to Tertullian, *De Spect.* 22; see Reich, *Mimus*, 157.

⁴⁷ See F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Berlin, 1909), 401–2 for the evidence.

⁴⁸ Abundantly lamented by John Chrysostom, whom Reich cites, as well as inscriptions, *Mimus*, 158.

⁴⁹ *CIL* xiv.2408.

praised for his 'decorous behaviour', τὸ κόσμιον τοῦ ἥθους.⁵⁰ That the wealth of stage performers might also be followed by public duties is implied by the fact that in the third century the 'musical synod' was concerned to ensure the immunity of its members from civic obligations.⁵¹ Choricus points out that in sixth-century Gaza some mimes were on social terms with families of standing, continuing a tradition which went back to republican Rome.⁵²

THEATRICAL PERFORMERS IN THE LATER ROMAN PERIOD

While there is abundant evidence for the wide range of performances which could be included in a festival contest in the Roman period, in the late Roman period there is a certain tension between different kinds of evidence. The honorific inscriptions for victors, such as those in Appendix II, disappear, and the bulk of our evidence comes from literary sources, usually more concerned to make a point than to describe the situation. As a result, the general impression is that the range of entertainments diminished, and that the theatres were dominated by the performances of mimes and pantomimes. But there are also some traces of other forms of entertainment. There are references to 'tragic actors' and 'lyre players' in the fourth and even in the sixth century.⁵³ It seems clear that fragments at least of older tragedies continued to be presented by tragic actors as late as the sixth century, sung by the actors in a form which was perhaps more like opera.⁵⁴ Similarly fragmentary representations of comedy also seem to have continued,⁵⁵ although these were probably affected by the competition of the mimes. A consular diptych of Anastasius, of 517, shows a group of masked actors, as well as mimes, chariot-horses and a *venatio*.⁵⁶ There were still musical performances — a choir is portrayed on another diptych of 517⁵⁷ — as well as the choirs which accompanied the pantomime and the mime. The diptychs reflect the fact that a wide range of entertainments was still seen as desirable, and as something which high officials or the emperor could appropriately sponsor.

These indications can be said to be clear, but not abundant. The situation, in fact, is rather similar to that of gladiatorial combats in the fourth and fifth century. These diminished enormously in number, but did continue, as long as there were people, eventually only in Rome, who were willing and able to pay (see below, Chapter v). But, as the occasions for performances diminished, so also must the number of practitioners. It seems likely, therefore, that we should not discount evidence for, say, performances described as 'tragedies' as late as the sixth century, but should accept that these no longer represented a widely-practised art, but rare and special demonstrations by a few performers, almost entirely restricted to the capital.

It does seem to be the case, however, that the two types of performance which had been increasing in popularity in the Roman period — the pantomime and the mime — dominated the late Roman period. A great deal of our information about the theatre in this

⁵⁰ *I. Tralles* 110, cited above, n.42.

⁵¹ So *P.Oxy.* 2476, of A.D. 288, discussed further below, p. 54.

⁵² *Syn. Mim.* 53; for Rome, Jory, 'Publilius Syrus', 78.

⁵³ Joh. Chrys., *In Act. Ap. Hom.* 30, PG 60.226; Choricus, *Syn. Mim.* 118 (listed with conjurors); Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 50–2.

⁵⁴ Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 55–62, citing Choricus in particular.

⁵⁵ Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 64–5.

⁵⁶ R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1929), 21.

⁵⁷ Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 19.

period comes from the frequent attacks of John Chrysostom; the patent hostility of his account has of course to be borne in mind.⁵⁸ There are two favourable texts — Libanius' speech, written in the fourth century, 'On Dancing' (that is, on pantomime) and Choricus of Gaza's work of the early sixth century 'In Defence of Mimes'; but both of these were written primarily as literary exercises, with no very strong wish to distinguish current practice from that of earlier times.⁵⁹

One effect of John Chrysostom's approach is that he tends to treat pantomime and mime as one, when they were still clearly distinct.⁶⁰ Pantomime, as was said above, had had a higher status for longer, as the 'tragic' art. Libanius observes its importance as a means of teaching ordinary people 'the ancient deeds', *παλαιῶν πράξεων*, meaning ancient mythology.⁶¹ This is also indicated in the criticisms of pantomime performances by Joshua the Stylite in the sixth century: a festival at which a pantomime performed is one at which 'the heathen tales were sung', 'the wicked festival of the tales of the Greeks'.⁶² Precisely similar observations were made by Jacob of Sarug in the first half of the sixth century.⁶³ While the dancer himself did not speak, he was normally accompanied by a choir who would sing the story; the writers of these texts are referred to as 'tragedy writers';⁶⁴ the songs themselves might be picked up and sung at home by the spectators.⁶⁵ The evidence for pantomimes throughout the later period is abundant; it is notable, for example, that pantomimes are the subject of several epigrams by the sixth-century poets of the *Cycle* of Agathias, and that there are abundant and detailed references to pantomime in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*.⁶⁶

Mimes had always had a lower status, being concerned chiefly to amuse, with no possibility of claiming a didactic function. They figure very largely in the attacks of Chrysostom.⁶⁷ A wide variety of kinds of mime had developed, as is illustrated by the different descriptions in the inscriptions here. These included women, who might appear virtually naked, as Procopius claims the future empress Theodora used to do,⁶⁸ or give swimming displays,⁶⁹ as well as performing more conventionally. The two forms of entertainment, however, took place on similar occasions in the same theatres, and there would seem to have been some institutional connections; thus Pelagia, the actress whose conversion to Christianity gave rise to a long tradition of legends, was described as 'the

⁵⁸ These texts were extensively used by Reich, in his discussion of the mime, and in the excellent study of Theophrastus, *Beiträge*. Cf. also the more recent study by O. Pasquato, *Gli spettacoli in S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (Rome, 1976).

⁵⁹ See Theophrastus, *Beiträge*, 1–2. The work of Choricus has recently been re-edited, with a translation into modern Greek, as *Synegoria Mimon*, by I. E. Stephanis (Thessaloniki, 1986), who stresses this point (34–7).

⁶⁰ Theophrastus, *Beiträge*, 20–1.

⁶¹ Libanius, *Pro salt.* 112.

⁶² Josh. Styl. 30, pp. 20–1, 46, p. 35.

⁶³ C. A. Moss, 'Jacob of Serugh's homilies on the spectacles of the theatre', *Le Muséon* 48 (1935), 87–112; cf. J. Cramer, *JbAC* 23 (1980), 96–107.

⁶⁴ Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyrius* 2, cited by Theophrastus, is copied from Theodoret of Cyrrhus (see the edition by H. Grégoire and M. A. Kugener, (Paris, 1930), cv), and seems to be a literary reference without contemporary significance; there is perhaps more meaning in Procopius' wish (*HA* i. 4) not to be classed with the 'tragedy teachers'. Tisamenos, later governor of Syria, wrote songs for the dancers, Libanius, *Or.* 33.3.

⁶⁵ Libanius, *Pro salt.* 93.

⁶⁶ O. Weinreich, *Epigrammstudien I: Epigramm und Pantomimus* (Heidelberg, 1948), 161–72. It is of interest that Nonnus is an important source for the history of Greek dance, used extensively by G. Prudhommeau, *La danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1965).

⁶⁷ Theophrastus, *Beiträge*, 67.

⁶⁸ *HA* ix. 20

⁶⁹ Joh. Chrys. *Hom. vii in Matth.*, (PG 57.79–80); see, in general G. Traversari, *Gli spettacoli in acqua nel teatro tardo-antico* (Rome, 1960).

leading mime-actress of Antioch, who was also the leader of the chorus-girls of the pantomime performer', ἡ πρώτη τῶν μιμᾶδων Ἀντιοχείας· αὕτη δὲ ἦν καὶ ἡ πρώτη τῶν χορευτρίων τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ.⁷⁰ Pantomime performances were normally accompanied by choral singing; the use of a group of mime performers for the purpose makes obvious sense, but may also reflect the steady diminution in the numbers of available performers.

As in many other areas of public life in the late Roman period, the imperial government was subject to two conflicting pressures in the provision of spectacles, which are at their most acute in the legislation relating to theatrical performers. The Theodosian Code has thirteen entries under the heading *De scaenicis* (which includes mimes). On the one hand, performing was seen as a dishonourable activity, from which Christian souls should be saved; but performers were very much needed, and were legally bound to their profession. So *scaenici* were allowed to take the sacrament at the point of death, but could not then go back on stage; in order to avoid performers escaping from their obligations, inspectors were to check first whether they really were in imminent danger of death.⁷¹ There was clearly particular embarrassment over the performances of women, largely mimes; only the daughters of actors should perform;⁷² but only a consistent commitment to Christianity could free a woman from her obligation to the stage.⁷³ It is clear that the concern of the legislation is to ensure an adequate supply of performers, and that performers did try to escape from a profession which carried such a lowly status. Moreover, as in other areas, the public interest was threatened by the power of rich individuals; one ruling provides that anyone should be fined who abducts an actress, so that she does not serve the pleasure of the public, 'ita ut voluptatibus publicis non serviat';⁷⁴ a similar regulation simply forbids a private citizen to own a woman with musical training.⁷⁵ These rulings, largely of the 380s, seem to indicate some problems in recruitment; finally, the last ruling, of 413, simply recalled all those formerly exempted:

We order that female mimes who have been freed by various rulings should immediately be recalled to their proper function, so that there should be no adornment lacking to the pleasures of the people and the days of festivities.

Mimas diversis adnotationibus liberatas ad proprium officium summa instantia revocari decernimus, ut voluptatibus populi ac festis diebus solitis ornatus deesse non possit.⁷⁶

This legislation does suggest that the profession of acting was not very popular, despite the fulminations of John Chrysostom on how excessively the performers were rewarded. It seems inevitable that, as the number of shows and contests diminished, the prospects for performers will have been reduced as well. There were always successful stars, such as the pantomime dancers whose names are preserved for us, but a far larger number of people were required in order to put on a satisfactory show. The imperial response to this was to legislate to control the freedom of performers. There are several references in the fifth and sixth centuries to performers, both pantomime dancers and charioteers, being

⁷⁰ P. Petimengin et al., *Pélagie la pénitente, métamorphoses d'une légende* (Paris, 1981), Vol. 1, ed. B. Flusin, 78, récit π. 4.

⁷¹ *CTh* xv.5.1 (A.D. 371).

⁷² *CTh* xv.5.2 (A.D. 371).

⁷³ *CTh* xv.5.4 (A.D. 380), 8 (A.D. 381), 9 (A.D. 381).

⁷⁴ *CTh* xv.5.5 (A.D. 380), to the city prefect of Rome.

⁷⁵ *CTh* xv.5.10 (A.D. 385).

⁷⁶ *CTh* xv.5.13 (A.D. 413).

'given' to the factions.⁷⁷ This suggests that performers were no longer free to move from city to city in search of better opportunities, but required imperial permission, at least formally. A similar restriction is implied in a law of the Theodosian code which describes charioteers as performing a *munus*, 'civic obligation';⁷⁸ and in Africa, in the early fifth century, an actor protested his Christian faith in order to be freed of his obligation, to his local municipality, to perform.⁷⁹

In practice some performers probably did still travel freely, especially if they operated away from the centres of imperial government, such as the pantomime performer Trimerius who gave performances in Edessa in 495/6.⁸⁰ It is also clear from the legislation cited above that private service came to be increasingly attractive. John Chrysostom and St Nilus both refer to mimes and musicians performing in private houses, at dinner parties, and at weddings.⁸¹ It seems possible that the payments made by the household of the Apions, in sixth-century Oxyrhynchus, to mimes and tight-rope performers, were payments to dependants, rather than the fulfilment of a fiscal obligation to pay for public performances; the list in which they appear includes both kinds of payment.⁸² It seems to have been in this form, as a small-scale private entertainment for the rich, that mimes largely survived into the Byzantine period; the forms of entertainment that demanded space, scenery, and musical support, such as the pantomime, appear to have withered away after the end of the sixth century.⁸³

THE AUDIENCE

Mimes were generally popular, but there is no evidence that they provoked particular loyalties among the audience. The inclusion of mime performances in contests, referred to above (p. 23), must have created a competitive situation, but we have no clear evidence that mimes had their own fans. Choricus of Gaza claims that it is the chariot races which 'madden rather than delight the souls of the viewers', while the mimes provide 'simple pleasure free of strife and disturbance'; they are unlike 'horse racing and (pantomime) dancing in that they do not fill people with dissension'.⁸⁴

Pantomime performances, on the other hand, with their strong appeal to the emotions and their focus on a single individual, demanded a response from the audience; a curse on a pantomime performer includes the wish that the spectators may remain silent.⁸⁵ Since their first introduction to the Roman stage, pantomime dancers had provoked passionate partisanship among the audience; dancers had on several occasions been expelled from Rome in order to prevent riots. Long before they were admitted to compete in Greek festivals, they seem to have competed among themselves, and were well-known to

⁷⁷ Collected by Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions; Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976), 19.

⁷⁸ *CTh* xv.5.7 (381 = *CJ* xi.41.3).

⁷⁹ C. Lepellet, 'Trois documents méconnus sur l'histoire sociale et religieuse de l'Afrique romaine tardive parmi les *spuria* de Sulpice Sévère', *Ant.Afr.* 25 (1989), 258–61.

⁸⁰ *Josh. Styl.* 27, p.18.

⁸¹ Theophrastus, *Beiträge*, 64, 76–7, 82; see also A. Carandini, A. Ricci, M. de Vos, *Filosofiana, the Villa of Piazza Armerina* (Palermo, 1982), esp. 287–91.

⁸² *P.Oxy.* 2482, line 43, with Gascou, 'L'Hippodrome en Égypte', 194–5.

⁸³ See C. Mango, 'Daily life in Byzantium', *JÖB* 31.1 (1981), 337–53 (= *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984) iv), 349–52.

⁸⁴ *Syn.Mim.* 114, 118; Alan Cameron discounts these passages as rhetoric, *Circus Factions*, 161 n.7, but see the comments of Stephanis, on 114.

⁸⁵ Robert, *Études ép. et phil.*, 101.

employ a *claque*,⁸⁶ as did orators⁸⁷ and bishops.⁸⁸ Libanius and John Chrysostom described a very similar situation in fourth-century Antioch, where pantomimes also employed paid *clagues*.⁸⁹ It is, however, rash to deduce from the invective of disapproving authors that any one *claque* was particularly large; it would not have been necessary to employ a very large number of people to stimulate the appropriate response. Libanius referred to 'not more than four hundred', making it clear that this was the total of all those associated with support of different individual performers — some mimes, but chiefly pantomimes.⁹⁰ Many more, if not most, of the audience will have been 'fans', supporters of one pantomime or another, just as they were supporters of different colours at the circus, or different kinds of gladiator (below, p. 79). The *Paridiani*, 'fans of (the pantomime) Paris', who supported a candidate in the elections at Pompeii would probably not have advertised themselves if they were known simply to be paid *claqueurs*,⁹¹ their intervention in politics seems easier to understand if they are taken as one among many groups of fans.

THE FACTIONS

As long as each pantomime performer appeared as an individual, his supporters, however disruptive of public order, had no further loyalty than to the man himself. But the text published here as 1.1.iii indicates that, by the time this inscription was scratched on the plaster, mimes had become part of the organizations called the 'factions' and denoted by their colours, as had other performers. This process was not all-embracing. In sixth-century Egypt, there is apparent evidence for an organization of mimes separate from the factions,⁹² and in sixth-century Rome there was at least one pantomime dancer who was not associated with either *pars*.⁹³ But, once the performers became associated with a colour, in the process described below (pp. 44ff.), the opportunity was provided for support for an individual to be transferred to the larger body. Each colour at Constantinople (and so most probably at other cities) had their leading pantomime, *orchestes*, who had an important role in the administration of the faction (see further Chapter VIII, p. 149). This arrangement must already have been well established by 490, when the consul Longinus 'gave' new dancers to each of the four factions, 'because the dancers in Constantinople, although they were famous, were old'.⁹⁴ Confronted with violent conflicts between the supporters of the colours early in his reign, Anastasius responded in the traditional way, by exiling the pantomime performers: 'the four dancers were exiled'.⁹⁵ After further fighting between partisans, in 499 and 501, Anastasius again 'banished the four dancers

⁸⁶ See, most recently, Jory, 'Pantomime riots'.

⁸⁷ See e.g. Pliny, *Ep.* II.14.

⁸⁸ e.g. Cyril of Alexandria: see Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII.13.

⁸⁹ See R. Browning, 'The riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch: the role of theatrical *clagues* in the later Empire', *JRS* 42 (1952) (idem = *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* (London, 1977) III), 13–20; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 278–80.

⁹⁰ Libanius, *Or.* 41.7–9.

⁹¹ E. Diehl, *Pompeianischen Wandinschriften* (Berlin, 1930), 1909: 'C. Cuspium Pansam aed. o.v.f. Purpurio cum Paridianis'.

⁹² *P.Oxy.* 2480, line 43, with Gasco, 'L'Hippodrome en Égypte', 194; but see above, p. 28.

⁹³ Cassiodorus, *Variae* I.32.

⁹⁴ Malalas 386.

⁹⁵ Malalas, *Ex. de insid.* 36 (*Hist.* 393), with Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 226 and n.7.

of the factions — μέρη —' from Constantinople,⁹⁶ and in 502 he banned pantomime performances throughout the empire.⁹⁷ In 520, in response to riots by Blue supporters 'in all the cities', 'all dancers throughout the east were banished, except from Alexandria'.⁹⁸ In sixth-century Rome, Theodoric decreed that, 'in order to remove totally every seed of discord, we have ordered that pantomimes practise their skills in predetermined places', 'verum ut omne semen discordiae funditus amputetur, praefinitis locis pantomimos artes suas exercere praecipimus'.⁹⁹

Alan Cameron, drawing attention to all this material, deduced from it that it was the incorporation of pantomimes into the factions which brought a new level of partisanship and violence into the spectacles of the later fifth and sixth centuries. He proceeded further to suggest that the violence was a characteristic of theatre clagues, which was imported into the hippodrome as a result of that amalgamation.¹⁰⁰ The evidence given above suggests that the emperors themselves were of a similar opinion, as were other contemporaries; the comments of Zosimus, criticizing pantomimes and the disturbances they caused, make it clear that this was recognized as a long-standing problem, going back to the reign of Augustus.¹⁰¹ I would argue, however, that, as often, the protagonists in these events may have been misled by an apparent continuity with the past, and that this explanation of the significance of the factions at this period is only partly sufficient. Before considering the implications of this, however, it may be useful to look at the other performers' inscriptions from the Theatre and the Odeon, and at further references to the factions.

⁹⁶ Malalas, *Ex de insid.* 39 (*Hist.* 394) with Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 226; see also idem, 'Theodore τρισέπαρχος', *GRBS* 17 (1976), 269–86, 285.

⁹⁷ Josh.Styl. ch.36, p.35; Procop. *Gaz.*, *Pan.* 16; John of Antioch, *Ex. de insid.* 101 (*Hist.* 142–3) with Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 240–4.

⁹⁸ Malalas 417–8.

⁹⁹ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.31.

¹⁰⁰ 'There can surely be little doubt that it is the theatrical rather than the circus element that is mainly responsible for the marked deterioration in Blue and Green behaviour that follows the amalgamation', *Circus Factions*, 226.

¹⁰¹ Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 1.6.1: under Octavian 'pantomime dance was introduced in those times . . . and it has been responsible for many other evils up to our day', ἡ τε παντομίμος ὄρχησις ἐν ἐκείνοις εἰσήχθη τοῖς χρόνοις . . . καὶ προσέτι γε ἐτέρων πολλῶν αἰτία γεγονότα μέχρι τοῦδε κακῶν.

CHAPTER III. STAGE PERFORMERS AND THE 'FACTIONS'

2 – 12

The following group of texts (2 – 12) is more mixed, and their functions are less obvious than those in the preceding chapter; but they were all found in, or closely associated with, the stage buildings of the Theatre and the Odeon. None of them was visible except to those on the stage. It therefore seems extremely likely that most or all of them were inscribed or painted by, or for, performers.

THE THEATRE

2 and 3: Blocks from the architrave that bore the dedicatory inscription of Gaius Iulius Zoilus (A&R, Doc. 36a, with a drawing). The texts given here are on the opposite, inner face of the blocks; they could therefore date from any time after the late first century B.C.

2. On the southernmost block; painted in red, on a white background, below a simple moulding. Letters, elegant, 1.1: 0.05; 1.2: 0.03; despite the difference in size, both lines seem to be in the same hand.

Plate II

..] Μ Οὐρανία Ι [. . . .] Π Τ ΠΛ [. . .
..] βοήθι τῷ δούλῳ σ[ου] Νικηφόρῳ [. . .

. . .] Ourania [. . .] Help [your] servant Nicephorus.

See below on 5, and p. 43. There are traces of similar letters on the second block from the south.

3. On the third block from the south, which bears on the opposite, outer face the last letters of the Zoilus text (excavation inventory no. 71.172 b); inscribed on the face below the moulding. Letters 0.01–0.02.

Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη
τῆς πόλεως

The fortune of the city triumphs !

For this common acclamation see *ALA* 84 and 183, with 186.ii. Νικᾷ acclamations of various kinds are of course common in the auditoria, where the expression originated: ὁ δεινὰ νικᾷ was the formula in which the herald would announce the victor in a contest. See further above, pp. 3–4.

4. Two joining fragments of a marble beam with a simple moulding (H. 0.27, W., together, 2.12, D. 0.41) from a series of such beams which spanned the space between the Zoilus architrave and the front of the stage buildings; it seems likely, although not yet certain, that this block would have run at right angles to 3. Excavated in the Theatre in 1972, and now in the dighouse yard (excavation inventory no. 70.562). The text is painted in red on a white background within a red frame along the lower edge, and is now in fairly bad condition. Letters elegant, 0.09, similar to 3; lunate sigma, epsilon.

...] Ε [...] ΘΑ [...] πᾶσα νίκη τῇ κύρᾳ Οὐρανίᾳ

...]All victory to the Lady Ourania !

5. A building block (H. 0. 66, W. 1. 15, D. 0. 30), broken at right; the inscription runs along the centre of the block. Now lying east of the Theatre. Letters, lightly scratched, but fairly regular; square sigma, standard alpha, 0.03–0.04.

Πᾶσα νίκη τῇ κύρᾳ Οὐρανίᾳ [.]^ο [. .

All victory to the Lady Ourania !

The superscript o might well be from the standard abbreviation for τόπος.

Apart from this block, which has no provenance, the other three invocations of Ourania can all now be located close to one another, at the south end of the corridor in front of the stage buildings. It therefore seems quite probable that there was, at some period, a place here where performers could invoke Ourania, either in front of an image or perhaps at a small altar (cf. 9). On the goddess see below, 12 and p. 43.

6. The following texts are all inscribed on the smooth back and sides of Doric half-columns which run across the stage, and which supported the architrave which has nos 2 and 3 cut on its inner face. The columns have been numbered 1 to 14, from south to north; the inscriptions are all on the east face, directly facing the stage buildings, unless otherwise specified.

Column 1

At 1.55 above floor level; the column is broken away at the top of the text. Letters deep-cut, well-aligned and elegant, 0.03–0.04; lunate omega and sigma, and other 'late' forms.

Plate III

[Κλι]ώ
Εὐτέρπη
Θαλία
Μελπομένη
5 Τερψιχόρη
Ἐρατώ
Πολυμνία
Οὐρανία
Καλλιόπη

Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Ourania, Calliope.

Column 2

a. Bottom line at 1.53 above ground level; there is a square hole, apparently intended to hold a beam, immediately above the text. The text has been erased, but it is possible to make out all the letters; they were more thinly cut than Column 1, and less regularly aligned, but still elegant, elegant forms, av. 0.03.

Plate (with b) III

Κλιώ
 Εὐτέρπη
 Θαλία
 Ἐρατώ
 5 Πολυμνία
 Μελπομένη
 (sic) Τερψικόρη
 Οὐρανία
 Καλλιόπη leaf

Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Erato, Polymnia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Ourania, Calliope.

b. Below *a*, 1.375 above floor. The first word is deeply and clearly cut, with a square sigma; the remaining letters were lightly cut, and a shallow cross was later cut over them; av. 0.04.

Plate (with *a*) III

πάσα νίκη ΠΙ ? vac.

All victory [? to ...

Apparently unfinished; immediately below there are traces of red paint.

c. Below *b*, at 0.48 above floor. Ll. 1 and 2 very lightly cut; l. 3 deep cut, in a more irregular hand. 0.02 (omicron)–0.03.

N
 H AA
 τόπο(ς)

Place [...

Presumably unfinished.

Column 3

Above, a graffito sketch of the upper part of a face. Below this, starting at the left edge, a few lightly drawn letters, 0.03.

ΘΕΙΝ

Below this, letters more loosely drawn, 0.04.

N vac. TAK

Column 4

On the south side, a face drawn in profile, at 1.40 above ground.

Columns 5 and 6 show no traces of inscriptions.

Column 7

There are some traces of lettering on the east face. On the south face, a hole for a beam has been cut, which may have eliminated part of the following inscription. The surviving letters are irregular and cursive, 0.02.

[Lightly erased]
 [Lightly erased]
 γαια [.] ευν
 [deeply erased]
 [deeply erased]
 5 [deeply erased] στρο
 οπω

Column 8 has a few isolated letters on the east face and traces of ?sketches on the south.

Column 9

At 0.99 above floor level. Letters clear, irregular, 0.02–0.025.

Ζήνων ἔγρ-
 αφε

Zeno wrote (this).

On the south side, at 1.33 above ground level, drawings of ?fish.

Column 11

There are traces of letters on the east face, and a cross carefully cut into the fluting on the west. On the south side, lightly cut letters, 0.02–0.03.

Ἡλιώδο[ρ(ος?)]

Heliodorus *or* (place of) Heliodorus.

There are traces of other letters below.

Column 12

Broken away above. Immediately at and below the break, some letters survive, clearly but roughly cut, 0.035–0.04.

[. .] Η Σ [. . .]
 [.] Ε Ο [.]
 vacat

Column 13

a. Traces of a text in red paint; letters 0.05–0.06.

Plate (a and b) III

...]
 [Μελομ]ένη
 ...]Η
 ...]Α
 Οὐρ[αν]ία
 Κα[λλι]όπη

... Melpom]ene, [. . . , . . .] , Ourania, Kalliope.

b. Cut below a large square hole. Carefully inscribed and well aligned angular letters (rhomboid omicron and theta, square-bottomed omega), with serifs; fairly lightly cut, 0.025–0.03; 1.5 is in smaller letters (0.01), apparently squeezed in after the text had been cut.

Plate (*a* and *b*) III

Κλιώ Ε
 Εὐτέρπη
 Θαλία
 Ἐρατώ
 5 Πολυμνία
 Μελπομένη
 (sic) Τερψιχόρη
 Οὐρανία
 Καλλιόπη leaf

Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Erato, Polymnia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Ourania, Calliope.

L. 1: the E suggests that the cutter started to write Εὐτέρπη.

L. 7: the rho was squeezed in, and is barely determinable.

The order, and the spelling of Terpsichore, are the same as on Column 2.a. There are further traces of letters further down, and, just above floor level, a graffito of a long-necked bird.

Column 14 has no significant traces.

7. Texts which were inscribed on the front face of the stage buildings, on the stretch of wall between the second and third doorways from the north. The blocks were left rough, with a smooth outline along the edges but there were some smoothed patches, some of them at least (as Dr Theodorescu has pointed out to me) prepared to offer guidelines for the architects planning the Theatre façade, on which these texts were cut.

a. Large letters, scratched and irregular, with cursive alpha and omega, av. 0.08.

ᾠρα ἀγαθή

Good season!

b. Below and to the south of *a*; tiny letters 0.01.

Plate (with *c*) II

φιλεῖ Θεόδωτος Ὑψικλέα

Theodotus loves Hypsicles.

- c. Below *b*. Large letters, irregular, av. 0.08.

Published as *ALA* 135

Plate (with *b*) II

Θ(ε)ὲ βοήθι

God, help.

- d. Between *a* and *b*; very large letters in red paint, 0.17–0.19.

νικᾷ

... triumphs ...

- e. On the stage front wall between the doorways of Rooms 5 and 6; cut on a small space which has been smoothed, on an otherwise rough surface, but is not filled by the inscription (0.12 x 0.13). There are several other such smoothed spaces on the stage front. Small letters, 0.01–0.018; rough, irregular, and difficult.

ΠΥΡΡΙΧΕΟΑ

ΑΥΡΥΜ

πυρριχ(ιστής) ὁ α', Αὐρ(ήλιος) Συμ[...

?The first pyrrhich(istes), Aurelius Sym[...

The reading and interpretation of this text is extremely uncertain; but it does seem likely to be a reference to the *Pyrrhiche*, a kind of war-dance which was very popular in the Roman imperial period, and is attested in contests at Aphrodisias (below, 52.IV.i.5, 53.III.9; see also Robert, *Hell.* I, 151–2, J. and L. Robert, *Claros* I, 58–9, W. Slater, 'Orchestopala', *ZPE* 81 (1990), 215–20). ὁ α' can probably be taken as ὁ πρῶτος 'the first'. If the phrasing has been interpreted correctly, the performer's name was never completed.

8. The following inscriptions are all cut on the surface of the stage, from south to north.

- a. On the second block, a design of a gameboard.

- b. On the fourth block.

- i. A crudely drawn face, with text above in a careless cursive hand, 0.04 – 0.07.

Plate II

K vac. ΚΛ ΕΜΨ ΙΛΙΟΣ

- ii. A sketch of a tight-rope walker.

Plate II

Spectacles in the Theatre, at Aphrodisias as at many other cities, will have included a wide variety of acrobats, tight-rope walkers, and other such performers; see L. Robert, 'Epigraphica', *REG* 42 (1929), 426–38, 433–8 (= *OMS* I, 201–26, 221–6). Tight-rope

performers continued to be popular well into the sixth century; they are listed as performing between chariot-races at Oxyrhynchus, and a group of them received payment, in wine, from the household of the Apions (*P.Oxy.* 2707 and 2480, l.43).

- c. On the fifth block; letters lunate, 0.05–0.06.

τόπος
ΘΕΟΔΟΣ hole

Place of Theodos[(ius)]...

- d. On the ninth block, at right angles to the edge of the stage; letters very worn, 0.03.

τόπος Ἀρου-
ρίου v. κ(αὶ)
[.]ΚΟΚΑ

Place of ?Arourios and [? ...

It is not at all clear what the function of a place inscription on the stage could be, unless these were cut after the Theatre had fallen into disuse, perhaps to mark the location of a tradesman's stall.

- e. On the shallow step from the stage level up to that of the north parodos, close to the north analemma. The text is partly covered by a fallen block; deeply cut graffito, letters av. 0.03.

Νικᾶ ἡ τύ[χη]
τῶν Πρασί-
νων

The fortune of the Greens triumphs!

9. At the north end of the stage, between the stage front and the brick wall at the back of the stage, the walls were, at some point, plastered. This plaster was then painted.

- i. On the wall at the south and west sides. Fresco paintings of St Michael, and another archangel, published by Robin Cormack in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 109–22 (with illustration), and dated by him to the sixth century.

- ii. On the east side of the wall between the stage columns, facing the entrance to Stage Room 1. Fragments of a painted inscription. These were published as *ALA* 76; there I suggested that they were painted on the outer, west face of this wall, facing the audience, but I now believe — after helpful discussions with Robin Cormack — that the archaeological evidence suggests that they stood on the inner, east face. Robin Cormack has also pointed out to me that the letters are painted not in black paint (as I had thought) but in green. Illustrated at *ALA* plate xix.

- a.

...]
...] ΝΙΥ [.] ΛΔΙ [...
Νικᾶ ἡ] τύχη τῆς [...
border

- b.

...]
...] ΙΙΗΙ [...
...] Νικᾶ [...
[...

The plaster is now in the Museum; excavation inventory nos 64.447 (A), 64.448 (B), 64.455 (C), 64.451 (D). The texts alone were published (i–vi) as *ALA* 218; since then I have been able to examine photographs of the plaster at the time of its original discovery, and several more designs are described here. The only indication of the date of these graffiti is provided by several representations of crosses on Panel A.

Panel A

This is a section of plaster very heavily covered with graffiti; there are many other indeterminate traces beyond those described here.

Plates IV–V

- i. In the upper register, to the left, a large cross (c. 0. 20) drawn in outline, and filled in with hatching; it stands on a horizontal, from which a short line depends, perhaps depicting some kind of access.

Above, a graffito; letters 0.015.

Καρ[.]ιδιανός ΚΑΙΩΝ
παθηκός vac. ΚΥΔΙΑC[.]
Καρμιδακιος

ed.pr.: Καρμιδικιος

?Car[m]idianus (is a) queer. [. . .] Carmidacius.

- ii. In the upper register, to the right of i, are three representations of facing figures; each figure wears a radiate crown with a halo, and faces forward, with his left hand extended holding an orb surmounted by a cross. The first figure, which is damaged by later scratches, wears a toga, and stands on a rectangular support; his right hand cannot be made out. The second is seated on a throne with a back support and a cushioned seat; his feet are on a foot-rest, and his right arm appears to be across his chest. The third is also seated, with a foot-rest but no back support; he holds an orb which is marked with hatching and apparently with his right arm supports ?a sceptre, with a round decorated top, which leans on his right shoulder; a text runs above the image, in apparent association with it — perhaps the name of the man who drew it.

Letters 0.015–0.02.

Plate v

Καρμιλιαινός

Carmiliainus.

It is tempting to read the names in i.1 and ii as the same, but the δ in i and the λ in ii seem clear; it seems most likely that this is one man, misspelt in one version. Carmidacius (i.3) is perhaps a diminutive used for the same man.

- iii. In the next register, below and to the left of i, a design of a grille (?), with a hatched upper edge, above a row of uprights terminating in circles.

- iv. To the right of iii, below the first crowned figure in ii, is a sketch of a seated figure seen from the rear; his right arm and right leg are extended, the left arm is not visible, and the left leg is drawn up. He is naked, except for a cloak which covers his left shoulder and left leg. To the left is a text, which need not be associated with the figure.

Letters 0.05–0.015; abbreviations, o above P, K with scroll.

Plate v

Νικᾷ ἡ τύ-
χη τῆς πό(λεως) κ(αὶ) τοῦ
γράφαντος

The fortune of the city, and of the writer, triumphs !

For the first part of the acclamation, see *ALA* 84. Acclamations of ‘the writer’ (of the graffito) are not uncommon, cf. e.g. *SEG* viii.149, Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie II: Inscriptions des factions* (Warsaw, 1981), 34.

v. In the third register, below and to right of iii, a design of ?candles on a support. The vertical support is carefully hatched; the horizontal resting on it bears a series of uprights of graduated height, sloping upwards from left to right. There is a second virtually identical image some way below, to the left, and perhaps the sketchy outlines of a third.

Panel B

An area of plaster with several designs and traces of letters.

i. Upper register. Above, outline for a face; below, a face with curly hair and ?a moustache and beard.

Letters 0.01–0.02; there is perhaps an abbreviation mark over A Y.

Μ. Αὐ(ρήλιος) Κομητις καὶ τὰ τέκν[.]α
ὁ κὲ CΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ

There are further letters below and to the left, which have been erased:

? ΚωΛ() ΜοῖΤΜΛ

It is not clear how the words divide. Perhaps M. Aurelius Cometis (? for Cometas, a fairly well-attested name, or Cometes) had the nickname *κεστροπος* ‘?sharp-faced’.

ii. Lower register. To the left, the upper part of a facing figure, with shaggy hair, and slanting lines (? wings) rising from his shoulders. To the left, some indecipherable letters; further left, a squat figure, in a loose tunic, with no hair; perhaps a *stupidus* — a buffoon (see further below). There are other faces on this panel.

Plate v

Panel C

A graffito; letters 0.01–0.02.

Ψ vac. Νυμφέρω[ς] ...
Ι vac. Ι vac. ΜΥΣΟ[...]
σοι vac.

Nympheros might be an erotic nickname; but it is a suitable name for a performer, even used by a gladiator (*SEG* xxxvi.599).

Panel D

A graffito; letters: 0.01. Illustrated, *ALA* plate xlv.

ζήτημα
 ἄψυχον ὑπο[.]ΟΥ
 ...] βαστάζετε ΚΛΑΥ vac. [...
 ... τ]ύχας βάσταζει v. [...
 5 ...] vac. EYT vac.
 vacat

1.5: εὐτ(υχῶς) ed. pr.

For possible interpretations see below.

Panel E

A relatively clear stretch of plaster, with traces of large letters above.

i. Below the letters, a facing figure in a long robe, trimmed at all edges with a hatched line. The left hand extends downwards, holding a horizontal object from which two lines, ending in circles, depend. The right hand holds ?a cornucopia.

Plate (with ii) vi

ii. To the right of i, a half-profile of a head, crowned.

Plate (with i) vi

iii. Some way below, head and shoulders of a man, with a fringe and straight hair, wearing ?a simple tunic.

Panel F

A stretch of plaster with no traces of lettering, but designs of two horsemen. Above, a very clumsy sketch of a man on a horse, holding a long pole and advancing left. Below, very sketchy outline of a similar figure. Below that, a far more careful depiction of a horse, front legs together, springing to left; the rider, in a long tunic, turns to face the viewer; he has the reins in his right hand and a long ?pole in his left. His hair forms a fringe and bunches on either side of his face. Illustrated in Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 63.

Plate vi

In my first publication of these texts, I took them to be casual graffiti. At that time, I had not given much thought to the relationship of the texts to the stage, since the corridor is also easily accessible from outside; but it is easier to imagine them as scratched by people using the stage. Some sketches on plaster, perhaps showing scenery, have been found in the corridor behind the stage at the Theatre of Sabratha (G. Caputo, *Il teatro di Sabratha* (Rome, 1959), 32–3). The little figure in B.ii looks very like a representation of the bald *stupidus* who was a standard figure in mime (see the illustrations in M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (Princeton, 1961), figs 826, 836); and the draped figure (E.i) seems to be wearing something like the garments of a tragic actor (Bieber,

Theatre, figs 834a, 835), or perhaps a pantomime (as Professor Jory suggests). The images here of kings (A.ii) certainly look like three sketches drawn as alternatives to one another: the first seems to have been scratched out, and the third is perhaps the final version, since a name — ?of the eventual performer — was written above it. We know that kings or emperors were represented in mime shows in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Philo, *In Flaccum* 38, with the commentary of H. Box (Oxford, 1939)). This would, therefore, confirm a continuation of the practice into the Christian empire, as implied in the comments of John Chrysostom (Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 91–3). If this interpretation is correct, these images may be of considerable value as relatively rare representations of mime or pantomime performances; it may be that the structures illustrated in A.iii and iv indicate some kind of prop or scenery.

The text in D is particularly obscure; I interpreted it previously as perhaps a prayer, or as an injunction against theft. A more convincing approach, however, has been suggested by E. L. Bowie, taking ζήτημα as ‘riddle’ or ‘trick question’, which would help to explain the obscurity of the following words: ‘a lifeless [?] is carried by [?] it carries ? fortunes’. The term is found in this sense in a graffito at Cyrene, which has been shown to be a parody of the kinds of question posed by grammarians (R. A. Kaster, ‘A schoolboy’s burlesque from Cyrene’, *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984), 457–8).

It is hard to see the sketches of horsemen (F) as depicting something which was to take place on the very small Odeon stage; this may, therefore, be a further reminder that not all these graffiti need be related to performances, but it is also possible that riders were at least represented in shows there.

12. On a paving block of the Odeon stage. The block (H. 0.24, W. 0.69) may originally have been rectangular, but the top left corner is now formed by a separate block (0.33 x 0.70), which appears to be a subsequent insertion, since it was held in place by metal clamps: these have since been lost, but the grooves for them remain. Since the upper edge of the block forms part of the rim of the stage, it appears that the repair, and others like it, was necessary to improve the appearance of that rim, which may have become worn. Subsequent to the repair, the rim was used for an inscription in the middle or later fifth century (*ALA* 43).

The text was inscribed, using a metal tool, after the insertion had been made, since the letters in l.1 allow for interruption by one of the clamps. This part of the surface was later scratched, apparently in preparation for a plaster or other coating. The letters are thinly cut, and vary in size (av. 0.05); lunate sigma and epsilon, semi-cursive mu, alpha with dropped bar.

Plate VI

Αὔξι Οὐρανία ἡ μεγάλη
τύχη τοῦ δούλου σου.
Αὔξι ὁ Χρυσόμαλλος
ὁ πῆξας τὸ μάρμαρον

L. 2: perhaps εὐχή.

L. 4: the Π is roughly cut, and Christopher Jones suggested τῆξας, which he took as a reference to a performer who ‘has melted the marble’ by his powerful performance (see footnote to Alan Cameron, *BASP* 20 (1983), 84); but I think that the second upright is a deliberate line, rather than a casual scratch, and must eliminate T.

Power to Ourania the great, fortune of your servant! Power to Chrysomallos, who fixed the marble!

The interpretation of the first two lines presents some difficulty, since Ourania is apparently described as the fortune of her servant. This is an unusual formula, but it is paralleled in one other informal inscription or graffito, found on a paving stone in the north court of the Hadrianic Baths (C. Roueché, 'Late Roman and Byzantine gameboards at Aphrodisias', forthcoming in I. Finkel (ed.), *Ancient Board Games* (London, 1992), no. 1.iii); that reads ἡ τύχη Οὐρ(ανία), and is, if correctly resolved, a similar invocation. It may well be that the text should be read as if αὖξι was repeated, to give us the standard formula (αὖξι ἡ) τύχη τοῦ δούλου σου, 'power to the fortune of your servant'; alternatively, we should perhaps read Οὐρανία as a vocative 'Power, Ourania, to the great fortune of your servant'. See further below.

THE PERFORMERS AND THEIR TEXTS

Most of these texts are invocations; they almost all seem to have stood in positions where they would normally be visible only to those on the stage; and it seems reasonable to assume that they concern the users of the stage.

The citations of the Muses (6.1, 2, 13a, 13b) make sense in such a context. In the first century B.C. the association of *technitai* at Syracuse set up their decrees ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ: this is presumably the same as the shrine of the Muses where Dionysius of Syracuse was said to have commemorated Euripides.¹ This association of Dionysus with the Muses is also found at Rhodes, where the *technitai* were described as οἱ περὶ Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Μούσας τεχνῖται.² It is therefore quite likely that performers at Aphrodisias should have invoked the Muses. Similarly, the Hours, or Seasons (as in 7.a), are found in association with Dionysus: they were associated with the development of crops, particularly the vine.³ Cults of the Graces, the Seasons, and Dionysus are attested at Athens,⁴ and at Paros;⁵ they also appear on the mosaic at Vienne discussed below (p. 55). There is therefore nothing unexpected in finding performers invoking the Muses and the Hours.

As for the invocations of Ourania in the Theatre (2, 3, 4) and the Odeon (12), it is tempting to associate them with the Muse; but Ourania, Muse of astrology, is not particularly appropriate, whereas Ourania is a standard epithet for Aphrodite, to whom the Theatre was dedicated.⁶ That she should be invoked by performers at Aphrodisias is hardly surprising; Aphrodite is found in association with performers at Syracuse, where there was an association of *technitai* described as περὶ τὴν ἰλαρὰν Ἀφροδίτην.⁷ Since Ourania is not very frequently used of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias,⁸ it is possible that this was an aspect of the goddess particularly favoured by performers. The text in the Odeon is particularly tantalizing, since Chrysomallos, 'golden-haired', is a name very frequently

¹ See L. Moretti, 'I technitai di Siracusa', *Riv.Fil.* 91 (1963), 38–45.

² For this, and other references to the cult of Dionysus and the Muses, see D. Morelli, 'I culti in Rodi', *St. Class. e Orient.* 8 (Pisa, 1959), 41 and 61.

³ Robert, *Hell.* 1, 15–17.

⁴ Athenaeus II.36c–d.

⁵ See the new fragments of the Monument of Archilochus, published by N. M. Kontoleon, *Arch.Eph.* (1952), 32–95, with *BullÉp* 1955.178.

⁶ See J. M. Reynolds in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 15.

⁷ L. Moretti, 'I technitai', with the observations of J. and L. Robert, *BullÉp* 1964.622.

⁸ *MAMA* VIII, 413d, τῇ ἐπιφανεί Οὐρανία πανδήμῳ θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ; *ibid.* 413e; and one unpublished text, dedicated to θεᾷ οὐρανία ἐπιφανεί.

used by performers, especially pantomimes.⁹ But, if my reading is correct, the man concerned appears to have 'fixed the marble' — that is, been responsible for the insertion of the piece of marble, repairing the lip of the Odeon stage, next to which this text is cut. If that is so, the text must date from before the cutting of the inscription which runs along the lip of the stage, in the mid- or late fifth century.

There would seem to be a direct conflict here between the identification of Chrysomallos as a performer, and as the man who 'fixed' the marble. It may be that we should assume that he was just an 'ordinary' stone-mason, with an elegant name. But it may be that what we have evidence for here is the responsibility of performers for a wider range of activities. It is clear from the evidence in the Appendices (see especially Appendix I.x and Appendix III) that the performers did take some wider responsibilities for ensuring performances, not least because the administrative machinery of the ancient cities was not well suited to dealing with such matters. It was possible to find generous benefactors to undertake major projects of rebuilding and renewal, as is clear from the building inscriptions concerning the Theatre,¹⁰ but it is quite likely that it was not always easy to get minor repairs done; this kind of repair would have been essential for the performers, but perhaps not of great interest to anyone else. In that case, it is possible that Chrysomallos was a performer, probably a pantomime dancer, who did not 'fix the marble', but 'had the marble fixed', with the extension of terminology that is used of any benefactor. It is perhaps also worth observing that it was pantomime performers who apparently came to have a prominent role in the 'administration', διοικήσις, of the factions (see below, p. 149).

THE 'FACTIONS'

8.e and 10 are acclamations of the Green faction, as was 1.1.iii which acclaimed 'the mimes of the Green (faction)', and the acclamations in 9.ii may perhaps also be associated with the Greens; all except 10 can be located with certainty at the north end of the stage, suggesting that this was the Green side of the stage and, probably, the auditorium. These texts all belong to the group of inscriptions found at Aphrodisias referring to the Blue and Green factions which were responsible for the provision of entertainments in the later Roman empire. Our understanding of the nature and function of circus factions has been transformed by Alan Cameron's important study.¹¹ He drew attention to the inscriptions from Aphrodisias as falling within the category of texts concerned with the factions which come from sites with no hippodrome.¹² It is, of course, true that chariot-racing is attested at Aphrodisias, as part of a festival contest;¹³ there, as at many other cities, a racecourse must have been available, but with no permanent structure.¹⁴ But there is no reason to believe that chariot-racing took place at Aphrodisias except on an occasional basis, or on the Roman pattern, which involved the employment of the circus factions.

As Alan Cameron pointed out, this evidence from Aphrodisias and other cities without institutionalized chariot-racing on Roman lines draws attention to the fact that, by

⁹ e.g. Malalas 386.

¹⁰ See J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 22–8.

¹¹ *Circus Factions*.

¹² *Circus Factions*, 196.

¹³ See 52 III.iii.10–17, IV.iii.3–4, for horse- and chariot-racing events in festivals at Aphrodisias.

¹⁴ See J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London, 1986), 525–6.

the end of the fifth century, the circus factions — the professional organizations responsible, initially, for presenting chariot-races at Rome and Constantinople — had extended their responsibilities to cover not just chariot-racing in the other cities of the empire where that took place, but also the provision of all other entertainment. This direct relationship with other kinds of performers is implied by 10, since this is almost certainly the inscription of theatre performers, and perfectly illustrated by the text at 1.i.iii, referring to the mimes of the Green faction. To the other evidence for such an association presented by Cameron¹⁵ can now be added a new inscription from Ephesus, referring to ὀρχιστοπαλαρίων πρασίνων, 'Green wrestling dancers' — a useful reminder of the very wide range of performances which were in existence, for all of which the factions came to take responsibility.¹⁶ The link is also strikingly exemplified by the inscriptions recently published from Alexandria, where a series of texts cut on the seats of a small theatre acclaim not the actors (who would have performed there) but the charioteers of the colours, with drawings to accompany the acclamations.¹⁷

The first definite and dateable evidence for the factions as responsible for entertainments in the theatre is a reference to pantomime dancers of the four colours at Constantinople in 490.¹⁸ Procopius, writing in the mid-sixth century, described the division into two colours as affecting 'the peoples in each city . . . from old times'.¹⁹ There is no evidence, however, for such an arrangement before the fifth century; Liebeschuetz has drawn attention to the absence of mentions of factions in the writings of Libanius.²⁰ There are some indications that a change in the organization of public performances may have taken place at some time during the long reign of Theodosius II, who is said to have reorganized — and standardized — the seating of the Blue and Green faction supporters 'in each city'.²¹ Chrysaphios-Tzoumas, the minister of Theodosius from 443 to 450, was said to have been the 'patron and protector of the Greens everywhere', πάτρων καὶ προστάτης πανταχοῦ.²² Marcian (450–7) was said to have favoured the Blues 'not only in Constantinople, but everywhere'.²³ The references in all these cases might only be to circus factions in those cities outside Constantinople which had hippodromes; but at Antioch, which did have a hippodrome, there seems to be no attention paid to these groupings during the fourth century. This suggests that the major expansion of the activities of the factions took place during the reign of Theodosius II, and that by 443 there were Blues and Greens 'everywhere' — in those cities which had hippodromes, and those which only had theatres. Thus, when the first definite mention of theatrical performers as belonging to the factions appears in 490, it describes how the dancers of the four factions, who were old, were replaced with new ones: so the organization of performers into colours was by then well established (above, p. 29).

¹⁵ *Circus Factions*, 194–6.

¹⁶ *I.Eph.* 2949, elucidated at *BullÉp* 1981.479; for wrestling-dancers, see now the epitaph from the Vatican necropolis, in which they are associated with pantomimes: W. Eck, 'Inchriften aus der vatikanischen Nekropole', *ZPE* 65 (1986), 248–51; W. Slater, 'Orchestopala', *ZPE* 81 (1990), 215–20.

¹⁷ Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie II: Inscriptions des factions* (Warsaw, 1981), with the observations of Alan Cameron, *BASP* 20 (1983), 75–84.

¹⁸ Malalas 386, as pointed out by Alan Cameron.

¹⁹ *Bell.Pers.* xxiv.2.

²⁰ *Antioch*, 159–60.

²¹ Malalas 351; on this passage see G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974), 345.

²² Malalas 363: the reading is that of the excerpt in *De virtutibus*, for which see E. and M. Jeffreys, R. Scott *et al.*, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, English translation (Melbourne, 1986), p.xxiii; see also Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 21 n.5.

²³ Malalas 368; *Chron.Pasch.* 592.

After identifying the importance of the absorption by the circus factions of other forms of entertainment, Cameron explained it as the result of a 'takeover' by the state of the provision of entertainment; he saw the factions as functioning as the agents of state control.²⁴ It seems to me that the evidence presented above (Chapter I) for the financing of public entertainments in the late Roman period does not admit of such an interpretation. The imperial government certainly intervened to legislate on the organization of public entertainments, and to formalize the provision of finance from central government funds, as at Alexandria and Caesarea.²⁵ But it seems clear that there continued to be some provision from other sources even into the sixth century. If, therefore, the imperial government 'took over' the circus factions, and broadened their responsibilities in order to establish full government control of public entertainments, this does not seem to have worked; nor, I would argue, is such an approach in the spirit of ancient or mediaeval approaches to government.

On the other hand, there are good reasons why the imperial government should have permitted and even encouraged the reorganization of performers into larger groups. We have seen (above, p. 6) that successive emperors were concerned to ensure the continuation of public entertainment, both at Constantinople and in the provinces. It is also clear from the correspondence of Libanius and Symmachus how burdensome the task of presenting shows could be, not only because of the expense, but also because of the organizational complexities. The situation of an *agonothete* charged with putting on a programme of mixed entertainments (as discussed below, p. 58) would have been far easier if he only had to deal with single organizations which incorporated charioteers, stage performers and *venatores*.

The provision of successful public spectacles had always been dependent on the availability of performers and competitors, and there are traces at all periods of the need to lure competitors to festivals; thus, there is some evidence that contests with 'sacred' status did also offer material rewards.²⁶ In the Roman period, the increasing abundance of spectacles had sometimes created problems in obtaining suitable performers; thus the *curator* responsible for reorganizing the contests at Aphrodisias in the late second century specified the need, on establishing a contest, to inform the synod of performers, and also established a timetable for the contest which would enable performers to include it among their other commitments (51). The organizers of a new contest at Oxyrhynchus, first celebrated in 273, wrote to the association of athletes urging them to ensure that their members attended.²⁷ This helps to explain the enormous importance assumed by the associations of performers and athletes (see below, pp. 50–3 and Appendix III). It was necessary to have sufficient performers to ensure, not just a show, but a competition; when, for example, the performers' association agreed to send members to attend a contest in honour of Dionysus at Iasos in the Hellenistic period, they arranged to send: 'two flautists, two performers of tragedy, two performers of comedy', as well as 'a singer to the kithara, and a kithara player, so that they may lead the choral songs to the God'; the implication is that there would be at least two performers in each competitive category.²⁸ That the competitive element continued to be seen as central to spectacles in the late

²⁴ *Circus Factions*, 218–21.

²⁵ Caesarea: Lifschitz, 'Une inscription byzantine'; Alexandria: Gasco, 'L'Hippodrome en Égypte'.

²⁶ H. W. Pleket, 'Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports', *MNIR* 36 (1974), 71 and n. 140.

²⁷ Letter most recently published by Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*, no. 8.

²⁸ Most recently published as *I.Iasos* 152, with bibliography of previous publications.

Roman period is implied by the various criticisms of public performances as a source of 'strife'; thus, in a letter advising that young men be kept away from spectacles, Isidore of Pelusium describes both chariot-racing and pantomime performances as a source of 'civic strife', πολιτική τις ἔρις, and suggests that these competitive activities had been introduced to distract the idle city populations from turning to sedition.²⁹

We have seen the evidence of the legislation which suggests that, by the early fourth century, performers were in short supply. There is every reason to believe that, as the number of contests diminished, and the status of performers was brought into increasing disrepute by Christian polemic, both the performing arts and athletics attracted a decreasing number of people. If this is so, while it would still be easy enough to stage 'shows', it will have been increasingly difficult to put on convincing 'contests', with a reasonable number of competitors. This problem would have been much reduced, if not solved, by the introduction of 'colours'. Once the performers had grouped themselves together in two colours, at least two performers, or two troupes, one representing each colour, will normally have been available for any contest in the provinces, sufficient to create a competition. Such a hypothesis also helps to explain the fact that, while the four traditional colours continued to compete at Constantinople, there is no reliable evidence from the provinces of any colours other than the two traditionally major colours, the Blue and the Green.³⁰ Yet again, as in the case of the survival of gladiatorial combats at Rome (below, p. 76) we see evidence of the extent to which financial resources were concentrated in the capital cities by the late Roman period; it is probably only at Constantinople that there would have been enough money to support and maintain more than the necessary minimum of two groups of performers. I would argue, therefore, that the reorganization which took place in the fifth century was probably intended, by all those concerned, to facilitate the provision of spectacles in a competitive context throughout the empire, with diminished resources and fewer performers.

It remains to consider exactly what such a reorganization involved and how it might have taken place. One importance of the new inscriptions from Aphrodisias is that they remind us that these arrangements chiefly concerned the performers themselves; the mimes continue to perform in the Theatre at Aphrodisias, and to reserve the stage rooms, but they are now described in a new way. It therefore seems necessary to consider how performers had been organized in the preceding periods before returning to consider the developments in the later empire.

²⁹ *Ep.* 5.185 (*PG* 78.1433–7).

³⁰ On the relationships between the colours, see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, ch. 3. There is one very uncertain reference to the Reds in an inscription from Syria (*Circus Factions*, 71–2).

CHAPTER IV. THE ORGANIZATION OF PERFORMERS

HORSE-RACING

Horse-racing, in both East and West, most commonly took the form of chariot-racing; but it was organized in different ways in the Greek and Latin worlds.¹ In the Greek-speaking world, from classical times to the Roman imperial period, race-horses and chariots were individually entered and raced by their owners or, more commonly, by riders or drivers whom they owned or engaged.² Elizabeth Rawson, in a study of the development of the Roman system of chariot-racing, gave some evidence for supposing that chariots were raced at Rome on the same basis from earliest times up to the fifth century B.C.³ At some time after this, however, a quite different system emerged, perhaps influenced by Etruscan practice. A fairly small number of chariots would compete — usually, but not always, four — under one of four colours: Green, Blue, Red, or White. Each of these colours denoted a faction — *factio* — which was a business organization.⁴ The *domini factionis*, a group of businessmen, owned horses, chariots, and charioteers, which they rented out to those responsible for putting on public entertainments — sometimes the state, and sometimes individual magistrates. Public support was for the charioteers of different colours, and public enthusiasm for a particular colour could be very great; but this should not obscure the fact that the prime function of the factions was to act as businesses, taking up state or private contracts to organize and provide a fairly complicated, and capital-intensive, form of entertainment; the organizers of a contest at Rome would pay the factions to supply the competitors, just as the organizer of gladiatorial combats would pay a *lanista* to supply gladiators (see below, p. 74).

The provision of chariot-racing continued to be organized by the four factions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods, with, apparently, an ever higher level of state involvement and funding. By the third century, a *dominus factionis*, or *factionarius*, could be a charioteer, suggesting that his task was now to organize the racing, rather than to put up the capital.⁵ During the late Roman period, the costs of putting on chariot races fell less and less often to private individuals, as increasingly the emperor was the major provider of such shows; but this is not to say that there was an efficient 'state monopoly' of chariot-racing, as Alan Cameron tends to imply. Thus, the law of 381, cited by Cameron as an example of imperial control over the availability of horses, seems to be an attempt to prevent good horses from being removed from the races and bought for private use; it is similar in tone to the legislation aimed at preventing performers from being lured away to private service (see above, p. 27), with which it is included.⁶ Yet again the legislation seems to reflect an attempt by the imperial government to encourage the survival of pre-existing independent structures, with increasing difficulty.

¹ See, in particular, Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 201-5.

² L. Robert, 'Sur les inscriptions de Chios', *BCH* 59 (1935), 453-70, 461-2 (=OMS I, 512-29, 520-1); cf. the contract of a driver with an owner, *P.Oxy.* 3135, of 273/4.

³ 'Chariot-racing in the Roman Republic', *PBSR* 49 (1981), 1-16, reprinted, eadem, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford, 1991), 389-407.

⁴ See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 6-7. On the organization of the factions, Roman and late Roman, see the excellent study by A. Maricq, 'Factions du cirque et partis populaires', *BARB* 136 (1950), 396-421.

⁵ Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 9, citing *ILS* 5296 and 5297.

⁶ *CTh* xv.7.6, with Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 7.

The crucially important change, identified by Alan Cameron, which took place apparently at the end of the third century was the displacement of Greek style chariot-racing in the cities of the East by the Roman system. The earliest mention of a circus faction in the East is a reference to the *factionarius* of the Blues at Alexandria in 315.⁷ At Alexandria horse-racing had always been popular;⁸ but, as Alan Cameron suggests, it seems that chariot-racing on Roman lines, with professional teams, became really established in the East only from the third century, and in particular from the time of the Tetrarchy, when it became standard, at all the capital cities built over the period, for the imperial palace to be built with a hippodrome.⁹ Those hippodromes were intended for the ruler to put on an entertainment for his people. The system of establishing a contest and waiting for competitors to arrive was not sufficiently reliable; instead, the Roman system, of contracting with companies to provide the competitors, would have seemed far more effective. It appears, therefore, that from the very early fourth century the organization of horse-racing in the eastern empire was gradually being taken over by factions on the Roman model. This development seems to precede the further change, mentioned above (pp. 44–5), whereby, at some time in the fifth century, the factions appear to have become responsible for the provision of a wide range of other kinds of entertainment (see further below, p. 57).

THEATRICAL PERFORMERS

Actors and entertainers, whose profession involved the dangers of travel and the problems of working in communities where they had no rights as citizens, protected themselves by forming the most well-attested and long-established trade-guilds known to us from antiquity. We first hear of associations — συνόδοι, 'synods' — of actors, under the patronage of Dionysus, and described as τεχνῖται Διονύσου — 'craftsmen of Dionysus' — in the third century B.C.; that is, just as the number of festivals of international standing was starting to increase (see above, p. 4).¹⁰ From the outset, the structure and the nomenclature of these associations stressed their function as providing not simply entertainment, but a necessary part of the festivities required to honour the gods. The proper provision of such festivities was a work of piety; it was also among the duties of a ruler. The *technitai* sought, and received, patronage from the Hellenistic rulers; they responded by contributing to the proper celebration of festivities in honour of those rulers.¹¹ This development was reflected in the titles of the associations; in Egypt and in Cyprus, in the second century B.C., the local associations named the local rulers, as well as Dionysus, as their patrons.¹²

⁷ *P.Cair.Isid.* 57, 58, cited by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 9.

⁸ Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 208–9.

⁹ Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 180–1, 209–10.

¹⁰ The classic work is still that of O. Lüders, *Die dionysische Künstler* (Berlin, 1873); see also Poland, *Vereinwesens*, 129–47, and idem, 'Technitai', *RE* v.2 (1934), 2473–558. For a very useful summary of the evidence for the associations see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford, 1968), chapter 7; for developments at Rome, see E. J. Jory, 'Associations of actors at Rome', *Hermes* 98 (1970), 224–53.

¹¹ See Poland, 'Technitai', esp. 2510; for Egypt, see F. Dunand, 'Les associations dionysiaques au service du pouvoir Lagide', *L'association Dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes, Colloque 1984* (Rome, 1986), 85–104, esp. 91–3, 101–3; for the Attalids, D. Musti, 'Il dionisismo degli Attalidi', *ibid.*, 105–28, esp. 117 ff.

¹² Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, 287.

Augustus and his successors were not slow to acknowledge the importance of the performers' associations. In the first century A.D. we first have evidence of a world-wide — οἰκουμενικός, 'ecumenic'¹³ — synod of the *technitai*; this body seems to have been established as the international association of a number of local synods, and was granted privileges by Augustus.¹⁴ Significantly, at the same time we find among the officials of the synods not just, as before, a priest — ἱερεὺς, presumably of Dionysus, but also a high-priest — ἀρχιερεὺς; it seems very likely that this title, used without relation to a particular divinity, refers as in many cities to a high-priesthood of the imperial cult.¹⁵ The *technitai* continued to receive privileges from successive emperors, which they recorded scrupulously;¹⁶ these included the right, granted by Claudius, to put up images — εἴκονες — of the emperor.¹⁷ From the reign of Trajan we find the name of the ruling emperor included in the titulature of the synods, just as the names of local rulers had been used in the second century B.C.¹⁸

Both the central synod and the local synods had a formal structure modelled on that of the cities. They issued decrees, which by the Roman period were regularly dated (as in 88.iii) by an *archon* (president), a *grammateus* (secretary) and *nomodeiktes* (legal adviser). They would use their funds, for example, to put up statues in honour of patrons, or of outstanding performers (see Appendix III). They functioned in parallel with city organizations; thus, an honorific decree from a synod would be sent formally to a city (as in 89), and honours from the synod were inscribed next to those from cities (as in 88 and 92). They are also found acting in concert with civic bodies (as in 93).

As the number of festivals increased, and their status was enhanced, during the first three centuries of the empire, the *technitai* must have benefited financially, and their synods appear to have become increasingly prosperous and successful; at least the inscriptions, which are the main source of our information, become more widespread and more verbose. As well as privileges from the emperor, the local synods and the international association received donations, from cities¹⁹ and from private patrons; thus an inscription of the second century from Nysa records the benefactions of a local citizen, T. Aelius Alcibiades, who was in imperial service, to the central organization of the *technitai* at Rome.²⁰ These gifts included a ἵπποστάσιον — stables — producing a

¹³ This term is occasionally assumed by other professional organizations: so of linen-workers at Miletus, Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 125. On its later history see H. Chadwick, *JThSt* 23 (1972), 132.

¹⁴ As mentioned by Claudius in *P.Oxy.* 2476, and in an inscription at Miletus, *Milet* 1.3, 156.

¹⁵ So Poland, 'Technitai', 2530; H. Lavagne, 'Rome et les associations dionysiaques en Gaule', *L'association Dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes, Colloque 1984* (Rome, 1986), 129-48, 140-1. On the significance of unnamed high-priesthoods see L. Robert, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', *Ant.Class.* 36 (1966), 337-432 (=OMS vi, 1-56), 414-5, n.3, *BullÉp* 1977.459; Price, *Rituals and Power*, xvii, points out some exceptions to the general rule.

¹⁶ Three third-century A.D. lists of their rights and immunities are preserved in papyri: *SB* 5225 of 275 (*BGU* iv.1074, discussed by C. Viereck, *Klio* 8 (1908), 413-26, and re-edited by Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*, no. 1, pp. 16-43); *P.Oxy.* 2476 of 289 (recently re-edited by Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*, no. 3, pp. 50-73, and cf. *ZPE* 52 (1983), 215); *P.Oxy.* 2610, undated. On all these see F.G.B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London, 1977), 459-60 for a discussion and translation.

¹⁷ *P.Oxy.* 2476.

¹⁸ For the suggestion that this development was due to the Empress Plotina, see J. H. Oliver, *Historia* 24 (1975), 125-8, with *BullÉp* 1976.121, Lavagne, 'Associations', 136-7.

¹⁹ For example at Teos, where, in the Hellenistic period, the city gave the *technitai* an estate: Robert, *Ét.Anat.*, 39-44.

²⁰ First published by M. Clerc, *BCH* 9 (1885), 124-31; revisions by Robert, *Ét. ép. et phil.*, 45-53, and at *SEG* iv.418; republished, from all these, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*², 320, and most recently by H. Wankel, *I.Eph.* 22.

substantial income, which suggests that this was an establishment for the most profitable form of horse-breeding or -rearing, that is, for chariot-race horses.²¹ It is interesting to find this association of entertainers receiving a piece of property which was intimately connected with another kind of entertainment (see further below, p. 58).

As tastes changed, so did the membership of the synods. The *technitai* came to include a very wide range of entertainers — not just actors, but poets and musicians — with practitioners of lesser arts incorporated in the synod as ‘associate-competitors’ — συναγωνισταί.²² Full membership of the synods was apparently restricted to those categories of performer entitled to compete in international — ‘sacred’ — contests. During the first and second centuries pantomime — dramatic dance — became increasingly popular (see above, p. 17). Pantomime performances at Rome were competitive from the early years of the empire,²³ but continued for some time to be considered simply as entertainment in the East, and only gradually to appear in ordinary (not sacred) contests; thus a pantomime performer, Julius Paris, was honoured by the ecumenic synod at Syrian Apamea as early as the reign of Hadrian, but apparently only as an associate-competitor.²⁴ This distinction does not seem to have been too important, since Julius Paris had been appointed as the high-priest for life of the synod in his own city; and when, later in the second century, pantomime was included in the programme of Greek sacred contests, this allowed the performers to become full members of the synods.²⁵

Mime also grew in importance, and came to be included in local contests; but, as has been said above (p. 23), mime performers are not recorded as having competed in any festivals of sacred status, and are known to us only as associate-performers. Thus at Gerasa the synod put up a statue to a generous *agonothete* which was to be crowned, on the occasion of performances, by ‘the competitors and by those performing from time to time’. The distinction, as Louis Robert pointed out, was between the regular competitions, and the shows put on as spectacles by mime actors; both groups were apparently involved in and bound by the decision of the synod.²⁶ If it is reasonable to argue, as above (p. 24), that mimes may eventually have come to compete in the sacred contests, they will eventually have become full members of the synod.

MINOR PERFORMERS

Although the membership of the synods of entertainers expanded as a wider range of performing arts became accepted in formal festivals, there continued to be other performers who remained outside the synods, but still required some kind of organization. An example is provided by a group of painted texts at Dura-Europus, dated between 250 and 256.²⁷ This is chiefly a list of men and women; some of the latter are certainly prostitutes, and most of the men are clearly ‘entertainers’ of various kinds. Some groups

²¹ On racing-stables see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 10.

²² See below, 88.iii, l. 2; cf. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*, 25-7.

²³ See Jory, ‘Pantomime riots’.

²⁴ J. P. Rey-Coquais, *A. Arch. Syr.* 23 (1973), 39-84, no. 10, with *BullÉp* 1976.721.

²⁵ Robert, ‘Pantomimen’, esp. 118-22. See *ILS* 5186, 5193-4 for two other pantomimes acting as high-priests of the synod.

²⁶ Robert, ‘Inscriptions grecques de Phénicie et d’Arabie’, 735-8 (= *OMS* I, 607-10).

²⁷ Published by H. Immerwahr in M. I. Rostovtzeff *et al.* (eds), *Dura Excavations: Preliminary Report ix.1* (New Haven, 1944), Appendix II, 203-65; I am grateful to Dr S. C. Lieu for drawing my attention to these texts.

of this kind functioned as the private troupe of an eminent citizen, who could then offer their services as a benefaction, such as the groups of actors and other performers who 'belonged' to Valerius Asiaticus in the reign of Claudius ('scaenici asiaticiani et qui in eodem corpore sunt'),²⁸ or to the *dux ripae* at Dura-Europus in the early third century;²⁹ the ultimate example are the troupes belonging to the emperor himself.³⁰ It was perhaps an imperial troupe of mimes, described as a σκηνὴ Διονύσου, that Julian took on his last campaign to entertain his soldiers.³¹

Alternatively, such a group might be owned by a *patronus* as a business enterprise, very similar to the early *factiones* of charioteers; this is probably the case of the first troupe at Dura, and of an actor in Gaul described as 'scaenicus ex factione Eudoxi'.³²

Thirdly, there were independent groupings run by the performers themselves; since these kinds of entertainment did not require capital investment on the enormous scale necessary for chariot-racing, this is likely to have been very common, especially for mimes, who performed in troupes. There is some scattered evidence for such groupings,³³ which may sometimes have been connected — as 'associate-competitors' — with a synod of more eminent performers.³⁴

ATHLETES

The best testimony to the success of the synods of entertainers in promoting the interests of their members is provided by the fact that, under the empire, parallel associations were formed for athletic performers; these also came to be grouped together under a single worldwide — ecumenic — synod in the second century.³⁵ This athletic — 'xystic' — association modelled its structure on that of the *technitai*, and took as its patrons Hercules and the reigning emperor; it too had a high priest — ἀρχιερεύς. They passed resolutions in the same way as the performers (see 89, 91). The athletic synod also acquired headquarters in Rome, granted to them by Antoninus Pius.

THE SACRED VICTORS

The members of the performers' and athletes' associations were all those who competed in certain kinds of events; but there was a not unnatural discrimination between those who merely competed and those who won. Moreover, as was pointed out in Chapter I, there were two sorts of victor; those who won in contests with an immediate financial

²⁸ CIL xii.1929, with Jory, 'Associations', 242, Lavagne, 'Associations', 130-2.

²⁹ H. Immerwahr, *Dura Excavations: Preliminary Report* ix.2, 31-40, nos 945-50.

³⁰ Lavagne, 'Associations', 141-3, with references there.

³¹ Eunapius xxii.1.

³² CIL xii.737; cf. Lavagne, 'Associations', 148 n.97.

³³ Reich, who undertook to discuss the subject, unfortunately never did so. Some useful material is assembled by Wiemken, *Griechischen Mimos*, 182-3 and nn. 52-9.

³⁴ A. Müller, 'Die Parasiti Apollonis', *Philologus* 63 (1904), 342. Wiemken, *Griechischen Mimos*, 249 n.52 suggests that mimes could never have been incorporated with the *technitai*, not least because of the presence of women among them; but he refers in this assertion only to a general statement by Reich relating to the Hellenistic period.

³⁵ For a very clear account, see C. A. Forbes, 'Ancient athletic guilds', *C.Phil.* 50 (1955), 238-52; see also Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 147-50; Pleket, 'Some aspects' (with *BullÉp* 1973.75); see also below, Appendix iii.

reward, and those who won in 'sacred', 'crowned' contests, whose reward came from their home cities. From the late first century B.C., we find another grouping, often closely associated with those of the performers and athletes: 'the synod of the sacred and crowned victors', *σύνδοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερωνικῶν καὶ στεφανιτῶν*.³⁶ These victors had a part to play in the life of the city; they would sit together at entertainments (see below, p. 96), and appear as a group in civic processions (see below, pp. 144–5). They also had a common interest in ensuring the maintenance of their particular rights as victors. It is not clear that they ever formed a permanent and distinct association, with the formal structure of the associations described above. But throughout the Roman period on particular occasions groups of victors would sometimes still act together, for example to honour a benefactor.³⁷

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION

Both the principal synods, that of the *technitai* and that of the athletes, had the same basic structure; they were empire-wide associations which brought together local groups and associations which were themselves based in cities; thus an inscription at Miletus was put up by the 'local synod' — *τοπικὴ σύνδοδος* — of performers.³⁸ As such, they could serve as instruments of a certain measure of imperial control, and they were also well placed to acquire privileges for their members from the emperors.³⁹ They also made representations to local authorities in relevant cases; thus, at Aphrodisias in the late second century a synod, probably that of the *technitai*, pressed for the problems with various festivals and their endowments to be sorted out.⁴⁰ It is perhaps of particular interest that the kinds of personal privileges and immunities that the athletic synod obtained for its members were more or less the same as those obtained by the entertainers' synod; by the third century the issue of immunity from civic obligations in a competitor's home community was of paramount importance. In the archives at Oxyrhynchus the application for immunity by an athlete — a pancratiast, who was an official of the association of 'sacred victors' (*P.Oxy.* 2477) — was kept physically fastened to a similar application from the high-priest of the 'musical synod', who lists the imperial recognitions of the status of his association (*P.Oxy.* 2476); both documents are dated to 288/9, and the implication is that in the minds of the administration they were viewed as parallel.⁴¹ It is, therefore, worth remembering, in discussions about the relative social status of performers of various kinds, that, at least by the late third century, both entertainers and athletes seem to have found it useful to be exempted from the obligations that affected the curial class. Similarly, for both kinds of performer, at least by the second century A.D., the status of *βουλευτής* — 'councillor' — in various cities was considered an appropriate honour.⁴² This suggests that, at least by the second or third century, eminent

³⁶ See Poland, *Vereinswesen*, 150–2; cf. also Appendix I.x.

³⁷ On these developments see Pleket, 'Some aspects', n. 35; see also C. P. Jones, *CQ* 37 (1987), 209.

³⁸ See *BullÉp* 1966.376.

³⁹ For an account of this relationship see Millar, *ERW*, 456–63; for a synod writing to the emperor to commend a member, see 91.i.25–9.

⁴⁰ Below, 50.

⁴¹ On these documents see J. Rea, *JEA* 49 (1963), 180–1; A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto, 1971), 85.

⁴² See 69.51, 91.i.48. For pantomime performers honoured as councillors, see Robert, 'Pantomimen', 119 (= *OMS* 1, 667).

practitioners of a range of performing skills were seen as having more or less similar social status;⁴³ even mimes could achieve curial status (see above, p. 24), and a variety of acrobats and conjurors were honoured with statues and with citizenship.⁴⁴

There is also an increasing body of evidence for co-operation between the two kinds of synod.⁴⁵ Local branches must have been in constant contact at local festivals, and they sometimes acted together, for example in honouring a generous *agonothete*.⁴⁶ M. Le Glay drew attention to the mosaic decoration of a large building excavated at Vienne, which combines scenes of athletes with theatre masks; the centre is occupied by Hercules (patron of the athletic synod), and there are representations of the Four Seasons (often associated with Dionysus);⁴⁷ the date is probably early third century. The building in which the mosaic was found appears to have been a public one; H. Lavagne has suggested convincingly that the best explanation of the choice of themes is that it was the shared headquarters of the synods of athletes and entertainers.⁴⁸ Individuals will have met regularly; thus an athlete could come to make friends with an actor, and put up his epitaph.⁴⁹

There is considerable evidence that during the third century the two associations came increasingly to be considered as very similar (as in the example from Oxyrhynchus cited above), or as one single group. A third-century inscription from Alexandria records honours to a *gymnasiarch* and *agonothete* as from one single organization — 'from the sacred theatrical and athletic synod', ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς θυμελικῆς καὶ ξυστικῆς συνόδου.⁵⁰ Similarly, a rescript of the Tetrarchs, dateable between 293 and 305, is addressed 'ad synodum xysticorum et thymelicorum et ividem'.⁵¹ It is impossible to be certain whether this reflects occasional co-operation between the two associations, or their formal unification; but the official nature of the document might suggest the latter.

THE SYNODS IN THE LATER EMPIRE

This rescript provides one of the latest mentions of the synods. Most of our information about them comes from inscriptions; with the dramatic decrease in the number of inscribed texts from the middle of the third century mentions of the synods soon disappear. The latest dateable mentions of the *technitai* are in papyri: in 275 'the sacred Aurelianic synod', ἡ ἱερὰ ... Αὐρηλιανή ... σύνοδος, was recording its privileges,⁵² and it reappears with the titulature 'Diocletianic Maximianic', Διοκλητιανή Μαξιμιανή, in 288.⁵³ There is one further reference, to an unspecified 'sacred synod', which might be that of the *technitai*, in 291.⁵⁴

⁴³ For the aristocratic origins of athletes in the Roman period see L. Robert, *RA* 35 (1934), 54-61 (= *OMS* II, 1016-25), and more generally Pleket, 'Zur Soziologie'.

⁴⁴ *ILS* 847, with Robert, 'Epigraphica', 436-7 (= *OMS* I, 224-5).

⁴⁵ cf. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*, 108.

⁴⁶ See Forbes, 'Ancient Athletic Guilds', 242, and Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 145***.

⁴⁷ 'Hercule et la Iuventus viennoise', *Mosaïque, Recueil d'hommages à H. Stern* (Paris, 1983), 265-71; as Le Glay points out (266), images of athletes are relatively uncommon in mosaics.

⁴⁸ 'Associations', 130-5.

⁴⁹ '[A]thenodorus xysti[c]us Paridi thymelico bene merenti fecit': *ILS* 5166, probably from Rome.

⁵⁰ *OGIS* 713.

⁵¹ R. Cavenaile, *Corp. Pap. Lat.* no. 241.

⁵² *SB* 5225, cited above, n. 16.

⁵³ *P.Oxy.* 2476, cited above, n. 16.

⁵⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1691.

We know more of the later history of the athletic, xystic, synod, because in the late nineteenth century the headquarters of the worldwide synod at Rome, granted to them by Antoninus Pius, was discovered during the redevelopment of the Esquiline. In the building was found a series of inscriptions.⁵⁵ These included a long document dated in the reign of Constantine, between 313 and 334,⁵⁶ regulating a foundation made in favour of the synod; it includes a reference to the celebration of the Greek festival established in honour of Athena Promachos by Gordian III.⁵⁷ The latest of the inscriptions is an epigram in praise of a wrestler, John, from Smyrna, put up between 384 and 392.⁵⁸ Slightly earlier is an inscription which describes the honouring of a pancratiast, Filumenus, by the placing of his statue in the athletes' place of deliberation: 'locatione statuae in acletarum curia'.⁵⁹ This text does not include a specific reference to the organization of the synod; but that it continued, at least in some respects, to be organized as before is implied by a law of 370 in the Theodosian code. This orders the appointment of public doctors — *archiatri* — for all the regions of Rome, except those of the *xystus*, and of the Vestal Virgins: 'exceptis totius xysti virginumque vestalium'.⁶⁰ Forbes interpreted this exception as a 'withdrawal of support', presaging the end of the guild.⁶¹ But it seems easier to assume that these two areas were omitted because the organizations themselves provided their own doctors; we know that the athletic synods regularly did so.⁶² This would be further evidence that the association was continuing to function as before. Finally, the privileges granted to the synod of athletes and actors in the tetrarchic rescript cited above (see n. 51) are still recorded, but for athletes only, in the Justinianic code.⁶³

This last piece of evidence points to a significant difference between stage performers and athletes in the eyes of the late Roman authorities. Under the Christian emperors stage performers were, officially, disapproved of. The legislation, however, in insisting on the obligation of actors to remain in their profession (discussed above, p. 27), makes it clear that such performers were much in demand. There is plenty of evidence for the continued popularity of stage entertainments from the fourth to the sixth centuries. There is, however, no unambiguous evidence for the existence of any associations of stage performers after the end of the third century, although some hints of such organizations were collected by Müller.⁶⁴ One such indication is the inclusion of the entry *De Scaenicis* in Book xv of the Theodosian Code, in parallel with the entries controlling other *collegia*.⁶⁵ Perhaps the strongest suggestion of the continued existence of organizations protecting the interests of stage performers is provided by their evident success in promoting those interests; thus Liebeschuetz has deduced the existence of an association of actors at Antioch in the fourth century from the fact that they could maintain a permanent 'claque' — with a separate one for dancers — and could demand and obtain an increase in the apparently regular wages which they received from the city

⁵⁵ The Greek texts have been published most recently by L. Moretti, *IGUR* 235-48; see also *ILS* 5164-5.

⁵⁶ *IGUR* 246.

⁵⁷ Robert, 'Deux concours', 12 (= *OMS* v, 653).

⁵⁸ *IGUR* 245.

⁵⁹ *ILS* 5164, of 367-375.

⁶⁰ *CTh* xiii.3.8; the emendation 'totius xysti' for the MS 'portus xysti' was suggested by L. Robert, *Hell.* ix, 27.

⁶¹ 'Ancient athletic guilds', 249.

⁶² Robert, *Hell.* ix, 25-7.

⁶³ *CJ* x.54.1.

⁶⁴ Müller, 'Bühnenwesen', 50.

⁶⁵ See Theodorides, *Beiträge*, 109.

council, financed by a new local tax.⁶⁶ It could, of course, be argued that this is only evidence for the development of new, successor organizations replacing the synods of the previous centuries; but, in the absence of any evidence for the dissolution of the synods, such an explanation appears uneconomical.

Our evidence for the continued existence of the athletic guild, apparently still in possession of some at least of its property and endowments in the last decades of the fourth century, is largely fortuitous. I can see no reason why the synod of stage performers, with similar possessions and endowments, should have ceased to exist. If, as an institution under the patronage of a pagan god, it had been subject to the appropriation of its possessions under Constantine, we should expect the same ruling to have applied to the athletic synod, dedicated to Hercules, and closely associated with the synod of entertainers. Although stage performances, unlike athletic contests, were subject to official Christian disapproval, it has been shown that in practice theatrical entertainments flourished. It is entirely likely that, under the Christian empire, both kinds of synod altered their titulature, and adopted a less prominent role; but such organizations were no less necessary than before, and it is easier to assume that the entertainers' synod, like that of the athletes, survived in some form into the later empire, than that it was suppressed and replaced by some less offensive body.

I would contend, therefore, that in the absence of any specific evidence to the contrary, it is most likely that the international synods of entertainers and of athletes, either united, or else in close association, and serving as the central associations of local synods throughout the empire, continued to function throughout the fourth century — for which, in the case of the athletic synod, we have evidence — and into the fifth. While they will have modified their specifically pagan attributes, there seems to be no reason why they should have lost their property and endowments, except insofar as these had been undermined by the third-century inflation.

THE CREATION OF THE LATER 'FACTIONS'

If this hypothesis is correct, it then makes it far easier to understand the phenomenon identified by Alan Cameron — that is, the expansion, in the fifth century, of the circus factions to incorporate practitioners of other forms of entertainment. As has been said some of the most striking evidence for that development is not only the references to other kinds of performers as belonging to a faction, as with the mimes of the Green faction in 1.1.iii, but also the appearance of such performers, and other inscriptions concerned with the factions, in cities, such as Aphrodisias, with no hippodrome (above, p. 44). That the factions should become responsible for entertainments at places where they were already putting on chariot-races is less surprising; but their appearance in cities where they had no such responsibilities is much easier to explain if they absorbed, not random groups of performers, but the pre-existing, empire-wide synods of athletes and entertainers, which already had affiliated associations in every important city of the eastern empire.

Such a development may well reflect the diminished influence and importance of the synods; but it may largely have been the logical continuation of an established trend, and a response to the realities of professional entertainment. As has been said above, the

⁶⁶ *Antioch*, 145-6.

membership of the entertainers' association appears to have expanded steadily during the second and third centuries to incorporate more categories of performers (p. 52). It has also been shown that, during the third century, there was a tendency for the entertainers' and athletes' synods to combine, or be associated (p. 55). These developments must have grown from the practical circumstances in which the performers found themselves.⁶⁷ There had always been some contacts between other performers and those responsible for chariot-racing. Dio Cassius refers to a special festival put on at Rome in A.D. 12 by 'the dancers (pantomimes) and the horsebreeders', πανήγυρις ἔξω τῶν νενομισμένων ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἵπποτρόφων ἐποιήθη.⁶⁸ Dio also groups persons involved in pantomime and in horse-racing together as sources of disturbance.⁶⁹ Another possible indication of a link between the different kinds of entertainer is implied by the inscription, cited above, which mentions the donation by T. Aelius Alcibiades of a stables to the ecumenic synod of the *technitai* (see p. 51). At an individual level, the tombstone at Rome of a charioteer of the Greens was put up by M. Ulpius Apolaustianus, almost certainly, from his name, a pantomime performer;⁷⁰ and two inscriptions from Rome, of the imperial period, seem to describe theatrical performers who also found employment with circus factions.⁷¹ Mixed programmes of theatrical and athletic entertainment were well established;⁷² and both would come to be associated with gladiatorial shows or *venationes*.⁷³ Similarly, the programmes of chariot races could be interspersed with other kinds of entertainment. Alan Cameron drew attention to a sixth-century circus programme from Oxyrhynchus listing six races interspersed with other spectacles: an animal-hunt, singing rope-dancers, mimes, and a group of athletes — ξυστός.⁷⁴ A similar arrangement is implied by the presence of a lyre-player, accompanied by an unsuitably dressed girl, who had spent all day at the horse-races in Damascus when accosted by St Theodoulos the Stylite (late fourth century).⁷⁵

There would therefore have been some basis in past tradition, and strong practical arguments, for an amalgamation of the circus factions, which from the third century had been run by professional practitioners (see above, p. 49) and from the fourth century had started to function outside Rome (see above, p. 50), with the other international associations of performers. Such an amalgamation does not, however, have to be seen as the result of an imperial policy of taking over the provision of public entertainment, which, as we have seen, does not fit the facts (above, p. 46); it is far easier to understand it as an arrangement originating with the organizations of performers themselves, continuing an existing trend of amalgamation, and responding to the situation of diminishing employment and reward which confronted performers, particularly in the

⁶⁷ cf. for example the use, by a pantomime performer, of mimes to provide his choir, cited above, pp. 26–7.

⁶⁸ Dio Cassius LVI.27.4.

⁶⁹ LXI.8.2: οἱ γὰρ τοὶ περὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχοντες.

⁷⁰ ILS 5298.

⁷¹ See the text published by S. Panciera, 'Tra epigrafia e topografia. 3. Regiones, vici e iuventus', *Arch. Class.* 22 (1970), 151–63, discussed further below, p. 136, and a fragmentary epitaph, probably from Rome, found at the excavation of St Cornelia, published by J. M. Reynolds in N. Christie (ed.), *Three South Etrurian Churches* (London, 1991), 140–3.

⁷² See the examples cited by E. J. Jory, 'Continuity and change in the Roman theatre', *Studies Webster* (Bristol, 1987), 143–52. Cf. Augustine, *Conf.* viii.10.24, Claudian, *Paneg. Manl. Theod.* 311 ff.

⁷³ See further below, pp. 75–6.

⁷⁴ *P.Oxy.* 2707, cited by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 213; cf. ILS 5053, listing the events at a festival at Pompeii in A.D. 2.

⁷⁵ AASS vi, 762–3, cited by C. Mentzou, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν μελέτην τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τῆς πρῶτου βυζαντινῆς περιόδου* (Athens, 1975), 67–9.

provinces. On the other hand, the emperors, who had always acted as patrons of the synods, and supervised their activities, will have had to give their approval. The fact that the reorganization extended, apparently quite quickly, throughout the empire, suggests that it was the result of some formal and centralized agreement, presumably between the organizers of the circus factions and of the international synods. The procedure would presumably have involved the synods — perhaps by now a single synod of athletes and performers — in sending instructions to the local synods in each city, grouping performers (including pantomimes and, as I have argued above, mimes) and athletes of various kinds. They will have been instructed to divide into two groups, of Greens and Blues, with performers of each kind divided, as far as possible, equally between each group. Some provision must also have been made for the division, between the groups, of any assets which the local synod might have owned (see below, pp. 147–9). There must also have been similar negotiations with organizations of *venatores* (see below, p. 75).

Such a complex operation was probably not left to the performers to carry out on their own; given the role of the cities as purchasers of their services, it seems likely that the city authorities will have supervised the local reorganizations. The conduct of performances and the supervision of the factions seems to have been seen as a civic responsibility. In what it has been suggested was a reference to this reform, Theodosius II is said to have reorganized the seating of faction supporters ‘in each city’ (p. 45). In 520 Blues rioted ‘in all the cities’;⁷⁶ in 527 Justinian had to send ‘rescripts to every city’ that people should not riot but ‘watch peaceably’, θεωρεῖν εὐτακτῶς.⁷⁷ A law of 426 specifies that the appointment of supervisory officials, *actuarii* and *cornicularii*, ‘of the stage and of chariot horses in various cities’ should not be confirmed without the approval of the Praetorian Prefect.⁷⁸ Alan Cameron took this as a sign of imperial control; but these officials are listed with *irenarchs* (‘custodians of the peace’ — a sort of blend between policemen and a local militia), who we know were chosen by the local council, but whose appointment was approved by imperial authority.⁷⁹ This reorganization should therefore be seen as yet another element in the constant effort by the imperial authorities to encourage theoretically independent bodies — the organizations of performers and the civic authorities — to provide services which they found it increasingly difficult to supply.

I would, therefore, argue that this was a major reorganization which cannot have been carried out without imperial support; but it involved not so much a takeover of the provision of public entertainments (such as Alan Cameron implies) as an attempt to streamline the organizations of performers, who now existed in far smaller numbers than before. Several groups will have benefited. The performers, by forming an association between performers of every kind, will have put themselves in a stronger position to negotiate with those responsible for spectacles. They will also have been able to compete in contests in the confidence that there was at least a fifty per cent chance of winning a prize, and in many cases a certainty of a prize for both performers (for second prizes prescribed in contests, see below, 52.II.2, III.i.4, 6, 8, 11, iii.14, 17, IV.i.4, 53.i.8, 12, ii.4, 7, 12, iii.7, 10, 12; third prizes are relatively rare — 52.III.i.9, 12, 53.ii.10, 13). The reorganization will have facilitated the tasks of those putting on entertainments, whether

⁷⁶ Malalas 416–7.

⁷⁷ Malalas 422, *Chron.Pasch.* 617.

⁷⁸ *CTh* VIII.7.21 (retained as *CJ* XII.59.6).

⁷⁹ *Circus Factions*, 220; but cf. *CTh* XII.14.1 (retained as *CJ* X.77.1).

imperial authorities, municipal authorities, or individual benefactors, by enabling them to negotiate with no more than two bodies. It has also been argued above that an essential element in ancient entertainments was that they be presented in the framework of an *agon*, a contest. The division of all competitors into two groups — or four at Constantinople — will have ensured that entertainments could continue to be presented within such a framework, with a built-in element of competition, even in cities which had far smaller resources, and far fewer benefactors, than in the past. The principal concern will have been to ensure the provision of ‘public pleasure’ by the staging of entertainments. It is also likely that the imperial authorities envisaged such a reorganization as helping to increase government control over the conduct of public entertainment; this had been a concern both of Hellenistic kings and, even more, of Roman emperors (as in the appointment of *xystarchs*: see 91.i.21).

In practice, as Alan Cameron has pointed out, this regrouping of performers coincided with, and apparently caused, new levels of public disturbances all over the eastern empire, associated with the supporters of the two factions. It seems to me that the merging of the different groups responsible for entertainments helps to explain many characteristics of the later ‘factions’ (see below, Chapter viii). In order to consider the conduct of the partisans, we will need to turn from the organization of the performers themselves to that of the audience (see below, Chapters vi and vii). But, before doing so, it will be necessary to look at the evidence for one other area of entertainment which also provoked a partisan response — gladiatorial combats and wild-beast hunts.

CHAPTER V: GLADIATORS AND WILD-BEAST FIGHTERS

13 – 44

The auditoria at Aphrodisias were used for a wide range of performances and contests, both sporting and cultural; but they were also used for spectacles of a more blood-thirsty kind. There is a substantial body of evidence for gladiatorial and wild-beast shows at Aphrodisias, which was used by L. Robert in his fundamental studies demonstrating and describing the extent of such displays in the eastern part of the Roman empire.¹ There are also representations of gladiators in the Stadium (45.X.2) and the Theatre (46.H.3, 4.i and 9), indicating that both auditoria were used for contests of this kind, as at many other sites.² A gladiator whose inscription was found at Gortyn, in Crete, lists, among other victories, one at Aphrodisias, over an opponent called Trypheros.³

Troupes — *familiae* — of gladiators and wild-beast fighters were maintained by the high-priests of the imperial cult, in order to mount gladiatorial contests which were a characteristic element of festivals of the cult.⁴ At Aphrodisias these were civic festivals only, since the imperial cult festivals of the province of Asia were not held in a free and autonomous city;⁵ this makes even more remarkable the scale of investment in gladiators which these inscriptions suggest, but it is a further reminder of the importance of the imperial cult at Aphrodisias, as witnessed by the major temple complex of the Sebasteion.⁶ The importance and popularity of such entertainments is also reflected in some of the themes of decorative sculpture, in particular the reliefs copied by Texier (but not found again) which depict Erotes and dogs hunting lions, leopards, deer, bears, and oxen — clearly not just the local fauna, but the creatures which were ‘hunted’ in the *venationes*.⁷

13 – 15 are all three ‘memorials’ of a *familia* of combatants belonging to a high-priest. Documents of this kind were analysed by L. Robert.⁸ Earlier commentators had

¹ *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Limoges, 1940) was followed by a series of supplementary articles, *Hell.* III, 112–50, v, 77–99, vii, 126–51, viii, 39–72, ‘Une vision de Perpetué’ (= *OMS* v, 791–839). For the most recent discussions of the western material see G. Ville, ‘Gladiateurs dans l’empire chrétien’, and *La Gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Paris, 1981); R. MacMullen, ‘What difference did Christianity make?’, *Historia* 35 (1986), 322–43; P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorum paria: Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei* (Rome, 1980) and *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano. I. Roma* (Rome, 1988); G. L. Gregori, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano. II. Regione Italiae VI–XI* (Rome, 1989). For the depictions of gladiators it is still necessary to consult G. Lafaye’s article, ‘Gladiator’, in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1881–96), II.2 (1896), 1563–99, together with the abundant photographs published by Robert.

² Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 34–6.

³ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 119, no.65; for the name cf. idem, ‘Une vision de Perpetué’, 240 (= *OMS* v, 803).

⁴ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 89.

⁵ As observed by O. Liermann, *Analecta epigraphica et agonistica*, *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses* X (Halle, 1889), 36; cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 273.

⁶ On the Sebasteion, a precinct dedicated to the Julio–Claudian emperors, see most recently J. M. Reynolds, ‘New evidence for the imperial cult in Julio–Claudian Aphrodisias’, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 317–27; eadem, ‘Further information on imperial cult at Aphrodisias’, in *Festschrift D.M. Pippidi = StClass* 24 (1986), 109–17; R. R. R. Smith, ‘The imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias’, *JRS* 77 (1987), 88–138; idem, ‘*Simulacra gentium*: the *Ethne* from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias’, *JRS* 78 (1988), 50–77; idem, ‘Myth and allegory in the Sebasteion’, *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 89–100.

⁷ C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* III (Paris, 1849), pls 158 and 158bis.

⁸ *Gladiateurs* 56–64, with discussion of 14 and (in particular) 15; see also idem, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1980), 250–2.

assumed that all such monuments were funerary; but Robert demonstrated that ὑπόμνημα, as in **15**, has the sense of ‘monument, commemoration’, and that their function was to commemorate the *familia* of a high-priest, and the *munera* which he had given during his term of office. These memorials, therefore, formed the focus for a series of reliefs commemorating individual gladiators of that *familia*, such as nos **16 – 37**, which, as it will be seen, form a series of groups.⁹ They may also have been accompanied by reliefs depicting combats and fights, such as **38 – 41**. There is no indication as to where any of these monuments stood; Robert has suggested that they might sometimes be placed near the tomb of the high-priest (which would explain some of the surface finds) or sometimes in or near the place used for combats (thus **25 – 28**, found in or near the Stadium). **15**, with its depiction of Nemesis, probably stood in a shrine of Nemesis, traditionally the goddess associated with gladiators,¹⁰ which might itself have been in or near the Theatre; a fragmentary dedication to Nemesis has been found inscribed on a cornice from the Theatre (unpublished).

13. *FAMILIA* OF TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS PAULINUS

? First century A.D.

Found in the west Portico of Tiberius in 1974. Now in the Museum (excavation inventory no. 74.292).

Part of a stele broken away above and below (H. 0.30, W. 0.41, D. 0.18). Inscribed on one face within a plain raised border (panel 0.33 x 0.21); letters 0.02, perhaps first century A.D.; square sigma; there is a stop after every word, except καί. There are traces of a decorated panel above.

Plate VIII

	Φαμιλίας μονομά-	
	χων καὶ καταδίκ-	
	ων Τιβερίου Κλαυ-	
	δίου Παυλείνου	
5	ἀρχιερέως υἱοῦ Τι-	(sic)
	[β]ερίου Κλαυδίου	
	[...]	

(Memorial of) the *familia* of single-combatants and convicts belonging to Tiberius Claudius Pauleinus, high-priest, son of Tiberius Claudius [...]

The wife of the owner of this troupe is honoured in an unpublished inscription (excavation inventory no. 63.434); the script suggests a date in the first century.

The *familia* is composed of gladiators — for whom μονομάχοι, ‘single-combatants’, is the standard Greek term — and convicts: these are persons condemned *ad bestias*, to meet their deaths confronting animals in the arena. Much of our information on this form of execution comes from the accounts of the martyrdoms of Christians so condemned; the detailed account of the martyrdom of St Perpetua at Carthage in 203 has been vividly analysed, in all its repellent details, by Robert (‘Une vision de Perpetué’).

⁹ A more modest form of monument would be a single inscription listing all the combatants; this is perhaps the function of an inscription recently published by D. French, ‘Two gladiatorial texts from Claudiopoli in Bithynia’, *Ep. Anat.* 13 (1989), 91–7, no.1, with the introductory sentence θῆκέ με μονομάχοις ἱερεὺς τοδὲ σῆμα Σεκοῦνδος, where σῆμα perhaps has the same force as μνῆμα in these examples.

¹⁰ See e.g. Ville, ‘Gladiateurs dans l’empire chrétien’, 288 and references there.

14. *FAMILIA* OF ZENO HYPSCICLES

?Late first/early second century

Copied by Fellows 'on the north side of the city' in 1840 and published by him, no. 20, whence *CIG* 2759b, Liermann, *Analecta* 5, Robert, *Gladiateurs* no. 157; discussed by Baunack, *RM* 38 (1883), 299, Robert, 'Πυκτεύειν', *RA* 30 (1929), 24–41, 28 (= *OMS* 1, 691–708, 695). A stray find in 1976; now in the Museum (excavation inventory no. 76.192)

A block with a decoration of three simple acroteria above a recessed panel within a simple moulding; inscribed on panel, and on lower moulding (l.8). Letters standard first-/second-century forms, c. 0.02; ligature, HN 1.1.

Φαμίλῖα Ζήνων[ος]
 τοῦ Ὑψικλέους
 τοῦ Ὑψικλέους
 τοῦ φύσει Ζήνω-
 5 νος Ὑψικλέους
 ἀρχιερέως μονο-
 μάχων καὶ κατα-
 δίκων καὶ ταυροκα-
 [θαπτῶν ? . .

It is not clear where the last line would have been inscribed.

Of Zeno Hypsicles, son of Hypsicles, son of Hypsicles the natural son of Zeno, high-priest, the *familia* of single combatants and convicts and bull-catchers [. . .

The owner of this troupe is perhaps mentioned in one other text (*MAMA* VIII.500, found again by the current expedition, and now in the Museum); his sister, Ammia Hypsiclis, occurs in another, put up by her grandson (Reinach 29, not found again). He was identified by Liermann with a Zeno son of Hypsicles active in the mid first century (LBW 1611, not found again), but both names are very common at Aphrodisias; the text put up by his sister's grandson should perhaps be dated to the late second century, since the next generation of his family was apparently active after 212 (*MAMA* VIII.559, with a similar, unpublished, text). This therefore suggests a date for this inscription in the late first or early second century.

The *familia* includes the same elements as that in 13, together with 'bull-catchers', whose special skill was to pursue the bulls, initially on horseback, and then to mount the bulls themselves (Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 318–9).

15. *FAMILIA* OF M. ANTONIUS APELLAS SEVERINUS

Late second/early third century

Copied by W. H. Buckler, and published from his copy by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, no. 156, with discussion 56–9, 64; copied by the *MAMA* expedition 'in the city wall', and published by Cormack, *MAMA* VIII.507, on which see Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 154–5. Found again by the current expedition; now in front of the Museum.

A large stele (H. 1.46, W. 0.87, D. 0.28) with a central panel, within simple moulding, topped by a decorated pediment and acroteria and flanked by scrolls. The panel is supported by two winged victories, holding palms; between them is a smaller figure, with a wheel, identified by Robert as Nemesis. Inscribed within the panel; letters 0.03–0.04, clear but irregular; lunate sigma and epsilon.

Illustrated, *MAMA* VIII, pl. 29

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ
 ὑπόμνημα φαμίλιας
 καὶ κυνηγεσίων Μ. Ἀν-
 τωνίου Ἀπελλᾶ Σεουη-
 5 ρείνου ἀρχιερέως υἱοῦ
 Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ὑψικλέ-
 ους ἀρχιερέως. leaf

To Good Fortune. Memorial of the *familia*, and of the *venationes* of M. Antonius Apellas Severinus, son of M. Antonius Hypsicles, high-priest.

The owner also appears as *agonothete* of the Fifth Philemoneian contest, dateable in or near 196 (below, 81).

L. Robert used this inscription in his discussion of the function of memorial monuments. As he points out, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ in 1.1 (also found on similar monuments elsewhere) would be quite inappropriate for a funerary inscription; it is more appropriate to a memorial. Furthermore, the monument is described as commemorating the *familia* of the gladiators, and also the wild-beast shows; this therefore confirms that it is a memorial, not of a group of people as such, but of an event — the *munus* put on by Severinus.

Κυνηγέσιον, used generally, as here, covers every kind of show involving wild animals; these came in several categories. There could be combats of animals with one another (as shown in 40 and 42); animals attacking and killing convicts (40 and 41); armed men fighting and killing animals (probably 36 and 37, certainly 40a); and men performing feints and tricks with the animals (as in the case of the bull-catchers in 14) before killing them (Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 310–12). See further below, pp. 77–8.

16–37 are a series of simple monuments — a stele in panel or altar form — each with a relief portraying a gladiator, usually with nothing more than his name in the nominative; such monuments are very widely found. As Robert pointed out, they are not easily understood as funerary; he proposed that they represent the reliefs which would be assembled round a *familia* inscription, commemorating individual members of that *familia* (*Gladiateurs*, 59–63). This explanation makes sense of our material, where the monuments appear to form a series of groups, roughly similar in design: thus 19–23, 25–28, 29–32, 35–37. Among these, there are some variants. 21 depicts a gladiator who is dead, shown, as traditionally, ‘in his glory’. It may be, therefore, that this should be seen as a funerary monument, and separated from the rest. But it so closely resembles the monuments with which it was found (20 and 22) that I think that it should probably be associated with them; among the gladiators of this particular *familia*, at least one has died, and is so represented.

16–24 all (except for 22, where any inscription is lost) refer to gladiators in terms of their ‘brigade’, *palus*. The term πάλος was elucidated by L. Robert, in commenting on the previous publication of 16 (‘Πυκτεύειν’, 40 (= *OMS* I, 691); *Gladiateurs*, 28–31). From the Latin *palus*, a stake, which was used of the stake set up in the ground against which sword-fighters used to practise their feints, it came to mean, first in Latin and then in Greek, a group of gladiators; Robert suggests that the intermediate sense was probably that of the ground in which each set of gladiators exercised. ‘First’ and ‘second’ *pali* are widely attested, but 16 was the first to provide unambiguous evidence for the existence of a ‘third’ (as also in 18 and 20) and ‘fourth’. The new texts add yet higher numbers. The

reading '*palus* 6' in 23 is absolutely certain. In 24 the surface is broken away, and it is less certain whether we should read *eta*, giving us '*palus* 8'. These high numbers suggest that a very large number of gladiators were employed at Aphrodisias. They also raise a problem, if we accept Robert's interpretation that there was a hierarchy of *pali*; if this is correct, the gladiators of *palus* 6 and perhaps 8 must have been very inferior fighters indeed. Furthermore, if our interpretation of nos 16–19 is correct, we have several examples of gladiators from different *pali* fighting one another; in 16 and 19 the victor appears to come from a *palus* with a higher number than that of the vanquished. Some of these objections may be met by Robert's observation that the lower numbers predominate in inscriptions, precisely because they indicated excellence; but it seems more likely that a system which was at first hierarchical came to be used, at least at Aphrodisias, simply for the purposes of organization, and that the higher numbers lost their inferior reputation.

16, 17 and 18 are in the form of simple altar-shaped stelai. They all use a formula for which I have found no parallel: one gladiator is named in the nominative, and a second in the genitive with ὑπό, 'by'. In the two of the three where the entire text can be read, the gladiators belong to different *pali*. While it is just possible that these are epitaphs set up by colleagues (as e.g. *ILS* 5113, 5118), the iconography of the monuments is not funerary, nor is this formula paralleled in such a sense; the monuments are in all other respects similar to the 'memorials' which follow. In the language of gladiatorial combats, the sense of ὑπό is most easily taken as '(defeated) by'. If this interpretation is correct, these texts are a variant on the inscriptions which list pairs of gladiators (e.g. Robert, *Gladiateurs* nos 52, 178, 180, 257), or the reliefs which depict them (*ibid.*, nos 46, 150, 184, 209). With them should probably be associated 19, which has a different layout, but presents a similar problem; it is inscribed with the name of a man belonging to *palus* 1, but the gladiator in the relief has the number 3 on his shield. The bottom of that relief is lost; it perhaps bore the legend 'by so-and-so, of *palus* 3'. It seems reasonable to assume that the reliefs show the victors, rather than the vanquished.

16. Found outside the south-east gate in 1904 by Gaudin's expedition, and published from a squeeze by Reinach, no. 190, whence Robert, 'Πυκτεύειν', 40 (= *QMS* 1, 707), *Gladiateurs* no. 162. Found by the current expedition in 1976, in the same area, but below ground level. Now in the dighouse garden; excavation inventory no. 76.85.

An altar-stele, with very simple moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.84, W. 0.395, D. 0.32). Letters standard forms: 1.1 0.015–0.02; 1.2, 0.02; HN in ligature. Inscribed on the upper moulding (1.1) and at the top of the face (1.2). There is no trace of carving on the face, which probably carried a painted image.

Ποδηνέμος πάλου γ' ὑπ[ὸ]
'Ερμᾶ *vac* πάλου δ'

Podenemus of brigade 3 by Hermas of brigade 4

The name is a conjecture by Reinach, and not certain.

17. Found in 1978 in the Turkish cemetery north east of the village; now in the Museum garden.

An altar-stele, with moulding above and below on three sides, badly worn (H. 0.71, W. 0.37, D. 0.42). Letters standard forms, 0.02. Inscribed on the face above relief of a heavily armed gladiator with shield, advancing right.

Οὔνιων πάλου β'
 ὑπὸ Παρδαλᾶ
 πάλου α'

Unio of brigade 2 by Pardalas of brigade 1.

For the name Unio, see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 232 and 301, with *OMS* IV, 175. For Pardalas as the name of a mime see 1.1.ii, and of a gladiator, *Gladiateurs* no. 269, and 300.

18. Stray find; now in the Museum garden.

An altar-stele with very simple moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.83, W. 0.42, D. 0.395). The upper right corner is broken, and the entire face has been pitted to take plaster. Letters 0.02. Inscribed on the upper moulding (ll.1–2) and on the face (l.3) above the very damaged relief of a gladiator, facing right.

Plate VIII

Νάρκισσος [? πάλου ?]
 ὑπὸ Χρυσο[. πάλ]-
 λου head γ'

Narcissus [? of brigade so-and-so] by Chryso[-] of brigade 3.

For the name Narcissus see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 79 nos 12 and 301, Sabbatini, *Roma* no.111; there are several possible resolutions of Chryso-.

19 – 23 are panel-stelae, with a simple flat moulding surrounding a recessed panel, in which is a figure in relief; **24** is a panel-stele, but without a raised edge.

19. Found in 1972, in the topsoil of the Tetrastoon; now in the Museum (excavation inventory no. 72.140).

Upper part of a panel-stele (H. 0.45, W. 0.46, D. 0.16) broken below and chipped on all edges. Inscribed on the upper moulding, which is broken; letters standard forms, 0.02. The relief, which is broken at the waist, is of a facing figure, with his head turned slightly to his right. He wears a highly decorated cuirass, with a rose and other designs on it in relief, and a decorated belt. On his left arm he holds a long shield with a decorated rim and the letter Γ in the top right corner. His right arm has an arm guard on the upper arm, which is all that survives. In the field on either side of the head are two wreaths, each decorated with a ribbon.

Plate VII

[.]-ενις stop πά(λου) α'

[.]enis of brigade 1.

The figure on the shield of the gladiator in the relief makes it clear that he belonged to the third brigade. See commentary above, p. 65.

20, 21, and 22 were found during roadworks near Karaçasu in 1968; **23** was found near Karaçasu in 1983. **20, 21, and 22** are now in the Museum garden, **23** is in the Museum.

20. Stele (H. 0.895, W. 0.50, D. 0.24), inscribed on upper moulding. Letters standard forms, 0.03. The relief is of a gladiator advancing to his left. He wears body armour, which stretches down to his wrists, leg-guards, and a helmet with a crest; on his left arm he has a long shield, and in his right hand a short sword.

Plate VII

Εὐπλους πάλου γ'

Euplous of brigade 3.

Euplous, although not specifically attested of gladiators, is a very common name.

21. A panel-stele (H. 0.88, W. 0.64, D. 0.21) inscribed on upper (1.1) and lower (1.2) mouldings; letters standard forms, 0.03. The relief is of a nude facing figure, who still wears arm-protectors on his right upper arm, and shin-guards. He holds a palm with his right arm, which is partly lost; his left arm is stretched out horizontally, and the hand rests on a helmet placed on what is either a smooth column or a tall shield. Below are two small figures: that on the man's right has shin-guards and a long shield, and looks up at him; that on his left is winged and naked, and holds his right arm down, and left arm raised, while regarding the central figure.

Plate VII

[? Ε]ὐπιθανὸς πάλου α'

[...]φίλος vac.

Eupithanus of brigade 1; [?]philus.

For the nominative, cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs* nos 253, 291, 300. The word below, with c. three letters missing, could also be read as [...]rilus. It is probably a name, perhaps that of the person responsible for putting up the monument, who might be a colleague, as e.g. *ILS* 5113, 5118; but it could be a further term describing Eupithanus.

Eupithanus is shown in the pose described as 'the gladiator in his glory' by Robert, which is typical of posthumous monuments, such as the epitaph below (43, where see references); but I have argued above (pp. 64–5) that this monument should be seen as a 'memorial' rather than a simple epitaph.

22. A panel-stele, broken away above (H. 0.55, W. 0.595, D. 0.21), with a simple moulding. On the central panel the relief figure of a gladiator advancing to his left survives up to the shoulders. He has a long shield on his left arm and a short sword (broken away) in his right hand; he seems to be wearing leg-guards.

23. Stele, broken below (H. 0.705, W. 0.575, D. 0.17), inscribed on upper moulding. Letters standard forms, 0.03–0.035. The relief is of a gladiator (a *retarius*) with very light armour, and bare legs, carrying a short sword in his right hand and advancing right; behind him lies a long implement, perhaps a trident.

Plate VII

Καλανδίων πάλου Ϝ'

Calandio of brigade 6.

For the name Calandio of a gladiator, see Sabbatini, *Roma* no. 114.ii, with pl. xxi; for the number of his *palus* see above, pp. 64–5.

24. Stray find in 1968; now in the Museum (excavation inventory no. 68.721). The right side and lower edge of a panel-stele without raised moulding (H. 0.44, W. 0.325, D. 0.165) inscribed on the lower edge; letters standard forms, but simple, and irregular in height, 0.02–0.028. A within Π as abbreviation. The relief shows the lower part, from the chest downwards, of a gladiator (a

retiarius) wearing body armour, with bare legs, advancing to his left; he holds a short sword in his right hand and the staff of a trident (whose head is lost) in his left.

Plate VIII

[.] Φέροπες πά(λου) η'

[.] Pheropes of brigade 8 (?).

The number might possibly be a gamma, but is far more easily read as eta. See above, p. 65.

Although there is room for a longer name, this is probably a version of the attested Φέροψ (Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 300; see also *BullÉp* 1966.256, from A. Balkanska, *Archeologia* 7 (1965), 32–5).

25–37 are all in the form of small altar-stelae, with the image of a gladiator in relief, and, normally, a name, but no mention of the *palus*.

25, 26, and 27 were seen in 1892, to the north of the north wall of the Stadium, and copied by Reichel; mentioned by Kubitschek and Reichel, no.2, whence Robert, *Gladiateurs*, nos 158, 159, and 160; published from Reichel's notes by Robert, *Hell.* v, 93–5. With these should probably be associated **28**, seen by Gaudin in 1904, 'in the Stadium'. **25** and **26** have been found again by the current expedition (no provenance) and are now in the Museum garden; **27** and **28** have not been found.

25. An altar-stele, with simple moulding above on three sides, and below on face only (H. 0.85, W. 0.36, D. 0.40). Letters standard forms, c. 0.03. Inscribed on the upper moulding; on the face is a relief (damaged) of a *retiarius*; he has body armour and ?a helmet; he holds the trident in both hands, across his body, facing left.

Plate IX

Ξάνθο[ς]

Xanthus.

For this name used by a gladiator, Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 299, cites *ILS* 5133.

26. An altar-stele, with simple moulding above on three sides, and below on face (H. 0.88, W. 0.36, D. 0.34). Letters standard forms, c. 0.025. Inscribed on the face, above a relief (damaged) of a gladiator advancing to his left. He has body armour, boots, and a helmet with a crest, and holds a long shield in front of him; his sword arm is lost.

Plate IX

Πάτροκλος

Patroclus.

For an Achilles, see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 300, Sabbatini, *Roma* 108. For another Homeric name, see **27**.

27. An altar-stele, with moulding above and below (H. 0.88, W. 0.43, D. 0.38); inscribed on the upper moulding, which is broken; lunate sigma and ?epsilon. The relief is of a heavily armed gladiator, with a short sword in his right hand, a long shield in the left, and a crested helmet, advancing to the right.

Facsimile drawing, from Reichel's notebook, Robert, *Hell.* v, 95

[. . .]CITHC

[?Ther]sites.

Reichel's copy showed the first letter as a lunate epsilon; Robert conjectured Thersites.

28. Found 'in the stadium' by Gaudin, but not published; cited from Gaudin's notebooks by K. T. Erim, *'De Aphrodisiade'*, *AJA* 71 (1967), 243, whence *BullÉp* 1968.507. 'An altar with a figure of a gladiator'.

Καίστιλλος

Caestillus.

For the name, from the Latin, see *BullÉp* 1968.507, and two gladiator reliefs from Smyrna (published most recently as *I.Smyrna* 419 and 843).

29, 30, and 31 were all found during excavation of a central stretch of the southern city wall in 1975 and 1976; all are now in the Museum garden (excavation inventory nos 75.90, 75.280, 76.20). With these should probably be associated 32 (where see commentary).

29. An altar-stele with moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.89, W. 0.41, D. 0.385). Inscribed on face; letters 0.03, lunate sigma. The relief is of a *retiarius*, inclined to his left. His right arm is bent and his hand rests on his right hip, with the net hanging over it. In his left hand he holds upright his trident, with two prongs, and a small square object resting on it.

Plate IX

Φόρτις

Fortis.

The representation of the net is unusual (*Gladiateurs*, 67), but not unknown (*ibid.*, 101 no.40). Again, the name is drawn from Latin, and provides a simple physical attribute.

30. An altar-stele with moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.90, W. 0.40, D. 0.38). Inscribed on face; letters irregular, 0.03, lunate sigma. The relief is of a gladiator advancing to his left. He wears body armour and a helmet which covers his face. On his left arm he holds a long shield in front of his body; in his right hand he holds a short sword.

Plate IX

Ἀνίκητος

Anicetus.

For this name used by a gladiator see Sabbatini, *Roma* no.59; the sense of 'unbeatable' is obviously appropriate.

31. An altar-stele, with moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.90, W. 0.40, D. 0.38). Inscribed on the face; letters standard forms, 0.03. The relief is of a gladiator, a *retiarius*, wearing only a loin-guard, and a strap over his left shoulder, advancing to his left; he has a bare head and hair down to his shoulders. In his left hand he holds a tall trident, whose head is lost; in his right hand he holds a short sword.

Plate x

Σκίρτος leaf

Scirtus.

For the name see *Gladiateurs*, 300, 104, no.44; R. Vulpe, *Apulum* 5 (1965), 51–66, with *BullÉp* 1968.361; D. French, ‘Two gladiatorial texts’, no.1. The sense of ‘nimble’ is particularly appropriate to a *retiarius*.

32. Copied by G. Doublet and G. Deschamps in 1887, and published by them, *BCH* (1890), 613, no.12. Copied by Reichel in 1892 ‘im Felde vor der Südmauer’ and cited by Kubitschek and Reichel, no.2, whence Robert, *Gladiateurs* no.161; published from Reichel’s notebook by Robert, *Hell.* v, 93–5, no.161. Not found again.

An altar-stele with moulding above and below (H. 0.84, W. 0.37, D. 0.28). Inscribed on the face; letters standard forms. The relief is of a heavily armed gladiator, with short sword in right hand, long shield in left, and a helmet which obscures his face, advancing right.

Facsimile drawing, Robert, *Hell.* v, 97

Μαργαρέτης

Margaretes.

Robert assumed that this altar-stele was found with the others seen by Reichel — **25**, **26**, and **27**, all of which were found near the Stadium. But the location given by Reichel suggests that it was seen south of the southern city wall, and should probably therefore be associated with **29**, **30**, and **31**, all found reused in that part of the city wall.

For the name, ‘Pearl’, see Sabbatini, *Roma* no. 54, and D. French, ‘Two gladiatorial texts’, no.1.

33. A stray find, now in the Museum garden.

An altar-stele (H. 0.79, W. 0.43, D. 0.41) with moulding above and below on three sides; the upper moulding, which may have been inscribed, is worn away. On the face a gladiator, of the Thracian type, advancing to his left. He wears a helmet, and has a round shield on his left arm and a ?sword in his right hand. He is dressed in a belted tunic, and has ?boots.

Plate x

34. A stray find, now in the Museum garden.

An altar-stele (H. 0.87, W. 0.305, D. 0.25) with moulding above and below on the front face only. The moulding is broken away, as is the figure in relief on the face; but enough can be made out to determine that this is of a gladiator, ?with a long shield, advancing to his left.

35, **36**, and **37** were found grouped together at the edge of a field between the west stretch of the city walls and the Hadrianic Baths. All are now in the Museum garden.

35. An altar-stele with moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.865, W. 0.43, D. 0.37). Inscribed on the face; letters standard forms, 0.02. The relief, worn, is of a gladiator with a long shield, advancing to his left; his right arm is bent, but whatever it held is lost. On the face in front of the figure is the outline of ?a palm branch.

Plate x

[Σεκ]οῦνδος

Secundus.

For the name see Robert, *Gladiateurs* no.85.

36 and **37** are both apparently of *bestiarii*, not gladiators.

36. An altar-stele with moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.81, W. 0.43, D. 0.355). Inscribed on the face; letters standard forms, 0.02. The relief, very worn, is of a man facing towards his left, from where a beast — ?a bear — is springing up at him.

Μένανδρο[ς]

Menander.

This is one of the commonest names at Aphrodisias.

37. An altar-stele with moulding above and below on three sides (H. 0.80, W. 0.37, D. 0.37). Inscribed on the face; letters standard forms, 0.025. The relief, which is largely lost, is of a man standing, facing to his right; one arm can be made out, held behind his back. He confronts a creature, which is jumping up at him. Above the man's head is a triangular area in relief, from which all features have been lost; probably a net.

Plate x

-]ΠΗΣ

-]pes.

Perhaps Εὐπρέ]πης, a name attested of gladiators (*Gladiateurs* nos 107, 291, and p. 301).

38, 39, 40, and 41 are all fragments from panels, illustrating gladiatorial combats or wild-beast fights; they may have decorated buildings — the Stadium or the Theatre — in which such activities took place, or have accompanied 'memorials' such as those discussed above, **13 – 15** (so Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 58–9). Such panels are frequently found, as far afield as Rome (Sabbatini, *Roma*, 101, pl. xxi; 110, pl. xxiv; 112, pl. xxii), or as near as Nysa (Robert, 'Une vision de Perpetuée', 252, = *OMS* v, 815).

38. A stray find, now in the Museum.

A panel, with a simple moulding at the edge, which survives above, below, and to the right. On the face, in relief, two heavily armed and helmeted gladiators confront one another. The figure on the left has a long shield on his left arm, and is extending his right arm, with a short sword, threatening his opponent; the other has a casque over his face, and something hanging down to the ground from his left hand. His right arm is extended to grip the shoulder of his opponent.

Plate xi

39. Excavated in the Water Channel area, at foundation level, in 1984; now in the Museum (excavation inventory no. 84.9).

A fragment (H. 0.26, W. 0.38, D. 0.13) with part of the left edge surviving, from a panel with a simple raised edge. In relief, two figures of gladiators confront one another. That on the right has a long shield, and leg-guards; that on the left has a casque and body armour, and is holding a short sword in his right hand (his left is lost).

Plate xi

40. Stray finds, now in the Museum (museum inventory no. 82/2/1183).

Two fragments from a panel (0.10 deep) decorated with crude relief sculpture within a series of rectangular areas enclosed within a simple flat moulding. These two both come from the upper edge of the stone; traces survive below of a second register of decoration.

a. (H. 0.49, W. 0.50) has a border surviving above and below, but both sides are lost. In the upper tier are running animals — ?an ox pursued by a dog or wolf. Below, a man with a spear fights off a bear; to his left, a humped animal (probably another bear) springs away, and below it a creature bends its head to the ground.

b. (H. 0.48, W. 0.56) has border surviving above, below and to the right. In the top right corner an ox flees. Below it, to the left a man (largely lost) confronts ?a bear, which is ?pursued by two running dogs. Below, in the lower right corner a ?boar is seated, facing two reclining creatures. That to the left is lost; in the centre a creature whose head is elongated like that of a bear holds in an uplifted hand a rope which appears to be fastened to its neck, and to that of the creature behind. In fact the parallels all suggest that this figure must be human, illustrating a person condemned *ad bestias*; they are several times shown on such reliefs with a rope attached at the neck (so Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 320 and, more fully, *Hell.* vii, 141–7).

Plate xi

While other, similar, panels are found elsewhere, the most closely similar is one of a series found at Kibyra (Robert, *Hell.* vii, 57 and pl.xx.).

41. A stray find from near the Hadrianic Baths in 1967; now in the Museum (excavation inventory no. 67.7).

Fragment of relief panel (H. 0.35, W. 0.34, D. 0.22) with bottom edge surviving. To the right, a man (broken away from shoulders upwards) is kneeling, supported by his left hand; he is naked except for a loin-guard, and perhaps a strap on his upper chest. With his right hand he is pulling at the harness worn by a creature — either a bear or a very heavy dog — which is biting his right thigh.

Plate xi

The man depicted here is definitely a person condemned *ad bestias*; see Robert (above, on 40) and compare in particular a relief from Hierapolis (T. Ritti, *Hierapolis: Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche* (Rome, 1985), 102 no.10).

42. On Column 67, from the east, of the northern colonnade of the Portico of Tiberius.

A lightly cut graffito of a bull fighting a lion.

43 and 44 are both private epitaphs.

43. Found in the Theatre Baths in 1974; now in the Museum (excavation inventory no. 74.227).

A small stele (H. 0.42, W. 0.35, D. 0.16) with a triangular pediment above, broken away, and a recessed central panel. Inscribed in the central panel, below the relief; letters irregular, with lunate epsilon, sigma, omega, and cursive alpha. The relief is of a facing figure with a loin guard and greaves. In his right hand he holds a palm, and the left rests on a shield, which has a helmet above it.

Plate xii

Τροφίμη Εἰρηνί[φ]-
νι ἐσσεδαρίω μ[νεί]-
[ας] χάριν [? vac.]

Trophime (put up this monument) to ?Eirenion, *essedarius*, in memory.

This is clearly an epitaph, in the form described by Robert as ‘the gladiator in his glory’ (*Gladiateurs*, 47–9); the gladiator is presented holding a palm, with his helmet and shield beside him, as in very similar reliefs illustrated by Robert (*Gladiateurs*, 301, pl. xx; 119, pl. xxiii).

Trophime, who put up this epitaph, was presumably the wife of the man commemorated (for many other examples of such epitaphs see *Gladiateurs*, 43–4, with another Trophime, 227 no. 292). The *essedarius* fought from a chariot (Lafaye, 'Gladiator', 1588, no.8).

44. A stray find in 1989; now in the Museum garden.

A panel (H. 0.46, W. 0.34, D. 0.13) with worn edges; only the right side survives intact. A groove has been cut in the back. Letters lunate, irregular, but carefully cut, probably fifth/sixth century; av. 0.03.

Plate XII

cross Ἐνθάδε κα-
τάκιτε Ἐπι-
φάνις ταυρ-
ωτρόφος cross

Here lies Epiphani(o)s, bull-rearer.

The funerary formula here is a standard one, particularly in the late Roman period (see *ALA* p.213), and the form Epiphanis for the name Epiphanios is again typical of this period (cf. e.g. *ALA* 98). The man's occupation, however, is a hitherto unattested word, ταυρωτρόφος, which can only mean 'breeder or rearer of bulls'. This cannot mean simply a cattle farmer; cattle are described by the word βοῦς, giving βουτρόφος or βούκολος. The unusual term makes it clear that this man was raising bulls in particular; and if so, the most obvious reason for doing so would be to provide the bulls which were extensively used for bull fights and bull chases (Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 315–9). A similar term, θηριοτρόφος, is attested in the Roman period for a man responsible for the beasts for a *venatio* (*Gladiateurs*, 320) and is also found in the late fifth century: Mentzou, *Συμβολαί*, 148, cites the life of St Auxentius, in Bithynia, who was approached for help by the wives of both a charioteer (*PG* 114, 1401a) and a θηριοτρόφος (*ibid.*, 1432a). One specific term, ἀρκοτρόφος, 'bear-rearer', is first attested in the sixth century, when Procopius uses it, with some disdain, to describe Acacius, the father of the future empress Theodora: Ἀκάκιος ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ θηριοκόμος τῶν ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ θηρίων μοίρας Πρασίνων, ὄνπερ ἀρκοτρόφον καλοῦσιν (*HA* ix.2; for the spelling see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 194, n.2). Bears were very frequently used in wild-beast fights, as is clear from the consular diptychs; see below, p. 78; see also Robert, 'Une vision de Perpetué', 246–8 (= *OMS* v, 809–11). This evidence therefore confirms what we would in any case assume, that *venationes* continued at Aphrodisias well into the late Roman period. Epiphanios does not describe himself as associated with the Blues or the Greens, but it is not necessarily safe to argue from this that no such association existed.

THE ORGANIZATION

Both the quantity of these monuments and the large numbers of brigades, *pali*, which are attested (see above, on 16 – 24) suggest that very considerable numbers of gladiators were maintained at Aphrodisias in the imperial period. A high-priest might simply pass on the *familia* which he had deployed to his successor in office; this arrangement at Pergamum is described by Galen, but it will only have made sense at a city where

gladiatorial shows were relatively frequent.¹¹ For perhaps only one show in a year it would presumably have been cheaper to obtain gladiators for the occasion. We know that *familiae* of gladiators would be built up by speculators, *lanistae*, as a business venture, to be hired out to those wishing to put on spectacles.¹²

This is not to say, however, that all gladiators were slaves; we know that they included considerable numbers of free men,¹³ who could build up a reputation, and record their victories, as in the case of the gladiator who listed a victory at Aphrodisias (above, p. 61). At Ancyra the epitaph of a successful retired gladiator (*summa rudis*) listed his achievements, including a list of the cities who had granted him citizenship, in a manner very similar to that of the victors in other forms of contest (cf. below, 91.i.46–54).¹⁴ It was often a retired gladiator who would set up as a *lanista*. It is not surprising to find that gladiators, like other performers, formed associations;¹⁵ the gladiator at Ancyra belonged to a ‘*collegium* in Rome of retired gladiators’. An inscription from Beroia lists a group of gladiators who buried a colleague — the typical responsibility of an association.¹⁶ In this, as in other ways, gladiators resembled other performers.¹⁷ They were spoken of in the same breath, and with much of the same terminology, as heavy athletes such as boxers or wrestlers.¹⁸

The wild-beast fighters, *venatores*, were even more likely to be free men — some even of good family — and to form associations. One group at Mylasa honoured their patron — *προστάτης*.¹⁹ But the most detailed information about such groupings comes from North Africa. Over the last twenty years, A. Beschtaouch has published an important series of articles presenting the evidence for associations, *sodalités*, in Roman Africa. In 1966 he published an astonishingly informative mosaic, dated to 240–50, from Smirat — a site whose Roman name is not known.²⁰ This illustrates a *venatio*, showing four *venatores* (who are named) fighting four leopards (also named). The show was presented by a certain Magerius, whose particular generosity consisted in paying for the leopards killed in the spectacle. The mosaic records a dialogue which took place on this occasion. A herald addresses a request for payment to the crowd, and they then use acclamations first to ask Magerius to pay, and then to praise him for having done so. The request is on behalf of a group called the Telegenii, and they are to receive the payment; it is clear that the *venatores* themselves are members of the Telegenii.

The Telegenii are also known from several other sites in Africa.²¹ They were members of an association, denoted (as is standard for such groups) by their name, and/or by a number (3), and/or by a symbol (a pitchfork); the association was apparently under the protection of Dionysus. They were — or included — *venatores*, and also took

¹¹ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 284–5, Ville, *Gladiature*, 301–2.

¹² Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 285, Ville, *Gladiature*, 270–2.

¹³ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 287–93, Ville, *Gladiature*, 246–55.

¹⁴ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 263 and no. 90.

¹⁵ Sabbatini, *Roma* nos 45–7; Robert, *Gladiateurs* no. 90; J.-P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les romains* (Louvain, 1895–1900) II, 133f.

¹⁶ V. Allamani-Sourin, *Ametos: Studies for M. Andronicos* (Thessaloniki, 1987), 36–7 whence *Bull'Ép* 1988.834, *SEG* xxxvi.595.

¹⁷ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 263.

¹⁸ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 250–3.

¹⁹ Robert, *Gladiateurs* no 175; cf. Ville, *Gladiature*, 255.

²⁰ ‘La mosaïque de chasse à l’amphithéâtre découverte à Smirat en Tunisie’, *CRAI* 1966, 134–57, 134–50; see also K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford, 1978), 67–9.

²¹ ‘La mosaïque de chasse’, 150–7.

responsibility for putting on *venationes*, apparently as entrepreneurs, providing beasts as well as fighters. Beschtaouch has published evidence for several other such associations from other sites in North Africa.²² Some seem to have been local groups, but some are found all over the region; and their symbols have even been found in Sicily, in the mosaics of the Constantinian villa at Piazza Armerina.²³ The evidence is from the inscriptions of members — chiefly funerary; from mosaics, where they are sometimes referred to just by their symbols; and from small jars with their emblems. These jars frequently depict scenes from *venationes*, sometimes also with an acclamatory inscription: thus *Telegenii nika*,²⁴ *Perexi nika*.²⁵

This evidence suggests that, by the mid-third century, there were associations of *venatores* who called themselves *sodalicii* and took on the organization of *munera*, apparently by contracting out their services to people who wished to put on a show. In this way, they seem to have been similar to the circus factions of the same period, which were apparently run by the charioteers themselves, and contracted out their services (above, p. 49). Like other professional associations, the *sodalitates* also seem to have taken responsibility for the burial of members,²⁶ and to have owned property.²⁷ It is even possible that they were involved in building activities; the amphitheatre at Tebessa has a series of inscriptions with four names — otherwise unknown — in the nominative plural, apparently describing four groups who had been responsible for building work on the amphitheatre.²⁸ What is not certain is whether every member of such an association was actively involved in putting on *venationes*, or whether they had a wider membership. The existence of the little jars described above does strongly suggest that they had supporters, since this kind of item is best understood as a supporter's memento. This is also suggested simply by the large number of attestations. It certainly appears that a supporter of the *Telegenii* could join the association himself, and so 'become' a *Telegenius*, which is of considerable interest in view of later, Byzantine, developments.

Apart from this last point, all of the evidence shows considerable parallels with the evidence for the organization of other performers (considered in Chapter IV), which is quite unsurprising. Gladiatorial shows might be put on as special shows, *μονομάχων θεάματα* as Plutarch calls them,²⁹ but they were soon appended to Greek festivals,³⁰ and came to be associated with athletic contests,³¹ or theatrical displays, as at Hispellum in the fourth century: there a priest of the Constantinian house was praised as 'provider of a lavish gladiatorial show, but also of the particular delight of the theatre', 'abundantissimi muneris, sed et praeipuae laetitiae theatralis editori'.³² There was sometimes a brutal

²² 'La mosaïque de chasse', 157; 'Nouvelles recherches sur les sodalités de l'Afrique romaine', *CRAI* 1977, 486–503; 'Une sodalité africaine méconnue: les Perexii', *CRAI* 1979, 410–20; 'Nouvelles observations sur les sodalités africaines', *CRAI* 1985, 469–74; see also Dunbabin, *MRNA*, 78–84.

²³ See Carandini, Ricci, de Vos, *Filosofiana*, 136–8; C. Ampolo, A. Carandini, G. Pucci, P. Pensabene, *MEFRA* 83 (1971), 250–1.

²⁴ Beschtaouch, 'La mosaïque de chasse', 150–1.

²⁵ Beschtaouch, 'Une sodalité africaine', 410–18; on this kind of pottery see also Salomonson in *BABesch* 44 (1969), 95, pl. 133.

²⁶ Beschtaouch, 'Nouvelles recherches', 496–8.

²⁷ Beschtaouch, 'Nouvelles recherches', 499–500.

²⁸ R. Lequément, *BAA* 2 (1965–6), 117, cf. 122 and fig. 6: the groups are *Honoratianii*, *Victorinianii*, *Venerii*, and *Ambibulianii*, followed in each case by *fecerunt*. But none of these are attested as *sodalitates*.

²⁹ Plutarch, *Praecepta*, 802d, cited by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 245.

³⁰ Ville, *Gladiature*, 214–5.

³¹ See Dunbabin, *MRNA*, 74.

³² Gregori, *Regiones Italiae VI–XI*, no. 21; for the celebrations at Hispellum see further below, and n.45.

overlap between theatrical presentations and wild-beast shows, when condemned prisoners were used to illustrate the sufferings of mythological characters.³³ *Venationes* might be presented between chariot races;³⁴ both kinds of show might be included in a wider mixed programme.³⁵

Christians were urged to avoid attending gladiatorial combats, together with other public entertainments.³⁶ Like other displays, they were demonically inspired; they were also seen as an extreme example of extravagance.³⁷ It is clear that extravagant expenditure was in fact a central part of the ideology of such *munera*. In the Roman period, they are listed as examples of the proper extravagance of benefactors;³⁸ and the idea continues into the late empire.³⁹ Thus, in the mosaic at Smirat, in honour of the *munerarius* Magerius, his generosity, μεγαλοψυχία, is indicated by the image of a servant holding a tray with four sacks of money, each marked as containing 1,000 denarii.⁴⁰ Similar suggestions of generosity are to be found on the consular diptychs, where scenes of *venationes* include representations of sacks of money.⁴¹ Beschaouch also refers to the hunting mosaic found at Antioch, where, in a mosaic dated to the middle of the fifth century, a central medallion depicting a personification of Μεγαλοψυχία is surrounded by hunting scenes.⁴² Μεγαλοψυχία, *magnanimitas*, was a virtue of great men from the time of Aristotle, which came increasingly to be expressed by *munificentia* — lavish expenditure;⁴³ thus, the figure of *Megalopsychia* holds coins in the fold of her mantle. In the consular diptychs of the later empire images of *venationes* alternate with images representing plenty and largesse.

THE LATER EMPIRE

Gladiatorial shows were forbidden by Constantine, in a law of 325, but without any immediate effect.⁴⁴ In the 330s Constantine himself gave permission for a regular *munus*, including both theatrical performances and gladiatorial combats, to be given at Hispellum in Umbria, as part of the cult of the imperial house,⁴⁵ and there is considerable evidence for their continuation at Rome into the fifth century;⁴⁶ the latest evidence is probably a contorniate, showing gladiators, of the reign of Valentinian III.⁴⁷ In the provinces, however, by the mid-fifth century the Christian writers were criticizing other spectacles,

³³ See K. M. Coleman, 'Fatal charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments', *JRS* 80 (1990), 44–73.

³⁴ As at Oxyrhynchus in the sixth century: see *P.Oxy.* 2707, discussed above, Chapter IV, p. 58.

³⁵ Ville, *Gladiature*, 175–6.

³⁶ Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 291–2, 294–5.

³⁷ Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 293, Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 245 ff.

³⁸ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 257–8.

³⁹ Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 308–9.

⁴⁰ On these sacks see also *CRAI* 1985, 454–8.

⁴¹ e.g. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 10 (Areobindus, A.D. 506).

⁴² D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947), I, 326–45, esp. 337 ff.; the text is also published as *IGLS* 3 (1953), 998a.

⁴³ Levi, *Mosaic Pavements*, 343.

⁴⁴ Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* IV.25; *CTh.* XV.12.1 with Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 314–16.

⁴⁵ 'Spectaculum tam scenicorum ludorum quam gladiatoris muneris', *CIL* XI.5265, (whence *ILS* 705, Gregori, *Regiones Italiae VI–XI*, no.19) with Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 297; see above, and n.32.

⁴⁶ Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 317–8.

⁴⁷ A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons* (Berlin, 1976), 204, with Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 331.

including *venationes*, without mentioning gladiators; there gladiatorial shows seem to have become less and less frequent, and are not mentioned after the reign of Arcadius in the East.⁴⁸ This suggests that Ville is right to see the chief reason for the disappearance of gladiatorial combats as being the expense.⁴⁹ He also points out that such combats will have become extremely rare, and this must be a very important point; there was no longer an attractive career open to gladiators, if they could not proceed from city to city throughout the year, selling their skills. In this way, again, the development of gladiatorial combats will have mirrored that of other kinds of entertainment.

While gladiatorial combats diminished, *venationes* continued to be held; in the view of Malalas, they had been introduced as a more humane replacement for gladiatorial combats (under Nerva).⁵⁰ They continued to be a characteristic feature of the festivals celebrated by the provincial councils in honour of the emperors. Thus Libanius frequently refers to the *venationes* given by various Syriarchs — that is, presidents of the provincial assembly of Syria.⁵¹ That evidence suggests that there was a *venatio* every year, at the provincial festival, but that some were more lavish than others; on the other hand, there is only one mention of gladiators, in Libanius' description of his youthful career, in about 330.⁵² As Liebeschuetz points out, the survival of *venationes* is a reflection of the continued, and even enhanced, importance of provincial assemblies in the later empire.⁵³ It is clear from the correspondence of Libanius, as also from the letters of Symmachus, that, at least in the later fourth century, the practical problems of obtaining wild beasts and *venatores* for the *venationes* were considerable, as was the expense. It looks as if these arrangements may have been reorganized during the fifth century, when the other reorganizations of performers took place. The description of Theodora's father as bear-rearer of the Green faction (above, on 44) makes it clear that responsibility for the presentation of *venationes* now fell to the factions; it is therefore probable that some kind of competitive element had also been introduced.

Theophanes states that Anastasius 'removed the *chrysargyron* (the hated tax abolished in 498) and the *venationes*'.⁵⁴ According to Priscian, in his panegyric of c. 503, Anastasius forbade *ludos nefandos*, in which human beings were destroyed by beasts.⁵⁵ Procopius of Gaza, shortly after 501, describes Anastasius as having stopped certain spectacles in which 'in the full view of the people unfortunate men were delivered up to wild-beasts', ἄνδρες γὰρ δυστυχεῖς ἐν μέσῳ δῆμῳ παρεδίδοντο τοῖς θηρίοις.⁵⁶ Joshua the Stylite, writing at Edessa, places in August 499 'an edict from the emperor Anastasius that the fights of wild beasts in the amphitheatre (κυνήγιον) should be suppressed in all the cities of the Greek empire'.⁵⁷

On the other hand, as Chastagnol observed, it is quite clear that *venationes* did continue.⁵⁸ The most striking evidence is that provided by the consular diptychs. On those

⁴⁸ Ville, 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 319.

⁴⁹ 'Gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', 332–3.

⁵⁰ Malalas 268.

⁵¹ See Liebeschuetz, 'Syriarchy'.

⁵² Liebeschuetz, 'Syriarchy', 116–7, 124; Libanius, *Or.* 1.5.

⁵³ Liebeschuetz, 'Syriarchy', 126.

⁵⁴ Theophanes 143.17; so Theodore Lector, *PG* 86.209.

⁵⁵ Priscian, *Pan.* 223–7.

⁵⁶ xv (ed. Chauvot, p. 17, 21–8).

⁵⁷ Josh. Styl. 23.

⁵⁸ A. Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain sous le regne d'Odoacre* (Bonn, 1966), 60–2; see also Cameron, *Porphyrus*, 228 ff.

of Areobindus, consul in 506,⁵⁹ and of Anastasius himself, consul in 517,⁶⁰ *venationes* are clearly illustrated; and several kinds of *venationes* are listed among the entertainments to be presented by a consul in Justinian's Novel 105, of 537. The occupation of Theodora's father as a bear-rearer is another indication. Chastagnol argued that this can be explained if we assume that Anastasius banned the more dangerous *venationes*, and permitted a milder kind of sport, chiefly involving acrobatics, such as the bull-catching described above (on 14). This is one possible explanation, although it seems to involve interference in unusual detail, and of a kind which would have been unlikely to succeed. Wild-beast fighting, however, was not the only dangerous entertainment presented as a spectacle; the lives of acrobats and other 'marvel-makers' or 'stunt-men', θαυματοποιοί, were well known to be at risk.⁶¹ Moreover, it is clear that the danger of the *venationes* continued to be a characteristic element after the ruling of Anastasius. In one of the diptychs of Areobindus, for example, we see a scene of men jumping over animals, while armed *bestiarii* stand at the side, but one of the men is being bitten by a bear; on the verso, armed men are spearing lions.⁶² Similarly, on one diptych of Anastasius, men with lassoes are manoeuvring among lions and panthers; but one is being bitten, in a manner very reminiscent of 41.⁶³ Justinian describes such shows, where 'men fight wild beasts and gain glory by their daring'.⁶⁴

Another possible explanation is that the ban of Anastasius was no more effective than that of Constantine on gladiatorial combat, and was perhaps actually intended as a temporary measure. Thus in 501, after riots in Constantinople, Anastasius 'banished the dancers of the four factions'⁶⁵ (as Roman emperors had several times done with pantomime performers in the past) and also apparently banned pantomime performances in the provinces.⁶⁶ If the parallel with the actions of earlier Roman emperors is correct, then this was probably a temporary ban, imposed as a punishment, rather than a long-term policy; and *venationes* might, arguably, have been banned in the same way.

But one final possibility is that what was outlawed by Anastasius was that part of the *venationes* which could accurately be described in the terms used by Procopius of Gaza, as 'men being delivered up to wild-beasts' — that is, *condemnatio ad bestias*. This is still attested in the sixth century, but it seems to be remarked on by the chroniclers as an unusual punishment for particularly grave crimes and perhaps only imposed by the emperors themselves: thus it was used under Tiberius;⁶⁷ rebels under Maurice were condemned to be delivered to the beasts, but were let off.⁶⁸ On all these occasions the imposition of the punishment implies the availability of wild beasts, and so serves as further evidence for the survival of *venationes* for much of the sixth century. It seems to me that Anastasius may well have forbidden the general use of *condemnatio ad bestias* as a punishment outside Constantinople, and that it is the forbidding of this part of what were known as *venationes* that is celebrated by the chroniclers.

⁵⁹ Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 9, 11, 12.

⁶⁰ Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 20, 21.

⁶¹ Robert, *Ét. ép. et phil.*, 102–5.

⁶² Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 9.

⁶³ Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 21.

⁶⁴ Nov. 105.1.

⁶⁵ Malalas, *Exc. de insid.* 36 (167).

⁶⁶ Josh. Styl. ch. 46, p.35; John of Antioch fr. 101.

⁶⁷ John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.* III.33 and 35.

⁶⁸ Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* III.8.9.

It seems more likely that *venationes* also dwindled, but far more slowly than gladiatorial combats. Although lions and panthers were expensive and difficult to procure, bulls could be bred, and bears were native to Anatolia. Joshua the Stylite, having reported the ban on *venationes*, also mentions on two occasions (in 504/5 and 505/6) how wild beasts which had been captured were sent alive to Edessa — perhaps simply for display, but, far more probably, to be hunted and killed in a show.⁶⁹ But, as the cities dwindled, there will have been fewer and fewer people willing or able to put on such a show. Perhaps even more importantly, the ethic of expenditure — the belief that lavish expenditure was intrinsically virtuous — was dying. The virtue of *Megalopsychia* was now restricted to a single benefactor, 'the wealth-giving emperor', ὁ πλουτοδότης αὐτοκράτωρ.⁷⁰ The giving of this form of entertainment, as of others, was eventually no longer the task of the rich man, but became a commercial venture — the man with his dancing bear, shuffling through the streets of a middle eastern town, in search of an audience.

THE SUPPORTERS

We know that gladiatorial combats, from at least the first century A.D., were followed by two groups of supporters; the *parmularii*, who supported the heavy-armed Thracian gladiators, and the *scutularii*, who supported the *myrmillones*.⁷¹ It seems likely that the graffito of a Thracian in the Theatre at Aphrodisias (46.H.9) would have been inscribed by a *parmularius*. These allegiances were very similar to those which divided the supporters of different colours in the Circus; an epitaph at Rome commemorates an oil-dealer who was a supporter of the Blues and the Thracians, Crescens, 'olear(ius) de portic(u) Pallantian(a) Venetian(us), parmular(ius)'.⁷² Marcus Aurelius was grateful to the tutor who had taught him 'not to be a Green supporter or a Blue supporter, nor a *parmularius* or a *scutarius*', τὸ μήτε Πρασιανὸς μήτε Βενετιανὸς μήτε παλμουλάριος ἢ σκουτάριος γένεσθαι.⁷³

This terminology is also found at least as far east as Bulgaria; an inscription from Augusta Traiana was recognized by J. and L. Robert as referring to *scutularii*.⁷⁴ In the eastern part of the empire there were also other expressions to indicate supporters. Two inscriptions from the agora at Ephesus record honours to patrons by the *philoploi* ('lovers of arms') *philovedii* ('lovers of the Vedii'); the names of both patrons are lost, but one has been restored as that of an Asiarch known in the first half of the third century.⁷⁵ The *philoploi philovedii* were apparently a group of enthusiasts for gladiatorial shows who were also supporters of the Vedii, an important family at Ephesus, who are known to have put on gladiatorial combats.⁷⁶ They seem to have functioned as a typical association, with

⁶⁹ Chapters 85, p.67; 90, p.70.

⁷⁰ Acclamation recorded in Const. Porph., *De Cer.* 626.11.

⁷¹ Ville, *Gladiature*, 443–5.

⁷² ILS 7492.

⁷³ M. Aurelius, *Commentarii* 1.5.

⁷⁴ *BullÉp* 1971.423 and (more fully) 1972.294, commenting on the publication by H. Bujukliev, *Archéologie* (Sofia, 1971) II, 30–6, no.3.

⁷⁵ Robert, *Gladiateurs* no.200, now republished as *I.Eph.* 3070, with the restoration suggested by J. Nollé; the anonymous is in *Gladiateurs* no. 201, now *I.Eph.* 3055.

⁷⁶ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 25–7; for another fragment perhaps referring to *philovedii*, cf. *I.Eph.* 2905.

patrons; one of the men honoured had put on splendid shows, the other was their 'own patron', ἴδιος προστάτης. That they functioned in the same way as other associations is indicated by another inscription from Ephesus, the epitaph of a baker, which has a penalty payable to 'the *philopia* of the *philovedii*, . . . and to the *philopia* of the sacred *macellum*';⁷⁷ this inscription indicates that such a group might have a wide range of responsibilities towards its members. Moreover, it shows the existence of at least two such groups at Ephesus; the baker apparently was associated with both. Another group of *philoploi* buried a member at Termessos.⁷⁸ At Miletus, an area of the city was apparently designated as the place of the *philoploi*, ἱεροπλατίη τῶν φιλόπλων,⁷⁹ and at Philippi there is also evidence for groups of φιλοκύνηγοι, 'lovers of *venationes*'.⁸⁰

The material presented above illustrates the importance of gladiatorial combats in the eastern provinces, and the survival, even after such combats had become too expensive, of the cheaper alternative of wild-beast hunts. Here, as with other forms of entertainment, we find the performers forming associations to protect their interests. Moreover, we can see how pervasive the spirit of partisanship was, and how it coincided with the strong tendency in ancient society to form groups and associations, particularly in the circumstances of a reunion of the whole population, such as on the occasion of a spectacle in the auditoria. This can be further illustrated by the material which follows, from the seats of the auditoria at Aphrodisias.

⁷⁷ Robert, *Gladiateurs* no. 202, now republished as *I.Eph.* 2226.

⁷⁸ *TAM* III.400.

⁷⁹ *Milet* II,3 (1935) no.403.

⁸⁰ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 323.

PART TWO
THE AUDIENCE

CHAPTER VI. THE SPECTATORS

45 – 47

The allocation of seating in ancient auditoria was not random. The very front seats were reserved for civic officials, and *proedria*, 'preferential seating', was a privilege regularly awarded by cities. But the distribution of seats in the rest of the cavea was also regulated. The rules laid down to regulate seating at Rome were most recently examined in an article by Elizabeth Rawson, and similar regulations existed in provincial cities.¹ These general rulings were intended chiefly to organize the seating of different classes of citizen, for example providing for the seating of Roman senators and equites; but local regulations also ensured seating for humbler groups. Inscriptions survive in which the local council allocates *βάθρα*, 'seats' or 'blocks of seating', in various public places, including auditoria, to groups and associations;² in some auditoria the inscription reserving a seat is accompanied by the indication that the seating had been officially awarded.³

Seat inscriptions survive at a large number of ancient sites, but, taken together, the three auditoria at Aphrodisias offer one of the largest collections of seat inscriptions so far published from any one city.⁴ I have included mentions of all but the most hopelessly obscure, in order to give an idea of the quantity of the inscriptions; and there must have been many more texts which were painted, and did not survive. The texts vary from casual graffiti, cut in tiny letters on a single seat, to what look like very official inscriptions, some cut with one letter on each seat along a row of seats. Hardly any of them offers good grounds for dating on the basis of script. But, while there are many deficiencies and uncertainties in the information which they provide, they do make it possible to draw some conclusions about the organization of audiences, and its development over the Roman and late Roman period. In what follows, I have also described gameboards and similar designs using the new British Museum typology (BMT): illustrations of the examples cited here can be found in Appendix v.

The inscriptions on the seats of the Stadium (45; plan, Fig. 1) have never been covered, and are extremely weathered; on each visit to the Stadium I have detected new texts, or seen new aspects of earlier readings, depending on the accident of light and position. The majority of the very large number of seats (forty blocks, with up to thirty surviving rows of seats in each) do not show any sign of inscriptions, which is perhaps why almost none were noted by earlier visitors to the site.⁵ I have not observed traces of reworking, although this could be the result of the condition of the stone, and only two

¹ E. Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum: the *Lex Julia Theatralis*', *PBSR* 55 (1987), 83–114, reprinted, eadem, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford, 1991), 508–45. On the importance of the evidence from seating in auditoria see also J. Kolendo, 'La répartition des places aux spectacles et la stratification sociale dans l'Empire romain', *Ktéma* 6 (1981), 301–15; D. B. Small, 'Social correlations to the Greek *cavea* in the Roman Period', in S. Macready and F. H. Thompson (eds), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (London, 1987), 85–93. The model for what such a study can provide is the work of A. Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain sous le règne d'Odoacre* (Bonn, 1966).

² See for example *I.Smyrna* 713, with L. Robert, *REA* 65 (1963), 328–9 (=OMS III, 1523–4).

³ e.g. at Nemausus, *ILS* 5656: 'd.d.d.n.' = 'data decreto decurionum Nemausi'.

⁴ For useful bibliographies see B. Saria, 'Die Inschriften des Theaters von Stobi', *JÖAI* 32 (1940), Beibl. 23, 5–34, n.14; M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Munich, 1972), 32, n.1; J.-C. Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain* (Paris, 1988), 351.

⁵ The sole exception is 45.X.6, read 'on a seat in the Stadium' by Charles Fellows.

texts require a date later than the Roman imperial period. I am inclined to think, therefore, that most of the Stadium texts date from that period.

The Theatre seats (46; plan, Fig. 2) were protected from the weather until the excavation of the Theatre in the late 1960s, and are in excellent condition. They reveal extensive evidence of use and re-use. Almost every seat in the Theatre shows some sign of having had at least a single letter cut on it, but inscriptions seem to have been erased or simply cut over by later users. The bulk of the texts which can be made out, if they offer any indication of date, seem to be of the late Roman period, but it is clear that many earlier texts have been obscured by re-use; in several cases it is possible to detect elements of the term *κατέχεται*, 'it is reserved'.⁶ The earlier, underlying texts seem often, as in the case of the Stadium, to have been spread across a large number of seats, which makes them all the more difficult to read.

The Odeon (47; plan, Fig. 3), by contrast, has inscriptions surviving on only six seats, although groups of letters survive on the rims of several more (see below); of these six, four are clearly from the late Roman period, and it seems economical to assume that all six were contemporary. It is hard to believe that they existed in isolation, and easier to assume that other such texts were painted on the other seats. What is not certain is whether there were always texts of some kind on the seats, or whether there was some change in the use of the Odeon in the late Roman period which led to these texts being inscribed.

45. THE STADIUM

Plan, Fig. 1

There are forty blocks of seating in the Stadium, which I have numbered 1 to 40; 1 is the block over the eastern entrance to the arena, and the numbering then proceeds anti-clockwise, along the north side to Block 21 at the opposite end, and back along the south. Not all blocks have the same number of surviving rows, but the lowest row can usually be determined, and I have designated this as A, going up alphabetically, and omitting the letter I. The most favoured position would seem to have been in the centre blocks along either side; in the two central blocks, 11 on the north side and 31 on the south, there are the remains of two built-up podia, perhaps for presiding magistrates. There are also a larger number of inscriptions at the east end than at the west; this may be because there was a preference for seats where the spectators would not have the sun in their eyes at morning performances, but it may also be related to the fact that it was at the eastern end that a small arena was constructed, apparently after the rest of the Stadium had fallen out of use (see above, p. 1). A high proportion of the gameboards and designs in the Stadium are in the top rows, especially at the west end; many of these are likely to have been cut in later centuries, since until very recently this was a favourite position for shepherds to sit, with a good view of their flocks.

It must be emphasized that in this enormous structure, with its very weathered surfaces, there may well be further texts which I have not observed, and that some of the readings here are very uncertain. I have, however, tried to report all that I have discovered, even in the many cases where I have been able to make no good sense of my readings.

⁶ This is frequently found on theatre seats, e.g. at Cadyanda, *TAM* II, 653; *I.Ephesos* 598; E. Peterson and F. von Luschan, *Reisen in südwestlichen Kilikien* II (Vienna, 1889), 29, no.2, as well as for reserving other kinds of *topoi*, e.g. *I.Magn.* 250 (funerary); *I.Pergamum* II, 381, 616; *I.Didyma*, 50 (on steps of temple). *Προκατέχεται* is found several times on theatre seats at Termessos: *TAM* III.872.1, 9, 11, 21, 23, 29, 32.

Block 1

There are designs as follows: Row V, 1 3Rows.4, in a frame (0.78 x 0.38, incomplete); Row X, 1 3Rows.2, very worn (0.55 x 0.42); Row Y, 1 H.2 (0.21 x 0.10).

Row Y. On a single seat, the letter A (0.09).

Block 2

There are designs as follows: Row U, 1 H.4 (0.24 x 0.11), ?1 3Rows.1 (worn and incomplete); Row W, 1 3Rows.4, with central dividers not cut, and rows not properly aligned (c. 0.56 x 0.29).

Row M. Starting at the north end. Letters 0.14–0.23; square sigma.

τό|π|ος|[.]|[.]Φ[.]|Λ|Ο|Κ[.]|Κ[.]|Ω|Ν|ΡΝ|vacat

The first K might be IC; the second might be B, P or Φ; the empty square brackets indicate spaces which may or may not have contained letters.

Place of [-

Apparently reserved for a group, expressed by a genitive plural; perhaps for a tribe, φ[ύ]λ(η), φ[ύ]λ(ης) or a group of supporters, φ[ι]λοκ[- ?; a possible interpretation suggested by Stephen Mitchell, might be φ[ι]λοκ[υν]ή[γ]ων, 'lovers of *venationes*' (for whom see above, p. 80), but it is hard to accommodate this reading to the surviving traces. Compare 2.T, 10.P.

Row N. On one seat, traces of an indecipherable two-line inscription.

Row T. Starting at the north end. Letters 0.16–0.20.

τό|[π]|ο|[ς]| ΦΥΛ|Ο|Ρ [-

Φ might be B, Υ might be I; perhaps either φύλ(ης), or supporters, φιλορ-; cf. 2.M, 10.P.

Place of [-

Row U. Starting from north end. Letters 0.11 (omicron)–0.39 (phi).

φρου|μ(ενταρίων ?) τό|πο(ς)| vacat

P might be I.

Place of (the) *frum(entarii)*.

The obvious interpretation would seem to be *frumentarii*, in the primary sense of 'corn-dealers', rather than in the derived sense of a military officer; but I know of no other examples of the word in this sense being used in Greek.

Block 3

There are designs as follows: Row A, 2 3Rows.1; Row P, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.46); Row T, 1 H.4, very rough (0.24 x 0.15); Row U, 1 3Rows.4 (0.55, incomplete, x 0.53); Row V, 2 3Rows.4: one divided by central circle with a central dot (0.55, incomplete, x 0.46), one unfinished (0.53, incomplete, x 0.60); Row X, 1 S.3 (0.21 x 0.15).

Row J. On a seat in the middle of the row. Letters 0.08.

vac. | NT vac.

Row K. In the middle of the row. Letters 0.08–0.15; different hands in 1.1–2, and 1.3.

Published, *ALA* 179.

| IIII Βενέ |
vacat | | των | vacat
| Αὐρ. [. .] ΑΛΟ | II ENIΩΝ |

(Place of) Blues. (Place of) Aurelius *or* of the Aurelii [...] nii.

Row P. Starting at west end. No measurements.

steps | τ | ό | π (ος) | [-

Place of [-

The third letter may be a monogram, serving as an abbreviation, either of the last letters of *topos*, or of the following word.

Row V.1. Starting on second seat from west end. Letters av. 0.08, phi 0.18; ?diacritical dots on the last I of last word.

τόπος | Ἀνδρονικοῦ | [τ]οῦ καὶ | Φοιβερίου

Place of Andronicus, also called Phoeborius.

Andronicus is a reasonably common name at Aphrodisias. Phoiberius is also found as a soubriquet at Hierapolis: M. Αὐρ. Γλύκωνος Χάρητος ἐπὶ κλην Φ., L. A. Pennachietti, *AAT* 101 (1966–7), 301, no. 15, whence *BullÉp* 1971.646.

Row V.2. On one seat, at right angles to front edge. Letters rough and shallow, av. 0.02.

Νικῶ τύ-
χη I vacat

(The) fortune wins.

Presumably left incomplete.

Row V.3. On one seat, at east end. Letters 0.06–0.08; design 0.17 x 0.15.

τόπ(ος) [. . ? c. 6 . .]
design S.3

Place . . .

This text, which was left incomplete, seems to have been cut informally by a spectator.

Block 4

Row A. On a loose block lying between Blocks 3 and 4. Letters av. 0.05.

Published, *ALA* 179.

[...]ΟΙΕΡΚΟΝ Πρασίν[ων]

-] of (the) Greens.

Row O. Starting on seventh seat west of east end. Letters clear, 0.13–0.15.

Plate XIII

vacat| τόπος| Μασταυρε|[ιτών]

Place of (the) Mastaure[itans].

These must be the citizens of Mastaura, in Lydia; for seats reserved for people from another city, compare 34.S. At Rome, seats at spectacles were assigned to foreigners as a special privilege (Rawson, *'Discrimina ordinum'*, 92–3). Between Greek cities, there was a reciprocal system by which a city would invite another to be represented at a festival, and would be honoured by the presence of the representatives of that city. Six inscriptions survive from the mid-third century commemorating cities of the area on the occasion of their joining in the celebration of an important contest at Aphrodisias (59 – 64, where see discussion). While private citizens from various places may have attended festivals at other cities, it seems likely that a block of seats reserved in this way will have been for the official delegation from the city named. Thus seats are reserved for inhabitants of a nearby settlement at Didyma (*I.Didyma* 50a), and for various *civitates* in the amphitheatre at Lyons (A. Audon and J. Guey, *'L'amphithéâtre des Trois-Gaules à Lyon'*, *Gallia* 23 (1964), 37–58, 46, nos 6–8); see further below, p. 121.

Block 6

Row W. 1 3Rows.2, with central circles never cut (c. 0.65 x 0.39).

Block 7

There are designs as follows: Row E, 1 3Rows.1; Row U, 1 R.6 (0.48 x 0.20); one H.4, within an outline (0.41 x 0.16).

Row M. On four seats at west end. Letters 0.12–0.18.

steps | [...]Μ|ΙΟΤΡΑ|ΤΟΥ| vacat

The mu, if correctly read, is cursive. Perhaps a name, e.g. [Δη]μοστράτου (not, however, otherwise attested at Aphrodisias)?

Row V. On two seats at west end. Letters 0.07–0.10; square sigma, cursive omega. Above, a design, S.3 (0.20 x 0.19).

steps | [...]Β|ΙΟ|ΙΑ| σιέων| vacat

B could be P.

Apparently another group.

Row X. Along the edge, which is broken, of two seats at east end. Letters shallow, 0.10–0.12.

Published by K. T. Erim and J. M. Reynolds, 'Sculptors of Aphrodisias in the inscriptions of the city', *Festschrift J. Inan* (Istanbul, 1989, appeared 1991), 517–38, 535, no. 24.

[Ἀπολλ]ωνίου [ἀ]γα[λ]ματογλύφου

(Place of) Apollonius, sculptor.

Block 8

Row J. Large letters, cut in outline, 0.24–0.31. The rho is reversed.

-]ΙΟ[vac. | vac. |Τ[vac. | vac. | Ι ΠΙΤ[steps

Row Q. Letters 0.14.

-]ΙΕ|Τ|Ι|Ε| vac. ||| steps

Row R. Letters 0.09–0.12.

-]Ι ΜΙΩ|Ν| steps

Block 9

There are traces of letters in Row S.

Block 10

There are two designs, a C.2 (Diam. 0.41) and an S.3 (0.28 x 0.23) on a seat at the west end of Row C.

Row P. On five seats at west end. Letters, very worn, 0.14–0.17.

τόπος| ΦΙΛΑΟΒ[.]Ν|...

Place of philo[-...

Perhaps a group of supporters (cf. 2. M and T); it is of course tempting to conjecture φιλοβ[έ]ν[ετοι, which would be a new term for describing a supporter of the Blues, on a parallel with other supporter terminology. Alternatively, since β might be read as K, we should perhaps (as Stephen Mitchell suggests) read φιλ.οκ[υ]ν[ή][γων]; see above on 2.M.

Row X. On one seat. Letters 0.04–0.05; the second row is in a larger and fainter hand than the first.

a. vac. OYE vac. |
steps
b. ΤΑΥΙΝ |

Row Y. i. At west end. Letters faint but well cut, 0.13–0.20.

[...]Κλ(αυδίας) Σελευκείας τό(πος)|[.]ΧΙΡ|ΥΣ|...

TO is underlined, probably indicating an abbreviation for τόπος; the following letters are more widely spaced, and may belong to a different inscription.

Place of Claudia Seleuceia [...] ? Chrys[-...

For a Claudia Seleuceia see Reinach 28, perhaps late first or early second century; a Claudia Seleuceia Tibereina is mentioned in an unpublished inscription of the third century (inventory no. 77.124). For seats reserved for women see below, pp. 120–1. In the Theatre, too, these seem to have been at the back of the auditorium, as at Rome; the women could not be overlooked by men (Rawson, *'Discrimina ordinum'*, 89). Although this might be read as the name of the city of Claudia Seleuceia, in Pisidia, the reservations for cities use the ethnic, in the genitive plural (4.O, 34.S).

Chrys- might be from a name, or be a description of a group of tradesmen — perhaps χρυσοχόοι, 'goldworkers'. The letters suggest that this inscription is separate from that for Claudia Seleuceia; but it is perhaps easier to assume another individual's name in such close juxtaposition.

Row Y. ii. On the rims of the seats, starting on the third from the west end. Letters well cut, with serifs; av. 0.07.

[τόπος] | τῆς συντεχν[νίας] | ΙΙΟ[..] ΑΙ[...] ΙΙΙ[-

[?Place of] ?the association [of -

For another *syntechnia*, see 34.Z. This inscription is cut on some of the same seats as Y. i, which reserved them for Claudia Seleuceia; if we assume that a text cut on the rim reserved the seats upon which it was cut, rather than those below, the two texts must date from different periods.

Block 11

This block contains a built-up 'seat of honour' in Rows E and F. There is a gameboard in Row S, 3Rows.1 in a frame (0.55 x 0.48).

Row F. At west end. Letters av. 0.06, very faint.

[. .] ΑΥΠΠΙ[. . .] οἰκονόμου vac. | vacat | seat of honour

(Place of) ?Au(relius) P[...], *oekonomus*.

Row G. At west end. Letters 0.06–0.07.

τόπ[ος] | [. . . .] Υ οἰκονόμ(ου) | vacat

Place of [.....], *oekonomus*.

Row H. At west end. Letters 0.07–0.09.

[. . . .] vac. ΜΙΟΥ vac. ΙΙΜΟΥ vac. |

Although it is tempting, in the light of 11.F and G, to restore *oecono]mus* in H, the surviving traces of an upright before M do not permit this. For *oekonomi* see also 30.R and S, and for the *oekonomus* of the Council, below, 84.

Row N. On one seat. Letters 0.08–0.13.

steps | [. . .] ΙΤΕΑC | [. .] vac. ΑΥ | [. .] vac. ΦΙΑ | [-

Row P. On one seat, Y (0.14).

Row U. At west end. Letters very irregular, 0.07–0.15.

steps| [.. ..] | IOY TEIII | [..] | EHΓ | του | vac. | Ἰγνατ[? vac.] | ἰη κῆ | Ὑψικλείς [..] | IOKIIN
[..] | Ἰανου | [-

It is possible that a second text begins after του.

-] Ignatia and Hypsicteis [-

The name Ignatia is not otherwise attested at Aphrodisias, but Hypsiclis, the feminine form of the very common Hypsicles, does occur (Reinach 29, 107, and an unpublished text). Here again women appear to be allocated the higher seats, as at 10.Y.i.

Block 12

Row A. On rim of seat above an entrance to the arena. Letters cursive, 0.05.

| vacat ΑΠΟ | [-

Row D. At west end. Letters av. 0.08.

Υ β|υ|ρ| vac. | σ|έ|ω|ρ| ς|υ| [ντεχνία]

[?Association of] tanners.

A professional association of tanners is frequently attested; ‘after the dyers, no other corporation is so widely mentioned’ (Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 117); so e.g. at Thyateira, TAM v.2.986, Philippopolis, IGR 1.717, and Kibyra, OGIS 495.

Row H. Along entire row. Letters 0.05–0.06. There is apparently an abbreviation scroll after lambda.

steps| [?] | IY | [..] | TE | [?] | λ|ω| five seats | μ vac. | ε| λ|ς | τ| [ό] | π| [ος] | steps

-] Place of Mil(esians?) or of Mil(etos), Mil(on).

Perhaps a reservation for people from Miletus: but there may be two reservations here, for a group on the left, and on the right for an individual, ?Miletos.

Row J. At west end. Letters av. 0.06.

| [..] | KYI | [..] | [..] | EIΩPII | [-

Row L. At west end. Letters av. 0.07.

Α|ι|λ|ι|α|νοῦ | vac.

(Place of) Aelianus.

For this name at Aphrodisias see ALA 7, and Reynolds-Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers* 1, b.29, 30 and ?42, with p. 97.

Row M. From the west end. Letters 0.06–0.10.

steps | [.]Γ| [.] | [.]Ε| ὕ λαπλόσ|του |τό(?πος)|NHCI four seats to end

?Place of Euarastus. ...

There may have been letters either side of the first upsilon; if not, this might be a misspelling of the attested name Euarestus (*ALA* 147). Perhaps the following T is for τ(όπος), followed by the further name Ones(imus)?

Row R. Starting on fourth seat from west end. Letters neat, with serifs; 0.05–0.07.

vac. | τόπ(ος)| ['A]ντιγόλνο[υ]|-vac.

Place of Antigonus.

The name, although not uncommon, is not otherwise attested at Aphrodisias.

Block 13

Row D. Repeated on five separate seats along the row, including the seats at either end. Letters av. 0.05; the two westernmost examples are at right angles to the edge of the seat.

Λυ

This is clearly an abbreviation, repeated to reserve the whole row, apparently in a manner similar to 28.B and C, or the abbreviations on the rims of the Odeon seats (47.1). If this stands for an individual, Ly(simachus), a name well attested at Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2741, Reinach 63, *MAMA* viii.408, 501), would be a likely resolution; other possibilities are Ly(sander) or Ly(sippus). But it is perhaps more likely that such a plain abbreviation, with no further explanation, stands for a group, who perhaps took their name from that of an individual. This might represent a foreign group, e.g. Ly(cians), Ly(dians), etc., although such an abbreviation suggests a term in common use. It could be a civic tribe, or a private grouping; see further below, pp. 122–3.

Row O. Across the row. Letters 0.11–0.12.

steps |ΕΠ| [.]Κ|Υ| [.] | [.]Μ| [.]Ε|Τ|Π|Ι|Ο|Υ| steps

Probably the name of an individual, -metrios.

Row R. On one seat at east end. Letters 0.06–0.07.

... | [.] ΛΥΟΥ v. ΠΡ vac. | steps

Block 14

Row J. On seats at west end. Letters 0.13.

steps | Μ | Α | C | [-

Row V. Cut on the front rim of one seat. Letters 0.07.

- | vac. ΑΑ vac. [. . .] | -

Row W. On the front rims of seats, starting on second from west end. Letters carefully cut, standard forms with serifs, 0.08.

steps | vac. | vac. Ω vac. | vac. | vac. P vac. | [-

Row X. On the front rims of seats, starting at west end. Letters well-cut, rounded forms, 0.06.

steps | v. OP vac. | AB () 'Hρωδία vac. | v[οὐ . . .] | [?] | [.] P vac. | [3 seats] | vac. Ω [-

The letter after the first O (which is certain) might be Θ. After the B there is what appears to be an apostrophe, presumably as an abbreviation mark.

- of] Herodian[us -

For this name at Aphrodisias see *ALA* 66.

Block 15

There are two well-cut gameboards, Type 3Rows.4, with plain central circles, on seats in Row Y.

Row Z. On the rims of seats at east end. Letters 0.02–0.06.

vacat | IA | IA | [...] | AI | AI | [..] | steps

These are perhaps most easily understood as the number eleven, arranged in varying order.

Block 16

There are designs in Row Y, as follows: 2 3Rows.2, one 0.65 x 0.47, one in a frame, 0.61 x 0.46; the letters POC, (0.06–0.23) followed, on the next seat, by 1 S.3 (0.27 x 0.17).

Block 17

In Row Y, a board, Type 3Rows.4, partly broken away; plain circles for dividers (0.63 x 0.49); also patterns based on C.2.

Block 18

In Row W, 1 3Rows.4, plain circles for dividers (0.86 x c. 0.54).

Row F. On one seat a monogram in a circle, c. 0.30.

The determinable letters would seem to be P (or O)TXANE.

Block 20

On a loose block at Row Y, 1 CCC.1, with the spokes meeting at the centre (Diam. 0.59); Row Z, 1 C.4 (Diam. 0.48), 1 S.3 (0.19 x 0.11).

Block 21 (over east entrance to arena)

There are designs as follows: Row K, 1 H.4 (0.34 x 0.21), cut over a sketch of two running animals; Row L, on the flat surface over the entrance, 1 C.2 (0.31); Row X, 1 C.1 with one line across

(Diam. 0.41); Row Z, 1 C.8, variant (Diam. 0.34), 1 C.3 (Diam. 0.27), one sketch of a deer confronting a tall object in outline, perhaps a net (0.31), one sketch of ? a bird (0.27), 1 C.1 (0.21), 2 C.2, (Diams 0.38 and 0.34); Row AA, 1 C.1, with one line across (0.33). On a loose block in Row AA, 1 H.10 variant, with twelve holes in outer ring, and three within the circumference (Diam. 0.48); on the same block, 1 SSS.1 (0.23 x 0.22) and the corner of a second.

Row M. Letters 0.08.

steps |τόλι|ος -

Block 22

There are designs as follows: Row B, 1 C.2; Row W, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.23); Row Y, 1 3Rows.1, in a frame (0.57 x 0.47), 1 CC.2 (Diam. 0.21); Row Z, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.32), one cross cut in outline, 0.31; Row AA, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.66), 3 C.1, one with a single small arc (Diam. 0.29), one cut with a broad flat trench (Diam. 0.70), one plain (Diam. 0.45), traces of 1 3Rows.1 (0.31 x 0.55).

Block 23

In Row X, 1 C.7 (Diam. 0.28).

Block 24

In Row X, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.44).

Block 25

In Row W, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.61); Row X, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.30).

Block 26

There are designs as follows: Row B, 1 S.3; Row Q, 1 3Rows.3 — only half the board, with six circles, has been cut; Row U, 1 S.3 (0.33 x 0.36); Row X, 1 C.3 (Diam. 0.33); Row Y, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.27); Row Z, 1 H.4 (0.32 x 0.13).

Block 27

There are designs as follows: Row X, 1 C.1, with a central dot (Diam. 0.67); Row Z, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.46).

Block 28

In Row Z, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.45).

Row B. On seat at west end. Letters 0.12–0.19.

| vac. 'Υψι vac. | steps

Row C. On one seat. Letters 0.10–0.14.

| 'Υψι vac. |

These should probably be associated with the name Hypsi(cles), which is extremely common at Aphrodisias; but, as in the case of the abbreviation at 13.D, it is impossible to

be certain whether this is the name of an individual, or of a group called after that name. The abbreviation is perhaps slightly more likely to be of the name of a group; see further below, pp. 122–3.

Row L. Twice, on the two seats at either end of the row. Letters 0.08.

AP

Row R. Twice, on the two seats at either end of the row. Letters 0.08.

AI

These might be numbers (101 and 11, unless R is also to be read AP), but they seem more likely to be abbreviations for the names of individuals or groups. AP is also found in the Theatre (46.F (repeated) and L.13) and perhaps on a seat-lip in the Odeon (47.1).

Block 29

There are traces of letters in Rows U and X.

Row AA. At east end. Letters large, 0.42 and 0.32, and very carefully cut, with serifs.

steps | B | A | [-

Block 30

There are traces of a design, ?3Rows.3, in Row Z.

This block seems to have been reserved for civic groups, including the organizations of young men — the *neoterioi* and the ephebes — and for their officials. The ephebes were the young men aged eighteen to nineteen. The *neoterioi* (also known as *neoi*) are the next group in age, from nineteen; they also had seats in the Odeon (47.B.5). A fundamental discussion of this institution in the East is still that of C.A.Forbes, *Neoi* (Middletown, 1933); for *neoterioi* see 60–1. For seating provision at spectacles for these groups see further below, p. 123.

Row R. Across entire row. Letters cursive, 0.07–0.15.

steps | ἐλ vac. | [ρ] | ὠ | ν | οἰκονόμω | ν | steps

(Place of the) sacred *oeconomi*.

These are perhaps the *oeconomi* of the goddess; cf. T below.

Row S. Across entire row. Letters cursive and very large, 0.33–0.46, av. 0.40.

steps | τόπος | οἰκονόμω | ν | ν | ἐωτέ | ρω | ν | vac. | steps

The M and Ω of the second word are cut across two seats.

Place of (the) *oeconomi* of the *neoterioi*.

This seems the only probable translation. We know that organizations of *neoi*/*neoterioi* did have funds, and officials to administer them, described elsewhere as stewards (ταμίαι, Forbes, *Neoi*, 35; Jones, *The Greek City*, 353 n.30), or overseers (διοικηταί, *I.Iasos* 1.248; cf. perhaps also Ephesus, οἰκονόμοι τῶν ἱερῶν [. . . , *I.Eph* 541).

Row T. At east end. Letters 0.08–0.13.

steps | $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\lambda\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\upsilon$ | $\phi\dot{\iota}\dot{\iota}\kappa\iota$ [vac.] | $\lambda\acute{o}\iota$ [μ] $\phi\lambda\upsilon$ | -

(Place of the) sacred *oeconomi*. [? . . .

For other *oeconomi* see Block 11 (almost immediately opposite), Rows F and G, and below, p. 121.

Row U. Across entire row. Letters 0.10–0.19.

steps | $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\lambda\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\upsilon$ vac. | $\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ [φ] $\acute{\eta}$ | vac. | $\beta\lambda\omega$ vac. | $\lambda\upsilon$ | vac. | vac. | steps

(Place) of the sacred ephebes.

Row V. Across entire row. Letters 0.18–0.24.

steps | $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\hat{\omega}\lambda\upsilon$ | $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\eta}$ | $\beta\omega\lambda\upsilon$ vac. | $\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ vac. | ϕ | vac. | η | vac. | vac. | vac. | β | vac. | $\omega\lambda\upsilon$ | steps

(Place) of the sacred ephebes, ephebes.

I have not found a clear parallel for the description of ephebes as sacred. This epithet may perhaps only apply to one group among them, perhaps associated in some way with the cult of Aphrodite.

Block 31 has the seat of honour, but no inscriptions.

Block 32

There are traces of letters on seats in Rows W and X.

Row S. At east end.

steps | three seats | 'A $\rho\iota$ [σ] $\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ | vac.

(Place of) Ari[s]tion.

Row Y. From east end, cut at the front edge of the seats. Letters 0.07–0.09.

steps | $\tau\acute{o}$ vac. | $\lambda\pi\omicron\varsigma$ vac. | $\phi\upsilon$ vac. | $\lambda\hat{\omega}\nu$ vac. | 'A v. | $\phi\rho\omicron$ vac. | $\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ [έ] $\omega\nu$ | vacat

Place of (the) Aphrodisian tribes.

It is difficult to know how to interpret this text, since clearly one row cannot have accommodated all the tribes of Aphrodisias. It may be that the seats are reserved for particular officials of the tribes — perhaps *oeconomi*, as in 30. R, S, and T; see further below, pp. 121–2.

Block 33

There are traces of letters in Rows V and X.

Row H. Across entire row. Letters 0.30.

Steps | ['A] | $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon$ | $\sigma\iota\upsilon$ [v] | $\kappa\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\tau\iota\kappa$ (οὔ) | steps

(Place) of Attalus, senator.

Three Claudii Attali, all senators, are attested at Aphrodisias from the mid-second century (H. Halfmann, from material collected by J. M. Reynolds, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, *Tituli* 5 (Rome, 1985), ii, 633–4).; see further below, on 56.

Row P. At west end. No measurements.

-] I A | vac. | ΛHI | steps
| P |

Row R. At west end. Letters 0.04–0.05.

-] O I [.] I [.] I ' E π ι γ λ ό ν I [ο υ] I [. .] | steps

(Place of) Epigonus.

This name is attested three or four times at Aphrodisias, in texts of the second and third centuries.

Row S. Across row. Letters 0.055–0.075.

steps | vac. | ' A π ο λ λ ι ω ν ί λ ο υ | EI I [5 seats] | H palm | steps

(Place) of Apollonius EI[...]

Apollonius is a common name at all periods at Aphrodisias. For the palm, symbolizing victory, compare inscriptions on the theatre seats at Termessos; the symbol appears after one fragmentary name, and at either end of the inscription reserving seats, in the front row, for the *ἱερόνεικοι* (*TAM* III.872.6, 8). It is therefore very likely that Apollonius was a victor; we should perhaps restore εἰ[ερονείκου. Compare AA, below.

Row T. On one seat. Letters 0.10–0.16.

| ZBI | two seats | steps

Row AA. Across row. Letters 0.06–0.07.

steps I [.] I [.] N I [.] τ [ο] ν ί κ η I C π palm υ (κ τ ο ũ) I [.] A ν λ ο υ I [4 seats] | step

For the palm, see above, on S. The lunate sign in front of Π is slightly raised, looking like an abbreviation mark; this is probably the seat of another victor, probably a boxer.

Block 34

There is a design C.2 in Row O.

Row S. Across entire row. Letters 0.15–0.20.

steps I [.] I [.] I [.] I [' A] ν τ ι λ ο λ χ ε I [ι] λ ω ν I steps

[?Place] of ? the people of Antiocheia.

If this has been correctly read — some of the letters are very faint and uncertain — it presumably reserves a place for the people of Antioch on the Maeander; compare 4.O, and see commentary there.

Row Z. Across entire row. Letters carefully cut, with serifs, lunate; scroll for abbreviation; 0.12–0.18.

steps | χ | ν | τ | ϵ | χ | ν | ι | α |vac. | κ | η | π | σ | ν | ρ (ω \nu)|vac. | steps

Association of gardeners.

For *syntechnia* as a term for a craft association see above, 10.Y.ii, and Poland, *Verweinswesens*, 122; the term is found in two other texts at Aphrodisias (unpublished). For gardeners, that is market-gardeners, and their associations, see most recently the bibliography at *MAMA* ix.49, and T. Drew-Bear, publishing a new inscription from Phrygia, *ANRW* II.18.3 (1990), 1984–5. The association of gardeners (σύστημα κηπουρῶν) at Constantinople continued and even grew in importance in the late Roman period; they had to be restrained by imperial legislation under Justinian (*Nov.* 64 of 538, with Jones, *LRE* 845).

Block 35

There is a design C.2 (Diam. 0.36) in Row W; Row AA, 1 3Rows.3 (0.79 x 0.52), very weathered.

Row L. On one seat. Letters tall, 0.13–0.17.

steps | vac. | vac. | KIB | vac. ? Λ | [-

Perhaps a reservation for people from Kibyra ?

Block 36

Row Y.i. At the west end, a cross standing on a semi-circle (0.24).

Row Y.ii. On one seat, a gameboard (3Rows.4, with plain central circles, 0.64 x 0.48), untidily but deeply cut; some of the lines have been chipped away. Inscribed across the centre, just below the central circle. Letters 0.02–0.03.

Plate XII

Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν vac.

The fortune triumphs of the [. . .

The last three letters are very lightly cut. It may be that this and the similar inscriptions (46.E.2, L.4, perhaps B.1) were left unfinished; but it is also possible that τῶν here stands for αὐτῶν, in a usage which was developing in the late antique period; see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II (Milan, 1981), 165, and references there. This would then be a wish on behalf of an anonymous group: 'Their fortune triumphs'.

Block 37

In Row X, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.47); Row Y, preliminary cutting for a 3Rows.3.

Row E. On two seats. Letters simple, 0.08–0.10; preceded on the first seat by 1 H.4 (0.08 x 0.20).

| Ἀδράστου τ[ό]π(ος)| vac.

Place of Adrastus.

Adrastus is among the commonest names at Aphrodisias in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Block 38

There are traces of letters on a seat in Row G.

Row C (the lowest row now exposed). On one seat. Letters 0.15.

vac. ΚΛΙ vac.

λ might be χ.

Block 39

There is a design, C.1, in Row Y; 1 C.4 in Row Z.

Row P. At the west end. Letters 0.06–0.15, thin, lunate.

vac. | τόπος vac. | αὐραρίων vac. | steps

Place of gold-workers.

A *protaurarius*, ‘chief *aurarius*’, appears on a seat in the Theatre (46.J.8). *Aurarii* are also attested at Laodicea Combusta (MAMA I. 281 [*protaurarius*], 214, 215, 281a), at Corycus (MAMA III.335, 351, 428, 607 [*protaurarii*], 254, 348b, 413 [*aurarii*]), at Patara (*protaurarius*, TAM II.457), as well as perhaps at Perinthus (IGR I.832, a gift to νεοῖς [?]αὐ[ρα]ρίοις; but the reading is very uncertain). The editors of these texts assumed these to be gold-workers, from the Latin *aurarius*, which is found in this sense in inscriptions from Italy (CIL VI.196, and 9209, both from Rome, XI.3821, Veii), and is also given this meaning in two related glossaries (*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, II, 27 and II, 569). The term also appears in a series of inscriptions on the seats in the theatre at Miletus; these refer to τόπος αὐραρίων (I.b), τόπος ἐπινικίων αὐραρίων (I.c), τόπος φιλα(ν)γούστων αὐραρίων (I.d), τόπος αὐραρίων Βενέτων (I.a); references are to the forthcoming publication by Professor Herrmann and colleagues). Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 248, interpreted these as meaning ‘supporters, cheer-leaders’ from another sense given to the Latin *aurarius* by Servius, on *Aeneid* VI. 81, and Priscian, *Gramm. Lat.* III.509.33. The weight of the evidence, however, for the use of this term does seem to suggest that it was most commonly used for people working with gold; see my forthcoming discussion of these terms in *ZPE*. For associations of precious-metal-workers see Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 118, and see further below, p. 124.

Block 40

In Row T, 1 H.4.

Row S. At the northern end. Letters rounded, 0.09.

steps | vac. | Πάπῳ[ν]ος | τ (όπος) | Δ vac. | vac. | [-

(Place) of Papion.

An Artemidorus Papion is attested in LBW 1611, the only other example of this name at Aphrodisias, although Papias is quite common.

X. Loose Stadium seats.

X.1. On a loose seat lying in the arena. Letters lunate, 0.06–0.07; there is a line over ΠΟ.

Ιτόπος|

Place [?of -

X.2. On a loose block (H. 0.67, W. 1.16, D. 0.42) lying in the arena. Letters shallow, 0.03, square sigma. Marks of many graffiti, including the figure of a *retiarius* in a tunic, holding his trident in his left hand.

Plate XII

τόπος

Place [?of -

X.3. On a loose seat in the arena; inscribed on rim; letters 0.05.

vac. ΕΠ vac.

Apparently another abbreviation.

X.4. In the tunnel at the east end: a loose seat inscribed along the rim. Letters 0.04.

vac. ΕΡΖΗ vac.

X.5. In the tunnel at the east end: a loose seat with a back, inscribed on the seat. Large letters with serifs, 0.07–0.11.

vac. ΛΑΡΙCTNI vac.

X.6. Copied by Fellows, 'on a seat in the Stadium', and published, no.64, whence CIG 2809c. No further description; not found again.

ἡ πατρίς

The fatherland [?-

It is possible that this is an optimistic reading of X.5.

46. THE THEATRE

Plan, Fig. 2

The eleven blocks of seats have been lettered from north to south, A to L (omitting the letter I). The rows are numbered from the lowest row to the highest, not including the seats with backs which stand in front of the front row. These seats are free-standing, and may well be out of place; it is important to remember also that the seating in the Theatre was extensively plundered in the middle Byzantine period, so that many seats are not in their original position. With this proviso, it seems possible to deduce that the preferred seats were in and around the central block (F), since a large number of inscriptions are concentrated in the central blocks. It is also noticeable that the inscriptions mentioning Greens are in the blocks to the north (B.1, C.18), at the same end of the stage as the inscription mentioning the Green mimes (1.1.iii) and at least one other text acclaiming Greens (8.e), while those mentioning the Blues are in those to the south (G.12, J.13); this would reflect a known, and natural, tendency to seat Blues and Greens at opposite sides of an auditorium.

As was said above, most of the Theatre seats show traces of several layers of inscriptions. A large number of longer inscriptions, which ran across several seats, cannot now be resolved, not only because of wear, but also because of the collapse and replacement of the Theatre seating on several occasions, which have clearly displaced many of the blocks. I have not attempted to reproduce here every cluster of letters found on the seats, but have limited myself to those which can be deciphered fairly easily; these tend to be the later texts, not obscured by further overcutting, and probably also include a disproportionate number of inscriptions cut by individuals, being on a small scale, and so not affected by the reorganization of the seats.

Block A

There is a cross at floor level in front of this block. There are further designs as follows: Row 2, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.46); Row 3, 1 C.1 (Diam. 0.42), 1 R.1 (0.29 x 0.11); Row 4, 1 R.1 (0.425 x 0.17); Row 6, 1 R.6 (0.41 x 0.18); Row 7, 1 R.6 (0.36 x 0.17); Row 9, 1 R.6 (0.42 x 0.22); Row 16, 1 H.4 (0.19 x 0.08); Row 19, 1 H.4 (0.31 x 0.13), 2 C.2 on one seat (Diams 0.12 and 0.27); Row 21, 1 R.1 (0.29 x 0.19). There are traces of writing in Row 1 and on several seats in Row 25. In Row 3, on the lip of the seat at the east end, there is an A (0.05).

Row 3. On one seat, at right angles to edge. On the adjacent seat to the east, 1 C.1 (Diam. 0.42) and to the west two cross designs (H. c. 0.22). Careful letters, av. 0.05, with serifs; o over T, and apostrophe after Δ as abbreviations.

Plate XIII

τό(πος) μανδ(άτορος)

Place of (the) *mand(ator?)*.

This is a standard abbreviation of τόπος; see M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, QDAP 9, supplement (Jerusalem/Oxford, 1940, reprinted 1974). MANΔ seems most easily interpreted as μανδ(άτωρ), *mandator*, 'herald'. The term is frequently used of the herald used by the emperor to convey his views, or his orders, *mandata*, to the audience; the man here presumably performed a similar function for local officials or for the governor.

Row 6. On one seat. Letters very thin and worn, 0.05–0.07.

[5–6 letters erased] YΓIZI
OΠYοΛΛΤΝΙΡΟΥ
NIA TÖYNI [...]IEAOC

For l.1, Professor Herrmann suggests π|υγίξι; compare below, K.9.

Row 8. On one seat. Letters 0.04.

|
ΓIZ
Λ

FIZ is found again in a graffito in the southern Agora, and in the first line of A.5.

Row 9. On the seat at the west end there is a figure, holding a ?stick, with a forked end, in his right hand, and a shorter object in his left.

Plate XIV

Row 10. On one seat. Large letters, 0.09–0.10.

Ω Ε Ι
Κ vac. Α Ι [τέχεται ?]

Row 18. On one seat, a well-cut letter Η (0.10).

Row 20. On one seat rim, very worn, the letters ΑΚ (0.04).

Row 24. On edge of seat at west end. Letters 0.015–0.025.

Αἰνείου τόπος

Place of Aeneas.

The name Aeneas is fairly frequent at Aphrodisias, and recalls the city's traditional connection with the founder of Rome.

Row 26. On one seat; the text probably once continued on the next. Letters 0.06.

Ι vac. τόπι[ος

Place [? of -

Block B

There are designs as follows: Row 1, 1 S.3 (0.15 x 0.15); Row 2, 1 3Rows.2, within a frame (0.66 x 0.50) and 1 R.6 (0.36 x 0.215); Row 6, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.27); Row 14, 1 C.2; Row 25, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.20), 1 H.4 (0.37 x 0.11). There are further traces of letters in Rows 14, 16, 21, 22, and 26.

Row 1. On one seat at east end of row, at right angles to edge. Letters cursive, ll.1–2, 0.025, ll.3–4, 0.03–0.055. The end of l.1, all of l.2, and much of l.4 seem to have been deliberately erased.

A rather more cautious transcription published as *ALA* 181.i.

Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη τῶν
ΝΟΥΟΥ[.]Υ[.]ΥΙ
Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη
τῶν [Πρασ]ίνων

The fortune of the [-] triumphs ! The fortune of the Greens triumphs!

Enough of l.2 can be made out to establish that it is not an acclamation of the Greens. It, therefore, seems that this should be interpreted as another example of a group, whose name is probably irremediably lost, associating itself with a faction (compare 46.J.13, 47.D.6, and see below, p. 130).

Row 2. On one seat whose surface is partially lost, at right angles to edge. Letters very worn, 0.04–0.06; perhaps from different texts.

...] μ [..] vac. Η
ΤΟCΑΙ[.]C σου
ιωΝ κύρ

These seem to be remnants of some kind of prayer; but, although one might expect the formula ὁ δοῦλος σου in l.2, the surviving traces do not seem to permit this.

Row 13. On one seat a cross, carefully cut, with triangular ends to each arm (0.255 x 0.17); on the adjacent seat traces of letters, 0.06–0.11.

Row 15. Letters av. 0.13; rho, 0.19.

κ Ρ α|τέχεται . . .

Reserved.

The inscription was superimposed on the rho remaining from an earlier text.

Row 16. Letters 0.18–0.22.

vac. KK vac.

Clearly an abbreviation.

Row 19. At the front edge of the seat, with the letters broken off below, 0.11; there is a design S.1 above (0.15 x 0.17).

Ικατ|έχεται

Reserved.

Row 23. There is a well-cut picture of a scorpion.

Block C

There are designs on seats as follows: Row 2, 1 H.4 (0.20 x 0.08); Row 5, 1 R.6 with vertical divide omitted (0.28 x 0.185); Row 6, 1 S.1 with a dividing line (0.175 x 0.13); Row 20, 1 SSS.1, uncompleted (no cross lines), (0.22 x 0.15); Row 26, 1 ?H.5 (0.41 x 0.13). There are scattered letters in Rows 3, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, and 23.

Row 4. There is a well-cut cross, with triangular ends to each arm, 0.345 x 0.20.

Row 12. On one seat, which is broken at both sides, a monogram, 0.29.

Component letters are HTAAK (or Y)O; perhaps τό(πος) -

Row 18. On one seat, which is broken at both sides; letters 0.06–0.14. L.1 has been partially erased.

Cited, Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 315; published, *ALA* 181. ii.

Plate XIII

Κακὰ τὰ ἔτη
τῶν Πράσινων

Bad years for the Greens!

This phrase, which turns the normal acclamation *πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη* into an ill wish, is recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*, 318.17. It is found in factional inscriptions at Magnesia (*IGC* 1156), and in the Theatre at Alexandria (Borkowski, *Alexandrie II*, 87, no.47.). If this seat is in its original position on what may be the Green side of the Theatre, it may be that it was put there surreptitiously, to annoy the Greens; some attempt was later made to erase the offensive first line.

Row 21.

i. On several seats; letters av. 0.10.

| vac. | ΚΑ | κατέ[χεται] | ΗΤΑ | [-

(The place) is taken.

κατέ[χεται] must have been completed on other seats, now lost.

ii. At east end; letters 0.08–0.11.

vac. | κμκ | vac.

Row 22. A scatter of varied letters across entire row. Letters 0.16–0.21. On the first seat, a design H.4.

steps | gameboard | two seats | ΑΤ | κ(αί) | ΑΔ | ΧΠ | vac. | Χ | vac. | steps

Row 26. On one seat at east end. Letters 0.07–0.08; ΤΟ in ligature.

τό(πος) Βενυσίν(ου)

Place of Venusinus.

This name is found in two unpublished inscriptions of the third century at Aphrodisias.

Block D

There are designs on seats as follows: Row 6, outlines for H.4 (0.32 x 0.11); Row 7, 1 S.3 (0.195 x 0.14), 1 H.1 (0.14 x 0.10), 1 H.4, within a frame, but with only one row completed (0.215 x 0.125). There are scattered letters in Rows 1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26.

Row 12. Letters 0.08–0.14.

ΚΥατ lé | [χεται
|-] | CAN | -

Reserved.

Again, one inscription clearly overlies another.

Row 13. Letters 0.04.

Published *ALA* 137. i.

| Κύριε βοηθ vac.

The second word was never completed.

Lord, help . . .

Row 15.

i. There is a crudely drawn face, overcut by designs, including 1 S.3 (0.16 x 0.13), 1 R.1 (0.32 x 0.15).

ii. A very well-cut cross in outline, with triangular ends to each arm, 0.15. At front edge of seat letters, 0.06–0.08.

. . .] | ΙΦλς vac.

Row 16. Total height 0.36.

Published *ALA* 137. ii.

A chi-rho Ω

Row 19. On one seat there is an abundance of letters, cut over one another, 0.10–0.20.

ΛΙ
κ] | Αατέ | [χεται
CT

Reserved.

In this case it is possible to identify by their forms which letters go together; but the whole shows a striking disregard for appearance.

Row 20. At west end. Letters neat, 0.12–0.14.

steps | vac. | vac. | ΟΥ | [...] | Φ | ΟΝ | cross | cross | vacat

Block E

There are designs on seats as follows: Row 5, at south end, 1 C.1 (Diam. 0.29), followed by a blank seat, then 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.325); Row 13, 1 C.1 (Diam. 0.38); Row 17, 1 S.3 (0.18 x 0.13); Row 20, 1 S.3 (0.18 x 0.12). There are scattered letters in Rows 2, 3, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26.

Row 2. Two texts on one seat; *a* at right angles to the edge, letters av. 0.45 (phi 0.13); *b* parallel to edge, letters 0.025.

Published *ALA* 137. iii.

<i>a.</i>	Εὐχὴ Στε- φανᾶ
<i>b</i>	Νικῶ ἡ τύχη τῶν vac. vac.

a. Prayer of Stephanas.

b. The fortune triumphs of the [. . .

The second text was either left unfinished or continued on an adjoining seat; while it very probably acclaimed one of the factions, it could have been for some other group (but see also on 45.36.Y.ii).

Row 8. At front edge of seat at east end, which has a damaged surface. The last two lines are written at right angles to the rest, at the left; but they seem to be by the same hand, and to belong. Letters cursive, 0.035–0.04; there are two dots, ?for abbreviation, over X in l.3.

ΖΩ vac.
ΚΟΤΝ vac.
X() Π
ΕΠ

(at right angles to the rest)

5 TY
EY

It is hard to make any sense of this text, or even to be sure in what order to read the letters; but it seems possible that there are the initial letters of several names: Ζω(τικός), Τυ(χικός), Ἐπ(), Εὐ().

Row 9. On two separate seats there are box-monograms; i (to the east) is deeply cut, 0.11 high; ii is shallower, 0.08 high. i is virtually identical with that published as *ALA 185*, and that in Row 11; ii is similar, except that it lacks the letters K and A.

Plate (i) xiv

- i. (Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων)
- ii. (Ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων)

- i. (The fortune of the Greens triumphs !)
- ii. (The fortune of the Greens.)

The resolution of monograms can never be absolutely certain; but the monogram at the Tetrapylon (*ALA 185*) which is large, and very carefully cut, was found near another inscription with Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων written out in full (*ALA 184*), which suggests that this is the correct resolution of that inscription and of these. The names of the factions in monogram form were also found in the Portico of Tiberius (*ALA 186.i* and *iii*). The omission of the A and the K in ii makes it impossible to read νικᾶ, but all the other letters are there; it seems more likely to be a mistake than a deliberate omission.

Row 10. On the seat at the west end there is a drawing, at right angles to the edge, of the head and shoulders of a figure with a complex hairdo, or head-dress, turning slightly to the right.

Plate xiv

Row 11. On one seat there is a shallowly cut monogram identical with that at E.9.i.

(Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων)

(The fortune of the Greens triumphs!)

Row 15. On seats at east end; letters av. 0.12, cursive delta.

vac. | Y K E Δ | vac. | K X | Ω | steps

Row 16. On one seat there is a sketch, ?a phallus.

Row 20. At east end, cut at an angle, at the right side of the block; letters rough, with broad flat trenches, 0.08–0.13. Preceded by a design, S.3 (0.18 x 0.22) and a pattern based on a X.

νικᾶ
ἡ τύχη|η -

The fortune triumphs [-

Row 21. On the seat at the east end, carefully cut, a tau with a superscript upsilon (total height 0.08).

Row 24. On seats at west end; letters 0.26.

steps | vac. | vac. | κατ | [έχεται

Reserved.

Row 26. On a seat which is broken away above; letters 0.03 (o)–0.05 (X).

Published *ALA 137. iv*.

...]ΟΙ
ΥΑΗΧΗ βόή(θι) το ς [...]
δούλο σ(ου) Γεώ(ργιο) vac.

-] help your servant George.

The reading is very uncertain; but the text appears to have been left unfinished.

Block F

This is the central block, into which a raised seat was rather roughly inserted, almost certainly for the provincial governor in the third or early fourth century (see above, p. 2); on a block behind it is a design of a peacock. Rows 1–3 and most of Row 4 have been lost. There are designs on seats as follows: Row 5, 1 C.2, with a small arc at the end of one arm (Diam. 0.40); Row 9, 1 S.3 (0.19 x 0.20); Row 16, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.31). There are scattered letters in Rows 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26.

The lips and risers of a large number of seats in this block are inscribed, largely with the letters AP, (av. 0.04), as follows: Row 5, AP five times on the lips. On the lip of the northernmost seat, E vac. AP vac. A, and on the riser, X; Row 6, AP on one lip; Row 7, AP on one riser, two lips; Row 8, AP on three risers, one lip; Row 9, AP on one lip (twice), one riser; Row 10, AP on two lips, one riser; Row 12, AP on one riser; Row 15, AP on one lip; Row 16, AP on three risers; Row 17, AP on one lip; Row 18, AP on two lips, one riser; Row 20, O on one riser; Row 21, AP on three risers; Row 26, on one lip, ATTI (larger letters, 0.06) — this is almost certainly out of place, and probably formed part of a name, ?Atticus. The repetition of AP suggests that this block was reserved for a particular group, although the abbreviation, AP() seems very ambiguous — perhaps for archons? For the same abbreviation compare 45.28, I and P.

Row 5. At north end. Letters large and deep, cursive, 0.12–0.17.

κατέ] | vac. χ vac. εται | steps
| Y IOC

Reserved.

The letters below are from another text, and there are further traces on the stone.

Row 6.

i. Towards south end. Letters scratched and worn; av. 0.05.

-] | [.] αρχων κ(αὶ) ΑΕ vac. | [-
| vac. ΑΤΑ vac. |

The kappa in the first line appears to be added, and probably belongs to another text.

ii. On second seat from north end; letters 0.06–0.08 (Λ).

-] | vac. Λ | vac. IB vac. | [-

The lambda must be from another text, but IB is very probably the number 12.

iii. On seat at north end. Letters 0.05–0.12 (beta); eta in lower case.

-] | η
-] | λῖας Φλαβ(ίας) | steps

Apparently from a woman's name, or that of a tribe. The letter in the upper row need not be associated with those below.

Row 10. Across the row; on the first seat, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.13); letters av. 0.08, second A 0.30.

steps | design | ΚΑΤ | vac. | vac. ΑΙ | vac. | ΚΤ | vac. ΑΙ | steps

Row 11. Letters on first seat 0.15 in upper row, 0.08 in lower row; on second seat, 0.09–0.12.

vac. | ΟΡΟC vac. | vac. | two seats | steps
| θΕC | φΙAC |

Row 16. One seat with several superimposed texts, letters ranging from 0.05–0.020.

i. steps | vac. IY Λ O C |
 | A Π O |
 IAE YT A OA |

ii. In much larger letters.

κατέχε]ται

ii. Reserved.

Row 17. On one seat at south end; the central group of letters 0.11. A theta has been cut over the alpha.

| III vac. NIF ΔIA |

The letters NIF seem to belong together — perhaps an abbreviation for, e.g., Niger, Nigrinus?

Row 18. On one seat towards north end. Letters 0.023–0.04. ?Deliberately ambiguous design of a phallus, highly stylised in such a way that it could be read as a building with a pointed roof, supported by two spiral columns. To the right, a bird; to the left, parallel with the columns, a text.

Plate XIII

τόπος
 Ἔρωτος

Place of Eros.

This may simply be a joke, but it could also be a pun on the name Eros (not otherwise so far attested among the inhabitants of Aphrodisias, but for a governor see *ALA* 19).

Row 22. At north end, next to steps; letters 0.16. The second pi has an alpha within it. There are traces of other letters.

| Π (ΠΑ) A | steps

A text, letters 0.02, superimposed on traces of much larger letters, 0.18.

T K
 τόπος ΝΑ

Place of Na[-

The text was apparently left unfinished. Above it is a horizontal line, with verticals at either end and in the centre; this could be the remnants of another letter associated with the T, but it may be a design connected with the lower text.

Row 26. Letters 0.18.

vac. | T T | vac.

On the steps between F and G, on the ninth step an eta (0.09), on the tenth step, apparently a square sigma; on the eleventh step, a gamma.

Block G

There are scattered letters in Rows 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 26; there are also letters on the risers in Rows 22 and 26. There are designs as follows: Row 3, 1 S.3 (0.105 x 0.12), followed by ?a figure; Row 4, a roughly drawn bird; Row 5, rough designs, including one ?of

male genitals; Row 6, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.10); Row 7, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.165), and a cross, 0.06; Row 8, 1 S.3 (0.15 x 0.21); Row 9, 1 S.3 (0.255 x 0.24); Row 10, 2 C.2 (Diams 0.11 and 0.20); Row 22, 1 SSS.1, very worn (0.14 x 0.15).

On the lips and risers of the seats there are several letters: Row 5, X (0.03) on lip of the seat at south end; Row 12, X (0.03) on risers of three seats, lip of one at north end; Row 17, Θ (0.11) on lip of seat at north end; Row 21, on risers, (letters 0.05–0.06; ΘPXH 0.09) ΙΘΚΡΧΗ Ι ΠΥ (*in monogram*) | vac. AK l. There are traces of further red-painted letters; Row 22, OA (0.07) and ΗΛ (0.09, in ligature) on riser of one seat; Θ (0.05) on riser of seat at north end; Row 23, ΦΑ (0.08) on riser of seat at north end; Row 26, Α (0.02) on one riser.

Row 4. On one seat; letters 0.015, cross 0.03.

Published ALA 137. v.

Φροντίνου cross
Νικῶ ἡ τύχη τοῦ

The fortune of Frontinus triumphs !

or (Place of) Frontinus. The fortune of the cross triumphs !

The first translation would apply if the cross is a later addition; but if it is original, the second translation provides a standard Christian acclamation (compare ALA 143 for a similar formula).

Row 8. On one seat at south end; several strata of letters, 0.07–0.30.

-]| OT Λ [-
Below, in another hand: ΙΓ
Below, in another hand: -]| PAC [-|

The middle line is very probably the number ιγ', 13; compare F.6.ii.

Row 11. On seats at north end, varying letter sizes.

| vac. | M [. .] XHN | [.] | vac. IB vac. | steps
| KAT |

On the northernmost seat, the letters IB (0.07) may well be a number, 12: compare F.6.ii, and G.8. The letters below are much larger (0.15–0.20) and probably from κατ[έχεται].

Row 12.

i. On third seat from east end; letters neat, 0.02–0.05, cursive, beta with two bowls.

Cited, Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 276; published ALA 181. iii.

cross Νικῶ ἡ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων.

The fortune of the Blues triumphs!

ii. On second seat from west end; letters deeply cut, 0.045–0.07; square sigma, cursive delta.

A more cautious version published as ALA 181. iv.

cross τόπος
Σπανδι vac.
ο

Place of Spandios(?).

Block H

There are designs as follows: Row 3, two crosses (0.10 and 0.085); Row 12, 1 S.3 (0.15 x 0.16), 1 R.1 (0.21 x 0.095); Row 13, 1 C.1 with a single line across (Diam. 0.32); Row 15, 1 S.1 (0.14 x 0.10), 1 SSS.1 (0.18 x 0.16), one cross with serifs, 0.20. There are scattered letters in Rows 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25 and a small figure of ?a man in Row 26.

There are letters on the risers, as follows: Row 2, on seat at south end, Z (0.04), at north end ΠΟ (0.075); Row 21, on seat at south end ΖΩ vac. ΑΙ (first pair, 0.03–0.05; second pair, 0.07); Row 22, Μ (0.05) on seat at south end, ΕΥ (in ligature, 0.07); Row 26, Ε, ΕΥΑΚ (0.025–0.04).

Row 3. On one seat there is a rough and incomplete drawing (0.36 x 0.41) of a figure with what seems to be a net; presumably a *retiarius*.

Row 4.

- i. A graffito figure, apparently holding a spear and a shield, probably another gladiator (0.59 x 0.40).

Plate xv

- ii. On next block, parallel to edge, head and shoulders of a figure ?with hat or large hairdo, 0.28.

Row 6.

- i. On one seat, the letters ΑΙΤ, 0.035. There are other scattered letters.
- ii. On next seat, the outline for a human head and shoulders (0.27).
- iii. On third seat. Letters broad and shallow, 0.06, cross 0.36.

Published *ALA* 181. v.

τόπ(ος) cross

Place ?(of the cross).

If this text is complete, the translation must be 'place of the cross'; but it may have been intended to reserve a place for an individual whose name was never cut, accompanied by a cross (as in G.4, G.12).

Row 8.

- i. On one seat, which is broken to left; lightly cut letters, lunate, 0.04.

Plate (with 9.i) xiv

...] 'Αγάθωπος vac.

?Place] of Agathops.

- ii. On seat to right of 8.i, broken at right. Letters clearly cut, 0.04–0.05.

Plate (with iii.a) xv

Ἑπταμην[ί]-
(ου)

(Place) of Heptamenius.

For this name see *ALA* 207.

- iii. On the two seats to the right of 8.ii there are three monograms.
- a. On first seat, 0.08, clearly cut. Based on Ε; other letters Ο, Κ, Α and Λ or Δ.

Plate (with ii) xv

- b. On first seat, less clearly cut; 0.13. Based on K; other letters O, Y, P.

Kour [. . .

- c. On second seat, clearly cut, 0.12; the upper left corner is lost. Based on E; other letters O, Δ or A, N. Almost certainly the same as a.

Row 9.

- i. On one seat, crudely but clearly cut, a head and shoulders, with a circular ?shield in front of the torso; c. 0.30. Inscribed above the shield, letters 0.04–0.07.

Plate XIV

Θρῶξ

Thracian (gladiator).

Cut later, above the left shoulder, is a rough design ?of a figure, with the letters YE above, ?(OY) below.

This graffito may well have been cut by a supporter of the Thracian type of gladiator, a *parmularius* (see above, p. 79).

- ii. On seat to right of 9.i; clearly cut, square letters, 0.035–0.06.

Published *ALA* 181.vi.

Plate xv

Ἀθανά- Εὐσεβί(ου)
σί(ου)

(Place) of Athanasius. (Place) of Eusebius.

- iii. On seat to right of 9.ii; a monogram, 0.08, worn away below. Based on E; other letters T, O, Y, B or P, perhaps ?A.

A shorter reading published *ALA* 181.vi.

Plate xv

?τό(πος) Εὐ[σε]β[ίου].

?Place of ?Eusebius.

Row 19.

- i. On seat at south end; letters 0.18–0.19. There are other scattered letters on the following seats.

steps | [κατέ]χεται ὑ| [πὸ -

Reserved ?by [-.

- ii. On seat at north end, broken at both sides; letters 0.06–0.09.

...] | ΑΠΟΨΟΥ vac.

...] | κατέχετ[αι]

Perhaps from ἀποψάω, 'wipe off, wipe clean'. Superimposed over the right end are ?larger letters, perhaps EI.

?Wipe (the seat) clean. Reserved.

Row 20.

- i. On seats at south end.

steps | two seats | κΤ|α|τέχ| [εται

Reserved.

- ii On seat at north end. Large letters with broad flat trenches, 0.16; there are many letters on preceding seats.

vac. τόπ(?ος)| steps

Place [-

Row 22. Letters 0.06–0.13.

steps | three seats | ὑπὸ | κα | Π vac. Λ | three seats | V | K | T | [. | .] steps

Row 23. Letters 0.06–0.15.

| ΚΑΙΡΟ | ε | | Θ | two seats | steps
| ΝΟΡΟΥ | - | [κ]ατέχεται |

Row 25. No measurements.

? κατέχεται]ι ὑπὸ Τ|[-

Row 26. There are faces on two seats.

Block J

There are designs on seats as follows: Row 6, 1 R.1 (0.165 x 0.375); Row 7, ?1 R.1, uncompleted, 2 x 3 squares (0.15 x 0.19); Row 9, 1 R.1, central vertical line omitted (0.24 x 0.14); Row 24, ?1 SSS.1, very roughly cut (0.20 x 0.28); there are scattered letters in Rows 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 26.

There are letters cut on the seat risers, as follows (av. 0.04): Row 2, ΑΥ in ligature, ΑΑ; Row 3, Ζ on seat at south end(0.03), ΑΑ (0.06); Row 16, ΖΑΙ, on seat at north end; Row 17, ΙΑΝ (letters written upside down); Row 20, Χ; Row 21, Μ (0.02).

Row 2. On one block; letters 0.05–0.07.

vac. Ἡλιοδώρα(ου) vac.

(Place of) Heliodorus.

Row 3. On one block a drawing of a standing figure, dressed in a loin-cloth; his arms, which are raised, appear to be clothed in ?straps. ?A wrestler.

Plate xviii

Row 4.

- i. On one block there is a sketch of a phallus, and an unfinished sketch of ?a face with long hair on either side.
- ii. On another seat, a drawing (H. 0.39) of two busts, facing outwards, each with radiate head-dresses.

Plate xv

Row 8. On one block. A head and shoulders clearly cut with a fine tool; the hair-cut is short, and looks masculine, but what appear to be breasts are marked by two circles. Letters 0.03–0.09 (the final Y of 1.4).

Plate xvi

τοῦ κὲ	νικῶ ἡ τύχη
Κολοτρο-	Θεοδότου
νοσ	προταυ-
	ραρίου

The fortune triumphs of Theodotus, first goldsmith.
-]also (called) Kolotron.

It is possible that these texts should be read as one, and that Kolotron (for which I have found no parallel) was the alternative name of Theodotus. But it is perhaps more likely that the text on the left is in fact all that is left of a text which started on an adjacent seat, now lost.

Theodore, προταυράριος ‘chief *aurarius*’, is presumably the president of the guild of *aurarii*, which I take to mean ‘gold-workers’; the term is also found at Laodicea Combusta (MAMA 1.281), on several tombs at Corycus (προταυράριος/πρωταυράριος MAMA III.335, 351, 428, 607), and on a tomb at Patara (TAM II.457). For further references and discussion see above, on 45.39.P, and my forthcoming note in ZPE.

Row 13. On one block. Letters, 1.1, 0.03, 1.2, 0.04–0.05, faint.

L. 2 cited, Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 276 (part); published, ALA 181.vii.

Plate xvi

τόπο τῶν μακελλίτων	(sic)
Νικῶ ἡ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων	

Place of the butchers. The fortune of the Blues triumphs!

μακελλίτης is cited by the Glossaries as a term for butcher; the more standard term is μακελλάριος, which is found elsewhere at Aphrodisias (ALA 117.i). Seats were reserved for butchers, *macellarii*, in the amphitheatre at Lyons (A. Audon and J. Guey, *BSNAF* 1976, 202.) On the acclamation of the Blues see further below, p. 130.

Row 23

i. On one block, broken to left, at the north end of row. Letters av. 0.10.

-] MOY [-
-] ΦΟΥ [-

ii. Among several scattered letters, a monogram, 0.33, based on K and E, with perhaps T and I. Very similar to that at K. 22.

Row 26.

i. On one block, along edge. Letters av. 0.05.

vac. | μνίου ΛΥ | vac.

[(Place of) ?Poly]mnus ?Ly[-

- ii. Along edge of a seat, carefully cut, 0.09.

-]ΙΙΤΙ[-

- iii. Letters av. 0.13.

-] ΑΔΙΤΙ[-

Block K

There are designs as follows: Row 3, 1 S.3 (0.27 x 0.17); Row 4, 1 C.1 (Diam. 0.29); Row 5, at east end, 1 C.1 (Diam. 0.165); Row 18, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.16); Row 19, 1 S.1, deeply cut (16 x 0.16); Row 24, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.33); Row 25, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.20); there are scattered letters in Rows 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26; there are designs, Type C.2, in Rows 17, 24, and 25.

- Row 1. There is an incomplete drawing of a face (0.15).

- Row 6. On one block at west end of row; letters 0.05–0.015 (at end).

vac. ΙΚΕΑΤΥΙΙΩΝ

- Row 8. On one riser; letters 0.05. The H is written as a reversed N.

NHAI

- Row 9. On one block, at right angles to front edge; letters 0.02–0.04.

Ἐγὼ πυγίστης
εἶµε

I am a bugger.

- Row 21. Across row; letters 0.17–0.18, O 0.12.

steps | vac. | T | vac. | O | vac. | vac. | N | I | Y | vac. | steps

Perhaps τό(πος) followed by the name of a group or an individual.

- Row 22. Scattered letters, and a monogram 0.29, based on K and E, with A and perhaps T. Very similar to that at J.23.

Blocks K/L

In the steps leading upwards between the blocks, on the fourteenth step there is a letter A, very carefully cut (0.08); on the seventeenth step perhaps D, very worn (0.09). If these are numbers, they are at the right distance from one another, but it is strange that they should start so far up; they perhaps number rows above the level of officially allocated seats.

Block L

There are designs as follows: Row 2, 1 H.8, modified, 5 x 4 holes (0.17 x 0.14); Row 3, 1 H.4 (0.24 x 0.125); Row 4, 1 3Rows.1 (0.64 x 0.35); Row 6, 2 C.2, one with extra spoke (Diam. 0.29), one with curved spokes (Diam. 0.30); Row 9, at west end, 1 C.2 (Diam. 0.30). There are scattered letters in rows 5, 6, 8, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

There are letters on lips and risers: Row 19, on two adjacent risers, NHA|NHAK; Row 23, on one riser, EEE; Row 24, on one riser, Λ (0.02); Row 25, on lip, A (0.03); Row 26, on lip, IA (0.05).

Row 4. On seat at east end; letters 0.04. To the left, 1 R.1 (0.45 x 0.17).

Published, *ALA* 181.viii.

Νικῶ ἡ τύχη
τῶν vac. Ἀ Ο

The fortune triumphs of the [-

Perhaps unfinished; the last letters may not be associated with the preceding text.

Row 6. At west end; letters 0.04.

vac. ΕΓ vac.

Row 7. At east end: on first seat, 1 C.4 (Diam. 0.27); on next seat, letters 0.03.

steps | τόπος Βενετων |

Place ?of Blues.

Row 9. There is a graffito of a head and shoulders (0.44).

Row 18. At west end; letters 0.08.

vac. | vac. Π vac. | vac. ΠΑΘ [. .] | vac. | steps

Row 19. On one block at east end; letters 0.07.

steps | three seats | Τ·Ι·ΧΡΥC(ου) [.]

Row 21. At east end; letters 0.09–0.06.

steps | X | vac. | [.] | vac. | Ω | vac.

X. *Loose theatre seats*

X.1–14 were all found during excavation of the Theatre. X.1–3 are all seats with backs, now standing in front of the front row, in the prohedrion position.

X.1. Seat with back in prohedrion of theatre. Inscribed i on the seat, letters 0.10–0.17; ii on the rim, which has had a hole made in it subsequently; letters 0.07.

i. A K
Φ Α Π

ii. -] ΙΦΛ [.] ΝΤΕΙΧΙ [-

In ii, Λ might be Α, Τ might be Π, and Χ might be Λ.

X.2. Seat with back, to the south of X.1; very worn.

vacat ΕΙCΦΟΟΙΝ

X.3. Seat with back, to the south of X.2; letters 0.13–0.18.

| ΗΑΙΑΝ |

Perhaps part of a name, . . .]elian[us.

X.4 to X.14 are now lying to the east of the Theatre.

X.4. A loose seat with back; inscribed on the seat at right angles to edge, letters 0.02–0.025.

Published, *ALA* 181. ix.

Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη τ[ῶ]ν
Πρασίν(ων)

Possibly τ(οῦ) Πρασίν(ου).

The fortune of the Greens triumphs!

X.5. Seat from the *summa cavea*; letters 0.07, poorly cut.

vac. κατέχεται[ι

Reserved [-

The inscription continues to the right edge, and was presumably completed on the next seat.

X.6. Seat inscribed along front rim. Letters, 0.05–0.07; scroll for abbreviation.

? Ἀπ] vac. φία κ(αὶ) Φλ(άβιος) Ἑρμιπ[πος ?-

? Ap]phia and Flavius Hermip[pus?

The first name is well attested at Aphrodisias; Hermippus is not otherwise attested, but it is not possible to read the much more common Hermias.

X.7. Seat with a back, broken away above, with a deliberate hole created either for awning support, or for subsequent re-use; it bears traces of cement from later use; letters 0.025–0.05.

H
νικᾶ vac. ἡ τύχ[η]
τῆς vac. hole Λ

Perhaps the final word was [πό]λ(εως).

The fortune of the [?city] triumphs!

X.8. A long seat with back, broken at the right and with the front part of the seat lost (H. 0.66, W. 0.68, D. 0.30). Inscribed on back (I.1) and on seat (I.2); letters 0.10.

| κατ[έχεται ?]
| ΙΟΥ[. . .

? Reserved [-

X.9. A long seat (H. 0.86, W. 1.80, D. 0.39) with several sets of letters; the most readable are 0.021–0.24.

-]IXIOY *

Probably the end of a name in the genitive; it is not clear what the asterisk (usually a denarius sign) represents.

X.10. A long seat with a back (H. 0.68, W. 0.78, D. 0.24); the front seat is broken away and the top is broken. Letters clear and deep, av. 0.05.

-]I[. . .] I [-
-]I[.] OYAAAO [-

X.11. A seat with the lip broken away (H. 0.40, W. 1.02, D. 0.68). Inscribed in the centre of the riser; letters clear, 0.05.

vac. EYAT vac.

For a similar text, also on a riser, compare H.26.

X.12. A seat with the lip broken away (H. 0.39, W. 1.32, D. 0.58). Inscribed on the riser; letters 0.05–0.09.

vac. ΓO vac. AI vac.

X.13. A seat with the lip broken away (H. 0.36, W. 1.28, D. 0.65). Inscribed on the riser; letters 0.035.

vac. ZΩ vac.

Compare H.21, on the riser.

X.14. A seat with rim partially broken away. Inscribed on the rim; letters 0.04.

-] Λ H vac.

Λ might be a cursive alpha.

X.15. Seat reused in the fortifications on the Acropolis; surface weathered away to right. Letters 0.02–0.025.

Published, *ALA* 138.

Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη -
Κύριε μὴ ἴσθητι ?-
MAY[-
vac.

L. 3 Y or Γ.

The fortune triumphs [-] Lord re[member -

There are other Theatre seats reused in the Acropolis fortifications which bear letters, but no determinable syllables.

X.16. Block (H. 0.32, W. 0.725, D. 0.11) apparently formed by cutting down a theatre seat and reused in a late partition wall in the complex east of the Theatre Baths. The surface has been hacked, presumably in preparation for the subsequent plastering. Clear, crude lettering, l.1, 0.09, l.2, 0.03–0.06.

κατέχεται
μὴ μάχη H

Reserved. ?Don't quarrel.

While the first line is standard, I have not found parallels for the second; it appears to be an order, instructing the reader not to contest the occupancy of the seat; but this leaves the second eta unaccounted for.

X.17 and 18 were found, with several other Theatre seats, in the southern portico of the Southern Agora (Portico of Tiberius). Seats from the upper part of the cavea seem to have fallen here, and some were re-used in the fifth-century repair work in this area.

X.17. Seat (0.645 x 0.35 x 0.85) inscribed on the riser, in rough large letters, 0.05–0.06.

vac. ΔΗΜΗ vac.

X.18. Broken in two halves (H. 0.37, total W. c. 1.30, D. 0.69). Inscribed, i on the seat, in a large sprawling hand, 0.18; ii on the riser, regular formal lettering, 0.03; NH in ligature.

i. M

ii. Cut over a cursive E.

Plate xvi

vac. Καρμινίας Κλαυδ[ι]ανῆς vac.

(Seat of) Carminia Claudiana.

Carminia Claudiana must be a member of the family of Carminii, who were prominent at Aphrodisias from the mid-second century; M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus spent 10,000 denarii on the auditorium of the Theatre (*CIG* 2782, with Reynolds, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 20). This could well explain why this lady's seat bears particularly elegant formal lettering. The find-spot makes it likely that it originally came from the upper cavea, suggesting that in the Theatre, as in the Stadium, women were seated at the back (compare 45.10.Y.1, and references there, and 45.11.U).

47. THE ODEON

Plan, Fig. 3

The lower part of the Odeon, with nine rows of seats, has been preserved in fairly good condition, although here too it cannot be assumed that the seats are all in their original positions; there was almost certainly an upper tier of seats, which has been lost. The five blocks of seats are indicated here by the letters A–E, starting from the west; the rows have been numbered from bottom to top, Row 1 being the front row.

1. There are a series of groups of letters cut on the front lips of the seats; their height is 0.05–0.07. Some of the groups reappear several times. I have set out the letters, and their location; their concentration in one part of the auditorium is chiefly because in the rest of the auditorium the edges of the seats have been lost.

AAP	B.4, B.5, B.6 (four times), B.7, loose fragments
AAE	B.7

AN	E.7 and 8, loose fragment
APAP	B.4
ΓΟ	B.1
EP	B.5
ZH	B.4 (twice), B.5, C.4
HPA	B.7
HPI	B.6 (twice)
ΠΑΑ	loose fragment

It seems most likely that these are the abbreviations of names of individuals or of organizations for whom these seats were reserved. Several of these abbreviations could be resolved into personal names well-attested at Aphrodisias: Ζή(νων), ἸΑδρ(αστος), Ἀλέ(ξανδρος), Ἡρά(κλειος), Ἐρ(μίας), Ἀν(τίοχος) or Ἀν(δρόνεικος). But others (APAP, ΓΟ, and ΠΑΑ, perhaps also HPI) cannot be taken as a certain indication of any name well-attested at the site (there is one Gortynios, one Goneus, and one Gorgonius, but no name beginning Pal- or Arar-); and these abbreviations seem an inadequate way of reserving a seat for particular individuals, especially with names as common at Aphrodisias as Zeno or Adrastus. AP is also found in the Stadium (45.28.L) and extensively on seat lips in the Theatre (see 46.F); ΓΟ is found on a seat lip from the Theatre (46.X.12). It seems easier to take these as the names of tribes, or some other kind of groups, as was also suggested for ΛΥ in the Stadium (45.13.D); compare the inscriptions on benches found in the Theatre area, ALA 212. We should perhaps associate these inscriptions with the use of the Odeon for some kind of deliberative assembly, in which the participants were divided into tribes. But it is also possible that we should associate ΠΑΑ with the 'elder Jews' for whom seating was reserved in the Odeon (below, D.6).

2. The seat inscriptions.

Block B

Row 5. Across two seats. Letters well cut, 0.075–0.09, square.

Cited, Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 79; published, ALA 180.i.

Plate xvi

τόπολις νεοτέρω[ν]

The final letter was never cut.

Place of younger men (*neoteroi*).

For the *neoteroi* see above, on 45.30.S (apparently reserved for their officials) and below, p. 123.

Row 8. On one seat. Letters irregular, 0.05(o)–0.07; lunate.

Cited, *Circus Factions*, 79; published, Reynolds-Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers*, Appendix 1b; ALA 180.ii. Illustrated in Reynolds-Tannenbaum, plate 8.

τόπος Ἑβραίων

The first letters of the second word are very worn, perhaps deliberately erased.

Place of ?Jews.

Block D

Row 6. On one seat, whose surface has subsequently been chipped, as if for plastering. Letters, l.1, 0.002–0.045; l.2, 0.02–0.035; irregular, square.

Cited, *Circus Factions*, 79, 135; published, Reynolds-Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers*, Appendix 1a; *ALA* 180.iii. Illustrated, Reynolds-Tannenbaum, plate 8.

τόπος Βενέτων
Ἐβρέων τῶν παλαιῶν

Place of Blues, of the elder Jews.

This term is used in one other inscription of Jewish elders (published most recently as *I.Chalcedon* 75; see also D. Feissel, *T&MByz* 10 (1987), 411). For the association with the Blues see below, p. 130.

Block E

Row 1. A cross, 0.055 high.

Row 5. On one seat. Letters very worn, square, 0.035–0.045; OY in ligature.

Cited, *Circus Factions*, 315; published, *ALA* 180.iv.

Plate xvii

[..] Βενέτ(ου)

The traces before the B may be without significance.

[.?.] of (the) Blue (faction).

See below, p. 131

Row 7. On two seats. Letters 0.04 (o)–0.07, well cut, lunate; apostrophe for abbreviation. All the letters after TO have been erased, but remain legible.

Cited, *Circus Factions*, 315; published *ALA* 180.v.

Plate xvii

τόπος Βενέ(των)

Place of Blues.

The abbreviation could also be resolved Βενέ(του), to give 'place of (the) Blue (faction)', as in Row 5; but the plural is more common. See further below, p. 131.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AUDIENCE

Despite the abundance of the evidence presented here, there are serious limits to the way in which it can be exploited. Above all, there is very little evidence for the date of these inscriptions except that which is provided internally by the texts themselves. I have suggested above that I believe most of the inscriptions in the Stadium to date from the Roman imperial period; most of those in the Odeon belong definitely to the later Roman period, since the references to the factions are likely to be no earlier than the later fifth

century. The situation in the Theatre is more complex, since it is clear that several layers of inscriptions survive on some of the seats; on the whole, those which are legible tend to be so because they were the latest to be inscribed, and so belong to the later Roman period. But within these broad indications of date, we cannot establish the relative chronology of the various inscriptions; and it is very important to remember that two adjacent texts might in fact have been inscribed at very different dates.

Another major uncertainty is the status of the inscriptions. It is clear that we have a large number of completely private graffiti, such as gameboards, prayers, jokes, and pictures, in both the Stadium and the Theatre. It also seems evident that some at least of the Stadium texts have an 'official' character — particularly, for example, those spread over a whole row, reserving it for some official body (e.g. 45.30.R, S, T, and U). But it remains difficult to determine the exact status of a wide range of texts which fall between these two extremes. This problem is not unique to this site. The editor of the seat inscriptions from the Theatre at Delphi argues that there the inscriptions on the rims or risers of the seats represent formal allocations of seats, while those on the flat surface are graffiti.⁷ The situation is certainly far less obvious at Aphrodisias. In particular, the large number of texts reserving seats for individuals presents a problem. They can only have had a limited period of usefulness, during that individual's active life-time; in the Theatre, at least, it seems likely that many such texts were overcut with later inscriptions.⁸ But in any one case it is difficult to know whether the text was simply cut privately, or whether, as must have been the case with some of the larger texts in the Stadium (e.g. 45.33.H), the man concerned had obtained an official allocation of those seats, together with the right to inscribe on them.

For this reason, it seems to me that these texts can only be of limited use in helping us to understand how seating at public spectacles was organized. Elizabeth Rawson drew attention to the concern shown by the Roman authorities, and above all by Augustus, for the proper and seemly organization of audiences; in doing so, she was able to draw on a large amount of historical and literary evidence.⁹ I feel certain, both that there was a similar concern at Aphrodisias, and also that these inscriptions can only give us very slight evidence as to what 'public policy' may have been. To my mind, their chief value lies simply in showing us various ways in which people described themselves, or were described, when they attended public spectacles; from this, I think, some cautious conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, there are the seats reserved for individuals in the Theatre,¹⁰ and the Stadium.¹¹ As has been said, it is not easy to be sure which of these texts reflect the formal allocation of a seat, and which are simply privately inscribed.¹² Several of these texts, especially in the Stadium, reserved more than a single seat; the persons named must in fact have been reserving space for themselves and members of their households. Some women's names survive. Apphia (if this name is correctly restored in 46.X.6) is named with her husband Fl. Herm[-; two further women are found together in the Stadium (45.11.U). There are

⁷ P. Collart, *Fouilles de Delphes* iii.6.1, 377.

⁸ Seats in the Colosseum at Rome which were inscribed with the names of individuals in the fifth century A.D. had to have new marble inset in some cases: Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 43.

⁹ Rawson, '*Discrimina ordinum*'.

¹⁰ 46.?A.5, 24, C.26, ?F.6.iii, 23, G.12.ii, H.8.i, ii, 9.ii, ?iii, J.2, ?23, ?26, X.6, 18.

¹¹ 45. 3.V.1, ?7.M, 10.Y.i, 11.U, 12.L, M, R, ?13.O, 14.X, 33.R, S, 37.E, 40.S.

¹² As observed in the case of the inscriptions on the seats of the Stadium at Didyma by Rehm, *I. Didyma*, p.102.

also seats for at least two women who can be identified as coming from important families: Claudia Seleuceia appears to have had her own *topos* in the Stadium (45.10.P), as does Carminia Claudiana in the Theatre (46.X.18) — perhaps in a section set aside for women, as at Rome.¹³

A second group reserves seats for individuals who give their status: Apollonius the sculptor (45.7.X); perhaps a named *oeconomus* (45.11.F); Attalus the senator (45.33.H); Theodotus the leader of the *aurarii* (46.J.8). Two seats in the Stadium are apparently reserved for victorious athletes (45.33.R and AA). In each case, it may be that their seats were within an area set aside for that particular category of person. It is very likely that local members of the Roman Senate such as Attalus were given special positions at civic festivals.¹⁴ It certainly suggests that it was as a Roman senator that Attalus chose to be identified; presumably he wore his senatorial toga.

After the individuals, the largest number of identifiable texts refer to groups and associations.

Firstly, there are some references to external bodies: there are seats in the Stadium for the citizens of Mastaura and of Antioch, presumably that on the Maeander (45.4.O, 34.S). This reflects the importance attached to the attendance at festivals by delegations from other cities.¹⁵ Similarly, at Rome special arrangements were made for official foreign visitors,¹⁶ and at Lyons seats were reserved for the delegations of different cities of the province.¹⁷ At Ephesus an inscription reserves a place for the people of Keramos, which had been requested by a citizen of Keramos who was serving as provincial high-priest.¹⁸

The majority, however, of the groups referred to appear to be local. These can be considered in two categories. First come the groups which can be seen as integral to the structure of the city. There are very few surviving inscriptions at Aphrodisias reserving seats for civic officials, who are very fully represented at some other sites. For some reason, those who can be identified are a series of *oeconomoi* in the Stadium: unqualified (45.11.F and G); sacred *oeconomoi* (45.30.R and T); and *oeconomoi* of the young men (45.30.S). Perhaps an archon can be detected in 46.F.6. The *?mandator* in the Theatre (46.A.3) is most probably a civic employee, but one who was in the Theatre in order to perform his function of making announcements.

At many cities, there was clearly special seating for 'tribes' — φυλαί.¹⁹ The situation at Aphrodisias is less clear. There are rows in the Stadium which may be reserved for φυλαί (45.2.M, T), but the one clear reference is hard to interpret: Row Y, in Block 32, is apparently reserved for 'the tribes of the Aphrodisians'. The difficulty is that, if we

¹³ Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum', 89–90. Seats were reserved for women in the Stadium at Didyma, *I.Didyma* 50; the theatre at Mitylene, *Arch.Delt.* 22 (1967), 452–7; and the theatre at Termessos, *TAM* III.872.6; but in all these cases they are also described as holding offices. (I am grateful to Riet van Bremen for these references.)

¹⁴ For this in the West, see Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum', 107–8.

¹⁵ See commentary on 45.4.O, and below on 58 to 64.

¹⁶ Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum', 92.

¹⁷ Audon and Guey, 'L'amphithéâtre . . . à Lyon', 37–58.

¹⁸ *JÖAI* 55 (1984), 126–7 (whence *SEG* xxxiv.1168).

¹⁹ At Saïttai rows of stadium seats were reserved for tribes: φυ(λῆς) Διονυσιάδος, φυ(λῆς) Ἀσκληπιάδος, F. Kolb, 'Sitzstufeninschriften aus dem Stadion von Saïttai (Lydia)', *Ep.Anat.* 15 (1990), 107–19; seats were similarly reserved in the Theatre at Stobi, Saria, 'Die Inschriften . . . von Stobi', nos 9, 10, 11, 79, and 81; for Hierapolis, see the important article by F. Kolb, 'Zur Geschichte der Stadt Hierapolis in Phrygien: die Phylleninschriften im Theater', *ZPE* 15 (1974), 255–70; for other examples, Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum', 94–5.

assume that the citizen body was divided into 'tribes', one row, or even one block, of the Stadium seating would not be sufficient to accommodate one of them, let alone all of them. The explanation is perhaps that this seat was for certain officials of the φυλαί.

There are only a few other references to tribes at Aphrodisias. A second-century benefactor, Attalus Adrastus, described himself by his tribe, *Romais*; ²⁰ he also apparently arranged for the citizens to be feasted 'by tribes', [κατὰ φυλάς, apparently civic tribes, between which the citizen body was divided. ²¹ Another inscription, of the late second or early third century, mentioning a foundation for the citizens, refers to benefits going to 'the Council and the People and the tribes and the *procleri*', τῇ βουλῇ [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ταῖς φυλαῖς καὶ προκλήροις; in this latter case the position of the 'tribes' is less clear, and not made easier by the word προκλήρος, attested only here. ²² There is also a reference to a *phylarch*, ²³ and one to a 'cursor of the most revered tribes', probably of the late third or fourth century. ²⁴ Tribes, therefore, existed at Aphrodisias over a long period, but were not particularly prominent; nor can we be certain of their nature. It is clear that in some cities φυλή could denote an institution which could be joined by outsiders, rather than a body of people who belonged to it by birth; thus a third-century A.D. inscription from Nicomedia commemorates a man from Apamea, in Syria, who was *phylarch* of a *phyle* at Nicomedia. ²⁵ At Philadelphia the term is used to describe associations of craftsmen, ²⁶ and the closest parallel that I could find for the *cursor* of the tribes at Aphrodisias came from examples of trade associations in and around Rome who had 'messengers', *viatores*. ²⁷ It must remain uncertain, therefore, what kind of bodies the *phylai* were at Aphrodisias; and it is probably wise to envisage the possibility that the nature and importance of these groupings may have changed over time. In this connection it is worth observing that in 1937 A. H. M. Jones could suggest that at Hierapolis, with its abundant references to craft organizations, and none to civic tribes, the associations might have taken the place of the tribes. ²⁸ Since then it has been discovered that the theatre seats at Hierapolis were divided between civic tribes, whose names we have now learned, almost certainly for the purpose of organizing public meetings. ²⁹ But it remains true that these groupings, while they clearly had a role in the public organization of the city, do not seem to have impinged on the private lives of their members, who looked to other kinds of organization for services such as the protection of their tombs. I would suggest that the situation at Aphrodisias may well have been similar.

There are some abbreviations which may refer to tribes, or to other kinds of groups: so Λυ and Ύψι in the Stadium; ³⁰ AP in the Stadium, the Theatre, and on the rim of an Odeon seat; ³¹ and perhaps others. ³² Several such abbreviations appear on the rims of the Odeon seats ('Αδρ, 'Αλε, 'Αν, 'Αρ, Γο, Ερ, Ζη, 'Ηρ, 'Ηρα, Ηρι, Παλ), where they should

²⁰ Reinach 142, *MAMA* viii.413.

²¹ *MAMA* viii.413.

²² *MAMA* viii.447.

²³ *ALA* 201.

²⁴ *ALA* 150.

²⁵ S. Sahin, *Neufunde von antiken Inschriften in Nikomedia* (Münster, 1974), no.32, whence *Bull'Ép* 1974.573.

²⁶ D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), 135–6 and n. 49.

²⁷ Waltzing, *Étude historique*, i, 416.

²⁸ *Cities of the East Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937), 73.

²⁹ F. Kolb, 'Zur Geschichte der Stadt Hierapolis'.

³⁰ 45.13.D, 45.28.B, C.

³¹ 45.28.L, 46.F.16.ii, L.13, 47.1.

³² In the Stadium, ZBI, 45.33.T; KIB, 45.35.L; KAI, 45.39.A; in the Theatre, ΓIZ, 46.A.7, KMK, 46.C.21.ii.

perhaps be seen as dividing the auditorium for meetings of the Council.³³ A further group of abbreviations was found on a series of benches from the area of the Theatre: Ἡράκ, Εὐτ, Θεοδ.³⁴ These three groups of abbreviations have in common the fact that many of them might be abbreviations of names found frequently at Aphrodisias. This may suggest that they are civic tribes; but they could also be groupings around a prominent individual, like the *Pytheanitae*, 'supporters of Pytheas', who are found at Aphrodisias in the late fifth century.³⁵

It is no surprise that the civic groups which are most prominently represented in these inscriptions are the organizations of young men: the 'sacred ephebes' (45.30.U and V), and the *neoterōi* (47.B.5), and their officials (45.30.S). *Neoterōi* is used apparently interchangeably with the commoner *neoi* to describe the organization of young men in the age group senior to the ephebes; but in some circumstances *neoi* is used to indicate both groups as one: all the 'young men' of a city.³⁶ Both ephebes and *neoi* were grouped in associations based on the gymnasium; in a city with more than one gymnasium, there were sometimes separate gymnasia assigned to the boys, the ephebes, and the *neoi*, while in other cities separate groups of 'young men' were based at each gymnasium. It was the skills taught at the gymnasium, both athletic and cultural, which were displayed in the festivals of the city. In the early third century groups of this kind could be expected to attend public spectacles, and sometimes to behave riotously at them;³⁷ at Melos seats were reserved for νεανισκοί,³⁸ at Trier for *iuvenes*.³⁹ There are several references to special seats for ephebes.⁴⁰ The prominence of these groups at public spectacles is clear from the provisions of the document which details the foundation set up in A.D. 104 by Vibius Salutaris for the city of Ephesus.⁴¹ Salutaris gave a series of portable images, which represented Artemis and various public groups (see further below, Chapter VIII, p. 145); these were to be escorted to public events, and placed on bases near where the various bodies sat. There are references to the sections 'where the boys sit'⁴² and 'where the sacred victors sit'.⁴³ We also possess some of the bases on which the statues were placed: they depicted, and were presumably located near the seating for, various φυλαί, the ephebes (together with the equestrian order), and the *gerousia*.

There may well have been several reasons for seating the young men together. They were clearly a body in which the city took pride, the representatives of its own future. It was also particularly appropriate that they should be assured of special seating to watch the practitioners of those arts and skills in which they were themselves being trained. But, at another level, there was perhaps also an element of control. The organizations of adolescents and young men in the ancient city, focused on the gymnasium and the training which it offered, could provide some element of control over a potentially disruptive

³³ 47.1.

³⁴ ALA 212.

³⁵ ALA 59.

³⁶ See Forbes, *Neoi*.

³⁷ Callistratus, *Dig.* XLVIII.19.28.3.

³⁸ IG XII.3.1243.

³⁹ CIL XIII.3708.

⁴⁰ See Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum', 91 and n.49.

⁴¹ *Forschungen in Ephesos* II, 27, republished as *I.Eph.* 27; see now the full discussion in G. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos* (London, 1991), *passim*. I am very grateful to Dr Rogers for letting me see his manuscript in advance of publication.

⁴² *ibid.*, 1.469: οὗ [οἱ] παῖδες καθέζ[ο]νται.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 1.477: οὗ οἱ ἱερoneῖκαι καθέζ[ο]νται.

group; it seems likely that this formed part of Augustus' thinking when he set up his *collegia iuvenum*.⁴⁴ On all this, see further below (pp. 134ff.).

The second category of group is represented by the 'associations', of which the easiest for us to identify are 'craft associations'. These are frequently found seated together in auditoria; and at Aphrodisias we now have evidence for the practitioners of several crafts reserving seating: an anonymous *syntechnia* (45.10.Y); the tanners (45.12.D); the *syntechnia* of the gardeners (45.34.Z); the gold-workers (45.39.P), and a chief gold-worker (46.J.8); perhaps corn-merchants (45.2.U). The appearance of such references in such a context is a useful indication of the possible functions of trade-associations. Their members would meet for religious and social purposes; they sat together at public festivals; they would ensure that the grave of a former member was respected.⁴⁵ These activities must have been the most regular and recurrent concerns of the associations; while they might occasionally co-operate to bring pressure on the authorities in order to improve their position, as in the case of the silver-workers⁴⁶ or the bakers⁴⁷ at Ephesus, their essential coherence must have depended on these regular activities. These bodies were named for a craft, but the practice of that craft may have been only one of the things which held them together.

It may, therefore, not be easy, or even realistic, to distinguish between associations of people with the same craft, and associations of people who lived in the same area. Trade-associations often have a double definition: both by trade and by location in the city, such as the 'porters in the corn-market' at Tarsus.⁴⁸ There is also abundant evidence of groups defined by location; examples of groups described by their *plateia*, or avenue, were assembled by Louis Robert.⁴⁹ Several *plateiai* would be grouped together in a 'section', *amphodon* or a 'neighbourhood', *geitonia*; both can have a 'chief' — *platearches*, *amphodarches*, or *geitoniarches*. This was a system which lasted well into the late Roman period.⁵⁰

Finally, there are cult-associations; we have not identified any of these so far at Aphrodisias, but that could well be because we do not recognize their names. But we can recognize the Jews, for whom seats are reserved in the Odeon at Aphrodisias (47.B.8, D.6), as in the Theatre at Miletus;⁵¹ it is worth considering whether the outside viewer would have seen any significant difference between the Jews, as a group who worshipped and attended spectacles together, and other cult-associations. Their presence at spectacles which were all founded upon pagan cult is a clear indication of how important it was for all citizens to appear at such events.⁵²

⁴⁴ H. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1965), 431–4.

⁴⁵ So in one unpublished funerary inscription at Aphrodisias, but frequently elsewhere, particularly at Phrygian Hierapolis; cf. a recently published text from Ephesus, charging the silver-smiths with care of the tomb (*SEG* xxxiv.1094).

⁴⁶ Acts 19.23–41.

⁴⁷ *I. Eph.* 215, and bibliography there, especially W. H. Buckler, *Anatolian Studies Ramsay* (Manchester, 1923), 30–3.

⁴⁸ L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977), 91 (= *Documents de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1987), 49).

⁴⁹ *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 150–7.

⁵⁰ See the liturgy published by J. van Haelst, 'Une ancienne prière d'intercession de la liturgie de St. Marc', *Ancient Society* 1 (1970), 95–114, with prayers for 'the emperors, the army, the magistrates, the Council, the people, our neighbourhoods', with the observations of L. Robert at 110–11.

⁵¹ For this well-known inscription see most recently H. Hommel, *Ist.Mitt.* 25 (1975), 167–95, and Reynolds and Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers*, 54.

⁵² For the implications for the Jews themselves see T. Rajak, 'Jews and Christians as groups in a pagan world', in J. Neusner and E. S. Frerichs (eds), *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, 'Others' in Late Antiquity* (Chico, 1985), 247–62.

It seems certain that the trade-associations, local associations, cult-associations and groupings such as the Jews are best understood as groups among a wide range of associations, all of which had similar duties and responsibilities. That they were seen as comparable is suggested, for example, by an inscription from Istros, in which a lady gives money to a series of groups including the *hymnodoi*, the *tektones*, the *hieroplateitai*, and the *Heracleiastai* — one group associated for a particular activity, one 'professional' group, one group of inhabitants of an area, one religious association.⁵³

According to the jurists, these associations had two kinds of responsibility: to their members, and to the wider community — *munera municipalia*.⁵⁴ In the majority of cases, the members of associations lived in a specific area, and had responsibilities for that area. Most famously, the trade-associations of Rome functioned as fire-brigades well into the late Roman period;⁵⁵ *collegiati* helped deal with fires in Rome in 384/5,⁵⁶ and this system persisted in sixth-century Constantinople.⁵⁷

They could also be called upon for public works; thus at Antioch on the Orontes in the first century A.D. various sections of the city — *amphoda* — were called on to assist, section by section, in the cutting of a canal.⁵⁸ In the inscription describing that arrangement, the areas themselves are described in various ways: some are called after individuals, or local landmarks, but some are called after cult- or trade-associations.⁵⁹ In the sixth century the association of butchers at Tomis was given responsibility for repairing a section of the city wall; it seems very likely that the butchers' quarter of the city would have been adjacent to that particular stretch of wall.⁶⁰ G. Dagron compares this to the account in the *Patria* of the two factions having helped rebuild the walls of Constantinople in 448.⁶¹ Such responsibilities were not limited to trade- or neighbourhood-associations; on at least one occasion an association of 'young men' was responsible for work on a stretch of fortification wall at Carnuntum, and such associations were used in road-building under Maximinus.⁶² As well as general public works, area-associations could be given responsibility for aspects of the defence of a city; in the third century B.C. Philo *mechanicus* advised that each *amphodon* should be given, at public expense, a *lithobolos* (stone-thrower) and two catapults.⁶³ In 502/3 the Jews at Tella in northern Syria were responsible during a siege for the defence of the section of city wall near their synagogue.⁶⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitus advises that the emperor, when he is leaving the city on campaign, should order his *ek prosopou* to reckon up the population and determine ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν συστημάτων φυλάξει τὴν πόλιν ἐν

⁵³ E. Popescu, *Dacia* (1960), 273, whence *BullÉp* 1962.239; Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 156–7.

⁵⁴ Callistratus, *Dig.* xxvii.1.17.3.

⁵⁵ F. M. Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches* (Frankfurt, 1982), 71–8.

⁵⁶ Symmachus, *Rel.* 14.3, with J.-P. Waltzing, *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 35 (1892), 217–37.

⁵⁷ John Lydus, *De mag.* i.50; cf. *Not. Urb. Const.* 2.25.

⁵⁸ D. Feissel, 'Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche astreints au creusement d'un canal (73–74 après J.-C.)', *Syria* 62 (1985), 77–103.

⁵⁹ Feissel, 'Deux listes', 101–2.

⁶⁰ Published most recently by E. Popescu, *Inscriptiones intra fines Dacoromaniae repertae* (Bucharest, 1976), 8.

⁶¹ *Constantinople imaginaire*, 183–4, referring to Preger, *Script. Orig. Const.* II, *Patria* II, 58.

⁶² M. Jaczynowska, *Les associations de la jeunesse romaine sous le haut-empire* (Warsaw, 1978), 60–1 with appendix of inscriptions, nos 208, 157–159a.

⁶³ v.iii.26, ed. and trans. in Y. Garlan, *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque* (Paris, 1974), whence cited by L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 153.

⁶⁴ Josh. Styl. ch. 58, pp.47–8.

καιρῷ ἐπιδημίας ἐχθρῶν, 'in which section each of these associations will guard the city in the event of an enemy attack'.⁶⁵

In general, the use of the *collegia* by the central authorities seems to have increased in the late Roman period when they were used to collect taxes, in particular the *chrysargyron*;⁶⁶ in Oxyrhynchus in the sixth century trade-associations appear to have been considered as bodies with fiscal responsibilities.⁶⁷ In the West membership of *collegia* came to be seen as burdensome, so that it had to be maintained by imperial legislation; but it is clear that in the eastern cities of the empire such organizations continued to flourish well into the sixth century.⁶⁸ They still apparently provided a convenient way of organizing the population; both *collegiati* and *vicomagistri* are enumerated regularly for each area of the city in the *Notitia* of Constantinople, which dates from the first half of the fifth century.⁶⁹ In 559, when Justinian entered Constantinople in triumph, he was met by a series of court officials (all in white), the prefect of the city, 'the bankers and all the businessmen, and every association', ἀργυροπρᾶται καὶ πάντες πραγματευταὶ καὶ πᾶν σύστημα.⁷⁰ Similarly, at the inauguration of the first consulate of Justin II the people stood 'divided into groups and their associations', 'divisum in turmas et in sua corpora vulgus'.⁷¹ Their continuing importance in the management of Constantinople is of course illustrated in the ninth-century Book of the Prefect, which is devoted to the regulations governing trade-associations.⁷²

The association was far more than just a club: a man's membership drew his family into the orbit of the association, and the responsibilities of the association echoed those of a family.⁷³ Among those responsibilities, one of the most important was the duty to ensure that members were buried, and their tombs protected — a standard obligation in East and West.⁷⁴ Such a responsibility was undertaken by associations of every kind, including trade-associations. Burial itself would normally be a family responsibility, but a text from Thessalonica, where purple-workers buried a member who came from Thyateira, demonstrates why such services might be required;⁷⁵ similarly, the synod of victors carried out the obsequies of a fellow-athlete from Elaia (near Pergamum) who died during a contest at Naples.⁷⁶ The body of funerary inscriptions in which the care of the tomb is assigned to a trade-association, as in many epitaphs found in the necropolis at Phrygian Hierapolis, provides one of the most important sources of our information about associations. Similar responsibilities were assumed by the Jewish community,⁷⁷ or by area-associations.⁷⁸

⁶⁵ Const. Porph., *De Exped.* B, 58–62 (ed. Reiske, 449). This account is presented as a description of the arrangements made by Constantine the Great, but describes the situation in the tenth century.

⁶⁶ Jones, *LRE*, 858.

⁶⁷ *P.Goth.* 9, with the comments of R. Rémondon, *Chronique d'Egypte* 81 (1966), 173–8.

⁶⁸ On these developments see Jones, *LRE*, 430–1 (arrangements for the *chrysargyron*), 860–1.

⁶⁹ *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berlin, 1876); Jones, *LRE*, 689.

⁷⁰ Const. Porph., *De Exped.* C, 715–6 (ed. Reiske, 498).

⁷¹ Corippus, *In laudem Iustini* iv.68, cf. iv.2, with the comments of Averil Cameron ad loc.

⁷² See in particular S. Vryonis, Jr., 'Byzantine δημοκρατία and the guilds in the eleventh century', *DOP* 17 (1963 = S. Vryonis, Jr., *Byzantium: Its Internal History and Relations with the Muslim World* (London, 1971), iii), 289–314.

⁷³ See G. R. Horsley, 'A fishing cartel in first-century Ephesus', *New Documents illustrating early Christianity* 5 (North Ryde, 1989), 95–114, especially 107–8.

⁷⁴ For the West see Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen*, 59–71.

⁷⁵ *IG.x.II.1*, 291, with L. Robert, *R.Ph.* 48 (1974), 225, (= *OMS* v, 312).

⁷⁶ L. Robert, *Ant.Class.* 37 (1968), 406–17 (= *OMS* vi, 82–93).

⁷⁷ *Hell.* iii, 105–7; *Hell.* xi–xii, 387, 391–2.

⁷⁸ Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 150.

Another of their functions was to meet regularly, often for the purpose of celebrations in honour of a divinity whom they had chosen to be their patron; for 'cult-associations' this was the principal source of their identity, but it seems likely that all associations had a religious commitment of some kind to a patron deity. As well as the divine, many associations also had human patrons; the other major source of our information on these groups is the body of inscriptions in which associations honour their patrons — προστάται. Thanks to such patrons, associations frequently received endowments, and came to own property, such as the large building given to the fullers at Pompeii by Eumachia, or the οἶκος of the corn-dealers at Tarsus.⁷⁹

Another important function which has not, until now, received much attention was the provision of seats for members at public spectacles. J. Kolendo has pointed out that for many ordinary citizens the membership of such a group would be the best assurance of obtaining a good seat.⁸⁰ Moreover, it is on these occasions that they will have been most visible, as constituent members of the citizen body. For an 'ordinary' citizen, therefore, his association will have provided him with an identity within the city, to balance that of the councillors or the Roman senators sitting in their own special seats. The principal evidence for the importance of this function comes from the reserved seating; but there are some other indications. At Sagalassus, the *synteknia* of the dyers honoured a patron, with an account of the games and gladiatorial combats which he had sponsored.⁸¹ Built into the amphitheatre of Puteoli are a series of little chambers — *sacella* — of which at least three were used by *collegia*: the *scabillarii* (an organization of performers, who played the instrument called the *scabellum*); a religious organization, the *orgiophantae*; and a trade organization of ship-owners, *navicularii*.⁸² It is perhaps also significant that such associations adopted the terminology of competition and victory, with appropriate acclamations; at Aphrodisias an acclamation proclaims the victory of the sedan-chair bearers, Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν σελλοφόρων,⁸³ just as that of the porters is proclaimed at Caesarea in Palestine;⁸⁴ both inscriptions are from the late Roman period. The use of acclamations by associations goes back to the silver-smiths at Ephesus, who met as an association to complain about the activities of the Apostle Paul, and then proceeded to the Theatre, where they presented their protest to the citizens; on that occasion, however, the only recorded acclamation was one from the cult of the goddess, rather than from the formulae of contests.⁸⁵

A further indication of the importance for such groups of acting together as spectators is perhaps provided by the evidence, discussed above (pp. 79–80), for associations of 'lovers of arms', *philoploi*. The evidence suggests that these associations, for whom attendance at gladiatorial combats and *venationes* was presumably the primary objective, also functioned just like other associations, protecting the tombs of their members and honouring benefactors. They could be designated by a title (the *philovedii*, presumably called after their patron) or by an area (the *philoplia* of the *macellum*, meat-market), and an area of the city could be called after them (as at Miletus). In all these ways they resemble a craft- or a neighbourhood-association.

⁷⁹ Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977), 88–96 (= *Documents*, 46–54).

⁸⁰ Kolendo, 'La répartition des places', 315.

⁸¹ Robert, *Gladiateurs* no. 97.

⁸² A. Maiuri, *L'anfiteatro Flavio Puteolano* (Naples, 1955), 46–8, 52–3, 54.

⁸³ *ALA* 80.

⁸⁴ L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977), 91 (= *Documents* 49).

⁸⁵ Acts 19. 23–41, with C. Roueché, 'Acclamations in the later Roman empire: new evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984), 181–99, 181.

It is in their relationship to patrons, such as the Vedii, and in their appearance as a group within the assembled citizen body that such associations can be seen as having a 'political' significance. There is no reason to believe that any such groups were set up for 'political' purposes, that is with the intention of influencing the government of the city; but it also seems clear that they did, simply by virtue of their existence, have a certain weight. It was a commonplace of Roman government policy that 'associations' needed to be kept under careful supervision, and that they were frequently responsible for outbreaks of violence. A standard response of the imperial authorities to rioting was to abolish *collegia* in the area, as after the riot in the amphitheatre at Pompeii in 59,⁸⁶ or in Bithynia in 111.⁸⁷ Trajan also saw the creation of *collegia fabrum* as something likely to lead to unrest, because they were so likely to become politicized;⁸⁸ the advantages of organizing the lower classes into groups had to be weighed against the possibilities for sedition.⁸⁹

It was, therefore, generally understood that such groupings had political importance; and that importance is likely to have increased as the political systems of the ancient city withered, in the Roman and late Roman period. As the role of the ordinary, non-curial, citizens diminished, and the function of the *demos* in public policy became less and less important, so associations will have offered a more attractive focus, and source of identity, to citizens not in the curial class, and even to those who did rank as councillors, but did not belong to the dominating élite of a city. In this regard, it is perhaps useful to consider the changing use of nomenclature in the Roman and late Roman period. One of the major changes in the inscriptions of the late Roman period, after the middle of the third century, is that people named in them stopped giving their patronymics, which had located them within the society of the city. Instead, there is an increasing use, in the East, of trade or craft descriptions, the most striking examples, of course, being provided by the cemeteries of Corycus and Tyre.⁹⁰ It may be that these references to trades and crafts indicate that some at least of the tombs were in the care of the various trade-associations, although this is not stated; it may simply be that by this period membership of a trade-grouping was a major source of identity within the community for the persons concerned. This is certainly not to say that the associations acquired greater political significance; but they may have had increasing importance for their members, and so have had a political potential.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Tac., *Ann.* xiv.17.

⁸⁷ Plin., *Ep.* x.96.7.

⁸⁸ Plin., *Ep.* x.34.

⁸⁹ Halsey L. Royden, *The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century A. D.* (Pisa, 1989), 4–11.

⁹⁰ Corycus: *MAMA* iii.200–788. Tyre: J. P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions . . . découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963–74) I: Inscriptions de la nécropole* (*BMB* 29, 1979), also summarized, *idem*, *RA* (1979), 166–7.

⁹¹ See Vryonis, 'Byzantine δημοκρατία', *passim*.

CHAPTER VII. THE PARTISANS

It is only after considering the use made of the auditorium, on the basis of the information considered above, that we can usefully consider the development and role of partisanship. The audience, or, as they are described in Greek, the spectators, in a Greek auditorium were not a group of passive recipients, but participants, by their presence, in an event. This is particularly true of the religious festivals which were the most important occasions for spectacles, when the audience attended with the prime purpose of honouring the god, or the emperor, by their presence. Moreover, the most important of such events were all constructed as contests. In response, one characteristic of ancient audiences is that they regularly viewed as partisans — supporting a colour at the circus, a kind of gladiator (p. 79), or a group of *venatores* (p. 75), or a particular pantomime performer (p. 28); even athletes had their supporters.¹ Such partisanship was so traditional that it was even expected of emperors; thus not only Roman authors but also Malalas regularly record which circus colour different Roman emperors favoured, and we also know which kind of gladiator they supported, while the favour of different emperors for particular pantomimes is well known.² The evidence of the *Paridiani*, canvassing for a candidate in Pompeii (above, p. 29), or of the *philoplia* of Ephesus, honouring patrons, and protecting tombs of members (above, p. 80), shows that this kind of partisanship in itself was enough to bring people together in an association which had more functions than simply uniting fans. The effect of the amalgamation of all kinds of performer into two associations of performers — the Blues and the Greens — was also to amalgamate these partisanships into a single loyalty simply to a colour, all over the empire (above, p. 60).

In his formal account of the increase in factional violence under Justinian, Procopius wrote:

The peoples in each city were divided into the Blues and the Greens from old times; but it is only recently that, for the sake of these names and the seats (βάθρα) on which they are positioned when they are watching (οἷς δὴ θεώμενοι ἐφেষτήκασι), they spend money and deliver their bodies to bitter torments and are not unprepared to die the most shameful death.³

This passage is important because it locates the origin of partisanship firmly in the auditorium, in the places, the βάθρα, occupied by the different groups. Theodosius II is described as reallocating the βάθρα of the Hippodrome occupied by the Blue and Green partisans and soldiers of the city garrison.⁴ In a hippodrome riot under Justinian, in 561, the situation became more serious when the Blues rushed 'into the seats of the Greens', εἰς τὰ βάθρα τῶν Πρασίνων.⁵ We have seen, from the evidence presented above, that the auditoria of ancient cities were the places where the citizens presented themselves in their due order; their location in the auditorium was a statement of their particular identity, whether as a Roman senator, a councillor, a tanner, or a Jew, and was acknowledged by

¹ Thus Perpetua, when dreaming that she was engaging as an athlete (Robert, 'Une vision de Perpetué', 253ff. = *OMS* v, 816 ff.) heard the shouts of the crowd and the chants of her supporters: 'coepit populus clamare et favisores mei (Greek version οἱ σπουδασταὶ μου) psallere'. (*Passio S. Perpetua* 10.12.)

² L. Friedländer, *Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*⁹ (Leipzig, 1919–21) II, 34–5 (circus colours), 75–6 (gladiators), 141–2 (pantomimes). See also Millar, *ERW*, 370–1; Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 178–9.

³ *Bell. Pers.* xxiv.2.

⁴ Malalas 351, with Dagron, *Naissance*, 345.

⁵ Theophanes 235–6; probably from a missing passage of Malalas, and translated as such by Jeffreys-Scott.

the allocation of seating by the civic authorities (above, p. 83). It was on this pre-existing pattern, which already reflected the political structure of the city, that the new partisanship was overlaid; and it was that combination that proved dangerous.

The inscriptions here give ample evidence that, as the colours took over the presentation of spectacles, so supporters of the colours appeared among the audience, just as the inscription of a 'Thracian' gladiator in the Theatre suggests that there may have been gladiatorial partisans at Aphrodisias. There are acclamations or place inscriptions for the Greens and Blues from the Stadium (45.3.K, 4.A), the Theatre (46.B.1, C.18, E.9, 11, G.12, J.13, ?L.7, X.4), and the Odeon (47.D.6, E.7).

It is of considerable importance that two of these inscriptions associate support for the colours with a group. In the Theatre, the place-inscription of the butchers — *makellitai* — is accompanied by an acclamation for the Blues (45.J.13). This kind of link between a trade-association and a colour is paralleled at Miletus. A series of inscriptions from the Theatre reserve seats for *aurarii*, whom I take to be 'gold-workers'.⁶ They are described just by their trade (as at Aphrodisias, 45.39.P), or with several epithets: ἐπινίκιος (which I do not understand as an epithet of people: it usually means 'on the occasion of a victory', and often describes a contest); φιλανγοῦστος, 'loving Augustus', presumably a variant on φιλοσέβαστος, which is a standard epithet for associations;⁷ and Βενέτοι, 'Blue'. This suggests that at some period the gold-workers, or some of them, supported the Blues. When Jacob the Jew came to Rhodes, in 609/10, '(?)posing) as a Green, he joined the sail-makers in attacking the Blues who were fleeing from the east'; the implication is that being, or pretending to be, a Green automatically associated him with a trade-group, here that of the sail-makers of Rhodes.⁸

At Alexandria in 412, Socrates states that two groups, the Jews and the Christians, who were in any case hostile to one another, were stirred to more active hostility 'on account of the dancers'; apparently each group supported different performers, although probably not yet within the framework of the colours.⁹ Once the colours had taken over the provision of performances, such divisions can only have become clearer. In the Odeon at Aphrodisias there is a place-inscription of 'Blues, the Jewish elders' (47. D.6). There is other evidence for Jews supporting Blues: in the Hippodrome at Tyre an inscription indicating that the seat was used by Jews has been found in the sector customarily occupied by the Blues.¹⁰ Furthermore, there is some indication of such a connection in the literary sources: in the reign of Zeno, the Greens at Antioch started a riot, and burned down a synagogue 'because the Jews were seated as spectators in the Blue section', ὡς τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεωρούντων εἰς τὸ Βένετον μέρος.¹¹

In the riot of 561 at Constantinople, when the Blues invaded the seats of the Greens, the Greens went 'into the neighbourhoods of the Blues', εἰς τὰς γειτονίας τῶν Βενέτων, and plundered them.¹² Alan Cameron, rightly objecting to earlier attempts to identify Blue and Green support with particular classes in society, suggested that this was an area which simply took its name from a Blue establishment in the area (as in the cases cited below,

⁶ Cited, with the permission of the excavators, by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 248, and soon to be published by P. Herrmann and others. See above on 45.39.P. I discuss these texts, and the problems they present, more fully in a forthcoming note in *ZPE*.

⁷ See Poland, *Vereinswesen*, 170.

⁸ *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* v.20.14–6.

⁹ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* vii.13.

¹⁰ J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *RA* (1979), 166–7.

¹¹ Malalas, *Ex. de insid.* 167.

¹² Theophanes, 235–6; see above, n. 5.

p. 148). I would suggest that the word 'neighbourhoods' here is more likely to suggest the areas of 'neighbourhood-associations' (as described above, p. 124) who sat as Blue supporters in the Hippodrome. This would perhaps explain how the title 'neighbourhood-leader', γειτονιάρχης, survived as a title among the officials of the colours into the ninth century.¹³ Similarly, in 561–2 a fight between Blues and Greens began after the Greens had been insulted by people from 'the House of Apion', which the translators take to be the name of an area.¹⁴

It seems to me that in all these cases we have examples of pre-existing groups (the butchers, the gold-workers, the Jews, the residents of a particular area) who already had a tradition of sitting together at spectacles, becoming supporters of one colour or the other. For centuries the residents of cities all over the empire had assembled in the theatres and stadia of their cities, and had been seated according to their place in society. During those centuries, riots of one kind and another had often broken out; and it was a commonplace of Roman government policy that 'associations' of one kind or another were to blame for such outbreaks.¹⁵

These points help to explain in part why the factions 'mattered': that is, why our sources, from the later fifth century and for most of the sixth, devote so much space to describing riots between the supporters of the different colours. If loyalty to the Blues and the Greens absorbed earlier forms of partisanship, and if such loyalties were adopted by pre-existing groups within the cities, this helps to explain why such partisanship, especially when it was suddenly empire-wide, came to seem so important and so threatening. It certainly helps to explain how earlier commentators have, from time to time, appeared to detect 'political' affiliations to one colour or the other, and yet have never been able to construct a coherent or convincing account on that basis. The colours were associated with other groups in society, such as the butchers, the Jews or the sail-makers; but those groups themselves were not 'political' in the sense of having come together to pursue a policy of any kind. It seems likely that every auditorium became divided between Greens and Blues, and that to sit in a particular position, which may well have been the traditional seat of some particular association for centuries, was automatically to become a supporter of one colour or the other. Indeed, if this reconstruction of events is correct, it may have interesting consequences for the analysis of material from the earlier period. If we find, for example, Jews associated with Blues, or sail-makers associated with Greens, at more than one place in the empire, this might mean that such groups had traditionally sat in similar positions in different cities since the Roman period; such a hypothesis can only be proved or disproved as more inscriptions from auditoria are published.¹⁶

But this cannot provide a full explanation of what happened. There are also seats in the Odeon and the Theatre reserved simply for 'the Blues' and another, apparently, for 'the Blue' (party — μέρος — understood).¹⁷ As well as groups with sympathies for one colour or another, there were also groups in the auditorium who were simply called

¹³ N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), 124–5, 326; for the earlier use of the term see above, p. 124.

¹⁴ Malalas 490–1, with Jeffreys-Scott ad loc.

¹⁵ See above, Chapter vi, p. 128.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Dr J. Beaucamp for raising this point.

¹⁷ 46.L.7, 47.E.7, E.5. An apparently similar text on the seats at Miletus (III.h; cited by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 15) has now been shown, by Professor Herrmann, to be accompanied by another word, partly lost, but probably a reference to Jews.

'Greens' or 'Blues'; as Alan Cameron rightly pointed out, the authors of the period distinguish between these groups, and the trade- or other associations.¹⁸

These 'Blues' and 'Greens' could simply be seen as further clubs, groups of people drawn to sit together solely by their enthusiasm for one side or the other.¹⁹ But if so, this is apparently an innovation in the Hippodrome; there is no clear evidence from the Roman period for the allocation of places to 'fans' of the colours as such. Cameron cited one possible reference, in the description of Elagabalus' performance as a Green charioteer in his private hippodrome, but even this is very unclear. Nor is this sufficient to explain their relationship to the 'professional' part of the colours, the performers themselves. It is remarkable that there is no consistent attempt in the sources to distinguish Blue or Green performers from Blue or Green partisans. In this regard it seems to me that there is some significance in the change in usage from *Prasinianus*, *Venetianus*, meaning a supporter of Greens or Blues, to the simple *Prasinus*, *Venetus* — Green or Blue — to describe the partisans. This blurs the distinction between performer and partisan, which is also blurred by the use of the term *meros* — μέρος — not just of the supporters of the colour, but indistinguishably of performers and partisans.²⁰

By the fifth century, therefore, there seem to have been two kinds of partisans: those who supported Blues and Greens from their own position in society, while continuing to be identified primarily as butchers or whatever else; and those who were simply identified, and seated, as Blues and Greens. These presumably chose to be identified and seated as partisans rather than by any other classification. This could perhaps be because their place in society seemed to them unrewarding or lacking in prestige; but partisans seem to have been connected with the organizations of the performers more closely than simply by their enthusiasm. Thus, when the Greens in Rome needed to choose a new pantomime performer (in 507/9), they were to gather the spectators, presumably those belonging to the faction, in order to choose who was most suitable.²¹

Alan Cameron, seeing this, suggested one possible link; he identified these partisans with the 'claque', the people who were paid by performers, particularly pantomime dancers, to lead and control applause.²² There is solid evidence for the existence of such people (see above, p. 29), although much of it is drawn from invective; from antiquity until today, it is standard practice for the author who wishes to denigrate a popular outcry to ascribe it to the machinations of a paid claque. In this connection, it is instructive to compare the criticisms made of the claque in fourth-century Antioch in several speeches by Libanius with the allegations made against Flaccus by Philo in first-century Alexandria.²³ The problem in seeing the partisans as an enlarged 'claque' is one of status; in a society where acclamations were a regular occurrence, and the existence of paid claqueurs was well-known and regularly criticized, it is hard to see how their influence should have increased so greatly as not just to win applause for one performer, and gain occasional political concessions, but to become absorbed into official ceremonial.

It is difficult for us not to see acclamations as unusual and particular, usually subversive, responses to authoritarian government, such as were seen throughout Eastern Europe in autumn 1989. It is, of course, the unusual and disruptive acclamations which

¹⁸ *Circus Factions*, 80–6.

¹⁹ So Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 74–80.

²⁰ *Circus Factions*, 14, 19.

²¹ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.20, 'convocatis ergo spectatoribus'.

²² *Circus Factions*, 234–49.

²³ Philo, *In Flaccum*, *passim*.

are more frequently recorded in our sources. But this is again to see the audience at spectacles as passive recipients, rather than active participants. At public spectacles, it was the whole city who came together, and who were expected to express their devotion to a divinity or to a ruler; this was a duty which became increasingly important in the later empire. Constantine ruled that records of acclamations, praising or blaming imperial officials, by a provincial assembly should be sent straight to the Praetorian Prefect.²⁴ It is clear from the letters of Libanius that similar importance soon came to be attached to the acclamations of other public gatherings, and that the most common occasion for such acclamations to take place was when the people were assembled in the Theatre or the Stadium. Libanius rightly saw this as disruptive to the very fabric of the city. He criticized imperial officials for going to excessive lengths in attempting to win the acclamations of the crowd;²⁵ similarly, Philo had earlier criticized Flaccus for having been 'bought' by the crowd.²⁶ But it does seem clear that these developments further increased the 'political' significance of gatherings for the purpose of entertainment, which were, by the end of the fourth century, apparently the only gatherings of the citizen body. It was for this reason that a governor such as Tisamenos in fourth-century Antioch would be quick to abandon his formal duties in order to attend the spectacles;²⁷ in response, the laws attempt to restrain governors from making extravagant outlays on shows in order to obtain 'popular applause', 'popularis plausus',²⁸ 'inconsulta plausorum insania'.²⁹ These developments gave an increased importance to the people seated in the audience. Libanius criticized Tisamenos for giving the populace an excessive sense of their importance by 'teaching them that it is a great thing for the governor if he is acclaimed favourably by them';³⁰ yet Tisamenos was simply acknowledging a reality which had always existed, but had been given greater importance by Constantine.

Moreover, it is important to remember that when Tisamenos allowed himself to be over-awed by the claque, it was not because of any outcry, but because they had made the crowd keep silent.³¹ After other civic institutions had withered, it was increasingly by public acclamations that authority was validated.³² This effectively imposed a duty on all communities to see that such acclamations did take place. They were expected of a well-behaved audience; Cassiodorus made Theodoric urge the spectators to avoid insults, and to produce musical acclamations:

You are accustomed to fill the air with melodious shouts, . . . You convey voices sweeter than an organ, and thus the hollow theatre may resound, thanks to you, with, as it were, the music of a cithara, so that one might believe them to be melodies rather than shouts.

soletis enim aera ipsa mellifluis implere clamoribus . . . profertis voces organo dulciores, et ita sub quadam harmonia citharae concavum theatrum per vos resonat, ut tonos possit quilibet credere quam clamores.³³

Such an essential activity cannot have been left to chance, or to the manipulation of theatre claqueurs. It must have been partly the responsibility of the performers, who had

²⁴ *CTh.* i.16.6, of 331 (= *CJ.* i.40.3), with Roueché, 'Acclamations', 186 ff.

²⁵ *Or.* xlv.22.

²⁶ Philo, *In Flaccum* 41.

²⁷ Libanius, *Or.* xxxiii.8.

²⁸ *CTh.* xv.5.1(372), *CTh.* xv.5.3 (409) = *CJ.* xl.41.5.

²⁹ *CTh.* xv.9.2 (409).

³⁰ *Or.* xxxiii.11.

³¹ Libanius, *Or.* xli.1-2.

³² Roueché, 'Acclamations', 187-8, 196-9.

³³ Cassiodorus, *Variae* i.31.

always been important in ensuring the proper performance of the honours due to rulers (see above, p. 50). At the beginning of every festival contest, the first competition was to choose a herald (see below, 52.III.i.5, III.i.2, 53.i.3) who, for the rest of the festival, would announce the results; the heralds were carefully-trained professionals, and themselves members of the synod of performers.³⁴ It was a herald who would proclaim each victory, in the traditional formula, 'So-and-so is victorious', νικῶ ὁ δεινός, which was one of the most fundamental of all acclamations (see above, pp. 3–4). The functions of such an 'announcer' were not limited to such august occasions. Even a *familia* of gladiators or wild beast-hunters would include a herald.³⁵ On the occasion of the *venatio* recorded in the Smirat mosaic (above, p. 74), it was a herald, belonging to the group of *venatores*, who put forward their request for further payment; the audience then took up this request in a series of acclamations to the presiding magistrate. The situation closely parallels that in 520, when the partisans in the Hippodrome 'shouted out requests for (particular) pantomime performers', καὶ τὰ μέρη ἔκραζον ζητοῦντες τοὺς ὀρχηστάς: that is presumably to have those dancers released from obligations elsewhere, and transferred to perform in Constantinople (see above, pp. 27–8).³⁶

There was, therefore, an established tradition of communication between performers and audience. But this is not sufficient to explain the existence of the partisans in the sense that we have described above; nor is it likely that a city, even in an era of civic decline, would have left such a responsibility — for example, the proper acclamation of the emperor on his birthday, or when his image was being displayed — solely to the performers.

At the height of their prosperity, some cities had supported 'hymn-singers' to fulfil such responsibilities towards the gods and the emperors (see further Chapter VIII, pp. 144–5). At Ephesus, in c. A.D. 44, the proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus issued an edict regulating the financial situation of foundations at Ephesus, and, in particular, money for the conduct of festivals.³⁷ One section was given over to the matter of 'hymn-singers', ὑμνωδοί.³⁸ The city had been spending a great deal on 'hymn-singers'; they were to be dismissed, and the ephebes were to provide this service without payment — being best suited by their age, their status (ᾠξία), and their readiness for learning (II. 4–9). His ruling was not to apply everywhere; he excepted 'the *hymnodoi* who sing the god Augustus himself' at Pergamum, who were paid from the revenues of the whole of Asia (II. 9–19). At Ephesus the ephebes were to be trained so that they could hymn the divine house fittingly (II. 19–24). In fact, the *hymnodoi* continued to be employed at Ephesus, apparently to an increasing extent, but the ephebes also continued to sing in honour of the emperors.³⁹

In making this ruling the proconsul was not being radical or innovatory. Since at least Hellenistic times the young people of Greek cities had participated regularly in festivals, taking part in processions and singing at celebrations.⁴⁰ The importance of the

³⁴ Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest*, 229–32, 248; Robert, *Ét. ép. et phil.*, 92–6.

³⁵ See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 249 and commentary.

³⁶ Malalas, *Ex de insid.* 43, with Alan Cameron, 'Theodore τρισέπαρχος', 285.

³⁷ Most recently edited by H. Wankel, *I.Eph.* 17–19.

³⁸ *I.Eph.* 18.

³⁹ Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, ch. 2.

⁴⁰ See Jones, *Greek City*, 229, and the other references assembled by Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 180 (and n. 33), referring to the presence of young people 'à des manifestations d'un caractère à la fois civique et religieux, l'équivalent de ces grands rassemblements auxquels les régimes totalitaires de notre temps ont commencé à nous habituer de nouveau' (written in 1948). Similarly, H. Hunger has observed 'die Diktatoren unseres Jahrhunderts in Ost und West hatten und haben diese Seite des politischen Theaters stets im Auge', 'Reditus Imperatoris', in G. Prinzing and D. Simon (eds), *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich, 1990), 17–35, 27.

involvement of the boys and ephebes at Ephesus in the celebrations funded by Vibius Salutaris has been emphasized in a recent study; it can be shown to be a vital part of their preparation as citizens.⁴¹ As we have seen, at Aphrodisias, as in many other cities, the ephebes, and their elders, the *neoi*, had special seating in the Stadium. Between them, these groups will have included all the young men of the city, that is those aged between about seventeen and twenty-two, and particularly those who belonged to the curial class, the future members of the Council. These were the young men whose life centred on the gymnasium, or probably more than one gymnasium in a city as prosperous as Aphrodisias. They will have had their own contests,⁴² and from their ranks will have come the victors whose successes at various contests were recorded in inscriptions (see Appendix II).

The gymnasium, and its culture, were inextricably intertwined with the culture of contests.⁴³ No gymnasium has not yet been excavated at Aphrodisias,⁴⁴ but in such a building we would expect to find honours to victorious athletes and performers; it is highly likely that the group of inscriptions honouring boy victors (77 – 86, all found in roughly the same area) came from a gymnasium assigned to the boys of the city, as elsewhere. The original purpose of the Greek gymnasium was to train the youth of the cities for military service; even in its earliest form this training was associated with contests.⁴⁵ As the need for such training diminished, it was replaced by the need to train the upper classes of the cities to excel in physical sports and also intellectually, in music, philosophy, rhetoric, and the other arts.⁴⁶ It was in the library of the gymnasium at Halicarnassus that the bust of the Aphrodisian poet, C. Julius Longianus, was to be placed, in acknowledgement of the benefit which his poetry had given to the young (88.ii). Every subject taught in the gymnasium was one in which there were competitions at contests. The agonistic ethos of the gymnasium is manifested, among other ways, by the regular acclamations of victory — Νίκη or Νικῶ — which are found inscribed in gymnasia.

The associations based on the gymnasium were the ephebes and the *neoi*. The ephebes were still young men in training, and under authority, but the *neoi* were young men who formed an association with a formal place among the institutions of the city. They had considerable standing within their society; at Aphrodisias there is widespread evidence for this body, apart from the inscriptions in the Stadium and the Odeon. There is an office of 'secretary (*grammateus*) of the *neoi*',⁴⁷ and the association acted with the council, the people and the *gerousia* in decreeing honours on several occasions, including honours to victors (66, 70). The importance of these institutions is also indicated by the benefactions which they received; in particular the Hellenistic rulers thought it appropriate to make donations in favour of the gymnasia, or the young men's associations, of the cities.⁴⁸

The Roman equivalent to the *neoi*, the *iuvenes*, were also closely associated with shows and contests, including their own contests, *Juvenalia*, which were still flourishing

⁴¹ Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, ch. 2.

⁴² J. Delorme, *Gymnasion: étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris, 1969), 274 ff.

⁴³ Delorme, *Gymnasion*, 29 ff.

⁴⁴ Although for a possible identification of the earliest gymnasium see N. de Chaisemartin, 'Le "Portique de Tibère" à Aphrodisias', *REA* 91 (1989), 23–45.

⁴⁵ Delorme, *Gymnasion*, 24 ff.

⁴⁶ Delorme, *Gymnasion*, ch. 18.

⁴⁷ *MAMA* VIII.484.

⁴⁸ See most recently J. and L. Robert, *Claros* I, 100.

under Gordian III; the latest mention of them is in an inscription of 325.⁴⁹ The closeness of the association between competitors and young men is perhaps even clearer in the case of the *iuvenes*, since it was considered appropriate on at least two occasions for a pantomime performer to be admitted to the young men's association, 'allectus inter iuvenes'.⁵⁰ In both cases the performers concerned were imperial freedmen: M. Aurelius Agilius Septentrio, first pantomime of his age, 'pantomimus sui temporis primus', who was honoured in 187 at Lanuvium;⁵¹ and M. Septimius Aurelius Agrippa, a freedman of Caracalla, also 'pantomimus temporis sui primus', who was 'inter iuvenes receptus' at Milan.⁵² This honour was unusual, although not unparalleled, for freedmen.⁵³ At Rome, Aurelius Agrippa was also 'a fellow-trainee with young men who performed', if this is the correct translation of 'adulescentium productorum condiscipulus'. Morel interprets this as a reference to a continuing tradition of young men of good family, such as composed the *iuvenes*, giving stage performances; thus *iuvenes* could even perform as gladiators.⁵⁴ A similar connection with pantomimes can perhaps be traced in the career of a fourth-century official; Tisamenos the governor of Syria, a man of good family, had in his youth been 'involved with the stage', ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, and written songs for pantomime performers.⁵⁵ As early as the first century A.D., it was assumed that the sort of people who 'wrote mimes and taught jokes', ποιηταὶ μίμων καὶ γελοίων διδάσκαλοι, were to be found in the gymnasium at Alexandria;⁵⁶ some of these might have been more formally involved in educational activities, like the man criticized by Lucian for starting as a supporting actor in pantomime performances, becoming a *grammaticus*, and ending as a sophist.⁵⁷ A late second- or third-century epitaph from Rome describes Sextus Vetulenus Lavicanus as 'darling of the people, announcer of the great circus', 'delicium populi circi nuntius ampli'; that is he was either a *praeco*, 'herald', or perhaps a *cursor*, 'message-runner'. From his dress on the accompanying relief he was almost certainly working for a chariot faction; the cliché *delicium populi* strongly suggests that he had also had a career on the stage (see above, p. 58). The epitaph had been put up by his 'fellow young men', *coniuenes*, here defined as the members of a young men's association of one particular section, *regio*, of the city of Rome.⁵⁸

There was, therefore, a particularly close bond between performers of various kinds and the associations of young men, ephebes, *neoi* and *iuvenes*. All the skills and arts that were presented in contests and spectacles, with the possible exceptions of mime and acrobatics, were ones which young men of these associations could aspire to, if only in moderation. Moreover, the young men's associations had a traditional function in the festivals and public celebrations of the city. That the young men did become involved in acclamations, and not always in a well-ordered fashion, is also indicated by a passage of the jurist Callistratus, writing in the third century:

⁴⁹ Jaczynowska, *Associations*, 29 and n.95.

⁵⁰ J.-P. Morel, 'Pantomimus allectus inter iuvenes', *Hommages Renard II* (Brussels, 1969), 525–35.

⁵¹ *ILS* 5193.

⁵² J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome/London, 1952), 606; also J. Guey, *Revue africaine* 96 (1952), 44–60.

⁵³ M. Jaczynowska, *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (Strasbourg, 1970), 267.

⁵⁴ H.-W. Pleket, 'Collegia iuvenum Nemesiorum: a note on ancient youth-organisations', *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969), 281–98, 281–3.

⁵⁵ Libanius, *Or.* xxxiii.3.

⁵⁶ Philo, *In Flaccum* 34.

⁵⁷ *Pseudologistes* 19 and 25.

⁵⁸ S. Panciera, 'Tra epigrafia e topografia', *Arch.Class.* 22 (1970), 151–63; see also the comments of Jaczynowska, *Associations*, 55, 31.

There are certain people, generally calling themselves 'young men' who in certain cities associate themselves with disruptive acclamations by the populace.

sunt quidam qui volgo se iuvenes appellant, in quibusdam civitatibus turbulentis se adclamationibus popularium accommodare.⁵⁹

At the end of the third century the evidence for agonistic life is dramatically diminished by the reduction in inscriptions, and it is clear that the number and scale of contests was much reduced. I have suggested that this reduction was in large part caused by the collapse of endowments in the inflation of the third century (above, pp. 7–8). At the same time, the gymnasium, as an institution, disappeared. As Forbes pointed out, this came just after a period of apparent growth; the latest ephebic document from Athens, an inscription of 255/6, lists at least 313 ephebes.⁶⁰ As with contests, the decline of the gymnasia appears to have proceeded at varying speeds in different places. There are references to gymnasia in late papyri — ephebes are mentioned in 323, and a *gymnasiarch* in 370⁶¹ — but no mention of the institution in the correspondence of Libanius.⁶² Basil suggests that the gymnasia at Caesarea closed only because of the weakening of the city by the division of Cappadocia into two provinces in 371.⁶³

In looking for the causes of this disappearance of an institution which had been established in most Greek cities from Hellenistic times, it is necessary to consider first the one third-century phenomenon which seems to have affected all cities — the great inflation. Gymnasia were expensive to run; the office of *gymnasiarch* was particularly burdensome, especially as during the Roman period the number and quality of services provided by the gymnasium had increased. One of the major expenses was the provision of oil; at Aphrodisias at least one benefactor in the second century left funds for meeting the costs of the *gymnasiarchy*, in particular the provision of oil,⁶⁴ but, despite that bequest, in the late second century money was being diverted from funds intended to finance contests in order to pay for oil.⁶⁵ The maintenance of gymnasia is, therefore, likely to have been seriously affected by the financial disasters of the later third century; endowments vanished, and even greater demands were placed on *gymnasiarchs* who had less money to spend, and cities whose income had been drastically reduced.

But that in itself is not sufficient to explain why the gymnasia did not survive in a reduced form, as did other institutions of the ancient cities, including contests. There was apparently no longer the will to maintain them in their previous condition. As was said above, the function of the gymnasia had been to educate the ruling classes of the cities in a manner appropriate to citizens; but, from the third century, the purpose of education was increasingly to produce, not the ruling élite of the cities, but the governing class of the empire.⁶⁶ For that, the expensive installations of the gymnasium, intended to provide physical as well as intellectual education, were not necessary.

What survived was the intellectual, and less expensive, part of that education; as well

⁵⁹ *Dig.* XLVIII.19.28.3, with the observations of F. Jacques, 'Humbles et notables. La place des *humiliores* dans les collèges de jeunes et leur rôle dans la révolte africaine de 238', *Ant.Afr.* 15 (1980), 217–30.

⁶⁰ C. A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education* (New York, 1929), 177–8; *IG* II² 2245.

⁶¹ *P.Oxy.* 42 and 2110.

⁶² Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 156 and cf. 140.

⁶³ Basil, *Ep.* 74.

⁶⁴ See Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, 317.

⁶⁵ *A&R* 62; cf. the prize list below, 52 II.iii.23, where the cost of supplying oil for a contest is put at 2,000 denarii.

⁶⁶ See Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 242–55.

as the major centres of education, some provincial cities did continue to pay teachers to offer higher education.⁶⁷ Teaching was particularly likely to continue at provincial capitals, such as Caesarea (as mentioned by Basil) and Aphrodisias, where teaching of philosophy continued until at least the end of the fifth century.⁶⁸ In the second century Antoninus Pius had used a three-tier ranking system for cities — ‘greatest, greater, and others’ — to determine how many doctors and teachers cities in each category might exempt from curial duties; in the early third century the jurist Modestinus, in commenting on this hierarchy of cities, defined the three categories as *metropoleis*, those which had assizes, and the rest.⁶⁹ That legislation itself indicates that cities were keen to encourage teachers. Against this background, the withering away of the gymnasium as an institution may well have been a slow and relatively painless process.

The young men, the customers of the gymnasium, were still there, and still being taught those subjects which were perceived to be useful. There is therefore no reason why they should have ceased to belong to their former associations; the existence of such associations in Africa, for example, can be traced well into the fourth century.⁷⁰ Since in several cities the associations owned endowments, there may have been every reason for them to continue at least in legal existence. It is remarkable, for example, that the students’ associations of Alexandria called themselves ‘zealous’, *philoponoi*, which was also the name of a class in the Gymnasium at Pergamum.⁷¹ Above all, they were still perceived in the same way by the civic authorities — as an identifiable group within society, and one which presented problems. One of the functions of a *gymnasiarch* had been to maintain good order — εὐκοσμία; in a gymnasium contest, ‘good conduct’ prizes could be awarded for εὐεξία, εὐταξία, and φιλοπονία.⁷² The gymnasium had offered a framework within which to harness the energies of the young men for a whole day and to keep them under discipline; it would not be entirely inappropriate to compare the institution with the various organizations of young people which have been a characteristic feature of all the totalitarian régimes of this century (cf. the observations of Henri Marrou and Herbert Hunger, above, n. 40). It was no less true then than now that young men were seen as a body in whom society could take pride, but who needed to be kept under control, and offered ‘positive’ activities, if they were not to become subversive. Again, as in modern societies, a looser, and cheaper, educational system, centred largely on classes and lectures, does not perform the same function of occupying and controlling the participants; that there was a problem with students at Rome is indicated by a law of 370 aimed at controlling their conduct, including restricting ‘too frequent attendance at spectacles’.⁷³ It was clearly far from easy to control the pupils of the rhetors and lecturers of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, or smaller cities, and the reports which we have of their turbulent activities prefigure the conduct of students in the mediaeval and modern worlds.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Jones, *LRE*, 998.

⁶⁸ *ALA* ch. 5; R. R. R. Smith, ‘Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias’, *JRS* 80 (1990), 127–55.

⁶⁹ *Dig.* xxvii.1.6.2: εἰκὸς δὲ τῷ μὲν μεγίστῳ ἀριθμῷ χρῆσασθαι τὰς μητροπόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τὰς ἐχούσας ἀγορὰς δικῶν, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰς λοιπὰς.

⁷⁰ C. Lepelley, ‘*Iuvenes et circoncillions*’, *Ant.Afr.* 15 (1980), 261–71.

⁷¹ Forbes, *Physical Education*, 220.

⁷² N. B. Crowther, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 301–4.

⁷³ *CTh.* xiv.9.1

⁷⁴ The best examples are provided in the account of student life at Alexandria and Beirut in the later fifth century by Zacharias Rhetor, in his *Life of Severus*, ed. and trans. M.-A. Kugener, *PO* II (1907).

The most clearly identifiable members of the young men's organizations in our sources are, as so often, members of the *élite*; and earlier analyses of these institutions tended to assume that these were the only members. More recently, however, it has become clear that over the Roman period they came to have a wider membership, including young men from the lower strata of society; and indeed it is difficult to see how the many gymnasia of the Roman imperial period could have been filled solely by members of an upper class.⁷⁵ In the disorders in Africa in the year 238 an important part was played by the local *iuvenes*, and François Jacques has demonstrated convincingly that this term encompassed both the young men of the urban *élite*, who functioned as the leaders, and their humbler dependants.⁷⁶ In this way the institution of the *iuventus* could, in normal times, reinforce existing civic relationships, but could also, in abnormal times, serve as a potentially subversive body.

There is a regular tendency in the later sources to use the term 'young men' — *neoi*, *neaniai*, *neoterói* — in referring to the partisans; this is particularly clear in Procopius, who uses this terminology interchangeably with 'trouble-makers' — *stasiotai* — to describe the partisans.⁷⁷ Such language might be expected, since the young men were always most likely to attend spectacles and to become involved in rioting; but the same equation is also found in Corippus, referring to the respectable role of the partisans in imperial ceremonial.⁷⁸ Alan Cameron suggested a similarity between the partisans and the *neoi*, but he did not develop this argument more fully. The connection was noted by Évelyne Patlagean, who went on to develop the similarities and apparent continuity between the earlier *véoi/iuvenes* and the later factional partisans.⁷⁹ Since then, a series of factional acclamations from the small theatre at Alexandria has been published, including one for the 'young men, Greens': Νικῶ ἡ τύχη τῶν [ν]έων Πρασίνων.⁸⁰ In my view, the simplest interpretation of this text, as of the other references to 'young men' as partisans, is that they were young men's associations, such as had always sat together at spectacles,⁸¹ who had now become part of the organization of each of the two 'factions'. I would suggest that, instead of assuming that the young men's organizations dissolved, and then reformed as groups of partisans, we should assume actual institutional continuity.

Moreover, some of the penalties imposed on the 'factions', meaning chiefly the partisans, are only comprehensible if their leading members at least did have a reasonably high position in society. When Marcian wished to punish the Greens after a disturbance, 'he ordered them not to serve as councillors, or in the imperial service, for three years', μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι Πρασίνους ἐκέλευε μήτε στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία.⁸² In 608/9 Phocas similarly ordered the Greens, 'no longer to serve as councillors', μηκέτι πολιτεύεσθαι, although by that date, and in Constantinople the term is probably better translated as 'hold public office'.⁸³ What is clear is that the people concerned must have

⁷⁵ Thus M. Jaczynowska came to modify her earlier views on the composition of the *iuvenes*, Jaczynowska, *Associations*, esp. 30–2.

⁷⁶ 'Humbles et notables'.

⁷⁷ *Circus Factions*, 75 ff.

⁷⁸ *In laud. Just.* III.68, with the comments of Averil Cameron ad loc.

⁷⁹ É. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance* (Paris, 1977), and 'Les "jeunes" dans les villes byzantines: émeutiers et miliciens', in J. Le Goff and J.-C. Schmitt (eds), *Le charivari* (Paris, 1981), 123–9.

⁸⁰ Borkowski, *Alexandrie II*, 86, no.24; see also the remarks of Alan Cameron in the review by R. Bagnall and A. Cameron of Borkowski, *BASP* 20 (1983), 75–84.

⁸¹ See 45.30.S (with commentary there), 47.B.5.

⁸² Malalas 368, *Chron. Pasch.* 592; for this standard sense of πολιτευόμενος see *ALA* 30 and 151, with references there.

⁸³ Theophanes, 297.5.

been of such a class that this was a relevant punishment; this would not seem appropriate to the homeless wretches conjured up in the standard invectives, but would be a real penalty for young men of the curial class, such as the leading members of 'young mens' associations' would be. Such status is also implied by Procopius' criticisms; Justinian set himself up as a 'patron', προστάτης, to the Blue partisans (see Chapter viii, pp. 150–1): 'he lavished a great deal of money on these young men; he had many of them about him, and considered it appropriate to summon some of them to magistracies and other dignities'.⁸⁴ Another indication that the partisans had a certain status is the fact that, also under Justinian, the Praetorian Prefect John the Cappadocian could think it appropriate to demonstrate his sympathy for the Green faction by wearing green garments.⁸⁵

It seems to me that such a development can be envisaged as arising naturally from the needs of provincial cities to maintain traditional rituals in increasingly difficult circumstances. The best explanation of the amalgamation of the performers' organizations (as described above, Chapter iv) is that it facilitated the task of continuing to present appropriate public spectacles in cities whose resources were much reduced. At such spectacles, it was necessary to ensure the lively and loyal participation of the audience, chiefly expressed in shouting, or singing, the praises of the imperial power. As has been said, this was a task which fell traditionally to the organizations of boys and young men. As has also been said, the organizations of young men had for centuries been closely linked with the competitors, even if the nature of the spectacles by the fourth century had diverged considerably from the curriculum which the young men would be following. I would envisage that groups of *neoi* had increasingly been entrusted with this responsibility in cities in the provinces, and had been associated with the performers who were to rehearse and lead their songs and acclamations; well into the fourth century, at least, many of those performers and competitors must themselves have been local citizens who had trained in the gymnasium (see below, Appendix II, introduction). When, in the fifth century, the performers came to be divided into two colours — not least, I have argued above, in order to ensure the continuation of a competitive structure for public spectacles — the young men, their associates, will also have been enrolled as members of each of the two colours, as in any kind of association; they would belong to the 'people', *populus*, of that association, which I am sure Alan Cameron was right to see as the origin of the use of the term *demos*, 'people', of the ordinary members of a faction (see below, p. 150).

This seems most likely to have developed in the provinces, because it is provincial cities which will have found increasing difficulty in staging adequate contests, and ensuring proper acclamations; in Rome and Constantinople there would always have been sufficient resources and sufficient supervision, without any need to reorganize the existing structures. But, because the local synods of performers formed part of an 'ecumenic' institution, the amalgamation with the factions took place all over the empire, and produced a uniform structure everywhere; at Constantinople organized groups of young men, belonging to the two colours, appeared, and had to be appropriately accommodated in the Hippodrome (above, p. 129). This is a good example of how the institutions of Constantinople grew both from Roman tradition and from the traditions of the Greek cities of Asia Minor; it may be that both are equally important as sources for the interpretation of Byzantine ceremonial.

⁸⁴ HA vii.42.

⁸⁵ John Lydus, *De mag.* iii.62.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VIII. THE 'FACTIONS' OF THE LATER EMPIRE

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in understanding the nature of the 'factions' of the later empire lies in the contrast between their conduct and their status. They are regularly described as trouble-makers and sources of dissent, and it would have been quite in keeping with earlier Roman practice for such organizations to be banned; and yet they continued not merely to exist, but to play a prominent part in public ceremonial, in which the partisans are frequently depicted as conducting direct negotiations with the emperor. It seems to me that the inherent contradiction can best be understood in terms of the functions which they had inherited from pre-existing bodies.

The chariot factions of the empire were business organizations, with a specific and limited function. Even though by the third century they had already developed into something more like other performers' organizations, apparently managed by the charioteers themselves, they were not organizations of high standing. It is only after the amalgamation of circus and theatre performers that the factions appear prominently in our sources, involved in the highest levels of ceremonial.¹ Their first, and most dramatic appearance, is in the deliberations after the death of Anastasius in 518; confronted with a situation for which no-one had been prepared, various interested parties put forward names; first the *excubitores*, and then the Blues. Finally Justin was nominated by the Senate, and subsequently acclaimed by Blues and Greens.² In this account, the Blues seem simply to be one among various groups of palace officials or hangers-on. Such a role would be hard to imagine for the *factiones*, but is not inappropriate to the *technitai* of Dionysus, or successor organizations; and the eventual acclamations would come very appropriately from an association of young men of the city.

The status of the new factions is perhaps even clearer if we look at the evidence from the provinces. Much of this is in the form of inscribed acclamations, often published without illustrations, which have tended to be considered as graffiti; but by the fifth century acclamations were frequently formally inscribed,³ and some of these texts seem to have been well cut, at least by the standards of the period. At Aphrodisias, several factional acclamations have been found inscribed outside the Theatre. In the southern Agora, a group of three inscriptions, lightly but elaborately cut, places acclamations of the two colours on either side of an acclamation of the city.⁴ The area is still under investigation, but it appears that it was used both as a gymnasium (in the Roman period) and as a place for public gatherings. At the Tetracylon, where four roads meet east of the Temple of Aphrodite, two well-cut acclamations of the Greens have been found.⁵ At Ephesus, several carefully cut acclamations of the colours survive. Two acclamations, one of orthodox emperors, and one of Christian emperors and the Greens, are in strikingly large letters.⁶ On the columns of the Marble Street, two inscriptions acclaim the Blues with the emperor Phocas,⁷ and one acclaims the Greens with Heraclius and his son.⁸ An

¹ *Circus Factions*, ch. 9.

² Const. Porph., *De Cer.* 426–7, from Peter the Patrician; see J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), II, 16–17.

³ Roueché, 'Acclamations', 185–6.

⁴ *ALA* 186.

⁵ *ALA* 184, 185.

⁶ *IGC* 114^{quater}, now *I.Eph.* 1192.2 (letters 0.105); *IGC* 114⁵, now *I.Eph.* 1192.3 (letters 0.08).

⁷ *IGC* 113^{bis} and *ter*, now *I.Eph.* 1191 a and b (letters 0.03–0.045).

⁸ *IGC* 113, now *I.Eph.* 1195 (letters 0.025).

acclamation of the Greens, in a monogram, is incorporated in a column capital from the Street of the Curetes.⁹ Another acclamation of the Greens and the Christian emperors is carefully cut on the gate in the Byzantine wall below the Theatre.¹⁰ These texts are evidence, not of political passion, as Grégoire claimed,¹¹ but of the involvement of the Blues and Greens in civic ceremonies, at which emperors were acclaimed (as at Ephesus), arriving dignitaries greeted (as at the Tetracylon at Aphrodisias and in the streets in Ephesus). Similarly at Didyma a pair of acclamations of the Blues, together with two officials, were inscribed on columns in letters which the first editor described as 'not inelegant';¹² of three other acclamations, at least one was written in particularly large letters.¹³ These inscriptions, therefore, should be seen as formal and official texts, rather than the casual graffiti of partisans.

When the factions in the cities took part in civic ceremonial, they were merely continuing the functions of the synods on the one hand, and of the young men on the other. Such roles for these bodies can be traced back to Hellenistic times; thus an inscription from Pergamum describes a triumphal entry into the city by Attalus III, who was to be formally met by civic representatives, including 'the *hieronikai* (the victors at sacred contests), wearing their crowns from the contests, and the *gymnasiarch* with the ephebes and the young men (*neoi*), and the boys' teacher with the boys'.¹⁴ In the early seventh century A.D. the factions at Constantinople apparently had an already well-established role in greeting imperial processions on state occasions; when the new emperor Phocas was organizing the coronation of his wife, Leontia, 'there was a quarrel among the partisans about their position', γίνεται . . . τοῖς δημοτικοῖς περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἄμιλλα. The Greens wanted to stand in the Ampelion and 'sing', ὑμνεῖν, the empress with 'the usual applause', τοῖς εἰωθόσι κρότοις; the Blues objected that this was 'against custom', ἄηθες.¹⁵

Spectacles and contests had always provided some of the chief occasions for public ceremonial. Since Hellenistic times, it had been normal for public honours to benefactors to be proclaimed in public at contests, when the largest possible audience, both of local citizens and of visitors, was assured.¹⁶ It seems clear that by the Roman period public gatherings for purposes of entertainment would normally include some expression of respect for the imperial authorities. Some performers actually specialized in reciting or singing the praises of the emperor, and these recitals came to be included in contests.¹⁷ T. Aelius Alcibiades, mentioned above (p. 51) for his gift of a stable to the international synod, was honoured at Nysa with the inscription of two texts: a decree of the international synod (largely lost) and a resolution of the *technitai* and their co-competitors (cf. above, Chapter IV, p. 52) assembled for the Epheseia at Ephesus. The

⁹ IGC 114bis, now I.Eph. 1192.1.

¹⁰ I.Eph. 2090, also published as IGC 114ter, illustrated by C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1979), 18 (letters 0.035–0.04).

¹¹ IGC p.41.

¹² I. Didyma 603 and 604 (letters 0.045), elucidated by Robert, *Hell.* xi–xii, 490–2.

¹³ I. Didyma 609 (0.025), 610 (0.035) and 611 (0.095).

¹⁴ See the full analysis by L. Robert, *BCH* 108 (1984), 472–89, esp. 482 (= *Documents*, 460–77).

¹⁵ Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* viii.10.10. In the section of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Expeditionibus* devoted to imperial arrivals, there is no mention of their function in greeting Justinian, when he entered the city in 559, but they are listed as greeting Theophilus in 831, *De Exped.* C 758 ff. (ed. Reiske, 500.16 ff.), and Basil I in 879, *De Exped.* C 849 ff., (ed. Reiske, 506.5 ff.).

¹⁶ See for example J. and L. Robert, *Claros* 1, 57–8.

¹⁷ See the examples assembled by Robert, *Ét. ép. et phil.*, 21–30 and, at Aphrodisias, 52.I.5.

proposer of this resolution, who was also charged with conveying it to the city of Nysa, was a poet, P. Aelius Paion, 'hymn-composer and poet of the divine Hadrian, *theologos* of the temples at Pergamum', μελοποιου καὶ ῥαψωδοῦ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, θεολόγου ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγᾶμῳ.¹⁸ Paion, therefore, both composed and performed hymns in praise of Hadrian.¹⁹ This made him a *theologos*, 'a reciter of divine deeds', a term used to describe performers who recited or sang the deeds of gods and of the divine emperors. Separate organizations of *theologoi* or 'hymn-singers', *hymnodoi*, are also attested (above, Chapter VII, p. 134), but this text demonstrates that they could also belong to the performers' synod.²⁰ At Melos the hymn-singers had reserved seats in the auditorium.²¹ As was described above, their function could also be fulfilled by the 'young men'. After the coming of Christianity the singing of the deeds of the gods will have dwindled away, but those of the emperors presumably continued to be sung. This kind of activity must underlie the function of the later factions in honouring the emperor with formal chants and acclamations. The composition of such material must have fallen to the ποιητής, 'poet'; a poet of the Blues is mentioned in the early seventh century,²² and by the ninth century a poet and a 'composer' — μελιστής — are listed as officials of the factions.²³ It is clear that records of such acclamations were kept (below, pp. 149–50)

At public spectacles in the provinces, the emperors had been represented by their images from the early days of the empire. Tertullian mentions the presence of images at the opening of proceedings in the circus: 'de simulacrum serie', 'de imaginum serie'.²⁴ This probably refers to images both of the divinities being honoured, and of the reigning emperors.²⁵ The necessary arrangements for the celebration of a festival at Gytheion in honour of Augustus included the provision of 'painted images', γραπτὰς εἰκόνας, of Augustus, Livia, and Tiberius, which were set up in the Theatre.²⁶ The endowment of Vibius Salutaris established at Ephesus in 104 arranged for a procession to take place on a series of important occasions, including all gymnastic contests, conveying twenty-nine silver images (one, that of Artemis, gilded), including those of several deities, of the reigning emperor, and his empress, of the Senate and the equestrian order, and of constituent bodies of the city of Ephesus.²⁷ An inscription of 256 from Termessus Minor describes how the image of the new Caesar, Valerian (son of the emperor Gallienus) was displayed for the first time at a local festival.²⁸ When Claudius Demosthenes was setting up his contest at Oenoanda, in the reign of Hadrian, he included specific provision for *sebastophoroi* who were to carry the 'imperial images', σεβαστικά ἐικόνες.²⁹ In this

¹⁸ See L. Robert, *Στηλῆ : Studies Kontoleon* (Athens, 1977), 16–7 (= *OMS* vii, 584–5).

¹⁹ Hymns could be in verse or prose, and many important writers composed them; see E. L. Bowie, 'Greek sophists and Greek poetry', *ANRW* II.33.1 (1989), 214–25; cf. idem, 'Greek poetry in the Antonine age', in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature* (Oxford, 1990), 83–90.

²⁰ Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 46–9.

²¹ *IG* XII.3.1243, describing theatre seats seen by Lenormant in 1829; from the description it appears that the seat marked [τ]όπος ὑμν[ω]δῶν may have been adjacent to one marked τόπος νεανίσκ[ων].

²² *Miracula S. Artemii*, 25, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 1–75 (*BHG*³ 173).

²³ Oikonomides, *Listes*, 122 and 326.

²⁴ *De Spectaculis* VII.2.

²⁵ For portable images of emperors see Price, *Rituals and Power*, 188–90, and *MAMA* IX.131, with references there.

²⁶ See Robert, 'Ἀρχαιόλογος', 248 (= *OMS* I, 684).

²⁷ On this see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, ch. 3.

²⁸ *ILS* 8870; see also L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960), 322–3 (= *OMS* II, 838–9).

²⁹ Wörle, *Stadt und Fest*, 216–7.

case, and in many others, the responsibility for providing and conveying the images fell to the civic authorities; at Ephesus, the benefactor Vibius Salutaris arranged for the 'images' which he had dedicated to be carried in procession on many occasions by the ephebes, together with the sacred victors, *hieronikai*.³⁰

Since public entertainments provided an occasion for the display of loyalty to the ruler, it is understandable that, from the earliest period of their history, the synods had some responsibilities for maintaining the cult of the rulers (see above, Chapter IV, pp. 50–1); in view of the use of images on such occasions, it is possible that this lies behind the right of the *technitai* to 'establish images' which was confirmed by Claudius in A.D. 43, and that the images so 'established' were those which they were to display at public ceremonies.³¹

That such practices continued in the later empire is clear from a law of Theodosius II, restraining excessive adulation of the imperial 'images displayed at contests', 'ludis quoque simulacra proposita'.³² Images of the emperors also continued to be despatched to the provinces, where they would be greeted with the formal ritual of an imperial *adventus*. In 467 wreathed images — *laurata* — of Anthemius were brought to Constantinople, after he had been made western emperor; the images were presented by ambassadors to Leo, who then proclaimed that they should accompany his own to all the cities.³³ A poem of Dioscorus of Aphroditto celebrates the arrival in Antioch of the image of Justin II, in 566.³⁴ The celebrations inaugurated by Constantine to celebrate the foundation of Constantinople are said to have included the escorting of a statue of Constantine himself into the Hippodrome, by soldiers holding candles.³⁵ Although on this occasion the responsibility fell to the army, by 607 the factions are described as displaying *laurata* of the imperial family in the Hippodrome at Constantinople as a matter of course.³⁶ In 610 the new emperor, Heraclius, burned publicly in the Hippodrome the image (εἰκών) of the previous emperor, Phocas, 'which, during his lifetime, unimportant men (οἱ μάταιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων), dressed in white, used to bring into the Hippodrome accompanied with candles. The banner (βάνδον) of the Blues was also burned with it'.³⁷ The description of the bearers as 'vain, unimportant' suggests strongly that they were performers of some kind, for whom this is a common epithet. The Blues may have been being punished simply for their active support of Phocas, but the reference to their banner at this point may indicate that they had played a formal part in these ceremonies; banners were used by associations of many kinds, presumably as a mark of their official participation in public events.³⁸ If displaying imperial images had been one of the functions of the synods, this would help to explain such activities by the factions.

This association with imperial images may not have been limited to the portable images displayed on public occasions. When the infamous statue of Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, was erected in Constantinople in 403, it was dedicated with a ceremony involving 'noise and public spectacles of dancers and mimes, as was then customary at the

³⁰ Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, ch. 3, and *I.Eph.* 27, ll. 437 f., for the victors.

³¹ *P.Oxy.* 2476, now republished by Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* no.3.

³² *CTh.* xv.4.1.

³³ *Chron. Pasch.* 597; Const. Porph., *De Cer.* (from Peter the Patrician), 395.9–396.7.

³⁴ Published most recently by L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphroditto* (Berkeley, 1988), 72–6.

³⁵ *Chron. Pasch.* 530; Malalas 322; Dagron, *Naissance*, 40–1.

³⁶ Theophanes, 294.11–25, discussed below, p. 150.

³⁷ *Chron. Pasch.* 701, with M. Whitby and M. Whitby ad. loc.

³⁸ See W. Kübitschek, in *ÖJh* 29 (1935), 44–8, publishing the metal holder for a neighbourhood-association's banner, inscribed συμβιβώσεως ξυστοπλατειτῶν ταμιεύοντος Στεφάνου.

dedication of imperial images';³⁹ it was these celebrations to which John Chrysostom objected, leading to his final quarrel with the empress, and exile. Such ceremonies are also referred to in the panegyric which was delivered by Procopius of Gaza on the occasion of the dedication of *eikones* — ?statues — of Anastasius by the city of Gaza. Procopius takes pains to point out, apparently as something unusual, that the city is not celebrating this with *θέατρα*, 'spectacles', of the kind which Anastasius had recently outlawed — that is, apparently, performances by mimes or pantomimes.⁴⁰ Significantly, there are references in the *Parastaseis* to the factions as participating in the dedication of imperial statues — of Arcadius and Theodosius II,⁴¹ of Verina,⁴² and of Justinian and Theodora.⁴³ That the dedication of a statue involved a public celebration is probably implied by the dated references to such dedications in the *Chronicon Paschale*,⁴⁴ and Marcellinus Comes.⁴⁵ The factions were also involved in acclaiming the restoration of a city gate in the eighth century.⁴⁶

I would, therefore, argue that the status and duties of the late Roman and Byzantine factions are best understood if the factions had inherited the duties and responsibilities both of the synods of performers and of the 'young men' to see that public ceremonies were appropriately carried out. Moreover, the roles attributed to them in such ceremonies, which are comprehensible only if the organizations had a certain standing within their communities, are recognizably tasks which had fallen to the earlier bodies.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE LATER FACTIONS

If the factions took over the pre-existing synods of performers and athletes, they will have come into possession of the property and endowments belonging to the synods. The old-style factions, combinations of businessmen who came together to invest in undertaking a contract, are unlikely to have had much in the way of endowments; the *domini* will have taken their profits with them. But the twelfth-century commentator Theodore Balsamon states that the factions of the earlier empire — that is, for him, the early Byzantine period — did own property from which they derived an income:

For then the demes were all-powerful in the horse-races and put them on when and as they liked from their own funds, since they also had houses and horses and stables which have even survived to our own day, and incomes for the sake of the horse-races.

τότε μὲν γὰρ τῶν δῆμων κατεξουσιαζόντων ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ ποιούντων ταύτας ὅτε καὶ ὅπως ἡβούλοντο ἐκ δαπανημάτων οἰκείων ὡς καὶ ἐχόντων οἴκους καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἵππωνας τοὺς καὶ μεχρὶ καὶ νῦν περισωζομένους καὶ προσόδους χάριν τῶν ἵπποδρομιῶν.⁴⁷

³⁹ κρότοι τε καὶ δημῳδεις θέαι ὀρχηστῶν τε καὶ μίμων ἐνθάδε ἐπετελοῦντο, ὡς ἔθος ἦν τότε ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακλήσει τῶν βασιλικῶν εἰκόνων, Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* viii.20. *δημῳδεις* is, of course, a word sometimes associated with the factions, but not exclusively, so that their involvement here might be guessed at, but cannot be proved.

⁴⁰ Procop. Gaz., *Pan.* 24.11–14.

⁴¹ *Parastaseis* 35a: the Greens acclaiming.

⁴² *Parastaseis* 29: the Greens acclaiming.

⁴³ *Parastaseis* 81: the Greens acclaiming.

⁴⁴ e.g. 573, 579.

⁴⁵ e.g. under 421.

⁴⁶ *Parastaseis* 3: the Greens acclaiming. On all these see Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 173–4.

⁴⁷ Commentary on Canon 24 of the Council of 691–2, PG 137.592.

Balsamon's purpose was to emphasize the contrast between the uncontrolled and rowdy chariot-races of the earlier centuries, which the Canon on which he was commenting forbade the clergy to attend, and the well-regulated events of the twelfth century. Alan Cameron, therefore, treats this passage with well-justified suspicion.⁴⁸ But, while it would be rash to rely too firmly on this account, it seems difficult to dismiss completely the specific statement that the factions had property — some of which was still to be seen — and some income of their own, since this seems improbable as an invention. Whether or not such property went directly to the financing of races is uncertain, but there is evidence, from several places including Aphrodisias, that the income of the synods had been used for financing contests;⁴⁹ in more cases the purpose of such endowments may have been to improve the provision of entertainment indirectly, by helping the synods to put on better shows. It is possible that the factions might have had some property, but it is certain that the synods had; therefore, after the amalgamation the factions would have had both property and income. It is noticeable also that it is after the expansion of the factions, and the suggested amalgamation, that we hear of notable men acting as their patrons, which probably included making donations of money or property (see below, p. 150).

That the later factions owned property is also perhaps suggested by the existence, attested at Constantinople and in Egypt, of areas in cities named after the colours. Cameron rightly dismissed the attempts to explain this as evidence of the social allegiances of the Blues and the Greens.⁵⁰ In his account, he listed three definite descriptions of neighbourhoods in this way: the γειτονία τῶν Βενέτων of Constantinople, in 561 (Theophanes 236); a προάστειον τὸ ἐν τοῖς Βενέτοις at Constantinople, in the sixth century (Just., *Nov.* 159, of 555); and a λαύρα τῶν Βενέτων at Heracleopolis, in papyri of the sixth to the eighth centuries.⁵¹ There is also *Ta Prasina*, where the Greens had a stable.⁵² The first passage, mentioning 'neighbourhoods', is different in kind, and is discussed above (Chapter VII, pp. 130–1) but the other descriptions seem precisely comparable to cases in which areas were named after the synods; thus at Amastris an area is described as ἱερονεικῶν τὸ ἄμφοδον, the quarter of victors in the sacred festivals,⁵³ and at Antioch, in the first century A.D., there is a reference to the quarter — πλινθεῖον — of the crowned victors — Στεφανιταί.⁵⁴ There is also a description of a house 'in the area called of the *technitai* of Dionysus', ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Διονύσου τεχνειτῶν, at Oxyrhynchus in the second century.⁵⁵ In the case of Antioch, there are references to other areas designated by the names of associations.⁵⁶ It is probable that such designations often indicate the presence of such an association, or its headquarters, in the area;⁵⁷ but it is also possible that, as in the cases where areas are designated by the names of individuals, the reference may be to past or present proprietors.⁵⁸ Whichever explanation is correct, there

⁴⁸ *Circus Factions*, 17–19.

⁴⁹ 52.1–2, with further discussion, Appendix I.x.

⁵⁰ *Circus Factions*, 86–95.

⁵¹ *Circus Factions*, 317.

⁵² Preger, *Script. Orig. Const.* II. 239, with R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*² (Paris, 1964), 416, Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 165.

⁵³ Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 151–63, especially 156.

⁵⁴ This text, referred to by L. Robert, *CRAI*, 1951, 255–6, has now been fully published by D. Feissel, 'Deux listes'.

⁵⁵ *P.Oxy.* 171, fully published at *P.Oxy.* II, p. 208.

⁵⁶ Feissel, 'Deux listes', 101–3.

⁵⁷ So Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 91–3.

⁵⁸ As at Antioch, Feissel, 'Deux listes', 100–1, and frequently at Constantinople.

is a striking similarity in the way in which these institutions are used as points of reference.

This is not to claim, however, that the property of the amalgamated 'factions' would ever have been enough to make them 'independent' institutions. They must still have been dependent for their livelihood on the institutions and individuals who paid for spectacles and contests. An increasing proportion of such expenditure fell to the emperor (Chapter I, p. 9); by the end of the fifth century he must already have been virtually their only employer in Constantinople apart from the consuls, the latter office being abolished in 542. By the seventh century, after the loss of Alexandria, and the collapse of smaller cities, the imperial government must have been their major public employer in the entire empire. Their situation was therefore one of nominal independence, based on the existence of endowments that had decreased dramatically in value, and had increasingly been supplemented by central government expenditure.

The resultant organizations will have been associations whose structure was, typically, modelled on that of the city.⁵⁹ They were, as the city was, normally divided between a 'curial' class, of office-holders, and the rest, the bulk of the membership.⁶⁰ We know the titles of several factional officials, partly from the historical sources of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and partly from the accounts in the Book of Ceremonies and the ninth- and tenth-century *taktika*, lists of court officials.⁶¹ The second group of sources describes, the 'factions' once they had become entirely incorporated into the personnel of the imperial court, but may still reflect an earlier structure. Some of the terminology is new, while other terms are familiar. The officers of the new factions were performers, just as the officials of the synods had been (compare, for example, 88.iii); according to Procopius the pantomime dancer of each faction was normally the 'administrator', διοικητής, a word paralleled in the organization of many associations, particularly in the Roman period, and usually implying financial responsibility.⁶² The pantomime dancer of the Greens at Rome, in the early sixth century, is described as receiving 'the customary monthly payment of the Green association', 'solitum menstruum partis Prasini', which sounds like a payment for the whole association, to be administered by the dancer.⁶³ Another instruction, however, provides that a monthly payment is also to be made to an independent dancer, who did not belong to either colour; he is 'to have equality of monthly payment with the other pantomimes of the parties' 'habiturus aequalitatem menstrui cum caeteris partium pantomimis'; this perhaps suggests that these payments were simply to each of the dancers as individual performers.⁶⁴ By the seventh century these officials came to be called *demarchs*, a new term, coined in a traditional way from the word *demos* which came to be used for the factions.⁶⁵

There are also traces of a secretariat, as had been standard in most associations, and particularly in the synods.⁶⁶ *Notarii* and *cartularii* are listed among the officials of the later factions in the ninth century.⁶⁷ They must have been responsible for the recording of

⁵⁹ 'Proprium est ad exemplum reipublicae habere res communes' (*Dig.* III.4.1).

⁶⁰ Royden, *Magistrates*, 12-13.

⁶¹ These texts have been edited most recently by N. Oikonomides, *Listes*.

⁶² Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 378.

⁶³ Cassiodorus, *Variae* I.33.

⁶⁴ *idem*, I.32.

⁶⁵ For the equivalence of the two terms, see Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* VIII.7.10 (quoted below, p. 151).

⁶⁶ Poland, *Vereinswesens*, 383-4; for an example see below, 88.iii.15.

⁶⁷ Oikonomides, *Listes*, 122-4 and 326.

factional acclamations, which clearly took place on a regular basis, and must be the source of many of our accounts; such records, ἄκτα, can be deduced at several points in the *Parastaseis*, and must lie behind extended accounts of acclamations and exchanges, such as the famous dialogue over Calopodios.⁶⁸ At the beginning of the seventh century, there is a mention of faction officials called γραμμαισταί. On the occasion of the marriage of Domentzia, daughter of the emperor Phocas, to Priscus, in 607, Phocas held a chariot-race. The two colours displayed images (*laurata*) of the young couple beside the imperial images. Phocas was furious, and summoned the *demarchs* to complain; they stated that the *grammistai* had done this 'according to custom'.⁶⁹ It is normally assumed that the word simply means 'artists, the men who drew the pictures', and this may well be right; but it seems surprising that imperial punishment would be directed at people so low in the administrative hierarchy of the faction, and it may be that the *grammistai* are to be equated with the secretaries, *grammateis*, of earlier associations, and became the later *notarii*.

As in other associations, these officials formed the 'curial class' of the faction, and are sometimes described in general terms as 'the leaders, the foremost men', τοὺς πρώτους τῶν μέρων,⁷⁰ τὰ πρωτεία τοῦ δήμου,⁷¹ τοὺς κορυφασιότερους τοῦ δήμου,⁷² using terminology exactly parallel to that used for describing the ruling class of a city. The other members of the association would form the 'people', *plebs*, *populus* or δῆμος; but *populus* could also be used to describe the entire membership of an association.⁷³ The late 'factions' were not described as 'factions', but as 'parties, sections', μέρη, or as 'demes', δῆμοι; Alan Cameron argues that the term 'deme' developed as a translation of the Latin *populus*, as used to describe the ordinary members of an association, and in this I think that he is entirely right.⁷⁴ In times of crisis, the leaders of the 'faction', who were professional performers, would direct the partisans: thus in 507 the charioteer Calliopas Porphyrius led the partisans in an anti-Jewish riot at Antioch, and in 610 another charioteer, Calliopas Trimolaimes, took command of the Green partisans during the fighting in Constantinople.⁷⁵

The colours also had another characteristic of other associations; they had prominent men as 'patrons, protectors', προσταταί. The relationship, expressed with this characteristic term, was widespread in both East and West;⁷⁶ thus the *philoplia* at Ephesus honoured a *prostates* (Chapter v, pp. 79–80). In some cases the relationship is expressed as an office within the organization (used, for example, as a dating formula), but it is used for men of standing, who could protect and provide benefits for an association.⁷⁷ The 'young men' also had patrons.⁷⁸ The earliest mention of a patron for a faction is the statement that Chrysaphios-Tzoumas, minister of Theodosius II between 443 and 450, was the 'patron and protector of the Greens', πάτρων καὶ προστατής.⁷⁹ In 498 Plato,

⁶⁸ Theophanes 181–84, on which see, most recently, M. Whitby and M. Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.*, pp. 113–14, and bibliography there.

⁶⁹ Theophanes 294.11 ff.; Nicephorus, *Opuscula Historica* (ed. de Boor, 1880), iv.4–10; John of Antioch, *Ex. de insid.* 109 (149); and see above, p. 146.

⁷⁰ John of Antioch, *Ex. de insid.* 109 (149).

⁷¹ Theophanes, 293.8ff. (605/6).

⁷² Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* viii.9.13.

⁷³ Royden, *Magistrates*, 13.

⁷⁴ *Circus Factions*, 39–44.

⁷⁵ John of Antioch, *Ex. de insid.* 110 (150).

⁷⁶ Royden, *Magistrates*, 15–16.

⁷⁷ See e.g. G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris, 1987), no.46 and commentary.

⁷⁸ Jaczynowska, *Associations*, 46–7.

⁷⁹ Malalas 363, 368.

'patron of the Green party', *πάτρων τοῦ Πρασίνου μέρους*, was made city prefect of Constantinople.⁸⁰ Similarly, the organizations in the provincial cities needed patrons; at Tarsus, Damianus, a member of the local council, was 'patron of the Blues there', *τῶν τῆδε Βενέτων προστάτης*.⁸¹ At Rome, Theodoric invited two nobles to take up the patronage of the Greens; their father had already been a patron, and he asked them to undertake this task in order to re-establish good order in the faction, by presiding over the choice of a pantomime performer for them.⁸² In that case, as in the case of Plato in 498, it is clear that the ruler was encouraging the system of patronage; the duty of the patron was to protect the interests of the association, and to arbitrate over internal disputes so that the members would not feel the need to express their discontent and disturb public order.

Yet another characteristic of an association in the Roman world, which has already been discussed, was that it could take responsibility for the burial of members. That the later factions took such responsibility for their members is suggested by the recent discovery at Ephesus of the tombstone of the Green wrestling-dancers, erected in their life-time without naming the individuals who were to be buried there.⁸³ Some such arrangement may also be implied by Procopius, when in describing the plague, he says that the 'rioters', *στασιῶται* (his customary term for the partisans), even buried 'the dead who did not belong to them', *τοὺς οὐ προσήκοντας σφίσι νεκρούς*; this suggests that it would not be unusual for them to bury those who did belong to them.⁸⁴

In a properly ordered association the officials kept a list — an *album* — of the members, and in the West some inscribed examples survive.⁸⁵ It is therefore of great interest that when in 601 the emperor Maurice learnt of the revolt of Phocas, he summoned the *demarchs* 'who were commonly called *dioiketai*' and asked for the number of their members — *τῶν δημοτευνόντων*; the Greens gave a list of 1,500, the Blues 900.⁸⁶ Numbers for associations are very hard to come by, but some very large *collegia* in the West, in the imperial period, had 1,200 or 1,300 members.⁸⁷ Procopius says that when Justinian closed down the spectacles in Byzantium 'innumerable people' were put out of work;⁸⁸ and a recently-published group of ostraca illustrates the very large number of different kinds of activities involved simply in chariot-racing.⁸⁹ Each of the two factions will have incorporated the personnel necessary for putting on the chariot teams both of their own and of their minor colour, as well as a wide range of entertainers, including mimes, who performed in groups, and pantomimes, who were often backed by a choir. But despite all this, it does not seem likely that the numbers given by the *demarchs* represent only the people professionally involved in performing at Constantinople in the early seventh century. The *album* of each colour must have included the 'young men' associated with each colour. If these were 400 for each colour, or perhaps 600 for the

⁸⁰ Malalas 394, with *De insid.* 38.

⁸¹ Procopius, *HA* xxix.25.

⁸² Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.20, cf. 33. On all this see also Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 20–2.

⁸³ *I.Eph.* 2949: τοῦτο τὸ ἡρ[ῶν] ἐστὶν ὀρχιστοπαλαρίων πρασίνων, ζώντων; see *BullÉp* 1981.479.

⁸⁴ *Bell.Pers.* ii.23.13: this is seen by him as part of the general reversal of the norms of human conduct (see Averil Cameron, *Procopius* (London, 1985), 41) perhaps precisely because it involved extending members' privileges to non-members.

⁸⁵ Royden, *Magistrates*, 17–18; Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen*, 37–8.

⁸⁶ Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* viii.7.10.

⁸⁷ Royden, *Magistrates*, 127; Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen*, 35–6.

⁸⁸ *HA* xxvi.9.

⁸⁹ I. G. Shelton, *Greek Ostraca in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1988). Nos 83–190 (probably fourth century) are all orders for the delivery of wine to a series of persons involved in chariot-racing; see further idem, 'New texts from the Oxyrhynchus racing archive', *ZPE* 81 (1990), 265–6.

Greens, this would give a number comparable with the 400 people who 'lived for nothing but the dancers', mentioned by Libanius in fourth-century Antioch. Both performers and partisans were on the list, because they were all 'Greens' or 'Blues'.

It seems, therefore, that the late factions had the recognizable structures of earlier associations; their role and functions were inherited from the pre-existing organizations of performers on the one hand and of 'young men' on the other. What seems unique and new is the formal association, in one organization, of performers and members of the audience in each faction. It may well be that a similar kind of association, embracing both performers and audience as members, is to be found in the 'sodalités' of North Africa, which could apparently include both *venatores* and ordinary members (Chapter v, p. 74); this may become clearer as more information emerges about those bodies.

If this analysis of their composition and their nature is correct, it should also help to explain many of the unexpected functions of the later factions. The tradition which suggests that they helped with construction work at Constantinople is paralleled by the tasks allotted to other associations and also to the 'young men' (Chapter vi, p. 125). Similarly, when the factions are said to have manned the defences in time of attack at Constantinople and at other cities,⁹⁰ this was a function of associations of all kinds at all periods (Chapter vi, p. 125). It was, however, particularly a function, as might be expected, of the 'young men' both in the Roman West⁹¹ and in the East; for example, at Apollonia Salbake, near Aphrodisias, in the late second or third century the 'young men', *νεανίσκοι*, served as a 'mountain guard' patrol, *ὄροφυλακήσαντες*, under a 'chief of police', *παραφύλαξ*.⁹² In the light of this evidence, the energetic discussions which have gone on over the 'military role of the factions' seem otiose.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FACTIONS

The constituent elements of the new factions were, therefore, all well-established entities, and there was no apparent reason why their combination should cause problems. The young men, of course, had always — as in all societies — been a potentially disruptive element, and I have suggested that keeping them in good order was an important function of the gymnasia (Chapter vii, p. 138). When Philo described trouble-makers at Alexandria, in the first century A.D., getting up a protest against Agrippa I, he depicted them going to the gymnasium, developing insults against the king, and even using men who wrote mimes to help them. It was only after a day spent building up crowd feeling, and presumably a series of spicy acclamations, in the gymnasium that the crowd rushed to the Theatre, with a specific request for the authorities.⁹³ The implication would seem to be that the sort of people who went to the gymnasium were easily led into disruptive acclamations and, potentially, rioting. The same assumption lies behind the third-century legislation dealing with 'those commonly known as young men', '*qui volgo se iuvenes appellant*', who misbehave at spectacles.⁹⁴ Libanius, in his great attack on the claqueurs of Antioch, accused them of looking out for 'young men', *neoi*, to corrupt; they made them waste their substance and neglect their studies.⁹⁵ The characteristic of such

⁹⁰ Examples collected by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, ch.5.

⁹¹ See Jaczynowska, *Associations*, 34–5.

⁹² J. and L. Robert, *La Carie: II, Le plateau de Tabai* (Paris, 1954), 281–3.

⁹³ Philo, *In Flaccum* 33–42.

⁹⁴ Callistratus, *Dig.* XLVIII.19.28.3, discussed above, Chapter vii, pp. 136–7.

⁹⁵ Libanius, *Or.* xli.9.

people was that they were free to spend their time at the theatre, and were without responsibilities, including being unmarried, ἀγάμοι.⁹⁶ An inscription at Didyma is an acclamation perhaps for such people: 'up with the unmarried!', νικῶ ἡ τύχη τῶν ἀγάμων.⁹⁷ The misbehaviour of the young man who ought to be studying is a literary topos in all periods, neatly used of himself by Menander Protector.⁹⁸

The subversive potential of young men had therefore long been recognized; and the organizations of young men can be seen as having been designed to harness their energies in safe ways. Guy Rogers has pointed out the importance of participation in public ceremonial as a means of preparing the young for responsible citizenship.⁹⁹ But the situation in the later empire had in fact changed more than contemporaries perhaps realized, surrounded as they were by what appeared to be traditional institutions. To begin with, the collapse of the gymnasia meant that the 'young men' were less fully occupied, and less supervised, than before (Chapter VII, p. 138). It may be that involving them more formally in public ceremonial and acclamations was seen as counteracting this, by giving them an occupation. But the second and crucial change lay in the increasing importance accorded by the imperial government to acclamations (Chapter VII, p. 133). This approach, formalized by Constantine and continued by his successors, gave a new political power to those who provided them. The most startling effects of this are to be seen in the accounts of various occasions in the sixth and early seventh centuries when the factions at Constantinople apparently felt themselves free to make remarkably frank remarks to various emperors. Such a situation can derive only from the fact that factional acclamations had become privileged, as an essential element in validating the authority of rulers, including the emperors; their status is implicit in the fact that they were regularly recorded (above, p. 150).¹⁰⁰

Moreover, the function of the partisans was apparently not only to acclaim the rulers themselves, but to lead the whole audience in acclamation. This is what seems to be happening, for example, in Corippus' description of the acclamation of Justin and Sophia in the Hippodrome at his coronation.¹⁰¹ Such a function relied upon, and reinforced, the role of the young men's associations as essential constituents of their own societies in all the cities. At Rome, certainly, and probably at Constantinople also, there were separate associations of 'young men' for different areas of the city.¹⁰² The 'young men' were not an intrinsically different group from others in the audience; they were simply a particular age group, who would presumably, as they grew older, move to sit with the other persons of their status or from their district. Furthermore, the analysis by François Jacques (Chapter VII, p. 139) has demonstrated that, at least by the third century A.D., the young men's associations, incorporating both members of the élite and humbler young men, could function as a means by which groups in the civic élite could mobilize support; the events of 238 showed that in a revolutionary situation this relationship could acquire wider political significance.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ *ibid.* 11, and cf. LVI.22.

⁹⁷ Robert, *Hell.* XI–XII, 494–5.

⁹⁸ Ed. R. C. Blockley (Liverpool, 1985), I, 12–14, from *Suda* M591.

⁹⁹ Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, ch. 2.

¹⁰⁰ On all this see Roueché, 'Acclamations'.

¹⁰¹ *In laud. Iust.* II, 310–20, and Averil Cameron, commentary ad loc.

¹⁰² S. Panciera, 'Tra epigrafia e topografia', 151–63; see also the comments of Jaczynowska, *Associations*, 31.

¹⁰³ Jacques, 'Humbles et notables'.

Over this structure was laid the division into 'colours'. The sense of identity with one colour was not limited to the 'young men'; like the official supporters, the Jews at Aphrodisias and the gold-workers at Miletus describe themselves as 'Blues', *Veneti*, rather than 'supporters of Blues', *Venetiani*. Support for the Blues and the Greens, therefore, went far beyond the people listed on the *chartae* of the two associations; and, by virtue of that support, there was an ostensible link between the 'young men' of the factions and many other groups seated in the auditoria. It must have been in this way that, once the new structure had come into being, a 'faction riot' could easily turn into something far larger than just a fight between rival supporters; such a fight quickly involved other groups, with their own commitments and rivalries. In the provinces, this probably normally meant 'associations', such as the sail-makers at Rhodes (Chapter VII, p. 130); in Constantinople, perhaps neighbourhoods. But, in either case, the result was that a feud which might start between rival groups of 'young men' could spread rapidly to involve far larger numbers of people, as, most clearly, in the case of the Nika revolt, which grew from a 'faction riot' into a major political upheaval.

The origins of many riots, therefore, lay in rowdy disputes between partisans over internal matters; but the new structures ensured that these could easily assume political significance. Contemporaries clearly saw the factions as having a political role, without attributing to them fixed 'party' commitments. In his description of the origin of the circus factions, as instituted by Romus (Romulus), Malalas takes it for granted that they had a political function; they were introduced with the express purpose of dividing the people, and thereby reducing the possibility of resistance to Romus. If a particular faction chose to support a group or an individual opposed to him, he would give his support to the opposing faction.¹⁰⁴ This is not unlike the suggestion by Isidore of Pelusium that theatrical and other spectacles had been introduced in order to keep the populace divided by their enthusiasms (Chapter III, p. 47); and it seems to represent a contemporary reality. Describing the situation in Alexandria in 412, the historian Socrates had already indicated how support for rival performers might combine with other kinds of hostility between different groups to provide an explosive mixture.¹⁰⁵

There was one further element which contributed to the dangers of this situation. The reform of Constantine, which gave new authority to popular acclamations, was just one part of the process which steadily weakened the powers of the cities during the late Roman period. Their own political life was rendered increasingly marginal both by imperial intervention and by the increasing power of individuals who looked to Constantinople, rather than to their local cities, for advancement. The auditoria in ancient cities had always been used for political gatherings, and the assembly of the people at a spectacle had always had a political function. Gradually, public spectacles came to be the only surviving occasions which brought the community together; and, as has been said, those spectacles normally took the form of contests. In the events in Alexandria in 412 described by Socrates, the situation was exacerbated when the prefect, as was his custom, assembled the population in the theatre to announce his decrees: this public pronouncement of decrees was called an 'assembly', *πολιτεία*. The opposing parties, who had already quarreled over theatrical matters, found themselves facing one another in the theatre, gathered there now for a 'political' purpose. Libanius complained that governors

¹⁰⁴ Malalas 176–7.

¹⁰⁵ VII.13, discussed above, Chapter VII, p. 130.

spent too much time in the theatre, but he saw clearly that it was for political reasons (Chapter VII, p. 133). It must therefore have become increasingly difficult to distinguish between partisanship for different contestants, and support for different political groups or leaders. The most striking and well-documented example of the processes at work is again the Nika revolt of 532, which began simply with protests at the execution of criminals from the Blue and Green factions; it grew to involve a far wider range of the population than simply the partisans, and then became associated with support for imperial candidates.

The first and most important political use made of the colours was their manipulation to provide acclamations for particular policies, and for the proclamation of emperors, as at the accession of Justin I in 518, and, even more clearly, the coup of Phocas in 602. But they could also provide physical support; thus at the peak of the Nika revolt 250 armed Green 'young men' appeared to support Hypatius. In the unrest at the end of the reign of Phocas, the traditional support shown by emperors for one colour or another was transformed into active, and violent, support by one colour or another of different candidates for the throne. As Alan Cameron has pointed out, it is in the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius that we first find inscribed acclamations linking individual emperors and colours.¹⁰⁶ But it is far less easy to show any 'policy' behind such activities, such as consistent support for 'the popular party' or for Chalcedonian or Monophysite Christianity. There was merely an institutionalized structure tending to create *stasis*, violent division within society, which had grown up from arrangements which had evolved for quite different reasons.

Finally, I would argue, the weakening of the cities had deprived individuals of a source of their identity. When the cities were strong, loyalty to a professional group or an association had been only one aspect of the identity of an individual; his primary identity would still be as a citizen of his community. During the late Roman period, however, the real and economic power of the cities was steadily diminishing, and other loyalties became of relatively greater importance. One striking indication of this is the increasing tendency to designate prominent individuals by their provincial origin, rather than by their citizenship, such as 'John the Lydian' or 'John the Cappadocian'. At the other end of the scale, membership of an association may have been of increasing importance; I have suggested above that there is an increasing tendency to identify individuals by craft designations (Chapter VI, p. 128). Affiliation to the colours, which were to be found empire-wide, must have seemed to provide a very clear and recognizable form of identity. This became even more important to people who were actually forced to leave their home cities, by economic circumstances, or by war. In particular, it is clear that by the early seventh century, in the chaotic conditions in the East at the end of the reign of Phocas when there was a situation of virtual civil war, and substantial movements of population, affiliation to a colour was more important than ever. Thus groups designated simply as Greens and Blues are said to have arrived in Jerusalem at sometime between 609 and 614;¹⁰⁷ Jacob the Jew found 'Blues fleeing from the East' in Rhodes;¹⁰⁸ all of which suggests that these groups of people identified themselves by their association to a colour rather than by their place of origin.

¹⁰⁶ Reviewing Borkowski, *Alexandrie II*, in *BASP* 20 (1983), 75–84.

¹⁰⁷ Antiochus Strategos, Arabic version, trans. G. Garitte, *CSCO Script. Arab.* 29 (1974), 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* v.20.15.

The factions, therefore, functioned as a focus for political and social disruption when the political systems of the empire were in a process of transition and collapse. As the fully 'Byzantine' empire emerged and achieved a stable form, from the seventh century, they returned to their essential role, that of articulating acclamations, and validating imperial power. Their ceremonial activities, as described in the *Book of Ceremonies*, were not new accretions, but primary functions, inherited from the ceremonial of the Greek cities which had themselves disappeared.

I believe, therefore, that in order to understand the evolution of the later 'factions' an essential element must be an understanding of the structure and vocabulary of public entertainments in the provincial cities of the eastern empire, for which Aphrodisias has now provided uniquely rich evidence. When Constantine founded his new city at Byzantium, perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon was the speed with which his idea caught on, and his city grew. The men who came to be the senators of the new eastern Senate were the leading citizens of the cities of the eastern half of the Empire, and their departure must have profoundly altered the political realities in the cities which they left. Constantinople then grew as a city with emperors drawn from the West — until 450 — but a ruling class drawn in large part from the cities of the East.¹⁰⁹ For this reason, in order to understand the resultant culture both of public spectacles and of other activities, it must be as important to study the traditions and ideology of the Greek cities as to consider those of Rome.

As for the development of the factions into subversive groups, this seems to me to have been the product of changed political circumstances, which were not perceived as such by their contemporaries. The complex situation of the fifth to seventh centuries which I have outlined above was masked from contemporaries by the language of continuity overlying the reality of change — a truly 'distorting mirror' for contemporaries as well as for later historians.¹¹⁰ The resultant uncertainty was profoundly disturbing, but those living through it were ill-equipped to understand their own situation; the problem is exemplified by the attempts of Procopius to do so.¹¹¹ The explanations were drawn from tradition: the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians was attributed to the wickedness of the factions;¹¹² the collapse of the empire seen as hastened by an obsession with pantomime performers.¹¹³ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that modern commentators have found it possible to place such widely divergent interpretations upon the nature and function of the factions; now, as then, they have tended to act as conduits for attitudes and principles with which they had no institutional relationship.

¹⁰⁹ See J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford, 1990), 135–6.

¹¹⁰ For the phrase, see C. Mango, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror* (Oxford, 1975) (= idem, *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), II).

¹¹¹ See Averil Cameron, *Procopius*, 19–46.

¹¹² Antiochus Strategos, Arabic version, 2.

¹¹³ Zosimus, *Historia Nova* I.6.1, cited above, p. 30, n. 101.

APPENDICES

I-III. AGONISTIC TEXTS FROM APHRODISIAS

It has long been clear that the inscriptions of Aphrodisias provide a particularly wide range of information about agonistic life in the Roman imperial period. In 1889 Otto Liermann published all the evidence on the contests of Aphrodisias available to him, with a full discussion, and that study continues to be used extensively in modern studies of the topic. In the hundred years since that publication a considerable number of new texts have emerged, although it is perhaps worth noting that the large majority of the texts presented here were seen by earlier visitors, largely in or near the city walls; this may suggest that many of these texts came from one or more buildings, very possibly gymnasia, which were used as sources of materials when the walls were built in the fourth century.

The following three appendices set out all the inscriptions from Aphrodisias so far found which describe the contests, and the contestants, of the city. As well as presenting several new texts, I have been able to check, and in some cases improve, the readings of many which were already published. It is not my purpose to provide as full a commentary on wider questions of agonistic life as that of Liermann, but to present an important dossier illustrating the agonistic life of one particular city, which is essential to many of the arguments in the preceding chapters; I hope that this material will be exploited more widely by others writing on agonistic matters.

APPENDIX I. CONTESTS AND SHOWS AT APHRODISIAS

48 – 65

The evidence for contests at Aphrodisias is drawn chiefly from inscriptions found at the site. It is worth noting that several of the contests listed here are attested only in one source, which is a useful indication of how fragile our knowledge is. While some major contests in the Roman world are attested frequently in victors' inscriptions, many more are known from one or two references. The only contests at Aphrodisias mentioned in victors' lists from other sites are the Aphrodeisia Isolympia (ii) and the Attalea Capitolia (xii). This reflects the fact, firstly, that very few contests at Aphrodisias had 'international' status; until the third century, apparently only the Aphrodeisia Isolympia. It may perhaps also indicate that Aphrodisias was always a little remote, set back from the major routes. Much of the evidence for contests at Aphrodisias comes from the inscriptions in honour of victors at those contests, which are published in Appendix II.

What this material also illustrates is that a very large number of contests at Aphrodisias were established by individuals; and the correspondence with the imperial curator (50 and 51) demonstrates how insecure such arrangements might be. Given the very limited administrative resources of a Greek city, it is very easy to understand how money intended for a contest might be diverted to other purposes (cf. Reynolds, *A&R* 62), or even simply lost. The only people with a direct interest in maintaining the proper administration of such funds might be, firstly, the descendants of the original benefactor, and, secondly, the performers who would benefit if a contest was held (cf. 50). At Aphrodisias and probably at other cities, many contests may have had a precarious financial footing, very dependent on the generosity of the contest-president (which is how, with many reservations, I propose to translate *agonothetes*) to supplement inadequate provisions. It is in this way that the term developed, from its original sense of 'one who presides over and organizes a contest' to have the sense, in the later period, of 'one who puts on a contest' (cf. 65, and Roueché, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 101–12).

i. CONTEST OF THE AUGUSTI

48. HONOURS FOR ?PAPULOS, CONTEST-PPRESIDENT

First century A.D.

Two joining fragments found by the current expedition: one in 1978 in the area of the new Museum, one a stray find in 1979. Now in the Museum; excavation inventory no. 79.25.

Two adjoining blocks from a composite monument, complete above and below, but damaged at edges (H. 0.195, W. 0.81, D. 0.34). The inscription must have begun on the upper blocks of the monument from which these blocks came. Letters first century A.D.; ll. 1–14, 0.025, omicron 0.018; l.5, 0.015.

Plate xvii

-]
- [στεφαν]ηφορήσαντα δῖς stop καὶ ἀγ[ωνο]θετή[σαντα ? e.g. δῖς τοὺς]
[τῶν Σε]βαστῶν ἀγῶνας stop καὶ ἐστιάσαντα τ[ὴν βουλήν καὶ]
[τὸν δῆ]μον καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐγδεύτε[ρον stop καὶ ? ἀγορα]-
[νομήσ]αντα πολυδαπάν[ω]ς stop τὴν δὲ ἀνάστα[σιν ? τῆς τείμης ἐ]-
5 [ποιήσ]ατο stop Ἱέραξ κατὰ τὴν Παπύλου [δια]θή[κην ?vac.]

[e.g. The Council, the People, and the *Gerousia* honoured ?Papulos] who was twice *stephanephorus*, and contest-president of the contests of the Augusti, and feasted the [Council and the] People, and the *Gerousia* a second time [and ?who was *agoranomos*] lavishly. The setting up [?of the statue was undertaken] by Hierax, according to the testament of Papulos.

The only evidence for dating this inscription, within the imperial period, is provided by the script, which suggests a date in the first century A.D. The text presumably recorded honours for Papulos, now deceased; the principal honour — a statue — was paid for from his own bequest, and this text was very probably inscribed beneath it. The name is attested several times at Aphrodisias; in particular, a Papulos son of Jason son of Kastor is honoured by *Gerousia*, Council and People in another inscription which is similar in design and script (*MAMA* VIII.488, without a photograph; found again by the current expedition, excavation inventory no.70.212). Hierax might be a son or a more distant connection.

The restoration at the end of l.3 is not certain, but echoes the phrasing in the following text (49.7–18); conversely, l.2 supports Reinach's restoration in 49 ll. 3–14.

49. HONOURS FOR AN ANONYMOUS CONTEST-ORGANIZER

A fragment seen by Kubitschek and Reichel, but not published (K III.11a); found by the French expedition of 1904, and published from a squeeze by Reinach, 106. Published here from that squeeze (kindly made available by Professor A. Laronde), and from the Kubitschek copy (with the help of Dr U. Outschar).

Found by the north wall of the Stadium. H. 0.86, W. 0.17, D. at least 0.15; the right side apparently survived (K and R) but the alignment on the squeeze and the drawing suggests that the right ends of the lines are not all complete; letters 0.021 (R).

[-
[... c. 20 ...]AN
[... c. 18 ...] ΕΤΕ[.]
[... c.14 ... ντ]α καὶ ἀρχ-
[?ιερατεύσαντα] τῶν Σεβ-
5 [αστῶν .. c.6 ... καὶ ἀ]γωνοθε-
[τήσαντα ?τοὺς τῶ]ν Σεβα-
[στῶν ἀγῶνας γ]ενόμε-
[νον ... c. 11 ...] KA stop ἀγορα-
[νομήσαντα ? πολυδαπά]νως καὶ
10 [... c.15 ... κ]αιροῖς vac.
[... c.17 ...] ΑΙΑΕΙ ?vac.
[...] Ε
[...

l.1: Only in K.

l.3, at end: AP K, R; but traces of X on squeeze.

l.4, at end: ΣΕ, K, R; but traces of Β on squeeze.

l.9, at end: KA, K, R; but traces of Ι on squeeze.

l.11: ΑΙΑΕΤ K.

l.12: Only K shows traces of upper parts of letters; Ε might be Σ or Γ; the following traces are of slanting serifs.

[e.g. The Council, the People and the *Gerousia* honoured ?] who has been[. . .] and has been high-priest [. . .] of the Augusti [. . . , and] contest-organizer [of the contests of] the Augusti, and [. . .] and [. . .] and has been *agoranomos* [?lavishly . . . ?in difficult] times, and [. . . .

There is no indication of date for this inscription, within the imperial period, and the restorations are very uncertain; but the apparent similarities of expression make it seem likely to be contemporary with 48, and so of the first century A.D.

The reference to 'times' (l.9) suggests activities in times of difficulty, as in A&R 28 and 30; but the difficulties here might be no more than a corn shortage.

It is entirely unsurprising to find that Aphrodisias, with its strong commitment to the cult of the imperial house, as expressed in the Sebasteion, held contests in honour of the emperors as early as the first century. Such a contest may have been purely Greek in form, or it may, even at this date, have included 'Roman' features such as gladiatorial combats or wild-beast hunts (see above, p. 61).

ii. THE [?APHRODEISIA] ISOLYMPIA

First century A.D

A contest at Aphrodisias is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Rhodes, which, when it was published by C. Pugliese Carratelli, was dated on the basis of the script to the first century A.D., between the reigns of Augustus and the Flavians (ASAA NS 14-16 (1952-4), 292); the text was revised and restored by L. Robert (*Arch.Eph.* 1966, 108-19, especially 113-4, and 118). It records the victories of a runner in a series of contests of 'sacred' status including one at the [?'Αφροδείσια ἰσολύμ]πια ἐν 'Αφροδισιάδι (side B, l. 1). The restoration 'isolympic', 'equal to Olympics' seems unavoidable. The name of the contest, Aphrodeisia, is perhaps suggested by a further mention, on the third face of the same stone of a victory in 'Αφροδείσια ἰσολύμπια at a city whose name is lost, which might be Aphrodisias or Cnidos. As Robert observed, this is therefore by far the earliest mention of a 'sacred' contest at Aphrodisias; the other such contests can all be dated to the third century (below, nos xii, xiii); if the name is correctly restored, it presumably formed part of the main festival of Aphrodite.

iii. EPINIKIA

In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, a series of coins of Aphrodisias bears the legend ΤΚΖΗΛΟCΙΕΡΕΥCΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝΑΝΕ, or a variant: that is Τ(ιβέριος) Κ(λαύδιος) Ζῆλος ἱερεὺς ἐπινίκιον ἀνέ(θηκε), 'Tiberius Claudius Zelos dedicated an Epinikion' (see most recently D. Macdonald, *Coins from Aphrodisias* (Oxford, 1976), 20, no.136, and *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 172; for the donor, see also J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 26). Although this legend could be taken to refer to his 'dedication' of the coin issue, David Macdonald pointed out that it could well refer to a wider range of benefactions, and Moretti argued convincingly that it refers to a contest, ἀγῶνα ἐπινίκιον, held on a single occasion to celebrate an imperial victory, presumably in the Parthian wars. Epinikia were celebrated at Ephesus and Athens for the victory of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in 165-6 (L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome, 1953), 188; L. Robert, 'Études d'épigraphie grecque, xxi-xxxi', *RPh* NS 4 (1930), 25-60, 40-1 (= *OMS* II, 1125-60, 1140-1). The coins may be those used for prizes and distributions on that occasion.

Several inscriptions of the first, second and third centuries which honour benefactors refer to them as having been contest-organizers, but without any specific mentions of

particular contests, and so they are not republished here: *CIG* 2766, 2789; *LBW* 1601a; *MAMA* VIII.410, 474, 475, 484, 498; two unpublished texts (Temple 101, 71.175a).

The bulk of the information which we have about contests at Aphrodisias can be dated in or after the reign of Commodus.

50 – 53. THE EURYCLES DOSSIER

We know that under Commodus the Aphrodisians received help from at least one imperial *curator* — that is, an official appointed by the emperor, when he perceived it as necessary, to oversee local finances; on the office see most recently F. Jacques, *Le privilège de la liberté* (Paris, 1984). In 189 the Aphrodisians wrote to Commodus requesting that decisions which had already been made by such a *curator* should be reaffirmed and extended (*A&R* 16). Texts survive of three letters written apparently by one or more *curatores* to the city; it is most economical to assume that all three were written by the man whom we know to have served as *curator* at this period, M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles. One, perhaps written in 181, refers to various civic funds, including funds for contests; it has recently been republished and is not included here (*A&R* 62). The other two, one certainly by Eurycles, are entirely concerned with the disposition of funds set up for the financing of specific contests. Neither inscription has been found again, but both were recently republished, from earlier copies, in the context of Aphrodisias' relationship with the imperial power (*A&R* 57 and 59); the texts are reprinted here largely from that publication (50 and 51). The second letter ends with the opening of a list of prizes, established for one contest, that of Claudius Adrastus, and refers to the creation of a schedule — διαγραφή — of prizes. Parts of this schedule are almost certainly represented in two texts, which are printed below as 52 and 53.

50. LETTER OF M. ULPUS APPULEIUS EURYCLES TO THE APHRODISIANS Between 180 and 189, probably early 180s

Copied by Sherard in 1705 on the southern stretch of the city walls; published from his copy by Boeckh, *CIG* 2741, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 20, *OGIS* 509, B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1914), 103 (II.13–23), Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*², 320, no.16a. Republished from Sherard's notebook (BM Add. 10101 35–6) by J. M. Reynolds, *A&R* 57, from which the present text is taken.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

- Μάρκος Οὐλπίος Ἀππουλήιος Εὐρυκλῆς ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδει[γ]μένο[ς]
ναῶν {ΚΑΙ} τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ τ(ὸ) β' Ἀφροδισ[ι]έων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρε[ι]ν·
Βουλευθέντων ὑμῶν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαί με καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας
5 διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον Αὐτοκράτορα εὐσεβείαν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον
Κόμοδον Ἀντωνίνον Σεβαστόν, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς διαθεμένους
μνήμην καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως δό[ξ]αν, ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου π[ολ]-
λάκις ἐντυχόντων μοι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος κατέλιπον ἀδιάκριτον,
ἐπόμενος τῇ κατὰ τὴν λογιστείαν τά[ξ]ε[ι] καὶ προθυμίᾳ μέχρι νῦν τῆς περὶ
10 τοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστάσεως ἐνλειπούσης διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων πα-

- ρασκευὴν ὀφειλόντων συ[ναυξ]ηθῆναι κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν τελευταίων
 τῶν γνώμας καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀξί(ω)μα τοῦ πόρου ἀφ' οὗ (χ)ρὴ τοὺς ἀγῶνα[ς] ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.
 ἀγὼν μὲν δὴ ὁ ἐκ τῶν Φλαβίου Λυσιμάχου διαθηκῶν προελήλυ-
 θεν εἰς ἀρχείου πόρου μυριάδας δ(ώ)δεκα ὡς δύνασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ-
 15 τῶν παρὰ ἔτη τέσσαρα πληροῦσθαι τὸν μ(ο)υσικὸν ἀγῶνα καθὰ τῷ
 διαθεμέν(ω) ἔδοξεν. αἱ δὲ μετὰ τὰς δ(ώ)δεκα μυριάδας (ο)ῦσαι ἐν ἐκ-
 δανεισμῷ καὶ ὁ προσγεγ(ο)ν(ώ)ς τούτοις τόκος μέχρι ἀρχῆς [ἐ]τους
 [ποιεῖ] κεφαλείου δηναρίων μυριάδας τρεῖς δηνάρια χεῖλια ὀκτ(ω)κόσια
 τριάκοντα ἑνέα· δ(ύ)νασθε {I} οὖν ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔτους τοῦτον
 20 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἐπὶ ἄθλοις ταλαντιαί-
 οῖς καὶ ἀγωνίσμασιν κατὰ τὰ ἄθλα· προθεσμία δὲ εἰς τὸν ἐ-
 ξῆς χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τετραετηρίδα {Σ} ἔσται χρ(ό)[νος]
 ὁ ἀπὸ [Βαρ](β)ιλλήων τῶν Ἐφέσφ [ἀγομένων] πρὸς [Κοινὰ] Ἀσίας [? ἔρρωσθε] leaf

For detailed commentary on the textual variants, see Reynolds, *op.cit.*

With good fortune. Marcus Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, designated high-priest of Asia, of the temples of Smyrna, for the second time, greets the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians.

Since it was your wish that I make provision also for the (funds) relating to the contests,(5) because of your piety towards the very great emperor Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, and because of the memory of those who bequeathed them, and because of the reputation of the city, and since those from the Synod had also already approached me several times, I have not failed to examine this sector as well, applying the same order and zeal as (I observed) in my curatorship. So far (10) the competitions have not taken place because the provision of money needed to be increased in accordance both with the directions of the deceased (founders) and with the reckoning of the funds from which the contests are due to be carried out. However, the contest from the will of Flavius Lysimachus has reached a total endowment of 120,000 denarii, so that it is possible from this sum (15) for the musical contest to be held every four years, as the testator wished. The funds over and above the 120,000 denarii, which are on loan, and the interest accruing to this up to the beginning of the year, makes a total of 31,839 denarii. You can therefore, when the year begins, carry out this (20) contest, with good fortune, for prizes amounting to a talent, and with competitions according to the prizes (available). The appointed time for the following period and the next four-yearly celebration will be the time between the Barbilleia at Ephesus and [?the provincial contest] of Asia. [? Farewell].

The historical setting has been given by Reynolds. The date is between 180 and 190. M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, a citizen of Aezani, had also acted as a *curator* for the *gerousia* at Ephesus, in the 160s. What we know of his career makes it most likely that he was *curator* at Aphrodisias fairly early in the 180s, perhaps 181, the probable date of the third curatorial letter at Aphrodisias (A&R 62, and p.188). On the career of Eurycles see most recently R. A. Kearsley, *Antichthon* 21 (1987), 49–56.

After examining other financial questions at Aphrodisias, he has now been asked to look at the state of the funds for contests; this letter is in response to a request from the city, but he has already been approached on several occasions by representatives of the synod. Here probably this means just the synod of performers, and the contest which he goes on to discuss is a 'musical' one. He points out that in several funds the capital has not yet accumulated sufficiently to finance a contest from the interest; but he proceeds to authorize the inauguration of one contest for which sufficient funds have accumulated — the Lysimachea. The list of prizes for that contest survives (53); on the contest, see further below, p. 174.

51. LETTER OF A CURATOR, ?M. ULPUS APPULEIUS EURYCLES, TO THE APHRODISIANS

Between 180 and 189, probably early 180s

Copied by Deering, and published from his copy by Leake, no.21, whence LBW 1620c, Liermann, *Analecta* 21, Laum, *Stiftungen* 101. Not found again, but republished from Leake's publication and Waddington's supplements and observation by Reynolds, *A&R* 59. Published here from Deering's copy, generously made available to us by Mme. Jeanne Robert.

There is no indication of sizes, but the letters in ll. 26–8 are shown as smaller than those preceding. Ligatures: MHN, 1.5 (twice); MM, 1.6; MM, 1.8; MM, 1.10; NH, 1.11; NH, 1.13; MHN, 1.14; NM, 1.16; HN, 1.17; HN, 1.20 (twice).

τῇ τοῦ ἀγῶνος χρειαῖ εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ δη[νάρια ... c.24 ...]
καὶ τὰ ἄθλα καὶ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα ἀκολούθως [τῇ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γνώμῃ· ἀγω]-
νοθετήσει δὲ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα Φλάβιος Εὐ[- ... c.18 ... ἐκ τοῦ]-
των δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Καλλικράτου τοῦ Διοτίμου [ἀγὼν ἐπιτελεσθήσεται τοῦ ἐπί]-
(5) -οντος ἔτους (π)ερὶ μῆνα ἕκτον πρὸ τῆς εἰς Ῥώμην [ἀποδημήσεως ἀγωνίστων· ἔχει δὲ
οὐ]-
τος ὁ ἀγὼν τὰ ἄθλα διαγεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κ[αλλικράτου διαθήκῃ τὸ σύμπαν
(δηναρίων)]
μυρίων δισχειλίων ἑξακοσίων, προνοουμένω[ν τῶν ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαθή]-
κα[ις] ἐνγεγραμμένων τοῦ τε ἱερέως τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῶν νεοποιῶν· δεῖ δὲ
ὑπὲρ τούτου τῇ συνόδῳ ἐπιστέλλειν ἤδη, καὶ κατα[γγέλλειν τοῦτον τὸν]
(10) ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ μεγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος Κομμό[δου Σεβαστοῦ σωτηρίας]
καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διαμονῆς ἐπιτελεσθόμενον τῇ ὥρισμ[ένῃ προθεσμίᾳ· ? τριτ]-
ὸν δὲ Κλαυδίου Ἀδράστου ἀγῶνα ὡς διετετάκται χ[ρὴ] ἐπιτελεῖν οὐδεμίας πε]-
ρὶ αὐτὸν γινομένης ἢ ὀλιγορίας ἢ ἐνδείας, ἐπιμ[ελεῖσθαι δὲ ὅπως τελεσθῇ]
ἐν τῷ ἐνεστώτι μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς [χρῆναι ὕστερον ἀποδημήσαι]
(15) [εἰς] Ἡρακλείαν, αἰεὶ δὲ ἐκ περιόδου οὕτως ὡς ΗΣΙΩ[... c. 20 ... ὁ]
δὲ πολιτικὸς ἀγὼν ἔχει τὸν ἴδιον καιρὸν μετὰ τοῦ[τον ? ... c.9 ... τὴν δὲ δι]-
αγραφὴν πεποιήμεθα τῶν ἄθλων καὶ πρότερον Ο[... c.20 ...]
[... ? c. 9 ...] συντεταγμένους [? ... c. 34 ...]
[Ἔ]πετα[ι τοῦ]τοῖς καὶ ὁ Ὀσσιδίου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀγὼν ὁ μετὰ τὸν [... c.17 ...]
(20) [... τὴν προ]θεσίμian ἔχων καὶ διαγραφὴν τὴν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκα[ις] ? τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ]
[? ὠρισμένην· τὸν δὲ χρόνον ἔξει μετὰ Νικηράτεια τὰ ἐν Τρά[λλεσιν] ? ... c.10 ...]
[... ὁ δὲ Φιλήμων]ος τετράκι Τατιανοῦ οὐδέπω τῶν χρημάτ[ων ... c.12 ...]
[... εἰς τὰς ? δώ]δεκα μυριάδας προεληλυθότων ἐπιτελεσθ[ήσεται] ... c.9 ...]
[... ὅταν τὸ κεφ]άλαιον συνέλθῃ ὡς τοκοφορεῖν λοιπ[ὸν] ... c.16 ...]
(25) [... c.11 ... ?-]ασθαι τῆς ψηφοῦ ὑμῖν εὐθὺς δηλωθῇ[- ? ... c. 11 ...]
[θέματα τρα]γωδῶν μόνων τραγωδῶ πρώτειου * ,αφ
[ἀγῶνος Κλαυδί]ου Ἀδράστου δευτερείου * χ
τριτείου * τν
[...]

The major difference between this version and earlier publications is that re-examination of Deering's drawing has given a different idea of the space lost at the right, which varies more than Leake's publication indicated.

1.3: μετὰ τοῦ]των W., ἐκ τοῦ]των Reynolds.

1.5: W. supplied [καὶ Σεβαστὸν ἑορτῆς, which Robert replaced by [ἀποδημήσεως ἀγωνίστων; this seems two or three letters longer than we might expect, but can probably be accommodated, since the surviving line already contains two ligatures.

1.6: τοῦ κ[τίσαντος διαθήκη τὸ σύμπαν δηναρίων] cj. W., Reynolds.

1.7: ταῖς Καλλικράτου cj. W., Reynolds.

1.8: Ἀφροδίτη[ς καὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἄρχοντος] cj. W., Reynolds.

1.9: κα[τ]α[σκεύασαι ὅπως τοῦτον τὸν] cj. W., Reynolds.

1.11: ὠρισμ[έν]η προθεσμία τελέσωσιν· τ]- cj. W., Reynolds, but this makes a very unsatisfactory word division.

1.15: ἡ [δ]ι[α]γραφή σημαίνει· ὁ] cj. W., Reynolds.

1.18: The spaces on either side of συντεταγμένους in D.'s copy were left blank, perhaps indicating that there was nothing there; but examination of his notebook shows that it was his practice to leave blanks also where he had failed to read letters.

1.19: Ὁ]πε[στι W., Ὁ]πετα[ι Reynolds.

11.20–5: W. and Reynolds deduced from L.'s publication that there were no letters missing on the right; but D.'s drawing shows a ragged edge, apparently indicating a break. The supplements here are largely those suggested by W. and Reynolds, but in a different position.

... to prepare them for the requirements of the contest and ?denarii [. . .] and the prizes and the competitions in accordance with [?the intention of the deceased;] the president of the first contest will be Flavius Eu[- ? . . . ? after] these the contest from the (bequest) of Callicrates son of Diotimus [will be celebrated in the coming] (5) year, in the sixth month, before the [departure of the synod] for Rome. [This] contest [has] its prizes described in the [will of Callicrates, in all] 12,600 [denarii] under the care [of the persons] listed [in his will], the priest of Aphrodite [and ?the *neopoioi*; it is necessary] to send now on this matter to the synod, and to [announce this] (10) contest, on behalf of [the safety] and eternal rule of the great Emperor Commodus [Augustus], as due to be celebrated at the appointed [time. ?Third] contest, of Claudius Adrastus it is necessary [to celebrate] as has been prescribed [with no] reduction or omission concerning it, and to [take care that it is celebrated] in the ninth month, as appointed, because the competitors [must leave afterwards for] (15) Heraclea, and always hereafter in a cycle, just as [. . . The] city contest has its own time after this [one . . . ;] we have drawn up [the] description of the prizes already [. . .] ?put in order [. . .]. Following these is the contest of Hossidius Julianus which has its due date after [. . .], (20) and a schedule which is [established] in the will [?of Julianus]; it will have a date after the Nicerateia in Tra[lles? . . . The contest of Philem]on son of [Philem]on, son of [Philem]on, son of [Philem]on son of Tatianus, since the money has not yet reached [. . .] ?120,000 denarii, will be celebrated [. . . ?when the] capital has accumulated to bring in interest, for the future [?of so much . . .] (25) the vote . . . ?will immediately be made clear ?to you. [Prizes] for tragedians only, in the contest of Claudius Adrastus:

Tragedian:	First prize	1,500 denarii
	Second prize	600 denarii
	Third prize	250 denarii

[. . .

The first three lines refer to a contest which Waddington, followed by later commentators, suggested was very likely to be the Lysimachea. There is no particular reason to accept Waddington's very tentative supplement of the name of the *agonothete* as Flavius Eu[machos]. The only name found in the imperial period at Aphrodisias so far which combines the elements Flavius and Eu[- is in an unpublished inscription of the mid-third century, for a Septimius Aurelius Flavius Venidius Hypsicles Euphron.

It was Robert who restored 1.5 so as to refer to the departure of the competitors for the celebration of the Capitolia in Rome ('Études d'épigraphie grecque', 30–1 (= *OMS* II,

1130–1). The Capitolia, established by Domitian in 86, were penteteric — that is, they took place every four years — and were held in early summer; under Commodus they were celebrated in 178, 182, 186, and 190; on the Capitolia see Robert, ‘Deux concours’, 7–9 (= *OMS* v, 648–50). If it is right to argue, on the basis of what we know of the career of Eurycles, that he probably acted as *curator* in the early 180s, and if we also assume that this letter is from him, the celebration of the Callicrateia referred to here most probably took place in March (the sixth month) 182; the first celebration of the Lysimachea fell in the preceding year, between September 180 and August 181.

The new supplements in ll.8 ff. have imposed some changes in the sense. We now propose a stop at the end of l.8; ll.5–8 concern the prizes for the Callicrateia, which are the concern of the priest of Aphrodite and (we now suggest) the *neopoioi*, (rather than the first *archon*); the *neopoioi* were responsible for at least one other contest at Aphrodisias (ix, the Philemoniea, cf. nos 81–86). The sentence running from l.8 to l.11 then concerns the announcement of this contest to the synod. For this sense of καταγγέλλειν see LSJ s.v.; the new status of the contest of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia (above, p. 4) was the subject of a καταγγελία (*OGIS* 319) and a new contest in honour of Augustus at Mytilene was announced by special envoys, καταγγελεῖς τῶν πρώτων ἀγώνων. For the need to inform the synods of contests, see above, p. 46. The supplement at the end of l.11, although not entirely satisfactory, is an attempt to deal with the awkward opening of l.12, since τὸν δὲ seems an intolerable restoration. For the terminology of l.14, ‘the ninth month, as appointed’, literally, ‘the appointed ninth month’, cf. e.g. *OGIS* 764.44. For the various Aphrodisian contests, ll.11 ff., see below. As Waddington pointed out, the Nicerateia (l.21) could have been at any one of a series of cities whose names begin Tra[-.

51 includes a reference (ll.16/17) to the creation of a schedule of prizes for various contests, and the last lines come from the opening of such a schedule. The following two inscriptions, 52 and 53, form part of such a schedule, and it seems very likely that they came from that drawn up by Eurycles.

52. SCHEDULE OF PRIZES FOR CONTESTS

Six fragments, two joining (C and F), seen by Sherard in 1705 (when he copied A, B, C, E, and F) and in 1716 (when he copied D, and recopied F with C). A and B also copied by Wood in 1750. Published by Boeckh from Sherard, *CIG* 2758 A–G; G is derived from the copy of C and F made in 1716. Published from *CIG* by Liermann, *Analecta* 37; see also the discussion by Wörle, *Stadt und Fest*, 230–6. Not found again, but copied by us from Sherard’s notebooks, BM Add. 10101, 46–48v, and Wood vol.15, 46.

Seen ‘in the southern part of the city, not far from the East Gate’.

I. Contests of those from the synod, and of the citizen boys Block A

[Ἀγῶνος . . . c. 20 . . . μου-]
σικοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου θε[μ]α[τα τὰ]
ὑπογεγραμμένα

	Σαλπικτῆ	*ρν	ἀνδρὶ κιθαρωδῶ	*φ
5	κήρυκι	*ρν	διὰ πάντων	*σ
	ἐγκωμιογράφῳ	*σ	Εἰς δὲ τὸν γυμνικὸν	*[...]
	ποιητῆ	*σ	τῶν πολειτῶν παί-	
	παιδὶ κιθαρωδῶ	*ρν	δων ἀγῶνα	
	πυθικῶ ἀύλητῆ	*σ	σταδιαδρόμῳ ἀνδρὶ	[*], α
10	κωμωδῶ	*υ	παλαιστῆ ἀνδρὶ	[*], ασ
	τ[ρα]γωδῶ	*φ	πανκρατιαστῆ ἀνδρὶ	[*], ασ
	κυκλίῳ ἀύλητῆ	*τν	πύκτη ἀνδρὶ	[*], ασ
	[...]			

l.2 was copied twice by S. In one copy he has ΚΟΥΤΩ · ΑΠΟ, in the other ΚΟΥ · · Ν; Wood has ΣΙΚΟΥΤΩΝ. At the end S. once has ΘΕ (so W.) and once ΘΕ . . Α.

Col. i. l.5: ΚΥΡΙΚΗ S., ΚΗΡΥΚΙ W.

l.9: ΕΥΘΙΚΩ . ΥΛ S., . . ΟΙΚΟΑΥΛ W.

l.10: . . ΩΜΩΔΩ S., ΚΩΜΩΔΩ W.

l.11: . . ΩΔΩ S., Τ . . ΤΩΔΩ W.

l.12: ΑΙΩΑΥΛ S., ΚΥΚΛΙΩΑΥΛ W.

Col. ii. l.9: ΕΤΑΔΙΑΔΡΩ S., ΣΤΑΔΙΑΔΡΟ W. ΑΝΔΡΙ S, ΑΝΔΡΙΑ · W., ἄνδρ[ας * . . .] Boeckh.

l.10: ΑΝΔΡΑΣ S., ΑΝΔΡΙ · W., ἄνδρας [* . . .] Boeckh.

l.11: ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ S., ΑΝ · W., ἄνδρας [* . . .] Boeckh.

l.12: ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ S., W., ἄνδρας [* . . .] Boeckh.

For the musical [contest] of those from the synod the prizes are as follows:

Column i

Trumpeter, 150 denarii; herald, 150 denarii; writer of encomia, 200 denarii; poet, 200 denarii; boy harp-singer, 150 denarii; pythic flautist, 200 denarii; comedian, 400 denarii; [tra]gedian, 500 denarii; cyclic flautist, 300 denarii; [. . .

Column ii

Adult harp-singer, 500 denarii; overall victor, 200 denarii. For the athletic contest of the citizen boys, [?] denarii. Adult stadium-runner, 1,000 [denarii]; adult wrestler, 1,500 [denarii]; adult pancratiast, 1,500 [denarii]; adult boxer, 1,500 [denarii][. . .

For a boys' class in a musical contest (Column i, l.8), see Robert, 'Études d'épigraphie grecque', 55–6 (= *OMS* II, 1155–6). For the contest διὰ πάντων (Column ii, l.5), as being a contest between all the victors, see *BullÉp* 1968.254. A reinterpretation of Column ii, ll.8–12 suggests that the denarius sign could not be read here, and that the letters at the end of the lines indicate sums of money, which are in keeping with other prizes for these events.

For the two contests see below, x and vii.

II. An anonymous musical contest

Block B

[...]
 ἀνδρὶ κιθαρωδῶ *, γσν
 δευτερείου *, α

	ποιητῇ Ῥωμαικῶ	[*...]
	ποιητῇ	[*...]
5	διὰ πάντων	*,α
	γραμματεῖ	*φν
	πανηγυριάρχῃ	[*...]
	βήλων καὶ τῶν	*,α
	διὰ θεάτρου	
	[...]	

Wood's copy omits ll.2 and 6, and the column of figures.

l.1: GEN S, ΓΣΝ Boeckh.

l.7: *A added by Boeckh.

...] adult harp-singer, 3,250 denarii, second prize, 1,000 denarii; Latin poet, [? denarii]; poet, [? denarii]; overall victor, 1,000 denarii; secretary, 550 denarii; panegyriarch, [? denarii]; awnings and equipment for the theatre, 1,000 denarii; [...]

Since the provision for equipment follows immediately on the musical events, it seems likely that this fragment is from the schedule for a musical contest.

III. A musical, gymnastic and equestrian contest

Blocks D and E

These two fragments almost certainly joined, as Boeckh showed; D contains ll.14–23 of Column iii. On Column ii.5–7, see J. Ebert, *Wiss. z. Univ. Halle* 15 (1966), 383–5.

[-					
	σαλπικτῇ	*φ	ἀνδρὶ	παισὶν	
	κήρυκι	*φ	δολιχαδρόμῳ	*,β	παλαιστ[ῇ] *..]
	πυθικῶ ἀύλητῇ	*,αυ	Ἀγενείοις	πύκτῃ	[*..]
	δευτερείου	*υ	σταδιαδρόμῳ	*,β	παγκρα[τιαστῇ] *..]
5	κυκλίῳ ἀύλητῇ	*[,α]	φ πεντάθλῳ	*[,α]	Ἀνδράσιν
	δευτερείου	*φ	παλαιστῇ	*,γω	παλαιστ[ῇ] *..]
	κωμωδῶ	*,αχ	πύκτῃ	[*,γω]	πύκτῃ [*..]
	δευτερείου	*φ	πανκρατιαστ[ῇ]	*,ε	πανκρα[τιαστῇ] *..]
	τριτείου	*τ	ἀνδρὶ	ὀπλειτο[δρόμῳ]	*..]
10	τραγωδῶ	*,βψ	πεντάθλῳ	*,ατμ	κέλητι [τελείῳ] *..]
	δευτερείου	*ω	παιδὶ	κέλητι [πωλικῶ]	*..]
	τριτείου	*χ	σταδιαδρόμῳ	*,αυ	συνωρίδ[ι τελείῳ] *..]
	[...]		-]	συνωρίδ[ι πωλικῇ]	*..]
	[...]		-]	δευτερείου πωλικῶ	*τν
15	[...]		-]	ἄρματι τελείῳ	*,αφ
	[...]		-]	ἄρματι πωλικῶ	*,α
	[...]		-]	ἄρματος τελείου τὸ β'	*φ
	[...]		-]	ξυστάρχη [ε]ῖς ἀναπ[λή]-	*ψμε
				[ρωσιν]	
20	[...]		-]	εἰμαντοπαρόχῳ	*τα
	[...]		-]	ἀφετηρίας μαγγάνων	*τ
	[...]		-]	σκάμματος καὶ πηλώματος	*υ

[...	-]	εἰς ἔλαιον	*,β
[...	-]	ἀγαλματοποιοῖς	*,αφ
[...			

Col. i. 1.2: KHPYKH S.

1.3: ΠΥΘΑ S.

1.5: *P S., *Φ Boeckh; ? [A]Φ cj. Wörrle, 234 n.44.

1.6: *Φ S., *P Boeckh.

Col. ii. 1.5: *ΓΩ S., *[A] cj. Ebert.

1.7: ΠΥΚΤΗ [. .] S. [*ΓΩ] cj. Ebert.

1.8: ΙΑΣΤΙ S.

1.11: ΠΑΙΑΔΙ S.

1.12: ΕΤΑΔΙΑΔΡΩΜΩ S.

Col. iii. 1.14: ΠΟΛΛΟΥ, corrected to ΠΩΛΙΚΟΥ by S. in the hand of 1716, π[ώ]λ[ων] Boeckh.

1.17: TE in ligature S., whence [T]E Boeckh.

1.18: ΧΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΣΙΣΑΝΑΠ S.; it seems likely that the phrase was completed on the next line, as in IV, Column iii, 1.8/9.

1.20: TH in ligature S, whence T[H] Boeckh.

1.22: ΗΙΤΗΛΟΜΑΤΟΣ S., πῆλωματος cj. M. B. Poliakoff, *ZPE* 79 (1989), 291–1.

1.23: *ΛΦ S.

Column i

[...] trumpeter, 500 denarii; herald, 500 denarii; pythic flautist, 1,400 denarii, second prize, 400 denarii; cyclic flautist, [?1], 500 denarii, second prize, 500 denarii; comedian, 1,600 denarii, second prize, 500 denarii, third prize, 300 denarii; tragedian, 2,700 denarii, second prize, 800 denarii, third prize, 600 denarii; [...

Column ii

[...] adult long-distance runner, 2,000 denarii. For young men: stadium-runner, 2,000 denarii; pentathlete, [?1,000] denarii; wrestler, 3,800 denarii; boxer, [3,800 denarii]; pancratiast, 5,000 denarii; adult pentathlete, 1,340 denarii; boy stadium-runner, 1,400 denarii; [...

Column iii

[...] For boys: wrestler, [? denarii]; boxer, [? denarii]; pancratiast, [? denarii]. For men: wrestler, [? denarii]; boxer, [? denarii]; pancratiast, [? denarii]; hoplite-runner, [? denarii]; race-horse, [horse, ? denarii]; race-horse, [colt, ? denarii]; pair [of horses, ? denarii]; pair [of colts, ? denarii]; second prize for colts, 350 denarii; chariot (with) horses, 1,500 denarii; chariot (with) colts, 1,000 denarii; chariot (with) horses, second, 500 denarii; for the *xystarch*, in reimbursement, 745 denarii; for the supplier of straps, 301 denarii; for releasing of the pulleys, 300 denarii; for sand-pit and the mud-pit, 400 denarii; for oil, 2,000 denarii; for sculptors, 1,500 denarii; [...

This anonymous contest is the most lavish of those listed.

In i.5 the prize for the cyclic flautist has been amended, in line with the conjecture of Wörrle, to make the first prize larger than the second, and to bring it into proportion with the other prizes for musicians. Similarly, in ii. 5–7, the prizes require emendation, as shown by Ebert; it is the boxer and the wrestler (6 and 7) who are likely to have had prizes of the same amount (as at IV.ii.5 and 6), while the pentathlete won less (as at IV.iii.4).

IV. Anonymous musical and gymnastic contest

Blocks C and F

This text was copied by Sherard in 1705 as being on two separate stones; in 1716 he copied the whole inscription as one, with no description, from which Boeckh published *CIG* 2758 G; Liermann,

Analecta 172, suspected a mistake of this kind. The smaller fragment, C, contains Column iii. Column ii follows from the end of Column i, so the stone was presumably complete beneath. As Boeckh saw, there was presumably another column to the left, whose contents would have been similar to I.i, or III.i.

[-					
χοροκιθαρεῖ	*φ	παιδὶ πύκτη	*,α	ἀνδρὶ πανκρατιαστῇ	*,γ
χοραύλη	*ψν	παιδὶ πανκρατιαστῇ	*,αχν	ὀπλειτοδρόμῳ	*φ
κιθαρῳδῷ	*,αφ	ἀγενεῖω σταδιαδρόμῳ	*ψν	ἀποβάτῃ	*σν
δευτερείου	*υ	ἀγενεῖω πεντάθλῳ	*τπε	ἵπικῳ	*ψν
5 πυρρίχη	*φ	ἀγενεῖω παλαιστῇ	*,α	σκαμματος καὶ μαγγάνων	
σατύρῳ	*ρν	ἀγενεῖω πύκτη	*,αφ	εἰς τὸ στάδιον	*φ
διὰ πάντων	*φ	ἀγενεῖω πανκρατιαστῇ	*,αφ	ἱμάντων μισθός	*σν
θέματα γυμνικά		ἀνδρὶ δολιχαδρόμῳ	*ψν	ξυστάρχη εἰς ἀναπλή-	*χοδ
	vacat			ρῳσιν	
10 παιδὶ δολιχαδρόμῳ	*φ[]	ἀνδρὶ σταδιαδρόμῳ	*,ασν	ἀνδριάντος scroll	*,α
παιδὶ σταδιαδρόμῳ	*φκε	ἀνδρὶ διαυλαδρόμῳ	*,α	vacat	
παιδὶ [δι]αυλ[ο]δρόμῳ	*φ	ἀνδρὶ πεντάθλῳ	*φ		
παιδὶ πεντάθλῳ	*φ	ἀνδρὶ παλαιστῇ	*,β		
παιδὶ παλαιστῇ	*φ	ἀνδρὶ πύκτη leaf	*,β		

Col.i. 1.1: APEI (1705) API (1716).

1.4: EIOY (1705), EPIOY (1716).

1.5: *YΦ (1705), *Φ (1716).

1.11: *ΦΚΕ (1705), *ΧΚΕ, the first letter blotted (1716).

1.10: There is a blot, perhaps disguising a further figure, after φ (1705).

1.12: ΠΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΩΔΡΟΝΩ (1705), ΠΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΗΔΡΟΜΩ (1716).

1.13: *N (1705), *ΣN (1716).

Col. ii. 1.2: *AXN(1705), *ΑΣN (1716).

1.3: ΝΕΩ, ΔΡΩΜΩ (1705), ΝΕΙΩ, ΔΡΟΜΩ (1716).

1.8: ΔΡΟΜΩ (1705), ΔΡΩΜΩ (1716).

1.10: *ΣN (1705), *ΑΣN (1716).

1.12: After ΑΘΛΩ, vac. (1705).

1.14: leaf omitted, 1716.

Col. iii. 1.4/5: ΙΠΙΚΩ vac. / *YN at end of next line (1705), ΙΠΠΙΚΩ *ΨN / nothing at end of next line (1716).

1.7: ΕΝΑΝΤΩΜΙΣΘΩΣ vac. (1705), ΗΝΑΝΤΩΝΝΙΣΤΟΣ *ΣN (1716).

1.8/9: ΣΥΝΤΑΡΧΗΕΙΣΑΝΑΠΛΗ *ΣN / (on next line) ΡΩΣΙΝ vac. (1705), ΧΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΕΙΣΑΝΑΠΑΝΡΩΣΙΝ *ΧΟΔ (1716).

Column i

...] choral harpist, 500 denarii; choral flautist, 750 denarii; harp singer, 1,500 denarii, second prize, 400 denarii; pyrrhic dancer, 500 denarii; satyr performer, 150 denarii; overall victor, 500 denarii. Athletic prizes: boy long-distance runner, 5[?00] denarii; boy stadium-runner, 525 denarii; boy double-circuit runner, 500 denarii; boy pentathlete, 500 denarii; boy wrestler, 500 denarii;

Column ii

boy boxer, 1,000 denarii; boy pancratiast, 1,650 denarii; young man stadium-runner, 750 denarii; young man pentathlete, 385 denarii; young man wrestler, 1,500 denarii; young man boxer, 1,500 denarii; adult long-distance runner, 750 denarii; adult stadium-runner, 1,250 denarii; adult double-circuit runner, 1,000 denarii; adult pentathlete, 500 denarii; adult wrestler, 2,000 denarii; adult boxer, 2,000 denarii. stop.

Column iii

adult pancratiast, 3,000 denarii; hoplite runner, 500 denarii; horse-jumper, 250 denarii; horseman, 750 denarii; for sand-pit and pulleys for the stadium, 500 denarii; hire of straps, 250 denarii; for the *xystarch*, as reimbursement, 674 denarii; for statue, 1,000 denarii. ?*end*.

53. SCHEDULE OF PRIZES FOR A CONTEST

Copied by an unnamed Armenian, whose copy came, via Gell and Rosius, to Boeckh, and was published by him as *CIG* 2759. Copied by Deering, whence Leake 22, from which LBW 1620d, Liermann, *Analecta* 20a, J. Frei, *De certaminibus thymelicis* (Basel, 1900), 77, no.14, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals* ², 321, no.16b; translated by T.R.S. Broughton, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* iv (Baltimore, 1938), 856–7. A surviving fragment found in a village house by the MAMA expedition, whence published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* viii.420; now in the Museum. Copied by us from the stone and from Deering's notebook; letters read by Deering but not by us are underlined.

The upper left corner of a block or panel (H. 0.275, W. 0.75, D. 0.14); letters 0.015. Ligatures: l.2, MM; ll.3, 4, and 8 NH.

Illustrated in *MAMA* viii, pl. 23.

ἀγῶνος ταλαντιαίου Φλαβίου Λυσιμάχου πενταετηρικοῦ
μουσικοῦ μόνου θέματα τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα

Σαλπικτῇ	*φ	χοράλῃ	*,αφ	κοινῇ κωμῳδῶν	*σ
κήρυκι	*φ	δευτερείου	*φ	κοινῇ τραγικῶν	*σι
(5) ἐνκωμιογράφῳ	*ψν	χορῳ τραγικῷ	*φ	καινῇ κωμῳδίᾳ	*φ
ποιητῇ	*ψν	χορωκιθαρεῖ	*,αφ	ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ	*τν
πυθαύλῃ	*,α	δευτερείου	*φ	δευτερεῖον	*ρν
δευτερείου	*τν	κωμῳδῷ	*,αφ	καινῇ τραγῳδίᾳ	*ψν
ψειλοκιθαρεῖ	*,α	δευτερείου	*φ	πυρριχῇ	*,α
(10) δευτερείου	*τν	τριτείου	*τ	δευτερεῖον	*τν
παιδὶ κιθαρωδῷ	*ψν	τραγωδῷ	*,βφ	ἀνδρὶ κιθαρωδῷ	[*..]
δευτερείου	*σν	δευτερείου	*ω	δευτερεῖον	[*..]
[...]	...]	τριτείου	*υ	[...]	..]
[...]					

For the contest, in the talent category, of Flavius Lysimachus, in a four-year cycle, musical only, the prizes are as follows:

Column i

Trumpeter, 500 denarii; herald, 500 denarii; encomium writer, 750 denarii; poet, 750 denarii; pythic flautist, 1,000 denarii, second prize, 350 denarii; flautist 1,000 denarii, second prize, 350 denarii; boy harp-singer, 750 denarii, second prize, 250 denarii; [? ...]

Column ii

Choral flautist, 1,500 denarii, second prize, 500 denarii; tragic chorus, 500 denarii; choral harp-player, 1,500 denarii, second prize, 500 denarii; comedian, 1,500 denarii, second prize, 500 denarii, third prize, 300 denarii; tragedian 2,500 denarii, second prize, 800 denarii, third prize, 400 denarii; [? ...]

Column iii

General contest for comedians, 200 denarii; general contest for tragedians, 210 denarii; new comedy, 500 denarii; ancient comedy, 350 denarii, second prize, 150 denarii; new tragedy, 750 denarii; pyrrhic dance, 1,000 denarii, second prize, 350 denarii; adult harp-singer, [? denarii], second prize [? denarii] ...

On the description of the contest (ll.1–1) see below, iv.

In iii. 3–4, the sense of κοινῇ (sc. κρίσει) is not certain, but most probably means a general contest for the victors in each category of comedy or tragedy (Moretti, *IAG*, 218);

this explains why the prizes are not particularly large, since, as in the general contest of victors, διὰ πάντων, the prize would be in addition to prizes already won.

The prize-lists give a good idea of the regular structure, and the standard events of musical and gymnastic contests in the Roman imperial period; musical contests have recently been examined by Michael Wörle, with extensive use of these texts (*Stadt und Fest*, ch. 8). As a whole, this dossier, and in particular the second letter (51), indicates the large number of contests being celebrated at Aphrodisias in the late second century. So many separate sums might have been difficult to administer even for a far more efficient administration than was normally found in an ancient city; it is perhaps not surprising that some help was needed from the imperial government to protect the substantial sums involved, as well as to establish the financial arrangements for so many different contests, and their timing.

Those definitely mentioned are as follows (iv-ix). I have used the titles in the form which we know to have been current (thus, Lysimachea for the contest of Lysimachus is attested in 54) but the letters nowhere use these forms.

iv. LYSIMACHEA

These are the only subject of 50; the funds left for their financing had only just reached a sufficient amount to provide the necessary prizes, and the contest could now be held. Part of the schedule of prizes is set out in 53. The contest is described as being held 'for prizes amounting to a talent' (50.20), and as 'in the talent category' (53.1); but it is not clear exactly what this means, since, while there was enough money available for six prizes of one talent (6,000 denarii), none of the prizes listed comes to a talent (so Reynolds, *A&R*, 188, Wörle, *Stadt und Fest*, 237 n.50).

In 50.22 the contest is described as occurring after a 'four-year period', which, by the inclusive reckoning normally used by the Greeks, would mean a period of three years; but in the title to 53 they are described as 'five-yearly', which would normally mean that they took place every four years. Liermann, therefore, suggested that the two terms came to mean the same thing — a four-year cycle, (the most common cycle for contests) described either inclusively or exclusively; he claimed that this was a common usage at this period, but cited no other examples (*Analecta*, 129, n.19). It may be, however, that the two terms are so used at different points in the cycle; that is, that in 50 the forthcoming period, which has not yet commenced, is described as a period of four years, while a description of the frequency of the contest uses the standard inclusive term for a contest which took place every four years.

Waddington suggested, very convincingly, that the first celebration of the Lysimachea was described in 51.1–3, where the *curator* nominated the first *agonothete*, Flavius Eu[- (see above, on 51). If so, it was apparently to be held in the year before the Callicrateia; as has been suggested above, the first celebration very probably took place in 181. The Callicrateia were tied to the celebration of the Roman Capitolia, which were certainly held every fourth year (i.e. had a five-year cycle).

The following text refers to a subsequent celebration of the Lysimachea.

54. M. FLAVIUS ANTONIUS LYSIMACHUS, CONTEST-ORGANIZER

Copied by Sherard in 1705 and 1716, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2785, from which Liermann, *Analecta* 20b; copied by Deering; copied but not published by Kubitschek and Reichel; found by the

French expedition of 1904, whence referred to by Reinach, no. 64. Found by the current expedition on the stretch of the city walls just north of the east gate.

The upper part of a simple base, without moulding (H. 0.43, W. 0.49, D. 0.42). Any opening formula must have stood on a crowning feature. Letters standard forms, 0.03. Ligatures: HN, 1.3. The last four lines were read by Sherard and Deering only; letters seen by them but not by us are underlined.

Plate XVIII

[? ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν]
 Μ(ᾱρκον) Φλ(ᾱβιον) Ἀντώνιον
 Λυσίμαχον σο-
 φιστὴν ἀρχιερέα
 5 γυμνασίαρχον
 στεφανηφόρον
 νεοποιὸν ἀγωνο-
 θέτην δι' αἰῶνος
 Λυσιμαχίων v.
 10 vac. ἀγώνων vac
vac.
ἀγωνοθεσίας
Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου
vac. Ἐπινείκου vac.

1.2: Initial letter H, Sherard; M. added in pencil to Deering's copy; now largely lost.

1.12: KOY Sherard, 1705; ΝΑΠΟΥ Sherard, 1716; ΜΑΡΧΟΥ Deering.

[?The Council and People honoured] Marcus Flavius Antonius Lysimachus, sophist, high-priest, *gymnasiarch*, *stephanephorus*, *neopoios*, contest-president in perpetuity of the Lysimachean contests. During the contest-presidency of Marcus Antonius Epineicus.

This text is obviously later than the establishment of the contest, but not more precisely dateable. M. Fl. Antonius Lysimachus must have been closely connected with Flavius Lysimachus, the founder of the Lysimachea (50 and 53); he is also honoured in a fragmentary text (Reinach 77). The fact that Antonius Lysimachus is named as 'contest-president in perpetuity' (1.7) while the inscription also refers to a current contest-presidency (11.10–12) implies that he had given money for a foundation to provide perpetual funding for the contest-presidency (see L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* (Paris, 1966), 83–5). Epineicus (a name not otherwise attested at Aphrodisias) was presumably carrying out the practical duties (compare below, 77).

76 (below) is the inscription of a victor in a contest for sculptors at the first celebration of the Lysimachea Tatianeia; this would appear to be the Lysimachea, perhaps renamed in recognition of a further endowment by a Tatianus. The victorious sculptor had produced a statue representing the 'first four-year cycle' of the newly endowed contest. This emphasis on the length of the cycle suggests strongly that the new endowment had been used, among other things, to increase the frequency of the contest to take place every three years.

V. CALLICRATEIA

We know of these only from the second letter above (51.4–8); the reference to one synod only as concerned with these contests (1.9) may suggest that they were only musical, without a gymnastic element. They are to be celebrated in March of the year after

the preceding contest, being the same year as the Capitolia in Rome; the Capitolia will have been celebrated in A.D. 182 and 186 (see above, on 51, where we have argued that the Callicrateia were therefore probably celebrated in March 182). These were to be celebrated as on behalf of the emperor, as was standard practice (ll.9–11); see Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* 46, on 9.4. Callicrates is a fairly common name at Aphrodisias, although Diotimos is not, but this man cannot be identified. This could be one of the anonymous contests in 52.

vi. ADRASTEIA

The contest of Claudius Adrastus (51.11–15), apparently for tragedians only, sounds as if it was already well established by the end of the second century; the insistence that it should be celebrated in full suggests that there had perhaps been some problems. The contest is to be held in the ninth month (roughly June); it is not clear whether this is to be in the same year as the Callicrateia, or the following one. Adrastus is one of the more frequently found names at Aphrodisias, and this man cannot be securely identified.

vii. CITY CONTEST

This contest, mentioned in 51.15–16, also sounds as if it was already established; the implication of its title may be that the money came from civic funds, and perhaps that it was intended only for local competitors. If so, it may well be that this is the contest referred to as ‘the gymnastic contest of the citizen boys’, in 52.I, Col.ii, 6–8. That mention is immediately followed by a list of prizes for men’s events: these may perhaps be prizes for an event also restricted to citizens (cf. Liermann, *Analecta* 176).

viii. THE CONTEST OF HOSIDIUS IULIANUS

The contest of Hosidius Iulianus (51.19–11) is also mentioned in another inscription:

55. HONOURS FOR HOSIDIUS IULIANUS

Second century

The following two texts, a and b, are among several which were inscribed on the blocks which make up the cornice, of the Doric order, above the inscription of Zoilos, across the back of the Theatre stage. The blocks have simple moulding above, supporting water spouts in the form of lions’ heads; the underside has a decoration of mutules. The texts are written in either two or three lines; they are similar in style, but not identical. They are now restored in the Theatre.

The lettering of these two texts is similar, second-century forms, 0.025–0.03; dot for stop; diairetic dots on either side of some vowels. Ligatures: NN, a.2; HN, HM, b.1; MHN, b.3.

- a. Now in place on the tenth and eleventh blocks from the north.

Plate xvii

1 Ἡ γερουσία ἐκ τῶν ιδίων Γάιον Ὅσιδιον Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναθέντα τῇ πατρίδι ἀγῶνα εἰμιταλαντιαῖον σῶρ καὶ τῇ θεῷ ἀναθήματα,

2 ἐπιμεληθέ[ν]τος Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδ[ώρ]ου | [το]ῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδ[ώρ]ου | [τ]οῦ Κικίννα γραμματέω[ς τ]ὸ β' leaf

b. Now on the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth blocks from the north; all three blocks are damaged.

1 Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Γ[άιον] | Ὀσίδιο[ν Ἰουλι]ανὸν φιλόπατριν καὶ εὐεργέτην ἀναθέντα χρήματα εἰς ἀγών[ας -ε]-

2 τηρικοὺς καὶ τῇ [θ]ε[ᾶ] Ἀφροδίτῃ κατ[αλιπ]λόν[τα ἀρ]γύρεα χρυσένπαιστα δηλούμενα διὰ τῆς διαθηκῆς αὐτοῦ stop τὸ δὲ [εἰς τὴν ? τεί]-

3 μὴν τοῦ ΑΝΛΟ[- . .] Ὀ[. .] ΕΓΗΓ[. . c. 12 ? -] ὧν προσόδων ἐργεπισ[τα]τήσαντος Ἀνδρο[ν]εικοῦ τοῦ Παρδαλά τ[οῦ ? Παπίου]

b.2: ΘMKH lapis.

b.3: ἀναθ[ή]ματος ? or perhaps ἀνδρ[ιάντος].

a. The *Gerosia*, from their own funds, (honoured) Gaius Hosidius Iulianus, who dedicated for his fatherland a contest in the half-talent category, and dedications for the goddess; the overseer was Menander son of Artemidorus son of Menander son of Artemidorus son of Kikinnas, secretary for the second time.

b. The Council and the People (honoured) Gaius Hosidius Iulianus, a lover of his country and a benefactor, who dedicated money for contests [on a ?-year] cycle and to the goddess Aphrodite bequeathed (offerings) of silver inlaid with gold as set out in his will. The [?money] for the price of the [?offering?he gave from . . .] income; the work was overseen by Andronicus son of Pardalas son of [?Papias].

Three different civic bodies chose to honour Hosidus Iulianus for his benefactions; it is not clear why they did so in two separate dedications. The fact that the first text (a) was erected by the *gerousia* alone, rather than, as often, in concert with the civic authorities suggests that Hosidius Iulianus was a member of the *gerousia*; the second text (b) was certainly posthumous, and the first may well have been. The *epimelete* of a and his family have names which are very common in the élite of Aphrodisias, but he cannot be precisely identified; the *epimelete* of b also oversaw the erection of a statue in honour of his own son (MAMA VIII.490).

Hosidius Iulianus has a *nomen* otherwise unattested at Aphrodisias. He set up a contest described as 'in the category of half a talent' (a.1); that is, exactly half the value of the contest established by Lysimachus (for the problems over the precise meaning see above, p. 174). The second text refers to plural 'contests', but this may simply indicate that the contest which he endowed was a regular series, not a single celebration. The text went on to specify the frequency of the contests, but unfortunately that part of the stone is lost; the space at the end of b.1 would accommodate πεντε]- or τετραε]- or ἀμφιε]- equally well, but is perhaps too long for τριε]-. The restoration of the third line of b is very uncertain; money was available for 'the cost (τείμη) of the dedication' (reading ἀναθ[ή]ματος) or perhaps 'of the statue' (ἀνδρ[ιάντος]).

ix. PHILEMONIEA

If we accept Waddington's restoration of the name Philem]on son of Tatianus in the second curatorial letter (51.22), here again the money bequeathed had only recently accumulated, in the late second century, to provide enough capital for the first celebration

of the contest (51.22–5). The other evidence for this contest is provided by the series of inscriptions honouring victors (below, 79–86); in the earliest of those, dated to the third celebration of the contest (79), there is a reference to a prize being awarded in accordance with the order of Ulpus Eurycles. This must make it very likely indeed that Eurycles was the author of both the letters above, and suggests that the first celebration of the contest took place during, or perhaps more probably just after his curatorship — so probably in the early 180s, perhaps 183 or 184. Philemon is not a common name at Aphrodisias, and no Philemon descended from a Tatianus has been identified.

All the inscriptions honour local boy athletes; they cover a long period, from the third celebration of the Philemonian contest (79, 80) to the twentieth (86). Monuments also survive from the fifth celebration (81) the ninth (82), and the fifteenth (83, 84), as well as one with no precise date (85). The contest is described as having a four-year cycle, which, by the standard method of computation, would mean that it took place every three years. This is less common than a five-year cycle, but it could be that a contest intended, as this one may have been, only for boys, would need to take place more frequently than others, to give all boys a chance to compete while they fell in the appropriate age category. If, therefore, the first celebration was held in about 184 we have inscriptions from 190 (the third, with a mention of Eurycles); 196 (the fifth); 208 (the ninth); 226 (the fifteenth, with a mention of Charidemus, whose grandfather, Zelus, was active in the 160s); and 241 (the twentieth). This timing seems to fit the prosopography, in particular in the case of the twentieth celebration (see below, on 86). It seems probable that the contest was one intended in particular for local boys; alternatively, there may have been a particular fund in the endowment to ensure that this category of victors was honoured with statues: for provision for statues, see 52.III.24, IV.10.

In 85 the victor is said to have been ‘crowned’, but we know that there were also money prizes for the events (79).

X. CONTEST OF THOSE FROM THE SYNOD

The implication of 52.I.1–1 is that one of the contests for which the prizes were listed had prizes provided by ‘those from the synod’. This is not the only reference to a contest apparently financed from the funds of a performers’ organization (Poland, ‘Technitai’, 2540–6, esp. 2543). An athlete honoured in Miletus in c. 20 B.C. had been victorious in ‘the contest established by the international sacred victors and crowned victors’, τὸν τιθέμενον ἀγῶνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερωνικῶν καὶ σ[τεφανιτῶν] (first published in full by Robert, *Hell.* VIII, 117–25, whence Moretti, *IAG* 59). Two victors’ inscriptions refer to Ὀλύμπια τῆς συνόδου, ‘Olympic contest of the synod’: in one case this is located at Smyrna (most recently published as *I.Eph.* 1615; cf. also *I.Eph.* 902 and 1618), in the other no location is given (*Fouilles de Delphes* III.1, 549, with Robert, ‘Études d’épigraphie grecque’, 57–8, = *OMS* II, 1157–8). A victor at the Aphrodisian contest is apparently commemorated in 66; the wording there suggests that this was, as at Miletus, the synod of sacred victors, rather than of all performers (see above, pp. 53–4).

This dossier, therefore, gives us a wide range of information of the contests established at Aphrodisias by the end of the second century. There is only evidence for one contest with ‘sacred’ status by this date, the Aphrodeisia (ii); in all the other cases, the

winners were rewarded with prizes, and the endowments had been set up to provide those prizes, and to meet some of the extra incidental expenses (for which see 52.III, Col.iii, 18–14; IV, Col.iii, 5–10). It is of course only because the funds for such contests needed inspection, and because the curatorial correspondence survives, that we know of some of them; there is no way of knowing how long the funds continued to be properly administered, so as to provide for all these festivals.

The number of contests at Aphrodisias was however to grow, and their status to be enhanced, in the third century.

xi. THE APHRODEISIEA ADONEA

The only evidence for this contest is the inscription honouring a victorious wrestler, published below as 77; that text appears to be dateable after the early 220s, perhaps more probably in the 230s. The name of the contest can also plausibly be restored in the list of victories of a pancratiast, 71.D.

The Adonea are not otherwise attested; but it may be of considerable relevance that an image which can be interpreted as that of Adonis appears on coins of Aphrodisias (*BMC Caria* 144; E. Babelon, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington* (Paris, 1908), 2223). W. Drexler (*Zeit. für Num.* 19 (1895), 129) associated this with the image of the three-branched tree, also found on the coins of Aphrodisias in the reign of Valerian (Babelon, *Collection Waddington*, 2226; Milne, 4; F. Imhoof-Blümer, *Griechischen Münzen* (München, 1890), 422). Both a possible Adonis and the three-branched tree are represented in the frieze, probably of the third century, found in the 'Basilica' at Aphrodisias (on which see K. T. Erism, *AJA* 82 (1978), 324–5; idem, *Aphrodisias*, 100–1; L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 332–4, 409).

xii. THE ATTALEA GORDIANEA CAPETOLIA

56. HONOURS FOR ?, CONTEST-PRESIDENT FOR LIFE OF THE GORDIANEA ATTALEA After 238

Copied by Sherard in the northern stretch of the city wall in 1705, and published from his copy by Boeckh, *CIG* 2801, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 29. Copied by us from Sherard's notebook, BM Add. 10101, f. 28.

Ligatures: NH, 1.6.

	[-
	[?συγκλητι]-
	κόν, [υῖόν]
	ὑπατικοῦ
	τὸν ἀγωνο-
5	θέτην διὰ βίου
	τῶν μεγάλων
	Γορδιανῶν
	Ἀτταλῶν
	[τῆς] λαμπρο-
10	[τάτ]ης Ἀφροδε[ι]-
	[σιέ]ων πόλεως

- [?τετ]ελευτη[κ]ό-
 τα ἐπὶ τῆς β[ασ]-
 ειλίδος Ῥώμη[ς]
 15 διακομίσας
 τὸ πτωμάτι-
 ον αὐτοῦ κα-
 τέθετο τὸν
 φίλον Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος)
 20 Εὐτυχιανὸς [?καὶ]
 τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ leaf

1.9: ... Λ S.

1.10: ... IEA S.; ... ΙΣ, Boeckh, from Picenini. At end, S. indicated nothing after E.

1.11: ... ΩΝ S.; at end, S. indicated nothing after Σ.

1.12: ΕΛΕΥΤΙ... Α . ΟΙ... S.; for O Picenini had Π.

1.13: ΓΑΕΠΙΤΗΣΒ... S.

1.17: ΚΑ . S.

1.18: Γ . ΕΘ S.

... ? senator, son] of a consular, the contest-president in perpetuity of the great Gordianeia Attalea of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians, who died in imperial Rome; having brought back his remains and buried his friend, Tiberius Claudius Eutychianus also (put up) his image.

The expressions are not usual, so that restoration is particularly difficult; and the situation itself is an unusual one. Eutychianus, whose name is not otherwise attested at Aphrodisias, brought back from Rome the remains of his friend and buried them; for parallels see *BullÉp* 1978.491. πτωμάτιον, the diminutive of πτώμα, 'corpse', is attested only here, where it must in fact refer to the dead man's ashes; κατατίθεμαι, 'bury', is not otherwise attested in this sense at Aphrodisias.

The dead man was the son, or the relation, of a consular, and was himself probably a senator, even a consular. His position as 'contest-president in perpetuity' of the Attalea suggests that he was very probably either related to the family who had endowed the contest, or even the original donor (see above, on 54). Attalus is an extremely common name in the élite of Aphrodisias. G. Ziebarth (*Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen*² (Leipzig/Berne, 1914), 48–9; followed by Reinach, and Moretti, *IAG* 267) first suggested that the Attalus who endowed the Attalea should be identified with the Attalus Adrastus whose benefactions are known from several inscriptions: in particular, those most recently published as *MAMA* viii.413, and Reinach, 142, and also an unpublished text on the same cornice as 55 above. None of the texts recording his benefactions, however, specifies money bequeathed for contests. In my view, this contest, which is not mentioned until after the accession of Gordian, in 238, need not have been established before that date. The founder might be any one from the three generations of Claudii Attali, all senators, who are attested at Aphrodisias from the mid-second century (see the information presented by H. Halfmann, from material collected by J. M. Reynolds, in *Epigrafiā e ordine senatorio, Tituli* 5 (Rome, 1985), ii, 633–4).

The Gordianeia Attalea are also attested on coin issues of the city, some undated (L. Forrer, *The Weber Collection* (London, 1922–9), 6398, 6399; *SNG Copenhagen* 104, 114; F. Imhoof-Blümer, *Griechischen Münzen* (München, 1890), 421; *BMC Caria* 78 (with a

reverse, ΔΗΜΟC ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC); *BMC Caria* 75, 76; W. M. Leake, *Numismatica Hellenica* (London, 1856), 21; Mionnet, 127, 129, 130; on this coinage see also T. Drew-Bear, *REA* 82 (1980), 164–7, and some dated under Gordian (*SNG Copenhagen* 125; *BMC Caria* 128; *SNG von Aulock* 2463, 2464) and under Philip (Macdonald, *Coins from Aphrodisias*, 241). They also appear, on coins under Gordian, with the further title, Capetolia (*BMC Caria* 129; Mionnet, 128, 152). While there is no indication on these coins of the status of the contest, it is clear that it was modelled on the Capitolia of Rome (for which see above, p. 168), and it must therefore have had a similar sacred status; for other contests modelled on the Capitolia see L. Robert, 'Études d'épigraphie grecque', 53 (= *OMS* II, 1153), n.3; the dateable examples there are all third-century foundations. In an inscription most recently published by Moretti, *IAG* 90, which can be dated between 253 and 257, a herald, Valerius Eclectus, listed all his victories in 'sacred and ecumenic' contests; the very last entry, which does not conform to the geographical order of the rest of the inscription, is at the Ἀττάληα Καπετώλια ἐν Ἀφροδεισιάδι. In the reign of Valerian one coin of the city indicates a table with two agonistic wreaths, each presumably representing a contest; the one on the left is inscribed ΓΟ]ΡΔΙΑΝΗΑ, '[Go]rdianeia' (G. MacDonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1899–1905), 5, *SNG von Aulock* 8066, cf. Mionnet, 157). In the abundant coinage issued by the city under Gallienus, between 253 and 260, the theme of a table and two wreaths reappears several times. The table is sometimes inscribed ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟC, 'ecumenic, international' which presumably describes the status of both of the two contests. The wreath on the left is inscribed ΓΟΡΔΙΑ[ΝΗΑ], 'Gordianeia' (*BMC Caria* 146), or ΚΑΠΕΤΩΛΙΑ, 'Capetolia' (Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, 6412, F. Imhoof-Blümer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna, 1901–2), 115.15 (and *SNG Copenhagen* 105), *BMC Caria* 148, 149, 150, 151; cf. undateable, F. Imhoof-Blümer, *Monnaies grecques* (Paris, 1883), 20), or ΑΤΤΑΛΕΑ 'Attalea' (Mionnet, 159); for the wreath on the right see below on the Valeriana Pythia (xiii).

There is one other fragmentary reference to this contest.

57. ?SCHEDULE FOR THE ΑΤΤΑΛΕΑ

?Third century

A stray find in 1970; now in the Museum, excavation inventory no. 70.215.

Fragment of what seems to be the front of a sarcophagus (H. 0.485, W. 0.41, D. 0.20) with back and lower edge surviving; ll.9–12 are inscribed on a simple moulding. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.022; apex on Y, l.12.

Plate XVIII

- [-
- ἀγῶ]νας οὐς[-
- οἴκου]μενικο[-
-]Η περὶ τοῦ [-
-]stop Μάρκος Ἀΐ[λιος ? [-
- 5 -]ΤΟΣ Αὐρηλίῳ [-
- τῆς λαμπροτάτ]ης Ἀφροδεισι[έων πόλεως -
- πλ]ῆθος τῶν τειμῶν -
- ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν αὐτ]οκρατόρων εἰς αἰῶνα διαμονῆς-
-]ΩΝΔΕΤΙ καὶ τῇ ΤΕ[-

10 - τὸν Ἀτ]τάληον ἀγῶν[α -
 - οἰκουμενικὸ]ν καὶ εἰσελαστ[ικὸν -
 - θ]έματα τὰ ὑπο[γεγραμμένα -

-] ? contests which [- - -] world-wide [- - ?magistrates] led by [- - -] Marcus Ae[lius - - -] to Aurelius [- - ?the most splendid city of] the Aphrodisians [- - the] quantity of the honours [- - on behalf of the eternal preservation] of the emperors [- - the At]talean contest [- ? world wide] and conferring right of triumphal entry [- -] prizes those [?written] below [-

The fragment looks extremely like part of a sarcophagus front; but the text appears to describe the establishment of a contest with world-wide and 'iselastic' status — that is, conferring on victors the right to drive in triumph into their home cities (above, p. 3). The last line refers apparently to a list of prizes inscribed 'below', perhaps on the platform on which the sarcophagus stood. It seems very likely, therefore, that this fragment comes from the text of a will, in which a contest was set up and the prizes listed, as described in the curatorial letter (51.6); that will was then inscribed on the funeral monument of the benefactor.

xiii. THE VALERIANA PYTHIA

As was mentioned above, coins of Aphrodisias from the reigns of Valerian and of Gallienus show a recurrent reverse type of a table, sometimes inscribed 'oecumenic', supporting two wreaths — each, presumably, indicating a contest of international status. The wreath on the left bears one of the titles of the Gordianea Attalea Capetolia; that on the right, on coins dated under Valerian, bears the legend OYAAEPIANA, 'Valeriana': MacDonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, 5, SNG von Aulock 8066. On coins of the same design dated under Gallienus it is inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ, 'Pythia': Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, 6412, SNG von Aulock 2470, SNG Copenhagen 105 and Imhoof-Blümer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, 115.14 (dateable by the magistrate), and 115.15, *BMC Caria* 146, 148, 149, Mionnet 159; cf. Imhoof-Blümer, *Monnaies grecques*, 20. I take these titles to refer to one and the same contest, the Pythia, which was, at least under Valerian, also styled Valeriana.

The adoption of Pythian contests — that is, contests modelled on the Pythia at Delphi — was particularly common in the mid-third century; see BullÉp 1972.612 and L. Robert, 'Les inscriptions', in J. des Gagniers *et al.*, *Laodicée du Lycos: la Nymphée, Campagnes 1961–3* (Quebec/Paris, 1969), 291, n.2. It is perhaps also significant that Apollo appears for the first time on the coinage of Aphrodisias in the reign of Gordian (Mionnet 154); I am very grateful to Professor David MacDonald for confirming this reference. Apollo is also featured on the sculpture that decorated the 'Basilica' (cf. above, p. 179), which can be seen as associated with Aphrodisian pretensions as capital of the new province of Caria and Phrygia; it is possible that this contest should be associated with the new status of the city (see further below, p. 187).

CELEBRATION OF THE GRANT OF A SACRED CONTEST

58 – 64

What is clear, however, is that in the 240s and 250s the contests in Aphrodisias, as elsewhere, were increasing both in number and in status; cf. Robert, 'Monnaies hellénistiques', 10–13, esp. 12 (= *OMS* vi, 172–5). The process by which the status of a

contest could be enhanced is illustrated in the following group of texts, which record the celebration, by various neighbouring cities, of a grant to Aphrodisias, in the mid-third century, of a contest of 'sacred' status. It seems uneconomic to take these as evidence for the existence of yet another contest; instead, they should probably be associated with either xii, the Attalea, or xiii, the Valeriana Pythia.

All the texts were found in the same stretch of the west wall, south of the west gate; 59–64 were copied there by Sherard in 1716, and 58, 59, and 63 found there by the current expedition.

58. HONOURS FOR THE PEOPLE OF KERETAPA

Copied by Kubitschek and Reichel, and published by them, no.12; found by the French expedition of 1904, and published from a squeeze by Reinach, 32, whence L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (Paris, 1962), 107; found by the MAMA expedition, whence published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* viii.512; found by the current expedition in 1975 on the stretch of the west wall south of the west gate, near 59 and 63. Now in the Museum.

Fragment of a base without moulding, (H. 0.94, W. 0.30, D. 0.45) with upper edge surviving, cut down at both sides ?for re-use. Letters standard second-/third-century forms; ll.1–9, 0.03; ll.10–13, 0.022; ligatures: ΔH, l.1.

Illustrated in *MAMA* viii, pl. 31

	[ὁ] δῆμος [τῆς λαμ]-
	[π]ροτάτη[ς Ἀφρο]-
	δεισιέω[ν πόλε]-
	ως τὸν λ[αμπρό]-
5	τατον δ[ῆμον]
	[Κ]ερετα[πέων]
	[σ]υνθύσαν[τα ἐπὶ]
	[τῇ] δεδομ[ένη τοῦ ἱε]-
	[ρ]οῦ ἀγών[ος δωρεᾶ]
	vacat
10	[προ]νοησαμέ[νου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)]
	[Παπ]ίου τοῦ Π[απίου δ' τοῦ]
	[Διογ]ένους τοῦ πρῶτο]-
	[λόγο]υ ἄρχον[τος τὸ β']
	vacat

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid People of the Keretapeans, who joined in the sacrifice for the giving of the grant of the sacred contest. Under the supervision of Marcus Aurelius Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Diogenes, first Archon for the second time.

This text has been restored on the basis of the companion pieces, 59–60. For Keretapa in Phrygia, near Chonae, see Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, 105–21.

59. HONOURS FOR THE PEOPLE OF HIERAPOLIS

Copied by Sherard in 1716, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2763, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 33. Two fragments were copied by Kubitschek and Reichel; one of these, from the left side of ll.5–9, was found by the French expedition of 1904, whence published, from a squeeze, by Reinach, 194, and recognized by J. M. R. Cormack, *Notes on the Inscribed Monuments of Aphrodisias* (Reading, 1955), 9. That fragment has not been found again, but the larger fragment found by Kubitschek and Reichel

and another small fragment were found by the current expedition in 1975 on the west wall near 58 and 63. Now in the Museum.

Fragments from a base without moulding; letters standard second-/third-century forms; ll.1–10, 0.03, ll.11–14, 0.025. Ligatures: TH, l.1; NH l.8. The letters read by Sherard but not by us have been underlined.

5 ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμ-
 προτάτης Ἀφρο-
 δεισιέων πόλε-
 ως τὸν λαμπρό-
 τατον δῆμον
 Ἱεραπολειτῶν
 συνθύσαντα ἐπὶ
 τῇ δεδομένη τοῦ
 10 ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος δω-
 vac. ρεᾱ vac.
 προνοησαμένου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)
 Παπίου τοῦ Παπίου δ' τοῦ
 Διογένης τοῦ πρωτο-
 λόγου ἄρχοντος τὸ β'
 vacat

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid People of the Hierapolitans, who joined in the sacrifice for the giving of the grant of the sacred contest. Under the supervision of Marcus Aurelius Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Diogenes, first Archon for the second time.

Hierapolis is Phrygian Hierapolis, north of Laodicea. Inscriptions on columns in the fourth-century Tetrastoon at Aphrodisias, probably re-used from an earlier structure, reserve 'places' for the people of Hierapolis, perhaps for a public meeting of some kind (ALA 196–7.)

60. HONOURS FOR THE PEOPLE OF KIBYRA

Copied by Sherard in 1716, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2764, whence Texier, *Description*, 156 no.3, Liermann, *Analecta* 34; not found again. Copied by us from BM Add. 10101, 128.

5 ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμ-
 προτάτης Ἀφρο-
 δεισιέων πόλε-
 ως τὸν λαμπρό-
 τατον δῆμον
 vac. Κιβυρατῶν vac.
 συνθύσαντα ἐπὶ
 τῇ δεδομένη τοῦ
 10 ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος δω-
 vac. ρεᾱ vac.
 προνοησαμένου Μ(άρκου) Α[ὐ]ρ(ηλίου)
 Παπίου τοῦ Παπίου δ' τοῦ
 Διογένης τοῦ πρωτο-
 λόγου ἄρχοντος τὸ β'
 vacat

1.7: ΣΗΝΤΑ S.

1.11: ΜΑΡ S.

1.13: ΠΡΟΣ S.

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid People of the Kibyrates, who joined in the sacrifice for the giving of the grant of the sacred contest. Under the supervision of Marcus Aurelius Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Diogenes, first Archon for the second time.

Kibyra is the most remote of the cities cited here; it lies at the southernmost edge of the Roman province of Asia, but was linked culturally with the cities of Caria to the north; see L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, 73–5.

The following three cities (61–3) are all adjacent to one another, due south of Aphrodisias.

61. HONOURS FOR THE PEOPLE OF APOLLONIA SALBAKE

Copied by Sherard in 1716, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2761, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 31, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 232, no.147; not found again. Copied by us from BM Add. 10101, 127v.

	ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμ-
	προτάτης Ἀφρο-
	δεισιέων πόλε-
	ως τὸν λαμπρό-
5	τατον δῆμον
	Ἀπολλωνιατῶν
	τῶν ἀπὸ Σαλβά-
	κης συνθύσαν-
	τα ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομέ-
10	νῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγῶ-
	νος δωρεᾶ vac.
	vacat
	προνοησαμένου
	Μ(άρκου) Ἀντ(ωνίου) Νε[ι]κομάχου
	Βλάστου, πρωτολόγου
15	ἄρχοντος τὸ γ'
	vacat

1.11: ΔΡΟΣ S.

1.13: ΝΕΧΟΣ S.

1.14: ΠΡΟΣ S.

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid People of the Apollonians from Salbake, who joined in the sacrifice for the giving of the grant of the sacred contest. Under the supervision of Marcus Antonius Neicomachus Blastus, first Archon for the third time.

Apollonia Salbake lies due south of Heraclea (for which see 62), further up the Salbake river; see L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, ch. 4.

62. HONOURS FOR THE PEOPLE OF HERACLEA SALBAKE

Copied by Sherard in 1716, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2762, whence ? Texier, *Description*,

156 no.2, Liermann, *Analecta* 32, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 202, no.131; not found again. Copied by us from BM Add. 10101, 127v.

[ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμ-
 προτάτης Ἀφρο]-
 δεισιέων πόλε-
 ως τὸν λαμπρό-
 5 τατον δῆμον
 Ἡρακλεωτῶν
 συνθύσαντα
 ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομέ-
 10 νος δωρεᾷ· προ-
 νοησαμένου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντ(ωνίου) Νε[ι]κομά-
 χου Βλάστου πρω-
 τολόγου ἄρχον-
 τος τὸ γ'

Sherard's copy shows the first two lines of the text as missing; at some time in the transmission of his text the easy restoration was made, and was printed by Boeckh as if it had been read.

1.4: ΛΗΩΤ S

1.8: ΔΟΡ S.

1.10: ΠΡΟ S.

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid People of the Heracleotes, who joined in the sacrifice for the giving of the grant of the sacred contest. Under the supervision of Marcus Aurelius Antonius Neicomachus Blastus, first Archon for the third time.

Heraclea on the Salbake river is the immediate southern neighbour of Aphrodisias; see L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, ch. 3.

63. HONOURS FOR THE PEOPLE OF TABAE

Copied (Il.1-5) by Sherard in 1716, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2765, whence Texier, *Description*, 156 no.1, Liermann, *Analecta* 35, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 115, no.23; found again by the current expedition in 1975 on the west wall, with 58 and 59. Now in the Museum, excavation inventory no. 75.142.

Upper part of a panel with moulded edges (H. 0.40, W. 0.51, D. 0.20), perhaps cut down from a deeper base; inscribed on the face. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.03. Ligature: TH, 1.1.

Plate xviii

ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμ-
 προτάτης Ἀφρο-
 δεισιέων πόλε-
 ως τὸν λαμπρό-
 5 τατον δῆμον
 Ταβηνῶν συν-
 θύσαντα ἐπὶ τῇ
 [δεδομένη τοῦ ἱε]-

[ροῦ ἀγῶνος δωρεᾶ vac.]

vacat

[προνοησαμένου -

[-

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid People of the Tabenai, who joined in the sacrifice for the [giving of the grant of the sacred contest. Under the supervision of ? -

Tabae lies immediately south-west of Apollonia Salbake; see L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, ch. 2.

64. HONOURS FOR THE PEOPLE OF ?

Copied and published by Fellows, no.62, whence *CIG* 2765b. Not found again. It is not quite certain that this text is not simply a bad copy of one of those above; but Fellows claimed that the text, from l.5, had been 'purposely erased', in which case this copy does represent another text.

ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμ-
 προτάτης Ἀφρο-
 δεισιέων πόλε-
 ως τὸν λαμπρό-
 5 τατ[ον δῆμον]
 [...

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid [People of the ...

These two groups of texts, although closely similar, are dated under two different first archons — M. Aurelius Papias (58–60) and M. Antonius Neicomachus Blastus (61–62) — and must therefore have been put up on two separate occasions. The father of M. Aurelius Papias was one of the magistrates responsible for putting up a statue of Caracalla, dateable to 198–210 (*MAMA* viii.451). There are several Antonii Nicomachi attested at Aphrodisias in the mid-third century. For two of them see *ALA* 4 and 5, dated between 253 and 260; a third, who could be identified with this man, was responsible for honours to a *frumentarius*, *MAMA* viii.512, republished *JRS* 71 (1981), 113 no.7. This particular man, as first archon, was also responsible for putting up a statue of the People of Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2760), and one of an otherwise unattested benefactor (*CIG* 2799).

The occasion of these dedications was the concelebration in the mid-third century by several cities in the area of a sacrifice 'for' or 'at' the grant of a sacred contest. This kind of concelebration is attested elsewhere; the city of Ephesus honoured with statues those cities which sent representatives to the celebration of the city's third grant of a neocorate, in 211, and delegates from other cities came to Carthage to share in the celebrations for the establishment of a new contest, the Pythia (see L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978), 469 (= *Documents*, 165); idem, 'Une vision de Perpetué', 233).

By contrast, it is noticeable that the cities who shared the celebrations at Aphrodisias were all in the immediate vicinity. Despite the magniloquence of the inscriptions, this does not seem to have been an occasion of much importance outside Caria and Phrygia. This may suggest that the contest should be associated with the creation of the joint province, very probably with Aphrodisias as its capital, in the mid-third century (*ALA*, p. 3).

xiv. OTHER PERFORMANCES

There is at least one reference to 'recitals' or 'shows' at Aphrodisias in the Roman period, in *MAMA* viii.492b (see above, p. 2); and, as has been said above, performances by mimes will, at least until the third century, have fallen only in this category. It is therefore clear that the Theatre, and probably the Odeon, will often have been used for such supplementary activities, as well as for contests.

xv. THE MAIOUMA

From the late Roman period, two inscriptions survive which describe governors as 'contest-presidents', but without specifying the contest. One of these governors, however, is also described as a *Maioumarch*, a hitherto unattested term.

65. HONOURS FOR DULCITIUS, GOVERNOR OF CARIA

?Mid- to late fifth century

Excavated in 1980, and published as *ALA* 40.

Cut on the west face of the monumental 'Agora Gate' at the east end of the 'Portico of Tiberius'. The area is still being investigated, and the function of this structure is not yet clear; but it was remodelled in late antiquity, probably in the mid- or late fifth century, when a catch-basin was constructed in front of it. It is perhaps this work which is described in three epigrams, of which this is one; the others praised Dulcitius again (*ALA* 39, which is largely lost) and a local official, Ampelius, father of the city (*ALA* 38), who is said to have restored a structure associated with water and with a palm grove. Excavations since 1988 have now shown that the centre of the 'Portico of Tiberius' was occupied by a large pool, perhaps surrounded by plants (K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 20–3); the restoration undertaken by Ampelius and Dulcitius seems to be associated with the reorganization of that pool, as well as the construction of the catch-basin. This text is cut partly on an unprepared surface; the letters, which still contain traces of red paint, are tall, av. 0.04–0.05, phi 0.09.

Illustrated at *ALA* pl. xi.

Τὸν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ κτίστην καὶ φιλότιμον καὶ Μαιουμάρχη
Δουλκίτιον, ξεῖνε, μέλπε τὸν ἡγεμόνα,
ὅστις κάμε καμουσαν ἀμετρήτοις ἐνιαυτοῖς
ἤγειρεν κρατερὴν χεῖρ' ἐπορεζάμενος.

Stranger, sing of Dulcitius, the governor, contest-president and founder and lover of honour and *Maioumarch*, who, stretching out his strong hand, raised me too, who had suffered for unnumbered years.

For the general context, see the commentary in *ALA*, loc. cit. Dulcitius, governor of Caria probably in the middle or late fifth century, is also honoured as a benefactor in another epigram, *ALA* 41, as having restored the Baths near the Theatre; 'founder' and 'lover of honour' are standard terms of praise for such generosity. But, presumably after the epigram had been composed (and before it was inscribed), the words 'and *Maioumarch*' were added, unmetrically, to the first line.

This is a new term, presumably indicating 'one who presides over — and probably pays for — a Maiouma'. The Maiouma was a Syrian festival, which Malalas describes as 'a theatrical festival held at night', σκηνικὴ ἑορτὴ νυκτερινή, in a passage where he describes how the funds for this, among other festivals, were reorganized on a firm

footing under Commodus; see Malalas 284–5, discussed by L. Robert, ‘Epigraphica: xi’, *REG* (1936), 9–14, 11 (= *OMS* II, 947–52, 949), and above, p. 8. It gradually spread to other parts of the empire; it is first attested outside Syria in a third-century inscription from Nicaea (Robert, ‘Epigraphica: xi’). It is possible that this is the night-time festival, with performances by a pantomime dancer, which Joshua the Stylite describes as taking place at Edessa in 495/6 — ‘a custom which was hitherto unknown in this city’ (Josh. Styl. 27, p.18). By the fourth century it was sufficiently widespread to have been forbidden; a law of 396 removed the restriction (*CTh* xv.16.1), but it was forbidden again in 399 (*CTh* xv.16.2); J. Caimi, *Annali della facoltà di giurisprudenza di Genova* 20 (1984–5), 49–84, associates the forbidding of the Maiouma in 399 with John Chrysostom’s *Contra ludos et theatra* (*PG* 56.263–70). According to Malalas, however, the praetorian prefect Antiochus Chuzon gave money to Antioch in 430–1 ‘for the Maioumas’ (Malalas 362, cited above, p. 8; omitted in the discussion in *ALA*). John Lydus refers to a Maiouma being celebrated at Ostia (*De Mens.* iv.52, from which the *Suda*, s.v.), and the Justinianic Code retained the Theodosian ruling permitting the Maiouma (*CJ* xi.45).

What remains unclear is exactly what was involved. Malalas assumed that the name meant that the festival was celebrated in May; in fact, the derivation is probably from the Semitic *mai*, ‘water’. On this basis it has been argued that John Chrysostom was describing a Maiouma when he criticized his congregation for going to see naked mimes swimming (*Hom. in Matt.* 7.6); the connection was first made by Godefroy, in his commentary on the Theodosian Code, and has tended to be taken for granted since then, but see the cautious note of Robert, ‘Epigraphica: xi’, 13, n.6. While this is only an assumption, there are other indications that water played some part in the celebrations, and the new discovery of a large pool in the ‘Portico of Tiberius’ at Aphrodisias further suggests aquatic spectacles. But the passage of Malalas suggests that it was largely a festival of mime and pantomime performances, put on at night. It is also clear that it was accompanied by smaller, private celebrations and dinner-parties, at which entertainers may have performed; and it may be that eventually these private entertainments were all that survived of what had been a public festival (on all this, see further *ALA*, 72–3). The Maiouma celebrated by Constantine V in 770, on the occasion of a victory, was probably an event of this kind (Theophanes 452.25, of 770). In Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ account of an imperial expedition, the emperor is expected to offer leading citizens dinner and τὸν λοιπὸν μαίουμᾶν, suggesting that the word now means little more than hospitable entertainment (Const. Porph., *De Exped.* B.102 (ed. Reiske, 451 17), cf. B.97 (451.10) with Haldon ad loc., 105, (452.1), and C.592 (490.23)) or even a money donative (Const. Porph. C.534 (487.20), 540 (488.2)). All this illustrates how the terminology of public festivals lingered on in Byzantine thought long after public, civic celebrations had come to an end; see the observations of C. Mango, ‘Daily life in Byzantium’, *JÖB* 31.1 (1981), 337–53, with an addendum, *JÖB* 32.1 (1982), 252–7 (= *Byzantium and its Image* (1984), iv and iva).

APPENDIX II. VICTORS AND COMPETITORS

66 – 87

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods successful performers and athletes were honoured frequently by their cities and sometimes by their fellows; they were also honoured by other cities with inscriptions which were put up in their home towns. Several such inscriptions have been found at Aphrodisias, of which the majority have already been published. The inscriptions presented here include all those so far found erected by the city of Aphrodisias or its citizens in honour of performers (66–69) or athletes (70–71, 73–86), together with a decree of the city of Ephesus (72); other civic decrees (88.i, ii, 91.ii) accompany decrees of the synods of performers or athletes listed in Appendix III. Several of these victors are praised for being of good family (66.8, 68.6–7, 69.9, 78.5–7, 91.ii.6); and a distinguished family could take pride in the victories of one of its members (see Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, 131 and n.5). At Aphrodisias, as elsewhere, the competitors must have included both men of good family, and some humbler citizens who achieved eminence by their victories (for athletes, see H. W. Pleket, 'Zur Soziologie'). The list of boy victors (77–86) is a useful reminder that all boys and young men of the prosperous classes will have attended the gymnasium, and might compete at least in a local festival; a few will have continued to compete in later life, but not necessarily to the exclusion of other activities appropriate to men of their class.

The nature of the evidence therefore focuses our attention on the most successful contestants, and often on those who had family to ensure that they were honoured (e.g. 68, 78, 79). But there are also a few traces of men of perhaps less distinction, who simply list their occupation as performers or athletes, with no reference to victories, such as Polychronius (87), or the two 'god-fearers', listed in a Jewish inscription, who are probably described as πύ(κτης) and ἄθλη(τής) (Reynolds and Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers* 1, ll.50, 54). What is less clear is whether we should describe such people as 'professionals' and whether this form of self-description indicates that this was their primary source of income, or merely an activity which differentiated them from their fellows. Many of those who competed or performed are likely to have had a basic source of income no different from others in their class of society; athletics or performing may have been an extra activity for men whose basic occupation was as farmers or traders, just as it was an extra activity for members of the political élite. Such a situation even among mime performers is suggested by a passage in John Chrysostom, where he says of the mime that the man who appears masked as a king is not really a king 'but is some man of the ordinary people, a rope-maker perhaps, or a bronze-smith', τῶν ἀγοραίων τίς ἐστι, σχοινοστρόφος τυχὸν ἢ χαλκοτύπος (*Hom. in de Lazaro conscio*, PG. 48.986; see Theocharides, *Beiträge*, 111). In view of all this, it would be anachronistic and unhelpful to try and establish a distinction between 'amateurs' and professionals.

The terminology of these inscriptions also makes it clear that these victors should not be seen as 'merely' performers or athletes. They are regularly praised not just for their victories, but for their moral qualities (66.9–10, 69.9–10, 72.18–21, 89.17–18), for their *paideia* (68.6, 88.iii.7); on this theme see most recently C. P. Jones, *CQ* 37 (1987), 208–9, and references there. Their function within their society was not limited to glorifying the city by their victories — important as that was — but was also to embody essential

virtues, perhaps particularly as a guide to the young; this underlies the relationship of performers and athletes to the young men of their community, as discussed above, in Chapter VII. It was, therefore, entirely natural for the Christians — from St Paul onwards — to adopt the language of contests to describe the endeavours and achievements of their own heroes and saints; see P. R. L. Brown, 'The rise and function of the holy man in late antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971), 80–101, 94–5 (reprinted in idem, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), 138).

INTERNATIONAL VICTORS

66 – 75

PERFORMERS

66 – 69

As well as the performers honoured in the inscriptions here, we also know of an Aphrodisian singer to the kithara, [Tiberius] Claudius Epigonos, who was honoured at Ephesus on the occasion of his victory at the 516th celebration of the Epheseia, in c. 166 (Text most recently published as *I.Eph.1106*; I. E. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται* (Crete, 1988), 856).

66. ADRASTUS SON OF ADRASTUS, SACRED VICTOR

? Late first or early second century

First copied by Paris and Holleaux and published by them, no.4, whence republished by Liermann, *Analecta* 36. Found again by the current expedition lying on the inner side of the city wall just south east of the north east gate, near 70.

A plain base tapering slightly towards the top (H. 1.24, W. 0.63–0.64, D. 0.65). Letters standard forms, perhaps of the first or early second century; 0.03. Letters seen by Paris and Holleaux but not by us are underlined.

Plate XIX

	[ἡ] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος]
	καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ
	νέοι star ἐτείμησαν vac.
	ταῖς καλλίσταις τει-
5	μαῖς Ἀδραστον Ἀδράσ-
	του πέμπτον ἱερονε[ί]-
	κην ἀπὸ συνόδου ἄν-
	δρα γένους πρώτου
	ζήσαντα πρὸς ἀρετῇ[v]
10	vac. καὶ εὐδοξίαν vac.

The Council and the People and the *Gerousia* and the Young Men honoured with the finest honours Adrastus, son of Adrastus, fifth sacred victor from the synod; a man of a foremost family, who has lived for virtue and good reputation.

Adrastus (Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, 52), and his father have one of the most frequently-found names at Aphrodisias. There is no indication as to how he competed, which is unusual (although compare 73 and 74); it may be that the style of his statue made it quite clear. The phrase in ll.6–7 'sacred victor from the synod' is paralleled in an

inscription from Smyrna (*I. Smyrna* 657, with *BullÉp* 1977.416); it appears to mean 'victor in a contest established by the synod of performers'. Adrastus, therefore, was probably a victor in the contest 'of those from the synod' at Aphrodisias (Appendix I, x); that was a musical contest. The description 'fifth sacred victor' perhaps suggests that this was a contest organized by and for sacred victors, as at Miletus (see above, on Appendix I.x), rather than that this was a sacred contest. 'Fifth victor' perhaps indicates that he was the overall victor at the fifth celebration of this contest.

An alternative would be to take the phrase as describing Adrastus' status within the local synod: he would be being praised as 'the fifth sacred victor from the synod', which would then, presumably, mean the local synod of performers at Aphrodisias. On this interpretation, Adrastus was only the fifth from among them to win at a sacred contest.

67. CALLIMORPHUS, FLAUTIST

Floruit A.D.117–38

Copied by William Sherard in 1705 on the southern stretch of the city wall, near *MAMA* viii.424. Published from Sherard's copy by Boeckh, *CIG* 2810; copied by us from Sherard's notebook (BM Add. 10101 f.40–1).

A stray fragment from the upper right corner of ll.3–8 (underlined below) (H. 0.315, W. 0.205, D. 0.11) is now in the Museum; letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.03; diairetic dots flanking Y in l.3, dots for stops in ll.4 and 5, HN in ligature, l.5. The text must have begun on a crowning feature.

Plate XXI

- [e.g.: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν
Τιβ. Κλαύδιον, Τιβ. Κλαυ]-
δίου Ἀγαθαγγέλου υἱὸν Καλ-
λίμορφον, ἱερέα stop διὰ βίου θε-
5 ᾶς Νίκης, stop περιοδονίκην πρῶ-
τον καὶ μόνον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶ-
νος κυκλίων αὐλητῶν νικῆ-
σαντα ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς
leaf ὑπογεγραμμένους leaf
vacat
10 Πύθια, Ἄκτια, τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους
ἀσπίδα δις, Βαρβίλληα ἐν Ἐ-
φέσῳ τετράκις κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς,
καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων, Περγα-
μον τρίς κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς καὶ τὸν
15 κατὰ πάντων, κοινὸν Συρίας ἐν
Ἀντιοχείᾳ δις κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς,
κοινὸν (Κι)λικίας ἐν Ταρσῷ δις
κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, Κύζικον Ὀλύμπια
καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων, Ἀδριανὰ Ὀ-
20 λύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ stop ταλαντιαί-
ους δὲ καὶ ἡμιταλαντιαίους ἐνί-
[κα] ἅπαντας οὓς ἡγωνίσαστο leaf

After l.8, Sherard shows a vacat.

Il.13, 14, 19: Sherard has ΤΩΝ, corrected to τὸν by Boeckh.

I.15: ΚΟΙΝΩΝ Sherard.

I.18: Sherard omitted ΤΟ, not noticed by Boeckh.

Il.19–20: Boeckh restored ἐνί[κα].

[?The Council and the People honoured Tiberius Claudius] Callimorphus, son of [Tiberius] Claudius Agathangelus, who was priest for life of the goddess Nike, first and only circuit-victor of the choral flautists of all time, who won the sacred games listed below.

Pythia, Actia, the shield from Argos twice, Barbillea at Ephesus four times in succession, and the overall contest, Pergamum three times in succession and the overall contest, provincial festival of Syria at Antioch twice in succession, provincial festival of Cilicia twice in succession, Olympia at Cyzicus and the overall contest, Olympic Hadriana at Ephesus. Contests in the talent category, or the half talent category, he won all those in which he competed.

Although the upper part of the text is lost, this Callimorphus (Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, 1345) was clearly the son of a Roman citizen, Claudius Agathangelus, and so a citizen himself, from a family which could trace its citizenship back to someone enfranchised by the emperor Claudius. He is the only priest of Nike so far attested at Aphrodisias (Il.4–5), although the cult probably goes back to at least the first century A.D. (A&R 31, 32). This should perhaps be associated with his very successful career, serving as another reminder of how a successful contestant could bring victory to his own city (above, Chapter I, pp. 3–4). He was a ‘cyclic flautist’ — that is, a flautist who performed with a choir — like the ‘cyclic kithara-player’ Melito (69); on this see Robert, ‘Études d’épigraphie grecque’, 54–5 (= *OMS* II, 1154–5). He was apparently the first such performer to win the ‘periodos’ — that is, the succession of the four great international contests (see Chapter I, p. 3). This is the only inscription to mention the Olympic Hadriana at Ephesus (Il.19–20). These are either a contest called Hadriana, with the added epithet ‘Olympia’ (so M. Lämmer, *Olympien und Hadrianeen im antiken Ephesos* (Cologne, 1967), 36–61, 63); or they are the well-known Olympia of Ephesus, with the added epithet ‘Hadriana’ (see the observations of C. P. Jones, forthcoming in *JHS*). In either case, the reference indicates a date in or shortly after the reign of Hadrian. After listing his victories in sacred contests (Il.20–2), he refers summarily to all the contests in which he competed for money prizes, in a standard formula; see Robert, ‘Études d’épigraphie grecque’, 48–9 (= *OMS* II, 1148–9); idem, ‘Les épigrammes de Lucillius’, 183–4 (= *OMS* VI, 319–20).

68. M. VALERIUS EPAPHRODEITUS, SINGER TO THE KITHARA Second/third century

Copied by William Sherard in 1705 on the southern stretch of the city walls, whence published by A. Boeckh, *CIG* 2813. Seen by Kubitschek and Reichel in 1893 reused in an oil-press, with the last two lines and the right edge lost (J. M. R. Cormack, *The Inscribed Monuments of Aphrodisias* (Reading, 1955), 13). Found by the current expedition in 1976 at one end of the old bridge in the town of Karaçasu; the lower part of the stone had been cut and shaped to form a Turkish tombstone. At some time after 1976 it was removed, during rebuilding of the bridge, and we have not succeeded in tracing it.

Transcribed from Sherard’s notebook (BM MS Add. 10101 f. 37) and from the stone, a plain base without moulding (H. 1.24, W 0.63–0.61, D. 0.65); the letters seen by Sherard, but not by us, are underlined. Letters, standard second-/third-century forms, 0.025; ligatures, KHN (I.9) HN (I.10).

Plate XIX

[? ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
καὶ ἡ γερουσία

ἐτείμησαν
Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον
 5 Ἐπαφρόδειτον
 γένει καὶ παι-
 δείᾳ διαφέρον-
 τα κιθαρῳδὸν ἱ-
 ερονεΐκην πλει-
 10 στονείκην παρὰ-
 δοξον υἱὸν Μάρ-
 κου Οὐαλερίου
 Ναρκίσσου πο-
 λείτου καὶ βου-
 15 λευτοῦ ἀπὸ προ-
 γόνων καὶ ἐν
 πολλοῖς τὴν πα-
 τρίδα εὐεργε-
 τοῦντος
 20 τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασ-
 ῖν τοῦ ἀνδριάν-
 τος πεποιῆσθαι
Οὐαλέριον Νάρκισ-
σον τὸν πατέρα stop leaf

l.11: ΔΩΕΟΝ Sherard, ΔΟΕΟΝ CIG, lapis.

l.15: ΛΕΙΤΟΥ Sherard, ΛΕΥΤΟΥ lapis.

In ll.18–19 and 20–1 Sherard recorded the line divisions incorrectly.

[?The Council and the People] and the *Gerousia* honoured Marcus Valerius Epaphrodeitus, distinguished by birth and by education, singer to the kithara, sacred victor, multiple victor, extraordinary, son of Marcus Valerius Narcissus, a citizen and a councillor by descent, who has also benefited his fatherland in many ways.

(?It was agreed that) the statue be set up by Valerius Narcissus, the father.

Epaphrodeitus (Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, 850) was a singer to the kithara, rather than an instrumental performer like Melito (69). He had won at sacred contests and at many others; the title ‘frequent victor’ often accompanies ‘sacred victor’ (Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 140, and below, index s.v.). He is also described as *παράδοξος*, ‘extraordinary’, a frequent term for outstanding performers and athletes (Robert, *Documents de l’Asie Mineure méridionale*, 82 and n.3, with references there). He is praised for his good birth and for his education, *paideia*. There is nothing to indicate the date of this text beyond the lettering, suggesting a date in the second or third centuries.

The unusual reference to his father, Valerius Narcissus as ‘a citizen’ perhaps indicates that the family had originally come to Aphrodisias from elsewhere; Valerii are not very common at Aphrodisias.

The phrasing at the end of the normal formula which describes who put up the statue, is very strange (‘Mirus est’, observed Boeckh): the accusative and infinitive appear to reflect the language of a different kind of document, perhaps a decree.

69. MELITO, KITHARIST

Floruit early third century

Two fragments from the upper left side of Face a were found by the French expedition in 1904, and published, from Gaudin's squeeze, by Reinach, no.148 *bis*, whence (in part) Robert, 'Études d'épigraphie grecque', 29–30 (= *OMS* II, 1129–30). One of those fragments was seen by Kubitschek and Reichel (unpublished, K.V.18c). The upper of those fragments was found again by the current expedition, as well as seventeen further fragments, twelve of which join it, all in or near the Temple. Now in the Aphrodisias Museum.

A base with moulded panels on at least three sides (approximate H. 1.14, W. 0.55, D. 0.55), inscribed on two adjacent sides. Line 1 is cut on the upper moulding of Face a; the opening phrases must have been inscribed on a crowning feature. Letters 0.025–0.027; circle for stop; apices on IEP (1.6), ΔΙΑ (1.10); ligatures: HN, 1.6; second HN, 1.7; MN, TH, 1.10; NH, MH, 1.34; NN, MH, 1.39; NT 1.42. In 1.9, TPO was written over an erased ΤΡΟΠ. The letters read by Reinach but not by us have been underlined.

Plate xix

a.

[e.g. ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ
[γερουσία] ἐτείμη[σαν]
Μελίτωνα Μελίτωνος
τὸν καὶ Ἀγροίταν
5 πυθικὸν καὶ κύκλιον
κιθαριστὴν ἱερονεί-
κην πλειστονείκην
παράδοξον ἄνδρα
εὐγενεῖα καὶ ν. τρό- ν.
10 που σεμνότητι δια-
φέροντα καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
τω μάλιστα θαυμα-
σθέντα κα[ὶ τ]ειμη-
θεντα ὑ[πὸ το]ῦ κυρί-
15 ου ἡ[μῶν αὐτ]οκρά-
τ[ορος] οὐ ν.
[.] ΑΙ ν.
[.] Υ
[.] Υ
20 [.] Υ
[.] Υ
Μ[.] Ι
ΤΩΙ [. . . .] ΣΙ [ν]ει-
κήσα[ντα stop "Α]κτια
25 ἐν Νεικοπόλει vac.
Ἐφέσηα ἐν Ἐ[φέσ]ω

b.

Πύ[θια ἐν Ἱε]ραπόλει
Ἀκτι[α ἐν Ἱερα]πόλει
Ἀκτι[α ἐν] vac.
30 Ἀκτι[α ἐν . . . Δα]μά-
σκω stop [? Ἀκτια ἐν] Καί-

- [σ]αρε[ί]α τῆς Στρ]ατω-
 [νο]ς stop Π[ύθια ἐν] Λαο-
 [δικε]ί]α [? Συρία]ς stop κοι-
 35 [νὰ Κ]αππ[αδό]κων
 [ἐν Κ]αισα[ρεί]α ? stop] Ἡρα-
 [κλ]εί]α stop Κομ[μόδ]εια
 ἐν Τύρῳ stop κοινὰ Βει-
 θυνίας ἐν Νεικομη-
 40 δεί]α stop Αὐγούστεια
 ἐν Τράλλεσιν stop κοι-
 νὰ Ἀσ[ί]ας Β' stop ἐν Τράλ-
 λες[ιν ? stop ? Δεῖ]α Ἀλ]εια Β' ἐν
 Φιλ[α]δ[ελ]φεί]α stop κ]οι-
 45 νὰ Ἀσίας [stop ἐν Φι]λα-
 δε[λφ]εί]α ν I[. . .] EI
 [.] OM [.] A
 MY [.] II [. .] I [. . .] A
 vac. πολ[ε]ι[τε]ί]α vac.]
 50 πόλεων vac. ἐ[ν δό]-
 ξων κα[ὶ] ΝΑΙ I [. . βου]-
 λῇ stop καὶ π[ροεδρία]]
 vac. τειμηθ[έ]ντα vac.]

[?The Council and the People and the *Gerousia*] honoured Melito son of Melito, also known as Agroitas, pythic and cyclic kithara-player, sacred victor, frequent victor, extraordinary, a man distinguished by good birth and dignity of conduct, and for this very much admired and honoured by our lord emperor [. . . 6 lines . . .], who won Actia at Nicopolis, Ephesea at Ephesus, Pythia at Hierapolis, Actia at Hierapolis, Actia [at . . .], Actia at Damascus, [? Actia at] Caesarea Stratonos, P[ythia] at [?Syrian] Laodicea, the provincial festival of the Cappadocians at Caesarea, Heracleia Commodeia at Tyre, the provincial festival of Bithynia at Nicomedia, Augusteia at Tralles, the provincial festival of Asia twice at Tralles, [?Deia Hal]eia twice at Philadelphia, the provincial festival of Asia [at Phi]ladelphia, [. . . 2 lines . . .], honoured with ? citizenship of distinguished ?and [? . . .] cities, and [?(membership of the) Council] and [? honorific seating].

The first part of ll.3–16 was published by Reinach, and considered by L. Robert (op. cit. above) whose proposed restorations of ll.5–6 were all confirmed by our subsequent discoveries. Melito (Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται* 1634) was a 'pythic' *kitharistes*: that is, a kithara-player who performed without singing himself; he also sometimes performed as a 'cyclic' *kitharistes* with the accompaniment of a choir (like the flautist, Callimorphus, in 67; see Robert, loc. cit.). Melito's simple nomenclature might suggest a date before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, but his victory in the Pythia of Syrian Laodicea (ll.33–4), which were established under Caracalla (see below) requires a later date; it therefore appears that he did not choose to mention his citizenship.

In ll.8–16 strong emphasis is laid on his good birth and his good conduct, for which he was honoured by the emperor, whose name is unfortunately lost. The next, missing, lines probably went on to discuss his agonistic achievements.

The Actia in ll.24–5 are the famous contest established at the site of the Battle of Actium by Augustus (Moretti, *IAG*, 150); as the next few lines show, a large number of

Actia were then instituted at other cities (Moretti, *IAG*, 275, Frisch, *Zehn Agonistische Papyri*, 42). The Ephesea at Ephesus (l.26) were a very old established contest (Moretti, *IAG*, 212–3, L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978), 474–5, = *Documents*, 170–1); the Pythia or Apollonia Pythia at Hierapolis (in Phrygia) (ll.27–8) were also well established (Moretti, *IAG*, 193, Ritti, *Hierapolis: Fonti*, 78–83). It is possible that the Actia in the next line are also those of Hierapolis, since I know of no city with Actia whose name could be restored here except Hierapolis or Nikopolis, already mentioned. For Caesarea Stratonis (ll.31–2) see below, 91.ii.51, with Moretti, *IAG*, 210, and 92.3; the games we know of are Kaisareia, which would not fit into the space available here, but Actia seem very likely. For the Pythia at Syrian Laodicea (ll.33–4) see Moretti 85.14, an inscription for a pugilist from Laodicea, who apparently won on the first occasion that the contest was held, under Caracalla (Moretti, *IAG*, 250–1; Robert, *Hell.* xi–xii, 359–60). If this restoration is correct, then this text cannot be earlier than the reign of Caracalla.

The provincial festival of Cappadocia (ll.34–6) was normally held, as here, at Caesarea-Mazaca (Moretti, *IAG* 62.7–8, and p.164). For the Heracleia at Tyre (ll.36–98) see Moretti *IAG*, 209, and for their title of Commodeia Moretti, *IAG* 85.12. For the provincial festival of Bithynia at Nicomedia (39–40), see Moretti, *IAG*, 208. The Augusteia at Tralles (ll.40–1) are also known from the coinage of the city (*RE* vi (1937), 2102). The provincial festivals of Asia (ll.41–3) were held in several cities of Asia, including Tralles and Philadelphia, so it is possible that we have a series of festival centres here; but none of the known cities can fit into l.43 (on these contests see Moretti in *RivFil.* 32 (1954), 276–89). I therefore prefer the proposed restoration of the Deia Haleia at Philadelphiea, for which see Moretti, *IAG* 81.23 and 82.5, with p.240, L. Robert, *RPh* 50 (1976), 184–9, even though this is one letter longer than the other lines.

Melito apparently received the standard honours (ll.49–53) for a successful competitor of citizenship of various cities (so e.g. 91) and membership of the Council, perhaps also with special seating at festivals — *proedria*; but the exact formula in these last few lines is not certain.

ATHLETES

70 – 87

70. M. AURELIUS ?-US, LONG-DISTANCE RUNNER

Early third century, after A.D. 211.

Copied by Paris and Holleaux, and published by them, no.1, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 28, Moretti, *IAG* 80; copied by Kubitschek and Reichel but not published; copied by the MAMA expedition, whence published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* viii.521; found by the current expedition on the inner side of the city wall, south of the north east gate (near 66).

A plain block (H. 1.18, W. 0.545, D. 0.67); letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.018–0.02. The block is damaged above but the upper edge survives; the opening formula must have been inscribed on a crowning feature. The letters underlined were seen by earlier copyists but not by us.

[e.g. Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ νέοι]
 [ἐτείμη]σαν Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον)
 [. . .] ΟΝ Τειμοκλέους [τοῦ]
 [Ἀγ]αθόποδος τοῦ Ἀρτε[μι]-
 5 [δῶ]ρου Ἀφροδεισιέα stop καὶ

- [N]εικομηδέα καὶ Ἀνκυρ[α]-
 [ν]δόν, βουλευτήν, δολιχαδ[ρό]-
 μον ἱερoneίκτην, πυθιον[εῖ]-
 κην, Ἀκτιονεῖκτην, παράδ[ο]-
 10 [ξ]ον, νεικήσαντα δὲ κα[ῖ]
 ἄλλους ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὑ-
 πογεγραμμένους vac. ἐν Ἀ[ν]-
 κύρα τῆς Γαλατίας ΕΙΣ[.]
 [Ἀ]σκληπείον παίδων δόλιχο[ν].
 15 ἐν Ἀδριανήᾳ τῆς Βειθυνία[ς ἱερ]-
 ὄν Ἀδριάνειον Ἀντινόειο[ν]
 παίδων δόλιχον· ἐν Ἡρακλε[ῖ]-
 α τῇ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Ἀδρι(ά) νηο[ν]
 Ἡράκλειον ἰσάκτ(ι) ον πα[ῖ]-
 20 δων δόλιχον· ἐν Χαλκηδ[ό]-
 νι παίδων δόλιχον, κατὰ
 [τ]ὸ ἐξῆς ἀνδρῶν δόλιχον·
 ἐν Νεικομηδείᾳ Αὐγούστ[ει]-
 α Σεβήρεια ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 25 χον, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ δία[ν]-
 λον, ὄπλον· ἐν Νεικέᾳ Αὐ[ν]-
 γούστειον ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 χον· ἐν {N} Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ πρὸς[ς]
 τῷ Πόντῳ Ἀδριάνειον Ἡ-
 30 ράκλειον ἰσάκτιον ἀν-
 δρῶν δόλιχον, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέ-
 [ρ]α ὄπλον· ἐν Νεικέᾳ Αὐ-
 γούστειον ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 χον, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ δίαυλον,
 35 ὄπλον· ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ κο[ι]-
 νὸν Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 vacat χον vacat
 προνοησαμένου τῆς ἀνα-
 στάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
 40 Ἀντιδωρίδου τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 {ἱεροῦ} θεᾶς Ἀφροδείτης
 τοῦ συντρόφου αὐτοῦ.

[e.g. The Council and the People and the *Gerousia* and the Young Men] honoured Marcus Aurelius [-]us, son of Teimocles son of Agathopous son of Artemidorus, (citizen) of Aphrodisias and of Nicomedia and of Ancyra, councillor, long-distance runner, sacred victor, Pythian victor, Actian victor, extraordinary, who also won other contests, those written below:
 In Ancyra of Galatia, at the Asclepeia [. . .], the boys' long race; in Hadrianea of Bithynia, at the sacred Hadrianea Antinoeia, the boys' long race; in Heraclea on the Pontus, at the Hadrianea Heracleia, equivalent to Actia, the boys' long race; in Chalcedon, the boys' long race, and in succession the men's long race; in Nicomedia, at the Augusteia Severeia, the men's long race, and on the same day the double race and the race in armour; in Nicaea, at the Augusteia, the men's long race; in Heraclea on the Pontus, at the Hadrianea Heracleia, equivalent to Actia, the men's long race, and on the same day the race in armour; in Nicaea, at the Augusteia, the men's long

race, and on the same day the double race and the race in armour; in Philadelphia, at the provincial festival of Asia, the men's long race.

The erection of the statue was overseen by Antidorides, the man consecrated to the goddess Aphrodite, who was reared with him.

For a full commentary on the various contests see Liermann and Moretti *loci cit.* The mention of the Augusteia Severeia at Nicomedia (Il.23/4) necessarily requires a date after 198, and the Asklepeia at Ancyra (Il.12/4) were founded under Caracalla; see Robert, *Hell.* xi-xii, 360-5, *Laodicée*, 294; S. Mitchell, *AS* 27 (1977), nos 7-8. Hadrianea (Il.15-16) was the former Bithynium, the birthplace of Antinous; for the contest there see Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 132-3, with a discussion of the cult of Antinous, 133-8.

The responsibility for putting up the statue was undertaken by Antidorides, the victor's foster-brother, a relationship not frequently identified at Aphrodisias (cf. Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 41), but well-known from other Asia Minor sites; for the most recent discussion, and bibliography, see *MAMA* ix, pp. lxiv-vi. Antidorides was consecrated to the service of Aphrodite (compare *MAMA* viii.412.e.11). Presumably he oversaw the spending of money which had been provided by the bodies honouring the victor.

71. ANONYMOUS, PANCRATIAST

? Second/third century

Five fragments, which do not join, from a sarcophagus front. A, the left side fragment was seen and copied by Kubitschek and Reichel, but not published; found by Gaudin, and published, from his squeeze, by Reinach, no. 148; found again by the MAMA expedition and published by J. M. R. Cormack as *MAMA* viii.423. That, and three further fragments (B-D) were found by the current expedition in or near the south stretch of the city wall; E was a stray find in 1989. A is still on the wall; B, C, and D are in the Museum (excavation inventory nos 70.220, 72.493, 76.39), E in the Museum garden depot.

Letters, standard second-/third-century forms, 0.015-0.02; the wreaths, within which several of the victories are inscribed, are 0.18 in diameter.

Illustrated (A) in *MAMA* viii, pl. 20; (B) Plate xix.

A. Left side fragment (H. 1.11, W. 0.58, D. 1.28) with lower edge surviving; ll.2-5, 8-10, 14-16 within wreaths.

	Σάρδεις	[...]
	κοινὸν Ἀσίας	[...]
	παν-	π[αν]-
	κράτι-	κρά[τι]-
5	ον	ον
	Λαυδίκειαν	Ιεράν-
	Κλαυδίηα	πολι[ν]
	παν-	παν-
	κράτι-	κράτι-
10	ον	ον
	Μιτυλήνην Ἀμ-	Λαυδίκε[ι]-
	μώνηα παίδων	αν τῆς Σ[υ]-
	καὶ ἀγενείων	ρίας
	παν-	παν-

15 κράτι-
 ον

κράτι-
 ον

Il.6-7: Ἱεράπολιν MAMA.

Il.11-12: AMNΩNHA Reinach.

B. Fragment from ?right side, without top or bottom edges (H. 0.64, W. 0.40, D. 0.18); Il.3-6, 10 ff. within wreaths.

	[...]	
	[Ἀντιό]χειαν τῆς Συρίας	
	[Πύθι]α πρὸς Δάφνην	
	παν-	Νέμει-
5	κράτι-	α παν-
	ον	κράτι-
		ον
	[Ἐφε]σον	Ἐφεσον κοινὸν
	[Ἐφέ]σηα	Ἀσ[ίας πα]ίδων
		κ[αὶ ἀγε]γείων
10	[πα]ν-	[παν]-
	[κράτι]-	[κράτι]-
	[ον]	[ον]
	[...]	

C. Fragment without edges (H.0.17, W. 0.22, D. 0.210), inscribed within a wreath.

παν-
κρά-
τιον

D. Fragment without edges (H. 0.18, W. 0.23, D. 0.19), inscribed above a wreath, the upper edge of which survives, chipped.

[Ἀφροδισιάδα?]
[Ἀφρο]δεις[- vac.]
[ῖηα] Ἀδῶ- vac.
[νηα] τρὶς vac.
wreath
[...]

E. Fragment broken on all sides (H. 0.15, W. 0.28, D. 0.13) with traces of cement on the face from re-use; inscribed within a wreath.

Ἡρα-
κλεί-
αν

(sc. He won)

A. Col. 1: at Sardis, in the provincial festival of Asia, the pancration; at Laodicea, in the Claudia, the pancration; at Mitylene, in the Ammonea, the pancration of boys and of young men;

Col.2: [at ?-] the pancration; at Hierapolis, the pancration; at Laodicea in Syria, the pancration;

B: ...]at Antioch in Syria, in the Pythia at Daphne, the pancration, in the Nemeia, the pancration;

at Ephesus, in the Ephesea, the pancration; at Ephesus, in the provincial festival of Asia, [the pancration] of boys and of young men; [. . .

C: . . .], the pancration [. . .

D: . . . ?at Aphrodisias, ?the Aphrodeisiea] ?Ado[nea

E: . . .] at Heraclea [. . .

This sarcophagus was clearly of the same design as 94 (Appendix iv), which is also adorned with the victor's wreaths; in that case there are no traces of inscribed names of victories, but the parallel makes it seem very likely that they appeared there too, probably in paint. It is possible that the man buried here died young, as we have no mention of a victory in the men's category among our surviving fragments.

The construction is similar to that of the other victor lists, with the place of the contest normally in the accusative, with the exception of Sardis, in A.1 (presumably an error). Πύθια (B.2) appears to be the only name of a contest at Antioch which will fit the available space; it is otherwise attested only in Moretti, *IAG* 69, but would be very appropriately held at Daphne, the shrine of Apollo outside Antioch. The Nemean contest (B.3) is perhaps the original Nemean Games; but there were also contests called after and modelled on the Nemea at other cities (K. Hanell, 'Nemea', *RE* xvi (1935), 2310–27, 2327). For the Ephesea (B.7–8) see above on 69.25. Ephesus was one of the three chief centres for the provincial festival of Asia (B.7); see above on 69.41ff. The restoration of the Aphrodeisiea Adonea (Appendix i, xi, and below, 77) in D is attractive, but far from certain.

72. HONOURS FOR AURELIUS ACHILLES

Third century (after 212)

i and ii copied (and a squeeze made) by Boulanger in 1913, whence i published by L. Robert, *Anatolian Studies Buckler* (Manchester, 1939), 230–44 (= *OMS* 1, 614–28), whence republished by R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974), 91–4, and H. Wankel, *I.Eph.I*, 12. The stone was rediscovered by the current expedition; C. P. Jones (to whom I am also grateful for further comments) has re-examined it, republished i, and published ii, 'Two inscriptions from Aphrodisias', *HSCP* 85 (1981), 107–29; from this i has been reprinted as *SEG* xxxi.903, and ii, with the comments of R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 49 (1982), 282–3, and J. Ebert, *Stadion* 7 (1981), 203–10, as *SEG* xxxi.904; further comments *BullÉp.* 1984.410–11, whence *SEG* xxxiv.1045. Printed here from all these, from Boulanger's notes (for 26 October 1913) and from the stone, which still stands in the east court of the Hadrianic baths, where it was found 'dans le 3e' (corrected to 4e in fair copy) 'entrée du portique nord'.

A plain base (H. 1.28, W. 0.55, D. 0.53) without moulding, chipped at edges but complete above and below. Inscribed on two adjoining faces, i to the right, ii to the left. The text of i must have begun on a crowning feature; so perhaps did that of ii. Letters read by Boulanger but not now visible have been underlined.

Illustrated in Jones, art. cit., and (ii) Plate xx

i. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, av. 0.015. Apex above initial Y, 1.9. Ligatures: TH 1.4, NH 1.5, MH 1.8, TH, THN 1.10, ΠΕ, TH 1.11, TH 1.12, THN, ΠΕ 1.13, TH, 1.14, TH 1.15, MN 1.19, THN, THN 1.20, ME, ME 1.22, MH 1.23, ME 1.24, ΠΠ 1.26, NH 1.27, TH, NT 1.28, THN 1.29, TH, ΠΗ, TE 1.31, TH, ME 1.32, TH, NE 1.33, MH 1.35, ME, THN 1.35, MH, NH, TH 1.38, TH 1.40, THN, THN, ΠΕ 1.41.

[- -

[. . .] ἐσπουδακότας ἀποδεχο[μέ]-

[νης] ἀεὶ ταῖς πρεπούσαις καὶ δικά[ι- ? vac.]

- [αῖς] πρὸς ἀξίαν μαρτυρίαις τῆς λαμ-
 [πρ]οτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἑφεσίων καὶ vac.
 5 [συ]νηδομένης ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς παν-
 [τῶ]ν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ, ὅσα ταῖς ἄλλαις πο-
 [λ]εσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν τῶν ἀν-
 [δρῶν] ὑπάρχει πρὸς εὐδοκίμησιν
 10 [ἐ]ξαίρετα, ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν εὐτυχή-
 [μ]ατα, πλεῖον δέ τι τῆς περὶ τὴν εὐνοι-
 [α]ν ῥοπῆς ἀπονεμούσης τῇ λαμ-
 προτάτῃ πόλει τῶν Ἀφροδεισιέων
 [πρὸς τὴν] πολλὰ καὶ ἐξαίρετα περὶ
 [τ]ὴν ἀντίδοσιν τῆς φιλοστοργίας
 15 ἐστὶν αὐτῇ δίκαια, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ν.
 Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀχιλλέα, σώματος μὲν ἄσκη-
 σιν ἐπανελλόμενον, ἀθλήσεως δὲ
 τὸν γενναιότατον, βίου δὲ καὶ προ-
 αιρέσεως τὸν σεμνότατον, ὡς ἐν αὐ-
 20 τῷ πᾶσαν κεκρᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅσην
 ψυχῆς ἐστὶν καὶ σώματος, ἀποδε-
 ξαμένης μὲν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 φθάνουσιν ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἐκόσμησεν
 διαπρεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀγω-
 25 νισάμενος ἀνδρείας, μάλιστα δὲ
 ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνι, ὅτι προ-
 τρεψαμένης αὐτὸν ὡς πατρίδος
 τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ τελεώτατον τῶν
 ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἀν-
 30 δρῶν μετελθεῖν, ὑπακούσας κα[ῖ]
 πεισθεὶς τῇ προτροπῇ τοὺς τε ἀν-
 τιπάλους κατηγωνίσατο καὶ μετὰ
 τοσαύτης δόξης τὸν κότινον ἀνε-
 δήσατο ὡς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν
 35 εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀγωνισμάτων
 καταριθμείσθαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν scroll διὰ ταῦτα ἔ-
 δοξεν μὴ μέχρις μόνης τῆς γνώ-
 σεως τῶν παρόντων μηδὲ τῶν ἀ-
 40 παντησάντων κατὰ καιρὸν τῷ στα-
 δίῳ στῆναι τὴν περὶ τούτων μαρτυρί-
 αν, ἀ[λλ]ὰ γὰρ καὶ παρακαταθέσθ[αι] δι[ὰ]
 τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἔτι μᾶ[λ]-
 λον αὐτὸν τῇ πατρίδι.

II.5/6: πάν/[πα]ν R., πάν/[τω]ν M., W., J.

II.9/10: εὐτυχῇ / [κ]ατὰ R., M., W., εὐτυχῇ/[μ]ατα J.

II.16/17: ΑΣΚΗΣΙΝ/ΕΠΑ R., whence M., W.

I.42: ANA B., lapis; ἀλλὰ R., M., W.; ἅμα J.; ἀνὰ ἔαρ cj. Ebert.

ii. Letters av. 0.02; apices over I, I.19, initial E, I.21. Ligatures: TE I.1, ME, NE I.3, TE I.5, MH I.11, TE I.13, HME, TE I.15, HT I.22.

- [. . .
 εἴτε δὲ Βαριανοῖο Π - Ο [.]
 vac. ἀγορεύσεις vac.
 μέτροις νεικήσας τοῦτο[ν ἔχω]
 vac. κότινον vac.
 5 εἴτ' ἐπιφημίξης τὸν ἔφη[βον 'Α]-
 vac. ρείονα φωτῶν vac.
 καὶ κατὰ τούτου [[Ζεύ+]]ς ὥπα[σε]
 vac. μοι κότινον vac.
 ἐν πᾶσιν δὲ ἐθνέων EIP [. . .]
 10 vac. σταδίοις τόσος εἰμί [vac.]
 ὅσσον μήτις ἐμῶν ἀστὸς ἔ[φω]
 vac. προφέρειν vac.
 πληθος δὲ στεφάνων ἀγορεύ-
 vac. εἰ σοι κλέος ἄλλων vac.
 15 εἰκόνι λαινέη καὶ τύπῳ ἡμετέρῳ.
 πόλλακι γὰρ δὴ [[Πύθια ἔ]]χω καὶ 'Ο-
 vac. [[λύμπια]] δεῖα vac.
 ἀντιπάλους νεικῶν κυδίμ(ω)
 vac. εὐκλείη vac.
 20 οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δηρεῖ-
 vac. σαμένου περὶ νείκης vac.
 [ε]ῖς ἔριν ἐκλήτου δεύτερον ἀν-
 vac. τιάσαι vac.

The supplements are those of Jones, unless stated.

I.3: μετρ' οἷς M.

I.9: εἶρ[ου] cj. J.; εἶρ[ης] M., from εἶρη, 'agora'; εἶρ[οῖς], for ἱερ[οῖς], E.

I.11: J. suggested ἔ[φω] as a possibility, but preferred ἔ[φη; ἐ]ρεῖ] M.; ἔ[χει] E.

I.13: J., working from a squeeze, could not know that there is no room for another letter after Y: this therefore imposes the reading ἀγορεύει, which is assumed by E.

I.18: KYΔIMO: there is no room for a further letter at the end; either a final sigma was omitted, as assumed by Jones, giving a nominative, or the omicron is a mistake for omega, giving the dative, κυδίμω. I slightly prefer the second interpretation, which is also that of Ebert.

I.22: [Ω]Σ J. There seem to be traces of an upright before Σ, giving ΙΣ or [ε]ῖς, as conjectured by M. and E.

i. [- -] since the most splendid city of the Ephesians always welcomes those who have shown zeal with testimonies that are fitting and just for their worth, and takes a share of pleasure in the advantages of all (men) as if they were her own, and (since she considers that) whatever outstanding (advantages) accrue to the good reputation of other cities from distinguished men, these are matters of (?general) good fortune; (10) and since she assigns an especial portion of her inclination towards goodwill to the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians, towards which she has many and outstanding justifications for the exchange of affection. For these reasons, (the city) has welcomed Aurelius Achilles — who has both undertaken the training of the body, and is also most noble in training, and most dignified in his way of life and his conduct, so that in him

(20) all virtue of body and soul is blended — (has welcomed him) often, both in previous contests, which he adorned, having competed impressively and with all courage, and especially in the contest of the Olympia, because, when the city encouraged him — as if it were his own fatherland — to proceed to the ultimate competition, and to the category of men (30), he listened, and was persuaded by the encouragement, and defeated his opponents, and bound on the (crown of) olive with such glory that his (?display of) courage and eagerness are to be numbered among the most distinguished of contests. For these reasons it was resolved that the testimony about these events should not extend only as far as the knowledge of those who were present and (40) happened to be in the stadium at the time, but by means of this decree he should be commended even more to his fatherland.

ii. [?a couplet naming Achilles] but if you proclaim [?the prowess] of Varianus in verse, I hold the olive having defeated him; or if you praise the ephebe Arion, (superior) to grown men, against him too [Zeus] granted me the olive (wreath). In all the stadia of the nations [?ask] — I am as great as none of my fellow-citizens [was able to] surpass. The throng of other crowns proclaims to you my fame, by means of, ?or in a stone image and my likeness. For I often have Pythia, and divine Olympia, defeating (my) rivals with glorious fame, while none of the men who have struggled (with me) for victory has been summoned to confront a second contest (?).

The fact that Achilles is honoured in both prose and verse, neither of which give a clear factual account, foreshadows the unclear and allusive nature of many late antique honorific inscriptions. My interpretation of these texts is based largely on the very full analysis of the first by Robert and Jones, and of the second by Jones, the first person to tackle the very resistant language of the epigram.

The man honoured is Aurelius Achilles (i.16); his *nomen* suggests the probability of a date after 212. He is praised for 'courage' (i.36) and for victories in stadia (i.40, ii.10) which suggests that he may have been another pancratiast, like Callicrates (89 and 90); furthermore, Robert has pointed out that the reference to 'the ultimate competition' (i.28/9) is best understood as describing the pankration (*BullÉp* 1984.411).

i is a 'decree of witness', a civic decree of the city of Ephesus witnessing to the achievements of Achilles at earlier contests, and, in particular, at the celebration of the Olympia at Ephesus; for this contest see, in particular, L. Robert, *RPh* 41 (1967), 40–4, 71–2 (= *OMS* v, 380–4, 411–2), and M. Lämmer, *Olympien*, 1–36. The decree was apparently to be sent to the Aphrodisians, and perhaps to others; such decrees could even be sent to the emperor (see 91.i.25–9). It seems clear that the epigram (ii) refers to the same event, although it is not clear whether it was composed at Ephesus and sent with the decree, or composed at Aphrodisias upon its receipt; nor is it certain who paid for the inscription of these texts and the accompanying statue (ii.15) — perhaps a contest-president (so Jones, Robert) or a member of Achilles' family (as in the case of Menander, 91.46–8).

The relationship between the two texts, as part of a single monument perhaps supports the translation, which I have chosen, despite Jones' reservations, of μέτροις (ii.2) as 'in verse'. It may also help to clarify some further points in the epigram. At the Olympia Achilles' remarkable feat was to compete in two classes or categories; he proceeded to that of the men (i. 29–30), so he had presumably already won in that of the boys, there being only these two categories in an Olympic contest (Robert, 239–44, developed by Jones, 118–9; for double victories see the examples cited at *BullÉp* 1984.411). In the epigram, Jones concluded, surely rightly, that Achilles is claiming two particular victories — over Varianus, (ii.1–4) and the ephebe Arion (ii.5–8), with a pun on the name of the latter, which can also mean 'better'. Ebert prefers to see Ephebus as the proper name, but see below. The easiest explanation is that these are the two rivals whom

he defeated in the two categories — of boys and men. The fact that these victories took place on the same occasion is emphasized by the repetition of the reference to the olive crown (ii.4 and 8), the prize in an Olympic contest. Moreover, the second antagonist is described as an *ephebe*. If this is right, he will have been aged about eighteen to twenty, and so would have competed in the boys' section of the Olympia (men being those over twenty). The purpose of this reference would therefore seem to be to indicate that even his rival in the boys' contest was in the highest age-group of those entitled to compete, and was better than full-grown men.

The next couplet refers to a wide range of victories by Achilles in many provinces (Jones), and seems to be a verse equivalent of the agonistic formula 'first' (and sometimes 'only') 'to win such and such'. One claim is 'first of all time' (cf. 67.5–7, 73); here we have 'first of the Aphrodisians', as in the inscription of Menander (91.ii.26, 29). But there seems to be no precise claim as to what he was first to achieve.

The reading of l.13 being certain, the couplet ll.13–15 has to be interpreted as describing a quantity of crowns asserting the prowess of Achilles. The simplest explanation seems to be that these crowns were in fact portrayed in or on the image to which he refers, and that this is the idea somewhat awkwardly expressed by the dative of l.15.

The next couplet (ll.16–19) fills out what was said about other victories, and again expresses in verse a standard formula of victors' inscriptions: Achilles is a Pythian victor, Πυθιονεΐκης, as well as being (as we already know), an Olympic victor: like the Olympia, the Pythia here may well be a contest of a city in Asia Minor, modelled on the famous Pythia — perhaps even the contest at Aphrodisias itself (above, Appendix I.xiii).

The last couplet is perhaps the most difficult. It is constructed as a genitive absolute, depending on the preceding couplet, and it seems to me to mean that no opponent, once vanquished, dared face him for a second time; this is also the interpretation of Ebert.

The resolution of this epigram was largely made possible by Jones' realisation that in ll.7, 16, and 17 there had been deliberate erasure of sacred names; he discussed this phenomenon in the context of maintenance of the pagan tradition in late antiquity at Aphrodisias. What is particularly striking is to find sacred names erased occasionally, when such a large number survive. In this connection, it is perhaps relevant to note that similar erasures were made on stones which stood very near to this one. The title 'high-priest' was erased on an inscription honouring a sculptor of the early fourth century, Flavius Zeno (ALA 11), and the same title was erased on an inscription of the early third century which stood in the same area (unpublished find in 1988). These are all rather more subtle choices than the attempts to erase the name of Aphrodite, and epithets associated with her, elsewhere in the city, cited by Jones, and may not be of the same period; in any case, my own complex arguments about the significance of the high-priesthood of Flavius Zeno, based on the erasure of the title, have now been undercut by the discovery of the erasure of perfectly 'ordinary' high-priesthoods in the text found in 1988.

73. HONOURS FOR A VICTOR

Second/third century

A fragment, broken on all sides (H. 0.23, W. 0.165, D. 0.15); letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.03.

-] I [.] ΑΠΙ [-
 πρῶτον καὶ μόνον
 τῶν] ἀπ' αἰῶνος
 [-

-] first and only of [men] of all time [to win -

For this formula compare 67.5-7.

74 and 75 probably form a pair. They are both low, rectangular bases, and were both found on the stage of the Theatre; the scripts on each base are entirely different, but they resemble one another in both being different from the standard script of the other inscriptions. It is likely, but not quite proved, that they originally stood on the two analemata, 74 in the north and 75 in the south. As in 66, the speciality of the two victors honoured is not mentioned, but these are very possibly the bases of the two statues of boxers or pankratiasts found on the Theatre stage, and published by K. T. Erim, in J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei* (Mainz, 1979), nos 190 (found to the south, so perhaps Piseas) and 191 (found to the north, so perhaps Candidianus). The statues were dated there to the second quarter of the third century; the script, and the simplicity of the texts, might suggest a later date in the third century. In either case, these are probably the latest texts honouring athletes to be found on the site.

74. CANDIDIANUS, CIRCUIT-VICTOR

?Third century

A plain base, moulded on either side, made up of two fragments (H. 0.24, W. 1.06, D. 0.50); there is a depression on the top for the attachment of a statue. Found on the Theatre stage; now in the dighouse garden, excavation inventory no. 68.400. Letters probably third century, rounded epsilon and sigma; 1.1, 0.035; 1.2, 0.04.

Plate XXI

Κανδιδιανὸν vac. Ἀκτιονίκην
 περιοδονίκην vac. ἡ πατρίς

The fatherland (honours) Candidianus, victor at Actia, circuit-victor.

75. PISEAS, CIRCUIT-VICTOR

?Third century

A base with simple moulding above, broken below and to the right (H. 0.25, W. 0.57, D. 0.28). Found in the Theatre, near the Porta Regia; now in the dighouse garden, excavation inventory no. 71.337. Letters square, probably third century; 0.04.

Plate XXI

Πίσεαν Πισέου
 περιοδονίκην
 leaf ἡ πατρίς leaf

The fatherland (honours) Piseas, son of Piseas, circuit-victor.

The great distinction of these two men is to be circuit-victors (see above, Chapter I, p. 3); the victory at Actia of Candidianus is less remarkable.

By contrast with the preceding inscriptions these texts seem extraordinarily brief and casual; but their principal function was presumably simply to label statues. It is entirely likely that these are examples of the statues, in prominent positions, which were regularly put up to honour victors, and to which the longer inscriptions refer (e.g. 89.24–5); these men may well have been honoured in longer texts as well.

LOCAL VICTORS

76–84

The following inscriptions all honour victors in contests held at Aphrodisias: the majority appear to be local citizens, although this is not certain in 77. Apart from 76, all the victories recorded are in athletic contests; apart from 76 and 77, all the victors are boys.

76. ?, SON OF APOLLONIUS, SCULPTOR

Victor in a contest for sculptors at the first celebration of the Lysimachea Tatianeia, ?early third century

Found by the French expedition in 1904, and published by Reinach, no. 147, whence M. Squarciapino, *La scuola di Afrodizia* (Rome, 1943), 11, no. 1; found by the MAMA expedition, whence published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* viii.519. Discussed by T. Ritti, *Rend. Acad. Lincei* (1971), 189–97, on which see *BullÉp* 1972.414. Found by the current expedition reused in the city wall at the north side of the Stadium; published by K. T. Erim and J. M. Reynolds, 'Sculptors of Aphrodisias', 529–31, no. 17.

A plain base, complete on all sides (H. 1.06, W. 0.58); the text must have begun on a crowning feature. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, but rather irregular in height, 0.03–0.35.

	[- - ?'Απολλω]
	νίου τοῦ 'Αθηναγό-
	ρου νεικήσας τὸν
	ἀγῶνα τῶν ἀγαλμα-
5	τοποιῶν τῶν Λυσιμα-
	χίων Τατιανήων τῷ
	ἀγάλματι τῆς α' τετρα-
	ετηρίδος κατὰ τὸ γενά-
	μενον ψήφισμα ὑπὸ
10	τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ
	δήμου ἀνέσ[σ]τησεν
	ἀγωνοθετοῦντος
	Μίλωνος δ' τοῦ Ἑρμίου

l.13: Reinach did not read the delta.

?son of Apollo]nius son of Athenagoras, who won the contest of statue-makers of the Lysimachea Tatianeia with the statue ?of the first four-year cycle, according to the decree of the Council and the People, put (it) up, when Milon son of Milon son of Milon son of Milon son of Hermias was contest-president.

For the contest, and its frequency, see Appendix i.iv. The Lysimachea were first celebrated in c.181; the contest described here is apparently a new one, formed from the Lysimachea, with the addition of a new endowment from someone with the (fairly

common) name of Tatianos or Tatiana; for possible benefactors see Erim-Reynolds, 'Sculptors of Aphrodisias'. It must therefore date from some time at the end of the second century or in the third. The father of the *agonothete* was responsible for an inscription honouring some of the Carminii, in the middle years of the second century (*MAMA* VIII.517, and Erim-Reynolds, 'Sculptors of Aphrodisias'). It is not quite certain whether the 'decree of the Council and the People' (II.8–11) refers to the holding of the contest or, more probably, to the erection of the statue. On the contest for sculptors see now Erim-Reynolds, 'Sculptors of Aphrodisias'.

77. ?, WRESTLER

Victor at the Aphrodeisiea Adonea, ?early third century

Copied by Kubitschek and Reichel and published by them, no. 11; published, independently, from their copy, Reinach 146bis, on which see Robert, *Et. Anat.*, 432 n.5. Cited by Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 26, no.33, on which see Robert, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', 380 n.1 (=OMS vi, 4). Only Reinach gives the line divisions, but he seems to have read less, particularly at the end. Published by us from those publications.

--]

	π[α]λαιστὴν
	νικήσαντα
	Ἀφροδεισίῃα
	Ἀδώνῃα Τιβε-
5	ριος Κλαύδι-
	ος Αὐρήλιος
	Μουκιανὸς
	Ἀπολλώνιος
10	Βερονεικία-
	νὸς ὁ κράτι-
	στος ἀντινε-
	ποιοὺς Τιβε-
	ρίου Κλαυδί-
15	ου Ἀπολλωνί-
	ου Βερονεικι-
	ανοῦ Ἀκασσῶ-
	νος ἀρχιερέ-
	ως πάππου
	ιδίου ἐν τῇ πρῶ-
20	τῇ περιόδῳ τῆς
	ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπολεί-
	ψει τοῦ Ἀπολ-
	λωνίου ἀρχι-
	νεοποιίας παρ'
25	ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέστησεν

1.1: Π . ΛΑΙΣΗΝ Reinach; .]ΛΑΙΣΤ[. .] K.&R.. Perhaps TH in ligature.

1.2: Reinach did not read the initial N, K.&R. did not read the final A.

1.3: ΣΙΑ Reinach.

1.4: NIA Reinach, who did not read the final BE.

1.9: BEPEIN Reinach.

1.10: ΑΚΑΣΣΟΜΟΣ K.&R.

1.19: Reinach did not read the initial I; TPI Reinach, ΠΡΩ K.&R.

1.20: Reinach did not read the final Σ.

1.21: Reinach did not read Α, and wrote ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει.

1.22: Reinach made out no letters in this line.

1.24: Reinach read nothing after ΠΟ.

1.25: Reinach read Ν . . . ΑΓ . . . , and nothing more; it is therefore not possible to be certain of the distribution of these last lines.

?, J wrestler, having won the Aphrodisia Adonea; Tiberius Claudius Aurelius Mucianus Apollonius Beroneicianus, the most distinguished, vice-*neopoios* for Tiberius Claudius Apollonius Beroneicianus Akasson, high-priest, his own grandfather, in the first cycle of the chief-*neopoioate* funded from the bequest of Apollonius, set up (the statue) ?from his own resources.

Tiberius Claudius Apollonius Beroneicianus Akasson, the grandfather, is also attested as *agonothete* of the ninth Philemonia, presumably c. 208 (below, 82). His grandson's rank of κράτιστος can indicate either equestrian or (less commonly) senatorial status (H.-G. Pflaum, *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (Strasbourg, 1970), 178 ff.). A Tiberius Claudius Apollonius Beroneicianus whose wife is honoured in CIG 2818 may be the same man.

'Απολείψις (1.21) means a bequest; the elder Akasson had apparently given or left money from which the expenses of the office of chief *neopoios* could be met. The reference to a cycle suggests that the bequest was to fill the office at regular intervals. On the first occasion that this took place after the establishment of the fund the grandson of the testator acted as 'vice-*neopoios*' for his grandfather — that is, he administered the spending of the money; for this sense of περίοδος see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 184, and references there. This text should therefore probably be dated some time after the activity of Beroneicianus Akasson, the grandfather, as chief *neopoios* and *agonothete* of the ninth Philemonia, unless that text is also referring to his fund, rather than to his personal tenure of the office.

For the Aphrodisia Adonea see Appendix 1.xi, and 71.D.

The following group of inscriptions (78–86) all honour boy victors — that is, those classified as παῖδες, aged between twelve and seventeen. That does not, in itself, differentiate them from the victors of the preceding inscriptions, several of whom list victories in this category, as well as those won as young men (ἄγένοιοι, literally 'beardless') and as men, ἄνδρες. But since not all of those mentioned in these inscriptions will have gone on to make a career as athletes, they serve to remind us that athletic activities were by no means limited to a dedicated group, but were a regular activity for the children of prosperous families of the city. All of the victors in this section will have trained in the gymnasia of the city; all competed as boys; some will have gone on to compete successfully as adults as well.

78. ZENO SON OF ZENO, WRESTLER

Early third century

The complete stone was copied by Deering, and published from his notebooks by Leake, no. 11, whence LBW 1616a, Liermann, *Analecta* 27. Seven fragments were found by the French expedition of 1904, and published, from Gaudin's squeezes, by Reinach, nos 91, 92, 112, 115, 118, 143: see the

reconstruction by J. M. R. Cormack, *Inscribed Monuments of Aphrodisias* (Reading, 1955), 63, fig. 12. One fragment (part of Reinach 143) was found by the MAMA expedition, and published by Cormack, *MAMA* VIII.513. That fragment, and three others were found by the current expedition.

A base (H. not measured, W. 0.45, D. 0.45) with moulded panels, used, with other inscribed bases, as vertical elements to support the sanctuary screen of the Temple-church; that screen, which reused elements of an early Byzantine balustrade, was probably constructed in the ninth or tenth century (see *ALA*, 155–6). Letters, standard second-/third-century forms, av. 0.02. Ligatures: HN, 1.3; HN, 1.8; HN, 1.9; HN, 1.10; NH, 1.19. The letters read by Deering, but not by us, have been underlined.

Illustrated (a fragment) in *MAMA* VIII, pl. 25.3.

	[Ζήν]ωνα Ζήν[ωνος]
	[τ]οῦ Χάρητος το[ῦ]
	[Ζ]ήνωνος Αἰνείαν
	γένους καὶ ἀξιώ-
5	ματος τοῦ πρώ-
	τεύοντος ἐν τῇ
	πατρίδι ἱερο-
	νείκην πλειστο-
	νείκην παράδο-
10	ξον παλαιστήν
	vac. παῖδα vac.
	Μενεσθεὺς Ἀ-
	πολλωνίου το[ῦ]
	Μενεσθέως Πα-
15	π[ί]ου Ἰσόβουνος
	ἀρχινεποιοῦς
	θεᾶς Ἀφροδεί-
	της vac τὸν συν-
	γενῇ ἐκ τῶν ιδί-
20	ων καθὼς ἀγω-
	νοθετῶν ὑπέ-
	star σχετο star

1.2: At the beginning of the line Deering read EY.

1.16: ἀρχινεωποιὺς, in *MAMA*, is a printing error, since the MAMA expedition did not transcribe this part of the stone.

Zeno Aeneas son of Zeno son of Chares son of Zeno, of leading family and rank in the city, sacred victor, frequent victor, extraordinary, boy wrestler. Menestheus Isobounos, son of Apollonius son of Menestheus Papias, chief *neopoios* of the goddess Aphrodite (put up the statue of) his kinsman, out of his own resources, as he promised while he was *agonothete*.

The *agonothete*, Menestheus Isobounos, is also mentioned on coins of the city which honour Julia Domna (published most recently by D. J. Macdonald, *Coins from Aphrodisias*, 24, no.240). He draws attention to his family relationship with the young victor, who is himself a member of an important aristocratic family; a relation, Septimius Chares Aeneas, active in the early third century, was married to a woman who claimed descent from founders of the city (*A&R*, 165, no. 16), and the name Aeneas, with its reference to the links between Aphrodite and Rome, would be very appropriate for members of such a family; for Aeneas at Aphrodisias see J. M. Reynolds, *Stud.Clas.* 24 (1986), 112.

From his titles, Zeno Aeneas clearly won victories at a variety of contests in various cities; but the implication of the last lines is that this statue was put up on the occasion of a victory at a contest at Aphrodisias, for which Isobounos had been the *agonothete*.

79 – 86 all honour boy victors in the Philemoniean contest; they cover a period of almost fifty years, from the third celebration of the Philemoniea (79, 80) to perhaps the twentieth (86). Monuments also survive from the fifth celebration (81), the ninth (82), and the fifteenth (83, 84), as well as one with no precise date (85).

The contest was probably first celebrated not long after 182, and appears to have been held every third year (see Appendix I.ix). 79 – 84 are all very similar in style and proportions, and were all found in the same general area of the site, to the north-east. It seems likely that there was a regular tradition of commemorating these boy victors, perhaps in a gymnasium where they had trained; and it is tempting, although very far from certain, to locate that gymnasium in the north-east of the city.

79. ?, SON OF ARTEMIDORUS, BOY BOXER

Victor at the Third Philemoniea, ?c. 190

Copied by Paris and Holleaux, and published by them, no.2, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 22; found by the French expedition of 1904, and cited by Reinach, no.144; copied by the MAMA expedition and published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* viii.505; excavated in 1966 in the Water Channel area, IV Tr.6; now in the Museum garden. Discussed by J. M. Reynolds, *A&R* 58.

A simple base (H. 0.965, W. 0.35, D. 0.33) with all edges surviving, but top right corner lost; the inscription probably began on a crowning feature. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, av. 0.02.

--]

	[e.g. Ζήνωνα Ἀρ]εμιδώρου
	[τοῦ Δ]ημοφάντου νει-
	[κήσα]ντα παίδων πυ-
	[γμὴν τῷ] ἐπιτελεσθέν-
5	[τι ἀγ]ῶνι τῆς τρίτης
	[τε]τραετηρίδος vac.
	[Ἀφρ]οδισιῆων Φιλη-
	μονιῶν ἀγωνο-
	θετοῦντος Τίτου
10	Αἰλίου Ἀδράστου,
	τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν
	τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πο[ι]-
	ησαμένου Ἀρτεμιδώ-
	ρου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐ- vac.
15	του λαβόντος τὸ θέ-
	μα παρὰ τῶν κληρονό-
	μων τοῦ Φιλήμονος κα-
	τὰ τὴν Οὐλπίου Εὐρυ-
	κλέους τοῦ λογισ-
20	vac. τοῦ κέλευσιν vac.

[- -], son of Artemidorus, son of Demophantes, who won the boys' wrestling in the contest celebrated for the third four-year occurrence of the Aphrodeisiea Philemoniea when T. Aelius Adrastus was contest-president. The erection of the statue was done by Artemidorus, his father,

who received the prize from the heirs of Philemon, according to the instruction of Ulpus Eurycles, the *curator*.

This is the latest reference we have to Eurycles; it presumably refers to his instructions regarding the details of the organization of the contest and the distribution of the money, probably in a schedule similar to those presented above (52–53) as part of his general re-organization and regulation of the contest-funds at Aphrodisias a few years earlier. See further above, p. 170.

80. ?ANDREAS, SON OF ANDRONEICIANUS, BOY RUNNER

Victor at the Third Philemonia, ?c. 190

Found by the current expedition in 1963 during excavation of the Water Channel area; now in the Museum garden.

A plain base (H. 1.00, W. 0.365, D. 0.335) with a recessed edge, inscribed (A) on the face, and (B) on the right side. The upper edge survives; the first element of the victor's name must therefore have been inscribed on a crowning feature.

A. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.03; the cutter has overrun the limits of the raised panel in ll.6–9, 11. Ligatures: TE, l.7; TH, TE, l.9; TH, l.10; HM, l.12.

Plate xx

- -]

'Ανδρονεικι-
ανοῦ stop ὑιὸν scroll
'Ανδρέαν vac.
νεικήσαν-
5 τα παίδων
στάδιον τῷ
ἐπιτελεσθέν-
τι ἀγῶνι τῆς
10 τρίτης τετραε-
τηρίδος 'Αφρο-
vac. δεισιήων vac.
Φιλημονιήων.

B. A graffito, lunate letters; ll.1–2, 0.035; ll.3–6, 0.01–0.02.

Λ
Ο
vacat
Φίλι-
πος ΕΥ
5 KA [. . .] ḲḲΙ
CΘΕ v. ΜΟΛΟCΙ

A. [- -] Andreas, son of Androneikianus, who won the boys' running-race in the contest celebrated for the third four-year occurrence of the Aphrodeisia Philemonia.

B. Only the name Philippus can be made out; it seems likely that l.6 includes a reference to the name Molossus, or a derivative.

The epigraphic style of A is quite different from the contemporary 79, but similar to that of 81, put up six years later. The presence of B suggests that this base stood in an

accessible position, perhaps (as suggested above) in a gymnasium, where graffiti of this kind are particularly common.

81. ?, BOY RUNNER

Victor at the Fifth Philemonia, ?c. 196

Copied by Paris and Holleaux, and published by them, no.3, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 23. Found again by the French expedition of 1904, and cited by Reinach, no.145; found by the MAMA expedition, and published by Cormack, *MAMA* VIII.506. Found by the current expedition in the Water Channel area in 1964; now in the Museum garden (excavation inventory no. 64.238).

A plain base with recessed edges (H. 0.65, W. 0.335, D. 0.335) broken above and below. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.025. Ligatures: HM, NH, 1.7; NN, 1.9; HN, 1.12.

Illustrated in *MAMA* VIII, pl. 32

- -]

[. . . . νεικήσαν]-
[τα παίδων στάδι]-
ον τῷ [ἐπιτελεσ]-
θέντι stop ἀγῶνι τῆς
5 τρίτης τετραε-
τηρίδος stop Ἀφροδεισι-
ήων Φιλημονήων stop ἀ-
γωνοθετούντων
τῶν νεοποιῶν τῶν
10 περὶ Μάρκον Ἀντω-
νιον Ἀπελλᾶν Σε-
βηρεῖνον stop τὴν δὲ Α
vacat

[- -], who won the boys' running-race in the contest celebrated for the third four-year occurrence of the Aphrodeisia Philemonia; the contest-presidents were the *neopoioi* led by Marcus Antonius Apellas Severeinus. The . . .

The inscription was apparently left unfinished; but it is also possible that the carver started on the familiar formula τὴν δὲ ἀ[νάστασιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ποιησαμένου κτλ, and then discovered that it was not required.

For the *agonothete*, see above, 15, recording his *familia* of gladiators.

82. ZENO SON OF ZENO, BOY RUNNER

Victor at the Ninth Philemonia, ?c. 208

Found by the French expedition in 1904, and published from a squeeze by Reinach, no.146; cited by Oikonomos, *Arch. Delt.* (1921/2), 295. Found by the current expedition in the old Turkish cemetery north east of the north east walls.

A plain base (H. 1.09, W. 0.34, D. 0.34); the dedicating authority may have been named on a crowning feature. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.025; ligatures: HN, 1.1; HM, 1.10; HN, 1.18; second Σ cut over O in 1.21.

Plate xx

- -]

Ζήνωνα Ζήνω-
νος τοῦ Ἑρμεί-
ου νεικήσαντα

- 5 παίδων στάδι-
 ον τῷ ἐπιτελεσ-
 θέντι ἀγωνί star
 τῆς ἐνάτης τε-
 τραετηρίδος
 10 Ἀφροδεισιήων
 Φιλημονιήων
 ἀγωνοθετούν-
 [τ]ων τῶν περὶ
 [Τι]βέριον stop Κλ(αύδιον) stop
 Ἀπολλώνιον
 15 Βερoneικια-
 νὸν Ἀκασσῶ-
 να νεοποιῶν·
 τὴν δὲ ἀνάστα-
 σιν τοῦ ἀνδρι-
 20 άντος ἐποιή-
 σατο Τυχικὸς
 Φιλήτου τοῦ
 Ἀπολλωνίου
 ἐκ τοῦ θέματος.

Zeno, son of Zeno son of Hermias, who won the boys' running-race in the contest celebrated for the ninth four-year occurrence of the Aphrodisia Philemonia; the contest-presidents were the *neopoioi* led by Tiberius Claudius Apollonius Beroneicianus Akasson. Tychicus son of Philetus son of Apollonius undertook the erection of the statue, out of the prize-money.

It is not clear why Tychicus was responsible for putting up the statue; but the presiding *agonothete*, T. Cl. Apollonius Beroneicianus Akasson is described in 77 as having left money to finance the functions of the chief-*neopoios*. It may be, therefore, that this inscription dates from after that bequest, and that he was not in fact personally present as chief-*neopoios*; in that case, Tychicus will have been fulfilling the functions of the chief-*neopoios* in the administering of the fund, but does not use the title 'vice-*neopoios*' as the grandson of Beroneicianus does in 77.

83. ?, BOY RUNNER

Victor at the Fifteenth Philemonia, ?c. 226

Copied by H. P. Borrell, and perhaps also by Bailie, who published a text, no.49; copied by Le Bas, and published by Waddington, LBW 596, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 25. Found by the current expedition in 1976, in the ruins of a house north east of the Tetrapylon, slightly west of the Water Channel area; now in Museum garden, excavation inventory no. 76.84.

A base with moulded panels (H. 0.99, W. 0.40, D. 0.37), chipped on all edges; there is a hole on the top for the attachment of a crowning feature, on which the opening of the text must have been inscribed. L.2 is inscribed on the upper moulding, but was not seen by earlier copyists; letters which they read but we did not have been underlined. Letters, standard second-/third-century forms, 0.02. Apices: on H, 1.9.

Plate xx

[τὸν δεῖνα - - στ]-
 [εφ]ανωθέν[τα]

5 παίδων στάδι-
 ον τῷ ἐπιτελε-
 σθέντι ἀγῶνι
 τῆς πεντε-
 καιδεκάτης
 τετραετηρίδος
 Ἀφροδισιῶν
 10 Φιλημονιῶν
 ἀγωνοθετούν-
 των τῶν περὶ
 Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλι-
 ον Ζήλου ἀρχι-
 15 ερέως υἱὸν Χα-
 ρίδημον νεο-
 ποιῶν stop τὴν δὲ ἀ-
 νάστασιν τοῦ
 ἀνδριάντος
 20 ποιησαμένου
 Ἰουλίου Κρατε-
 ρου τοῦ πατρὸς
 scroll αὐτοῦ scroll

1.22: Earlier copies omitted TOY.

[- -], who won the boys' running-race in the contest celebrated for the fifteenth four-year occurrence of the Aphrodeisia Philemonia; the contest-presidents were the *neopoioi* led by Julius Aurelius Charidemus, son of Zelus, high-priest. Julius Craterus, his father, undertook the erection of the statue.

For the passive of στεφανόω used in this way, with the accusative of the victory won, see *LSJ* s.v. The father's personal name is already attested at Aphrodisias, but no other Julius Craterus is known.

For the chief *neopoios* see on the following inscription.

84. ANTONIUS ANTIOCHUS, BOY BOXER Victor at the Fifteenth Philemonia, ?c. 226

Copied in 1716 by Sherard, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2812, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 24; referred to by Oikonomos, *Arch.Delt.* (1921/22), 293. 'On the top of the north wall of the circus' (the Stadium) 'towards the west end'. Apparently a single block; the dedicating authority may have been named on a crowning feature. Copied by us from Sherard's notes (BM Add. 10101, 125v).

- -]
 Ἀντώνιον Φλάβ(ιον)
 Μητροδώρου υἱὸ[v]
 Ἀντίοχον, νική-
 5 σαντα παίδων πυ-
 γμὴν τῷ ἐπιτελε-
 σθέντι ἀγῶνι τῆς
 πεντεκαιδεκά-

10 της τετραετηρί-
 δος Ἀφροδισιή-
 ων Φιλημονιῶν stop
 ἀγωνοθετούν-
 των τῶν περὶ Ἰού-
 λιον Αὐρήλιον Ζή-
 λου υἱὸν Χαρίδη-
 15 μον καὶ Ζήλου ἔ[κ]-
 γονον ἀρχιερέων
 κτιστῶν σοφιστὴν
 vac. νεοποιῶν vac.
 τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν
 20 τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ποι-
 ησαμένου Ἀντωνί-
 ου Φλαβίου Μητρο-
 δώρου τοῦ πατρὸς
 vac. αὐτοῦ vac.

In ll.1, 2, 10, 21, and 23 Sherard has O for Ω. It is not certain whether we should assume the same error, or an alternative spelling, in νεοποιῶν, l.18.

l.1: For the final B, Müller transcribed Y.

l.9: Müller transcribed ΣΕΙ.

l.10: At the end Sherard transcribed K, probably a misreading of a scroll or stop.

l.13: NION Sherard.

Antonius Flavius Antiochus, son of Metrodorus, who won the boys' boxing in the contest celebrated for the fifteenth four-year occurrence of the Aphrodisieia Philemoniea; the contest-presidents were the *neopoioi* led by Julius Aurelius Charidemus, sophist, son of Zelus and grandson of Zelus, (who were) high-priests and founders. Antonius Flavius Metrodorus, his father, undertook the erection of the statue.

Metrodorus and Antiochus are both well-attested names at Aphrodisias; an Antonius Antiochus occurs in another third-century inscription (*MAMA* viii.565).

The contest-president of the Fifteenth Philemoniea, Julius Aurelius Charidemus, is more fully described here; he was also probably honoured in another fragmentary inscription, copied by Kubitschek and Reichel, and published by J.M.R. Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 26, no.35, on which see Robert, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', 395–8 (= *OMS* vi.19–22); not found again. His epitaph survives (*MAMA* viii.564). His father, Claudius Aurelius Zelus, was also a sophist (*LBW* 1598bis); his grandfather, Tib. Cl. Zelus, was active as a benefactor in 161/9 (see Appendix I.iii).

85. ?, SON OF MENANDER, BOY PANKRATIAST

Victor at undated Philemoniea, ?c. 230–240

Copied by H. P. Borrell, whence published by Boeckh, *CIG* 2811, whence Liermann, *Analecta* 26; probably copied by Bailie, who also used Borrell's copy in his publication, no.48. Referred to by Oikonomos, *Arch. Delt.* (1921/2), 293. Taken by us from these publications.

A block with moulded panels, inscribed within panel and on upper and lower mouldings (ll.2, 33–6). The opening lines must have been inscribed on a crowning feature. Ligatures: TH, NE, l.18.; NH, ME, l.23; NH, l.24; TH, l.25; HN, l.31. The copies suggest that ll.33 ff. are in a smaller script than the preceding text.

- [ἡ βουλὴ ἐτείμησεν ?Μεν]-
 [αν]δρο[ν . .] ΤΟΥ[.] Μ[.]
 υἱὸν Μενάν-
 δρου τοῦ οἰκο-
 5 νόμου αὐτῆς
 ἀγωνισάμενον
 παίδων παν-
 scroll κράτιον scroll
 ἐνδόξως τὸν ἐ-
 10 πιτελεσμέ-
 νον ἀγῶνα Φι-
 λημονίηον ὑ-
 πὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 ἀξιολογώτατον
 15 Ἀντ(ώνιον) Καρ(μίνιον ?) Πο(πίλιον) Ἀγέ-
 λαον ἀρχινεω-
 ποιὸν νεωποι-
 ῶν τῆς ἐπιφανε-
 στάτης θεοῦ
 20 scroll Ἀφροδείτης scroll
 τῆς ἀναστάσε-
 ως τοῦ ἀνδριάν-
 τος γεγενημέ-
 νης ἐκ τῶν προσ-
 25 ὁδων πάσης τῆς
 scroll βουλῆς scroll
 δι' Ἀντ(ωνίου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐ-
 ελπίστου τοῦ
 scroll βουλάρχου scroll
 30 ὅστις Μένανδρος
 ἐστέφθη νεικήσας
 καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καθὼς
 καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀν-
 δριάντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 35 πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτος
 scroll δ[ηλ]οῦται scroll

1.2: ΔΡΟ . . ΤΟΥΜ Bailie.

1.36: The layout is that shown by Bailie; [.] Δ . CIG.

[The Council honoured ?Menander] son of Menander, the *oekonomus* of (the body responsible), who competed in the boys' pankration with distinction, (at) the celebration of the Philemoniean contest by the *neopoioi* of the most manifest goddess Aphrodite, led by the most renowned Antonius Car(?minius) Popilius Agelaus, chief-*neopoios*; the erection of the statue took place from the income of the whole Council, (organized) by Antonius Aurelius Euelpistus, the *boularch*. Which Menander was crowned, having won (in) the contest also, as is made clear by the other statue of him, put up ?before it.

The formulae here differ from those in the preceding texts. The statue was apparently one of two (ll.33–4) and was put up by a body described by a feminine noun, in honour

of the son of the *oeconomus* of that body. The reference to erecting the statue from the funds of the City Council, (Il.24–6), under the *boularch* (I.29) shows that this body was the Council. For *oeconomi* of other bodies see above, p. 121; for the *oeconomus* of the city see Robert, *Ét.Anat.*, 299 n.2, citing an unpublished text.

The occasion is expressed in a different formula (Il.9–12) from that used in the preceding texts, followed by the phrase ‘by the *neopoioi* etc.’ The expression seems to mean that the contest was celebrated ‘by’ the *neopoioi*.

Menander is simply said to have competed (I.6) with distinction. Other examples of the expression used here, ἐνδόξως ἀγωνισάμενος, ‘as a sort of consolation’ have been assembled by L. Robert (*Hell.* XI–XII, 356–8; ‘Les épigrammes de Lucillius’, 186–7, = *OMS* VI, 322–3); the normal implication is that the contestant did not win. Here, however, the last lines (I.30 ff.) indicate that he did win, and was crowned ‘as is made clear by the other statue, put up ?before this one’. The easiest explanation seems to be that Menander, while he only competed unsuccessfully in the pancration, was victorious in some other event, most probably the boxing or wrestling, since each of these are elements of the pancration; the details were not spelled out precisely because they could be read on the other statue base. Boeckh took πρὸ to mean ‘in front of’, but it is difficult to envisage such an arrangement; it is probably easier to take this as an expression of time. In either case, it seems likely that he was honoured not just for his achievement, but also because of his social status — or, more particularly, that of his father; M. B. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World* (New Haven, 1989), 125, has also suggested that he was perhaps descended from the famous athlete honoured in 91–92.

The name of the *boularch* is not otherwise attested on the site, while Menander is one of the commonest of all names at Aphrodisias. The *agonothete*’s full name should probably be restored as Antonius Car(minius) Po(pilius) Agelaus; Carminius refers to a connection with the major family, the Carminii, originally from Attouda, but active at Aphrodisias from the mid-second century (see H. Halfmann, from material collected by J. M. Reynolds, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, *Tituli* 5.ii (Rome, 1985), 633–4). A M. Antonius Popillius Agelaus, perhaps the same man, is attested in an unpublished inscription (excavation inventory no. W121), and a M. Antonius Popillius Andronicus Flavianus, son of Agelaus, in a published text (Reinach 71). The man in this text is also honoured in a fragmentary inscription for having established distributions of money (unpublished, excavation inventory no. 68.337); there the man responsible for the statue is the man mentioned in the following text, Tiberius Claudius Iulius Candidus Hegemoneus.

86. ? , BOY BOXER

Victor at the Twentieth celebration of the Philemoniea, ?c. 241

Copied by Kubitschek and Reichel (K.III.33), and published, from their copy, by J. M. R. Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 20, no.14. ‘In a wine-press to the south’.

Apparently a base (H.0.69, W. 0.22); letters 0.18. Published by us from the facsimile of their copy, published by Cormack, and from examination of the squeeze in Vienna. Ligatures: TH, I.5; ?TH, I.11; TH, I.12; NH, I.16.

- -]

[...] παῖδα τῶν [? εὖ γεγρονότων]
 [...] νείκησαν [τα ? ἐνδόξως]
 [παί] δων πυγ[μὴν ? ἐν ἀγῶνι]

- 5 [τῆς] Ἀφροδεῖσι[ήων Φιλημον]-
 [ιήω]ν εἰκοστῇ[ς τετραετηρίδος]
 [άγω]νοθετοῦ[ντος Τιβερί]-
 [ου] Κλαυδίου [. . ? . . υἱοῦ]
 [Ἀπολ]λωνίου Μα[ρκιανοῦ . . .]
 [. . .] ? Ἀσιάρχου [? καὶ ἀρχιερέως]
 10 [τῆς] πατρίδος· [?προνοησαμένων]
 [τῶν] τῆς ἐπιφα[νεστάτης θεᾶς]
 [vac. Ἀ]φροδείτης ν[εοποιῶν τῶν περὶ]
 [Τιβέ]ριον Κλαύ[διον Ἰούλιον Κάνδ]-
 [ιδον] Ἡγεμονέ[α Ἀσίας ἀρχιε]-
 15 [ρέων] καὶ ἀρχιερ[έων υἱὸν καὶ ἕκ]-
 [γονον] συγγενῇ Α [. ἀρχ]-
 [ινε]ωποιὸν Ι [. . . c. 13 . . .]
 [. . .] χόμενο Ι [- . . c. 13 . . .]
 [. .] ΕΝ κεφαλ[. . . c. 13 . . .]
 20 [?καθὼς καὶ ΤΟΙ [. . . c. 13 . . .]
 [τοῦ ἀ]ξιολογωτ[άτου . . . c. 9 . . .]
 [. . .] Αἰλίου ΑΙ [. . . c. 13 . . .]
 [. . .] leaf ΠΡΕ [. . . c. 15 . . .]
 [? vacat]

[?The Council honoured so-and-so], boy [?of good family] who won [?with distinction] the boys' boxing [at the contest of the] twentieth [four-year occurrence of the] Aphrodeisia [Philemonia] when the contest-president was [Tiberius] Claudius [son of so-and-so] Apollonius Marcianus [.], ? Asiarch [and high-priest of] his country; [(the erection of the monument) was overseen by the *neopoioi* of the most manifest [goddess] Aphrodite led by the [chief] *neopoios*, Tiberius Julius Candidus Claudius Hegemoneus [son and grandson of high-priests of Asia] and of high-priests, kinsman [? of consulars - -] ?capital sum [- -?as - -] the most renowned[- -] Aelius Α[- -

While this text remains very unclear, it apparently refers to a boys' wrestling match at the twentieth celebration of a contest; it is therefore most economical to associate it, as Cormack did, with the Philemonia. The remaining elements impose a restoration in ll.6–7 which does not quite use the standard formula (as in 79–84), but is perhaps closer to it than that in 85.

Much of the remainder of the text is made up of proper names; it is not quite clear why so many are required. The restoration here relies on several unpublished inscriptions, where some of the people named here are also found. Tiberius Claudius Apollonius Marcianus (ll.6–9) is known to us as a high-priest in the generation after Septimius Severus (excavation inventory no. 67.535, with 77.124). Although 'Asiarch' is not common at Aphrodisias (we restore it in one other, unpublished inscription of this period) it fits better in l.9 than the alternative 'gymnasiarch'.

The next lines, 10–17, describe the *neopoioi* and their chief *neopoios*, probably because they had been responsible for putting up the monument. The chief *neopoios*, described in ll.13–17, is almost certainly to be identified with Claudius Hegemoneus, the Aphrodisian ambassador to Gordian III in 239 (A&R 20.8). He is also described, in similar terms to those used here, in two unpublished inscriptions; in one he was responsible for honours apparently for Antonius Carminius Popilius Agelaus, the chief *neopoios* of 85; in

the other, as first archon, he was responsible for the erection of a statue for Lucius Egnatius Victor Lollianus, in the late 240s: see J. M. Reynolds in the memorial volume for M. Le Glay (forthcoming). 85 and 86 are therefore fairly closely contemporary, although they must date from different years, if two different men are described as chief *neopoios*.

The last part of the text seems likely to describe the financial arrangements for erecting the statue, restoring κεφάλ[αιον, 'capital sum', probably giving the name of someone who was responsible for overseeing its administration.

87. POLYCHRONIUS, BOXER

?Fourth–sixth century

Found by the current expedition in the area north of the Odeon and south of the Temple, and still *in situ*; published as ALA 214.

A marble storage jar (H. 0.895, maximum diameter 0.77), which is cracked. Inscribed in one line along the shoulder; letters av. 0.04, omicron 0.03, tau 0.05.

Πολυχρονίου πύκτου νομισμάτων δύο τριτοῦ

cross

Of Polychronius, boxer, (at) 2 1/3 *nomismata*.

A considerable number of storage jars of this type have been found at the site, but this is the only one with an inscribed text; others (e.g. that published with it, as ALA 215) simply have numbers. The number in this text presumably indicates either a weight or a price.

Polychronius is described as a boxer, although that presumably has nothing to do with his ownership of the jar; it is used as an identifier, in the manner of the professions on the tombstones at Corycus. In the same way, in the early third century at Aphrodisias two 'god-fearers', listed in a Jewish inscription, are perhaps described as πύ(?κτης) and ἀθλη(τής); see above, p. 191.

Athletic performances continued to be offered as an entertainment in the late Roman period; for example 'athletes', designated as ξύστος, are attested as appearing between chariot-races at Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 2707). Choricus, writing in the sixth century, and perhaps with some deliberate archaizing, refers to boxers, athletes, runners, and pancratiasts (*Syn.Mim.* 150, 152, 154). On a visit to Constantinople in the reign of Maurice St Theodore of Sykeon healed a wrestler (λουκτάτωρ), presumably a professional (*Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels, 1970), ch. 88); this is apparently the only attested use of the term λουκτάτωρ. All this is evidence not for the continuation of athletic contests in their earlier form, attracting members of the civic élite, but for demonstrations of athletic skills as a form of entertainment, with at least sufficient frequency for Polychronius to consider boxing as his characteristic occupation.

APPENDIX III. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SYNODS

88 – 93

The texts presented here illustrate the activities of the synods of performers and of athletes in the Roman imperial period, inscribing lengthy — and expensive — decrees and honours, in the same formulae as those used in civic decrees. Thus 88 incorporates three decrees, which were inscribed together, two emanating from cities, and one from the synod of performers. The style of all three is similar; the synod was a constituted legal body; its structure was modelled on that of the city, and it functioned in many similar ways. This is particularly striking, as Fergus Millar has pointed out, in the relationships of the synods with the emperors; the synods were in regular correspondence with the emperors, to whom they would send congratulations and assurances of loyalty, receiving confirmations of their privileges in exchange (*ERW*, 456–63).

The effect of all this is to present very clearly the importance, and the status, of these synods within the life of the city. Their function in ensuring the provision of performers was crucial (above, p. 46, with 51.9) and it is clear that they were actively involved in pressing for contests to be put on (above, 50). It seems clear that they also sponsored contests themselves, from their own funds (52.I.1–2, and p. 178).

An associated point of some importance comes from the consideration of the language of these decrees. In these and similar decrees, whose language has several times been examined by L. Robert (e.g. 72), we find careful examples of the rhetoric of the period and also recurrent ideas which will continue into late antiquity; these require a full linguistic commentary which would be disproportionate here. It is clear from the wording of 88.ii that the works of a poet such as Longianus were perceived as having an educational influence; the language and the ideas of the rhetoric of the second century were propagated through the provinces very largely in the context of shows and performances. This gives further point to the fact, observed above, that performers and athletes were clearly both perceived as having a moral influence and were regularly praised for moral virtues (p. 191).

THE SYNOD OF PERFORMERS

88. HONOURS FOR C. JULIUS LONGIANUS, POET

i From a city (unidentified); ii From the city of Halicarnassus; iii From the synod of performers, dated to A.D. 127

First copied by Waddington, using a ladder, in 1850; published by him, *LBW* 1618 (i and ii), 1619 (iii), whence Curtius, *Arch.Zeit.* 3 (1870), 104; Lüders, *Dionysische Künstler*, no. 95. Found again by the French expedition of 1904, who took a squeeze, whence described by Reinach, 10. Copied, squeezed and measured by the *MAMA* expedition in 1934, whence published by Cormack, *MAMA* VIII.418, on which see Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 173–4. Found, photographed and read with binoculars by the current expedition; we have also consulted the *MAMA* squeeze.

Three texts, all inscribed on a single block high up in the north wall of the Stadium; the block (H. 0.81, W. 0.77) has an area of rough tooling along the lower edge, which breaks into iii.16, suggesting

that there was a moulding below, which was broken away to fit the stone for use in the wall (as is found on other re-used blocks in the wall). The stone must come from a composite monument of some kind, perhaps the wall of a building. The texts of i and ii must have started on the blocks above, and most of i, with much of iii was inscribed on a block to the left. i and ii both contain twenty-six lines, but these are not completely aligned with one another; 1.26 of i ends on the same line as the first line of iii, while 1.26 of ii ends above it; this probably indicates that the three documents were not inscribed simultaneously (although the lettering shows no marked variations).

Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.01; dot for stops (not marked by Waddington or MAMA). Ligatures: NH, iii.6, NHM, iii.9, MN, MM, iii.15. We have not climbed up to the stone; measurements are therefore those of the MAMA team.

Plate xxi

i.

	[...]	...] ΟΣΑΠΑ
	[...]	διὰ τὰς ἀκρό-
	[...]	...] Α τε τῆς
	[ασεις ...]	...] ἸΤΟΥΣ
5	[...]	...] ἈΝ εἰσφερ-
	[...]	...] Ἰ ἐν πλει-
	[στοίς ...]	...] ἈΣΤΟΥΣ
	[...]	...] ΔΕΝΟΣ
	[...]	...] πολλάκις
10	[...]	...] τήν τε αὐ-
	[τ- ...]	πρ]όσηκου-
	[...]	...] ΛΗΣΘΑΙ
	[...]	Γάιον Ἰούλιον] Λονγια-
	[νόν ...]	...] Ν καὶ κατα
15	[...]	...] ὌΝ καὶ τῶν
	[...]	...] ΤΛΩ καὶ ΔΕ
	[...]	...] ολιτεΐαν
	[...]	...] ΔΑ καὶ ΧΕΙ
	[...]	...] ΝΑΙ δὲ αὐ-
20	[τ- ...]	...] πόλεως
	[...]	...] ΜΑΣΕΦΗΣ
	[...]	...] ΡΟΣ δὲ το
	[...]	? Ἀλικαρνασ]σέων πο-
	[λ- ...]	...] ΟΣ αὐτὸν
25	[...]	...] ἀντίγρα-
	[φον ...]	...] σημανθὲν τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγεῖ] δι stop leaf

1.5:]NEI W., M.

1.6: ΠΑΣΙ W.

1.8:]ENOS W., M.

1.10: ΤΩΝ W.

1.12:]ΗΣΘΑΙ W., M.

1.15:]OH W.,]ΩΝ M.

1.17: ΔΕΙΜΕΙΑΝ W., π]ολιτεΐαν M.

1.19:]ΑΙ W.,]ΝΑΙ M.

A decree in honour of Longianus (l.13) with a reference to public readings of his poetry (l.2) and to a copy of a decree in his honour sealed with a public seal (ll.25–6); perhaps the last is that mentioned in ii, which was almost certainly a decree of the people of Halicarnassus, in which case their name should perhaps be restored here (l.23). This might perhaps have been a covering document which accompanied ii; but the lack of alignment between the two texts suggests to me that they were probably not inscribed at the same time, and were therefore not so closely associated.

ii.

- [. . .
 τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιδημία καὶ ἐτείμησεν καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἡ-
 μᾶς καὶ ποιημάτων παντοδαπῶν ἐπιδείξεις ποι-
 κίλας ἐποίησατο, δι' ὧν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους εὐφρα-
 νεν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὠφέλησεν ἐπὶ τε τούτοις
 5 ἅπασιν ἡσθεῖς ὁ δῆμος τειμὰς αὐτῷ προσέταξε
 τὰς προσηκούσας ψηφίσασθαι stop δεδόχθαι Γάιον Ἰού-
 λιον Λογγιανὸν προῖκα πεπολειτεῦσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν vac.
 ὄντα καὶ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον τῶν κα-
 θ' ἡμᾶς, ταῖς τε ἄλλαις πολειτείαις καὶ τειμαῖς τετει-
 10 μῆσθαι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων μεγίσταις καὶ εἰκόσιν vac.
 χαλκαῖς ἃς ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνασταθῆναι τοῖς ἐπι-
 σημοτάτοις τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Μου-
 σῶν τεμένει καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῶν ἐφήβων παρὰ
 τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον stop ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς βυβλί-
 15 οῖς αὐτοῦ δημοσίαν ἀνάθεσιν ἔν τε βυβλιοθήκαις
 ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτοις οἱ νέοι παιδεύων-
 ται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαίων συ[v]-
 γράμμασιν ὅπως δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν συγγενῶν Ἀφρο-
 δεισιέων φανερὰ γένηται ἡ ἡμετέρα περὶ τὸν πολε[ί]-
 20 τιν αὐτῶν εὖνοια καὶ σπουδὴ stop δεδόχθαι καὶ ἀντίγρα-
 φον τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος πεμφθῆναι διὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 Ἰουλίου τοῖς Ἀφροδεισιεῦσιν τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγεῖδι ση-
 मानθὲν ἐξ οὗ κἀκεῖνο(ι) μαθήσονται τό τε ἡμέτερον ἡ- vac.
 25 θος ᾧ περὶ πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς πεπαιδευμένοις
 χρώμενοι διατελοῦμεν, καὶ αἷς τὸν ἄνδρα τειμαῖς ὡς
 διενηνοχότα τῶν ἄλλων τετειμήκαμεν stop, ? leaf vac.

l.1: THTE M., TH W. While the second letter is uncertain, there are not more than two.

l.7: ΛΟΝΓ W. (in his notes), ΛΟΓΓ W. (in his copy), M., lapis. HMIN M., HMEIN W., lapis.

l.8: ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝ, W.

l.9: ΠΟΛΙΤ, W.

l.12: ΜΟΥ W., ΜΟ[Y] M.

l.13: ΣΚΑΙ W., corrected in his transcription.

l.14: ΒΥΒΑ W., ΒΥΒΑΙ M.

l.15: ΚΑΙΣ W., ΚΑΙ[Σ] M.

l.17: ΣΥΝ W., ΣΥ[N] M.

l.18: ΣΥΝΓ W., ΣΥΓΓ M.

l.19: ΠΟΛΕΙ W., ΠΟΛΕ[I] M.

[The Council and people of Halicarnassus honoured C. Julius Longianus since he had benefited them . . .] and by the rest of his visit, and he also honoured and adorned us, and gave demonstrations of poems of every kind, by which he both delighted the older and improved the younger, and, pleased at all this, the People instructed that the appropriate honours be voted to him; it has been resolved that Gaius Julius Longianus function as a citizen among us without payment, being both a good man, and the best poet of our times, and be honoured with the other grants of citizenship and honours, the greatest that the laws permit, and with bronze statues which are to be put up both in the most notable places of the city and in the precinct of the Muses and in the gymnasium of the epebes next to the ancient Herodotus; it has also been voted that there should be public presentation of his books in the libraries in our city, so that the young men may be educated in these also, in the same way as in the writings of the ancients; and, so that our goodwill and enthusiasm for their citizen should become clear to the People of our kinsfolk, the Aphrodisians, it has been resolved that a copy of this decree should be sent, by the hand of Julius himself, to the Aphrodisians, signed with the public seal, from which they too will learn both the way in which we regularly behave towards all educated men, and the honours with which we have honoured (Longianus) as someone quite outstanding.

iii.

stop leaf (at end of i) stop Ψήφισμα ἱερᾶς συνόδου vacat
 [ἔδοξεν τῇ ἱερᾷ συνόδῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἴκου] μένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα
 Τραιανὸ(ν) Καίσαρος θεοῦ vac.
 [Τραιανοῦ Δακικοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸν, θεοῦ Ν]έρουα υἱῶν, Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα
 Σεβαστὸν νέον Διόνυσον τεχνε[ι]-
 [τῶν ? ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν καὶ τῶν σ]υναγωνιστῶν vac. εἰσηγησαμένου
 Θεοφράστου τοῦ Εὐβιότου Τρύφωνος vac.
 5 [κωμωδοῦ, Λαοδικέως, ἐπιψηφισαμένου Ε]ὐτύχους τοῦ Εὐτύχους κωμωδοῦ
 Ἀσιονεῖκου Ἱεραπολείτου vac.
 [ἐπεὶ Γάιος Ἰούλιος, ? Γαίου υἱὸς, Λογγι]ανὸς ἀγαθὸς ἀτελὴς τραγωδίων ποιήτης
 ἀνὴρ πάντος λόγου καὶ πάσης
 [... 30/31 ...] ΣΙΑΝ οὐ μόνον κοσμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύξων διὰ τῆς ἐναρέτου παιδείας
 [... 27/28 ...] μεγ]αλοφυεῖ δόξῃ λογιότητα, τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον εὐνοιάν τε καὶ σπουδὴν
 EN v.
 [... 30/31 ...] ΥΤΑΙ ὡς πληθύνειν ἡμῶν τὴν σύνοδον καὶ συναύξειν, δι' ὃ ἄθροον τὸ
 τῆς ΕΙΟ
 10 [... 30/31 ...] ΤΑΙ καὶ προτροπὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐτείμησεν αὐτὸν εἰκόνι γραπτῇ
 vac.
 [... 25/26 ...] ἐν ᾧ ἂν]τόπῳ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὸς προέ]ληται, εἶναί τε προήγορον διὰ βίου
 τῆς
 [συνόδου ... 24/25 ...] ΟΧΗ τῆς ἀξίας ἄνδρας ταῖς πρεπούσαις τειμαῖς ἀμείβεσθαι
 stop ἐτελέσθη
 [ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Μάρκου Γαουίου Σκουίλλα Γ]αλλικανοῦ καὶ Τίτου Ἀτειλίου Ρούφου
 Τιτιανοῦ πρὸς ζ' καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίων
 [. . 12/13 . . Θεοφράστου τοῦ Εὐβιότου]ν Τρύφωνος τοῦ καλουμένου Θεοφράστου
 Ὠρεῖωνος Λαοδικέως κωμω-
 15 [δοῦ ... 28/29 ...] Σ καὶ γυμνασιάρχου, γραμματεύοντος δὲ Αἰλίου Κλαυδίου
 Διογένης vac.
 [... 31/32 ...] ΝΤΟΣ Ἀπελ्ला Χάρητος Ἀφροδισιέω[ς κι]θάρω[δο]υ [... ..] ΟΥ vac.

1.2: ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ lapis.

1.3: ΤΕΧΝ[Ι] W., ΤΕΧΝΕ[Ι] M.

1.4: ΤΗΝ W., ΤΩΝ M.; ΕΥΦΟΡΟΥ W., ΕΥΒΙΟΤΟΥ M.

1.5:]ΣΤΥΧ W., corrected to ΥΤΥΧ in transcription,]ΤΥΧ M.,]ΥΤΥΧ lapis; ΚΩΜΩΙΑ W., ΚΩΜΩΔ lapis.

1.7: ΣΙΑΝ W., ΞΙΑΝ M.; we cannot determine decisive traces — ΕΙΑΝ is also possible.

1.8: ΑΛΟΦ W., ΑΛΟΦ M.; at end, ΕΙΣ W., ΕΝ M.; very unclear, even on the squeeze.

1.9: ΤΑΙ W., ΑΙ M., ΥΤΑΙ lapis; ΑΘΡΟΟΝ M., ΑΠΟΟΝ W. At end, ΘΗΣΠΕ W., ΘΗΣΣ[ΥΝ] M., ΘΗΣΕΙΟ lapis.

1.10: ΑΙ, Ὠ, Μ.

1.11: ΟΠΩ W., Μ.; ΠΡΟΣΔΕΠΑ . . Σ ΗΓΟ W., ΠΡΟΣΘΗ . . ΝΕΙΝΑΙ . . ΝΗΓΟΡ R.; the reading of M. seems closest to what can be determined; at end, ΛΙΣ W., ΘΗΣ M.

1.12: ΡΧΗ W., ΟΧΗ M.; ΑΣΙΑΣ W., ΑΞΙΑΣ M.; at end ΟΜ W., ΘΗ M.

1.13: ΑΠΕΙ W., ΑΤΕΙ M.; Υ . . ΓΚΑΛ W., [ΠΡΟ]ςΚΑΛ R., ΠΡΟςΚΑΛ M.; ΛΙΩΝ W., ΛΙΩ[Ν] M.

1.14: ΩΝ . . . ΛΛΟ W., ΩΝΟΣΛΑΟ M.; ΚΩΜ . . W., ΚΩΜΩ M.

1.15: At beginning Ε W., Σ M.

1.16 does not appear in Waddington's copy, and was first read from the *MAMA* squeeze; it seems to have been largely obliterated when the protruding area below the text was chipped away to prepare the block for reuse in the wall. Our readings of the squeeze do not differ significantly from those of Cormack.

Decree of the sacred synod. [It was resolved by the sacred worldwide synod], under Dionysus and the emperor Traianus, [son] of the divine Caesar [Traianus Parthicus], grandson of the [divine] Nerva, Hadrianus Caesar Augustus, new Dionysus, of performers [?crowned and sacred victors] and the associate-competitors; (resolution) introduced by Theophrastus Tryphon, son of Eubiotus, [comedian, of Laodicea, seconded by] Eutyches son of Eutyches, comedian, Asian victor, of Hierapolis. [Since Gaius Julius, ? son of Gaius, Longi]anus, a good and ?unrivalled tragic poet, a man [?worthy of] all regard and all [? - -] not only adorning but also enhancing through his virtuous learning [?our association, - - ? his] eloquence [?adorned with the] reputation of his natural genius, his unceasing goodwill and zeal [- -] so as to increase and enhance our synod, by which altogether [- -] and as an encouragement for future generations, honoured him with a painted likeness [- to be put up in whatever] place in his homeland he himself may choose, and to be advocate, for his lifetime, of the [synod - ? e.g. since it is our wish] to reward men with the fitting honours; it was carried out [in the consulate of Marcus Gavius Squilla G]allicanus and Titus Atilius Rufus Titianus, six days before the calends of April; [?the president was Theophrastus] Tryphon [son of Eubiotus] also called Theophrastus Orion, of Laodicea, comedian; [- -] and *gymnasiarch*; the secretary was Aelius Claudius Diogenes [. . . the . . .] was Apelles son of Chares, Aphrodisian, [. . .] *End*.

On the standing of poets at this period see E. L. Bowie, 'Poetry and poets in Achaia', in A. M. Cameron and S. Walker (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (London, 1989), 198–205; these texts demonstrate the importance of a man of letters both within his own city and in others. Gaius Julius Longianus, a tragic poet, was apparently an Aphrodisian, although his name is not otherwise attested on the site; his nomen suggests a distinguished family. He was honoured as an educator by the people of Halicarnassus (ii): but his recitals gave pleasure as well as improvement, so that he could also compete as a performer (iii). The decree of his fellow performers (iii) exemplifies the structures of the synod, passing a formal decree with a secretary, a *gymnasiarch*, and other officials (Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, 231, 675, 990, 1191). Longianus may also have been honoured in a fragmentary inscription from Lydia, put up by the Council, People, and *Gerousia* of Philadelphia, together with the synod (apparently that of performers), but the restoration is not certain (J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien* (Vienna, 1908), no.46).

THE SYNOD OF ATHLETES

89 AND 90. DECREE OF THE SYNOD OF ATHLETES IN HONOUR OF CALLICRATES
Reign of Hadrian

89 was first copied by Loew, and published from his copy by Franz, no. 4, whence LBW 1620, Liermann, *Analecta* 13, Lüders, *Dionysische Künstler* no.96. Copied by Kubitschek and Reichel; copied by the MAMA expedition, whence — and from Reichel's notes — published by Cormack, *MAMA* viii.417, revised by Robert, *Hell.* xiii, 134–47. Observations by R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 6 (1970), 47–9 (on which *BullÉp* 1971.614), 13 (1974), 276 (on which *BullÉp* 1974.535), 31 (1978), 134 (on which *BullÉp* 1979.447). Found by the current expedition lying just south of the southern stretch of the city wall, towards the west. Copied and published by H. Wankel, *I.Eph.* Ia, no.11.

90 was a stray find by the current expedition, now in the Museum; inventory no. 70.217. Copied by us and published from our copy, H. Wankel, *I.Eph.* Ia, no.11.

Both inscriptions illustrated in Wankel, *op. cit.*

89. A plain block (H. 0.84, W. 0.465, D. 0.50) without moulding, broken above; the right side has been damaged since it was copied by Loew and Reinach, and letters read by earlier visitors and not by us have been underlined. The text must have started on a crowning feature. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.015; diaeresis on last I, 1.5; ligatures: NB, 1.7, HM, 1.8, NK, NE, 1.9, NE, 1.10, ME, HN, 1.14, NHME, NHN, 1.15, ME, 1.17, NHM, 1.20, HNE, NK, NE, 1.21, NK, 1.22, THN, 1.24, ME, 1.25, NK, HMH, 1.27, HK, 1.29, HN, 1.31, NH, 1.32.

- [...12/13...] I T O — E I — [.....]
 [...9/10...] I stop ἔδοξεν τῇ ἱερᾷ ξ[υστικῇ πε]-
 ριπολιστικῇ εὐσεβεῖ σεβαστῇ [συνόδῳ καὶ]
 τῷ σύνπαντι ξυστῷ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑρακλέα]
 5 καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιαν[ὸν Ἀδρι]-
 ανὸν Σεβαστὸν διαπέμψασθαι [τόδε τὸ ψήφισ]-
 μα τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ Ἀφροδισιέων βο[υλῇ καὶ]
 τῷ δήμῳ stop ἐπεὶ Καλλικράτης Διογέν[ους Ἀφρο]-
 δισιεὺς πανκρατιαστῆς ἱερονείκη[ς πλείσ]-
 10 [τ]ονείκης ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας εἰς τὰς ὁ]-
 δοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς τραπεῖς ἰδρῶσι [καὶ πό]-
 νοις ἐκτήσατο τὴν εὐκλεῆ δόξαν [...5/6...]-
 τητός τε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθ' [ὅλης τῆς]
 οἰκουμένης γίνεται διὰ τε τὴν ὀλόκλ[ηρον]
 15 αὐτῷ πεφιλοπονημένην σοφίαν· σωματι γὰρ ὑ-
 περβάλλον ἅπαντας ἀρχαίους ἔθαυμάσθη [τὴν]
 [φύ]σιν, ψυχῆς τε ἐπιμελούμενος ἐμακαρί-
 ζετο τὸν τρόπον· ὧν ἔνεκα ἀπάντων πρὸς
 τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς δόξης ἐρπύσας ὁ βάσκα-
 20 νος φθόνος τὸ κοινὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν νεμεσή-
 σας ἀπήνεγκεν ἐνειρείσας εἰς μέρη τοῦ σώμα-
 τος τὰ εὐχρηστότατα πανκρατιασταῖς, τοὺς ὁ-
 μους· διὸ ἔδοξεν τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ αἰτήσασ-
 25 θαι τὴν Ἀφροδισιέων πόλιν τόπους ἐπιτη-
 δεῖους, ὅπως ποιησώμεθα τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερο-
 νείκου εἰκόνων ἀναθέσεις καὶ ἀνδρειάν-
 τος ἀνάστασιν καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει

30 τῆς Ἀσίας Ἐφέσῳ stop ἔχουσῶν τῶν τειμῶν
 ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς προσηκούσας τῷ Καλλικράτει,
 ἵνα διὰ τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ βαρύθυμον
 πρὸς εἰμαρμένην ἀπαράιτητον αἱ τῶν τει-
 μῶν χάριτες εὐπαρηγόρητον ἡμεῖν τὸν συν-
 vacat ἀθλητὴν καταστήσωσιν vac.

l.1: Not in Franz;]TO[M., W.

l.5 was omitted by Franz, and so ll.4 and 6 were incorrectly restored; τ[ὸν Ἡρακλέα is Robert's supplement.

l.9: [Δ]ΕΙΣ Franz, M., W. Final supplement by Robert.

ll.12/13: [ἐπιζή]τητος cj. Cormack, [εὐαρεσ]τητός cj. Merkelbach.

l.13: Final supplement by Cormack.

l.16: ὑπερβάλλων all previous editors; ὑπερβαλῶν lapis.

ll.16/17: [τὴν φύ]σιν Franz, etc., Robert, Wankel; [παρὰ πᾶ]σιν Cormack.

90. Fragment (H. 0.22, W. 0.36, D. 0.18) broken on all sides, from a block, perhaps part of a composite monument which bore another copy of the same text as 89; the text must have been c. 2.20 in length. Letters standard second-/third-century forms, 0.015.

5 [-- ἔδοξεν τῇ ιε]ρᾷ ξυστικ[ῇ περιπολιστικῇ κτλ --]
 [-- καὶ αὐ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιαν[ὸν Ἀδριανὸν κτλ . --]
 [-- καὶ τ]ῷ δήμῳ stop ἐπεὶ Καλλι[κράτης κτλ --]
 [- εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τ]ῆς ἀρετῆς τραπεῖς ἰδ[ρῶσι κτλ --]
 [-- τῆς οἰκ]ουμένης γέινεται [διὰ τε τὴν ὀλόκληρον κτλ. --]
 [-- ἅπαντας ἀρ]χαίους ἐθανυμάσθη τ[ὴν φύσιν κτλ --]
 [-- πρὸς τὸ] ὑπερβάλλον τῆς δ[όξης ἐρπύσας κτλ . --]
 [-- ἐν]ειρείσας εἰς μέρη τοῦ [σώματος κτλ. --]
 [-- αἰτήσα]σθαι [τὴν] Ἀφρο[δισιέων πόλιν κτλ. --]
 [--]

-] It was resolved by the sacred xystic travelling reverent august synod and the whole xystus under [Heracles] and the emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, to send this decree to the most sacred Council and the People of the Aphrodisians. Since Callicrates, son of Diogenes, from Aphrodisias, pancratiast, sacred victor, [multiple] (10) victor, who from his earliest youth having turned to the ways of virtue, obtained by sweat and labour his noble reputation, and came to be [?admired] by all men throughout the inhabited world for the complete wisdom which he obtained by his labours; for, having excelled all the ancients in his physique, he was admired [for his physique], and, taking care of his soul, he was congratulated on his conduct. On account of all these things malign (20) Envy crept towards his outstanding reputation and, begrudging our common good, removed it, bearing down on the part of the body most useful to pancratiasts, the shoulders. For this reason it was resolved, with good fortune, to request the city of the Aphrodisians for suitable locations, so that we might make offerings of images of the great sacred victor and put up a statue, as (we have done) also in the metropolis of Asia, Ephesus, the honorific images having inscriptions appropriate to Callicrates, (30) in order that through this decree, in his heaviness of heart at an inexorable destiny, the gracious gift of the honours may make our fellow-athlete well consoled.

This is a decree of the synod of athletes, whose formal title, as in 91.i.1–4, includes both their patron deity and the reigning emperor, in a formula parallel to that used by the performers, 88.iii.2–4 (cf. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 137–9). It was addressed to the city of Aphrodisias, in honour of Callicrates, an Aphrodisian pancratiast who was a sacred victor

- σοῦτον δόξης προέβη ὡς πρῶτον μὲν
 [ἀ]νελέσθαι εὐτυχῶς τοσούτους ἀγῶ-
 15 [ν]ας καὶ δοξάσαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀγῶνα τὴν
 [λ]αμπροτάτην πατρίδα αὐτοῦ κηρυγμα-
 [σ]ιν καὶ στεφάνοις, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
 [θ]εοῦ Ἀντωνείνου, ὡς οὐ μόνον στε[φαν]-
 [ω]θῆναι ταῖς ἐκείνου χειρσίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 20 [τει]μαῖς ἐξαιρετοῖς τειμηθῆναι, μεταξὺ
 [δὲ γ]ενόμενος ξυστάρχης τοσαύτη προ-
 νοία καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπά-
 σης κήδεται τῶν ἡμῖν διαφερόν-
 των τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα πολειτευ-
 25 ὁμενος ἐν ἡμῖν· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλο-
 τε μὲν πολλάκις καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐπαινοῦν-
 [τ]ες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μαρτυροῦντες αὐτῷ
 ψηφίσματα τοῖς κυρίοις Αὐτοκράτορ-
 [σ]ιν πεπόμενα ἡγούμενοι μεγίσ-
 30 [τ]ας καὶ ἀνταξίας ἀμοιβὰς αὐτῷ γενεσ-
 [θ]αι ἀντὶ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ ὅτι δα-
 [π]ανήμασιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ κόπῳ πολλῷ περι-
 εγένετο καὶ διεπράξατο ἀχθῆναι τὸν ἔναγ-
 χος ἀγῶνα παρὰ τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ὡς νομί-
 35 ζειν ἡμᾶς οἰκόθεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνηρῆσθαι
 τὰ θέματα· διὰ ταῦτα δεδόχθαι τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ
 εὐχαριστήσαι τῷ Μενάνδρῳ ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἱερω-
 τάτης βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου δήμου
 Ἀφροδεισιέων περὶ τῶν προηγορευμένων,
 40 τειμῆσαι τε αὐτὸν ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσει καὶ
 εἰκόνων ἀναθέσει ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ
 τῆς πατρίδος τόπῳ, ἐπιγραφησομένων
 τῶν τειμῶν τῇ προγραφῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ψη-
 φίσματος πρὸς τὸ αἰδίου ὑπάρξαι αὐ-
 45 τῷ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν τειμὰς leaf
 vacat
 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ πολεῖτης πόλεων τῶν ὑπο-
 γεγραμμένων stop Περγαμηνῶν, Ἀντιοχέ-
 ων Καίσαρέων Κολωνῶν καὶ βουλευτῆς
 Θηβαίων καὶ βουλευτῆς stop Ἀπολλωνιατῶν
 50 Λυκίων Θρακῶν καὶ βουλευτῆς stop Μειλη-
 σίων stop Πεσσινουντίων stop Κλαυδιοπολειτῶν·
 ἐπιμεληθέντος τῶν τειμῶν Ζήνωνος
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ
 scroll ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ scroll

II.7–10 were omitted by Fellows, perhaps among the lines which he describes as written on 'the cornice and mouldings'. The fullest text is that of Franz, from Loew, some of whose readings were omitted by MAMA.

- 1.7: ΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ Deering, Franz, ἐπιψηφισαμένου edd. prr.; but if the connection with the capital is correctly restored, there will not have been sufficient space to name a proposer and a seconder. ΤΑΙΜ.ΟΥ Loew.
- 1.9: It is not clear whether there is room for the initial of a praenomen after the space required for ΕΠΕΙ at the beginning of the line.
- 1.10: ΔΟΞΟΥΣ Deering, ΔΟΞΟΣ Fellows.
- 1.13: ΤΟΥΤΟΝ Deering, ΣΟΥΤΟΝ Fellows, ΜΑΜΑ. ΜΕΝ omitted by Fellows, ΜΑΜΑ.
- 1.19: ΚΑΙ Deering, Κ[ΑΙ] Fellows, ΜΑΜΑ.
- 1.21/2: ΠΡΟ/ΙΟΙΑ Deering, ΠΡΟ/.ΟΙΑ Loew, Ε[Υ/Ν]ΟΙΑ Fellows, ΜΑΜΑ; see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 150–1.
- 1.33/4: ΕΝΑΓ/ΚΟΣ Deering.
- 11.34/5: ΝΟ/ΜΙΖΕΙΝ ΜΑΜΑ.
- 1.44: ΑΙΩΝΙΟΥΣ Fellows, ΜΑΜΑ, ΑΙΔΙΟΥΣ Deering, Loew; see Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 150.
- 1.49: ΘΗΠΑΙΩΝ Fellows, ΜΑΜΑ; ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ Deering, Loew; see Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 148–9.

[It was resolved] by the sacred xystic [?travelling synod under] Heracles and the agonistic one (i.e. Hermes) [and the emperors M(arcus) Aur(elius) Anto]ninus and L(ucius) Au[r(elius) Verus, of sacred and crowned victors] from the whole world [?at Antioch] Caesaria Co[lonia ?on the occasion of the contest worth ?one] talent: [Proposer . . .] seconded by T(itus) Aelius M[. . .], wrestler, extraordinary: since Aelius Aurelius Menander, (10) extraordinary, and *xystarch* for life of the contests in Colonia Antiochia, who practised as an athlete with honour and with concern, has reached such honour that, firstly, he has won with good fortune so many contests and has brought honour at each contest to his splendid homeland by proclamations and crowns and especially also in the time of the divine Antoninus, so that he was not only crowned at his hands, but also honoured with (20) particular honours; meanwhile, having become *xystarch*, he cared with such forethought and concern, and with all zeal, for our interests, exercising his office excellently well; for these reasons both on many other occasions and now praising the man and bearing witness to him we have sent resolutions to the lords emperors, considering that (these would be) the greatest and (30) appropriate returns to him for his goodwill towards us, and because with sufficient expenditure and much effort he succeeded in arranging that the recent contest was conducted among the people of Antioch, so that we think that the prizes were obtained from his own resources. Therefore it has been decreed, with good fortune to thank Menander before the most sacred Council and the most splendid People of the Aphrodisians concerning what has been described, (40) and to honour him with the erection of statues and the dedication of images in the most distinguished location of his homeland; the honours are to be inscribed with the publication of this decree, in order that his honours from us should be perpetual.

He is also citizen of the following cities: of the Pergamenes, of the Antiochenes, Caesarean colonists, and councillor of the Thebans, and councillor of the Apolloniatai, (50) Lycian and Thracian, and councillor of the Milesians, the Pessinuntii, the Claudiopolitai.

Zeno son of Apollonius son of Menander, his brother, was responsible for the honours.

ii.

b

- [? e.g. ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
 ἐτείμησαν ταῖς καλλίσταις]
 καὶ μεγίσταις τ[ειμαῖς]
 Αἴλιον stop Αὐρήλιον [stop Μένανδρον]
 ἀθλήσαντα ἐνδόξως [καὶ ἐπιμελῶς, πλει]-
 5 στονείκην stop πανκρατία[σὴν παρά]-
 δοξον ξυστάρχην stop γ[ένους πρώ]-
 του καὶ ἐνδόξου stop πρώ[τον καὶ μό]-

- νον τῶν stop ἀπ' αἰῶνος stop ἀγ[ωνισάμε]-
 νον stop τριετία τὰς τρεῖς κρίσ[εις, παῖδα]
 10 ἀγένειον stop ἄνδρα stop καὶ νεική[σαντα]
 ἱεροὺς stop καὶ ταλαντιαίους stop κ[αὶ πλείσ]-
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγῶνας vacat
 Νέαν πόλιν Σεβαστὰ παίδων Κλαυ-
 διανῶν πανκράτιν stop Νέμεια παίδων
 15 πανκράτιν stop Ἴσθμια ἀγενείων πανκρά-
 τιν stop Ἐφεσον Βαλβίλληα ἀγενείων
 πανκράτιν stop ἱερὰν Πέργαμον κοινὸν
 Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν stop Ἐφεσον
 Βαλβίλληα ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν stop Σμύρ-
 20 ναν κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν stop
 ἑβδόμη Παναθηναίδι Παναθήναια
 ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον stop Ἀφροδει-
 σιέων stop Νέμεια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
 καὶ τὰ stop ἐξῆς Νέμεια ἀνδρῶν πανκρά-
 25 τιν stop ἱερὰν Ὀλύμπεια ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀν-
 δρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισι-
 έων stop Πύθια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
 Ῥώμην Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπια stop ἀν-
 30 δρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισι-
 scroll έων leaf

c

- [... c. 22 ...] EN
 [... c. 21 ...] ON ἀ-
 [νδρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον Ἀφ]ροδει-
 [σιέων ... c. 15 κοι]νὸν Ἀσί-
 35 [ας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτι]ν Μιτυλή-
 [νην ἀνδρῶν παν]κράτιν stop Ἀδρα-
 [μύττιον ἀνδρῶ]ν πανκράτιν stop
 [... c. 8 ... ἀνδ]ρῶν πανκράτιν
 [... c. 8 ...]ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
 40 [... c. 7 ...]Α ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
 [? Νεικομήδ]ειαν ἀνδρῶν παν-
 [κράτιν stop] Νεικέαν ἀνδρῶν παν
 [κράτ]ιν stop Προυσιάδα ἀνδρῶν
 [πα]νκράτιν stop Κλαυδιόπολιν stop β'
 45 [ἀ]νδρῶν πανκράτιν Ἀνκύραν
 τῆς Γαλατίας ἀνδρῶν πανκρά-
 τιν stop Πεσσινοῦντα ἀνδρῶν
 πανκράτιν stop Δαμασκὸν stop β' stop ἀν-
 50 δρῶν πανκράτιν stop Βηρυτὸν ἀν-
 δρῶν πανκράτιν stop Τύρον ἀν-
 δρῶν πανκράτιν stop Καισαρείαν
 τῆς Στράτωνος ἀνδρῶν παν-

- 55 κράτιν stop Νέαν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρι-
 ας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν stop Σκυ-
 θόπολιν stop ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
 Γάζαν ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν stop Και-
 σαρείαν Πανιάδα stop β' stop ἀνδρῶν παν-
 κράτιν stop Ἱερόπολιν ἀνδρῶν stop παν-
 κράτιν stop Ἀναζαρβὸν ἀνδρῶν παν-
 60 κράτιν stop Μοψουεστίαν ἀνδρῶν
 πανκράτιν stop Τρίπολιν τῆς Συρίας
 ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν stop Φιλαδελφεί-
 αν τῆς Ἀραβίας stop ἀνδρῶν πανκρά-
 65 τιν stop Ζεῦγμα πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτι
 ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν stop Κιβύραν
 vacat ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν vacat

1.4: καὶ ἐπιμελῶς is the restoration based on the decree of the synod (i, 1.12) proposed by Franke in *CIG*, and adopted by all subsequent editors; it makes a line of thirty-one letters, in contrast to the normal line length (twenty-three to twenty-six letters); but this is not the only longer line.

1.5: Deering read ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝ, Fellows ΠΑΝΚΡΑ.

1.8: ΑΓ Fellows, ΑΠ Deering.

1.9: Deering copied the first three letters, then moved to the second letter of 1.10.

1.41: Deering's copy shows a space on the stone before ΕΙΑΝ, and no space at the right end of the line.

11.42–5: The letters at the left printed in his transcription by Leake were in fact added as a supplement by Deering, who shows the break in his drawing.

[?The Council and People] honoured with the [finest] and greatest [?honours] Aelius Aurelius Menander, who practised as an athlete with distinction [and with diligence], multiple victor, pancratiast, extraordinary, *xystarch*, of an honourable and [leading family], who was the first and only man of all time to contest over three years in the three categories, as [boy] and (10) as young man and as adult, and who won sacred (contests) and (contests) with prizes to the value of a talent and very many other contests:

(He won) at Neapolis, in the Sebasta, the pancration of the Claudian boys; in the Nemea, the boys' pancration; in the Isthmia, the young men's pancration; at Ephesus, in the Balbillea, the young men's pancration — a contest with no outright victor; at Pergamum, in the provincial festival of Asia, the men's pancration; at Ephesus, in the Balbillea, the men's pancration; at Smyrna, (20) in the provincial festival of Asia, the men's pancration; on the occasion of the seventh Panathenais in the Panathenaia, the men's pancration, first Aphrodisian (to do so); in the Nemeia, the men's pancration, and in the following Nemeia, the men's pancration — a contest with no outright victor; in the Olympia at Athens, the men's pancration, the first Aphrodisian (to do so); in the Pythia, the men's pancration; at Rome, in the Capitolia Olympia, the men's pancration, the first Aphrodisian (to do so); (30)[. . . , the men's pancration, the first] Aphrodisian (to do so); [at ? . . . , in the provincial] festival of Asia, [the men's pancration;] at Mitylene, [the men's pan]cration; at Adra[myttion, the men's] pancration; [at ? . . .], the men's pancration; [at ? . . .], the men's pancration; (40) [in the ?], the men's pancration; [at ? Nicomed]ia, the men's pancration; at Nicea, the men's pancration; at Prusias, the men's pancration; at Claudiopolis, twice, the men's pancration; at Ancyra of Galatia, the men's pancration; at Pessinus, the men's (50) pancration; at Damascus, twice, the men's pancration; at Beirut, the men's pancration; at Tyre, the men's pancration; at Caesarea Stratonos, the men's pancration; at Neapolis of Samaria, the men's pancration; at Scythopolis, the men's pancration; at Gaza, the men's pancration; at Caesarea Panias, the men's pancration; at Hieropolis, the men's pancration; at Anazarbus, the

men's pancration; (60) at Mopsuestia, the men's pancration; at Tripolis of Syria, the men's pancration; at Philadelphia of Arabia, the men's pancration; at Zeugma by the Euphrates, the men's pancration; at Kibyra, the men's pancration.

92. Copied by Wood among other inscriptions 'in the wall on the east side of the town', but not published; copied by us from his notebooks (15.45). The text is clearly a shortened version of the list of victories in 91.ii, ll.43–66.

[- -

Προυσιάδα ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν, Κλαυδιόπολιν
 Ἀνκύραν τῆς Γαλατίας, Πεσσινούντα, Δαμασκὸν β',
 Βηρυτὸν, Τύρον, Καισαρείαν τῆς Στράτωνος,
 5 Νεάπολιν τῆς Σαμαρίας, Σκυθόπολιν, Γάζαν,
 Καισαρείαν Πανιάδα β', Ἱερόπολιν, Ἀναζαρβὸν, Μοψ-
 ουεστίαν, Τρίπολιν τῆς Συρίας, Φιλαδελφείαν τῆς
 Ἀραβίας, Ζεῦγμα πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, Κιβύραν

1.2: ΕΙΣ Wood, probably a misreading of ΤΗΣ in ligature.

1.3: ΚΕΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΝ Wood.

[... he won] at Prusias, the men's pancration; at Claudiopolis, at Ancyra of Galatia, at Pessinus, at Damascus twice, at Beirut, at Tyre, at Caesarea Stratonos, at Neapolis of Samaria, at Scythopolis, at Gaza, at Caesarea Pania twice, at Hieropolis, at Anazarbus, at Mopsuestia, at Tripolis of Syria, at Philadelphia of Arabia, at Zeugma by the Euphrates, at Kibyra.

Aelius Aurelius Menander was of good family (ii.6–7) but cannot be more closely identified; he had a name very common at Aphrodisias, as did his brother Zeno, their father Apollonius and grandfather Menander (i.52–4). He was a pancratiast (ii.5), who achieved considerable success as a boy (ii. 13–15; for the contest of the Claudian boys at Naples, l.13, see Moretti, *IAG*, 208), as a young man (ii.15–17), and as an adult. *ἱερὰν*, in ll.17 and 25, has been discussed by L. Robert, 'Études d'épigraphie grecque', 27–8 (= *OMS* II, 1127–8), who suggests that it describes a contest in which neither contestant was victorious, and the crown of victory was dedicated to the god. Despite the punctuation on the stone, the epithet in each case needs to be taken with the preceding contest.

His adult victories are listed first in sacred contests (ii.17–30) and then in others, grouped geographically (ii.35 ff., and also 92) showing that he travelled as far as Naples and Rome in the West (ii.13, 28) and as far east as Zeugma on the Euphrates (ii.64, 92.7); oddly, this is rounded off with a mention of a victory at neighbouring Kibyra, perhaps because this was very recent. Detailed commentary on his victories is provided in the editions by Liermann and Moretti; on Prusias (ii.43) see also Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 83 and n.532, and for the contest at Claudiopolis (ii.44) *ibid.*, 132–3. For the titulature of Apollonia in Pisidia see A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the East Roman Provinces*² (Oxford, 1971), 140. His achievements are simply summed up in i.12 and ii.4 as ἀθλήσας ἐνδόξως; see Robert, *Hell.* XI–XII, 351–6, and 368. As an adult, he was victorious at the seventh celebration of the Panathenaia in 143 (ii.21); he also won at the Capitolia in Rome (ii.28–30), being the first Aphrodisian to do so, and it was probably on this occasion that he received his crown at the hands of Antoninus Pius (i.17–20); see Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, 145, quoting this passage. He is also said to have received 'other honours' from the emperor, which probably included his position at Pisidian Antioch (i.10–11), where he was also made a citizen (i.47–8), of 'xystarch for life', that is, president responsible for the good conduct of the local organization of athletes; for this office, which was a creation of the

imperial period, apparently intended to improve central control over agonistic affairs, see Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale*, 82–3, and Forbes 'Ancient Athletic Guilds', 247.

The first inscription must date from after the death of Antoninus in 161, and under plural emperors, so under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, whose names fit well into the text on the capital (i.2–3). It consists of a decree in honour of Menander issued by the synod of athletes at Antioch; the phrasing in ll.1–3 has been restored by comparison with a papyrus, dated to 194, which is a decree of the athletic synod, described as ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστική περιπολιστική . . . σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν ἀγώνιον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα; τὸν ἀγώνιον must refer to Hermes, the patron of the gymnasia (Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 156, ll.18–9, 32–3, 37–9, re-edited by Frisch, *Zehn Agonistische Papyri*, no.6, where see commentary; also cited by Robert, *Hell.* xiii, 139). There are other examples of decrees passed by a group of competitors who describe themselves as gathered on the occasion of a particular contest (ll.4–6); see Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, 419–20. The resolution was passed in recognition of his general services, and his particular generosity on the occasion of a recent contest (perhaps the 'one talent contest' mentioned in l.6), where there seem to have been difficulties over the financing of the contest — yet another example of this kind of problem; see above, p. 8. In this case, Menander was thought to have met the difficulty by providing the prizes out of his own pocket (i.31–6). The phrasing closely echoes that used of an *agonothete* who did the same thing at Thyatira; see Robert, *Hell.* vi, 72–9, esp. 78; for the text, see now *TAM* v.ii.960. The members of the synod had also sent documents attesting his services to the current emperors, who must be Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, so that the inscription can be dated to their joint reign, 161–9 (i.28–30). The decree of the synod had been sent to Aphrodisias, to be inscribed on the bases of the statues which the synod proposed to set up there (i.40–4).

On this base was also inscribed ii, which is apparently a decree of the Council and People of Aphrodisias, listing Menander's victories. Its Aphrodisian origin is reflected in the reference to Menander as the first Aphrodisian to win various contests (ii.22, 26, 29); and it is worth noting that in the first decree it was pointed out how, by his victories, he had brought honour to his fatherland (i.15–6); see above, pp. 3–4. A second, similar text stood probably on the base of another statue (92); it lists exactly the same victories as 91.ii.43–66, except for describing a double victory at Caesarea Panias (l.5).

93. OPENING OF A DECREE BY THE CITY AND BY THE SACRED VICTORS

Copied by the MAMA expedition in 1934, and published from their copy by Cormack, *MAMA* viii.495; not found again.

'In a wall of a field east of the village'. A base capital, with moulding broken (H. 0.40, W. 0.93 at top, D. not measurable). Inscribed on upper fascia of moulding (l.1) and on the face (ll.2–3). Letters standard forms, 0.025.

Illustrated in *MAMA* viii, pl. 29.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσί[α καὶ]
οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱε-
ρονεῖται πλειστονεῖται στε-
[φανοῦται . . .

The Council and the People and the *Gerousia* and the sacred victors, multiple victors, crowned victors [e.g. honoured . . .

This must be the opening of a decree honouring a victor or a benefactor. It is the only example from Aphrodisias of a formula common elsewhere, in which a synod of athletes or performers is associated with the civic bodies in a decree; e.g. *I.Tralles* 112 (with Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, 419–20) and 133. This serves as a further indication of the status of the synods.

APPENDIX IV. AGONISTIC IMAGES ON APHRODISIAN SARCOPHAGI

94 – 95

BY NATHALIE DE CHAISEMARTIN

The importance of contests in the life and culture of Aphrodisias is evident not only from the inscriptions, but also from the sculpture of the city. Classic types of athletic heads, such as the Doryphoros, the Diadumenos, and the Discophoros of Polycleitus, or the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus are reproduced in the garland frieze of the Portico of Tiberius.¹ A copy of the Discophoros of exceptional quality formed part of the decoration of the *frons scaenae* of the Theatre.² Real athletes were also portrayed by Aphrodisian artists, most notably the original pair of statues of boxers dating from the third century, which stood on moulded bases at the lower ends of the two analemma walls of the Theatre (see above on 74–75). Moreover, the young divinity who personified contests, Agon, seems to have been honoured in Aphrodisias, since the type of his famous statue created in the Hellenistic period by Boethos of Chalcedon provided the model for a relief in the Sebasteion (see below).

These agonistic themes are also found in two unusual funerary sarcophagi, presented here, of which 94 certainly belonged to an athlete, and 95 makes unexpected use of the representation of Agon.

94. THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ATHLETE

Plates XXII–XXIII

This sarcophagus, without a lid, which was recently brought in from fields near the neighbouring village of Ataeymir, now stands in the Museum square in Aphrodisias; the original findspot was with several other sarcophagi close to the ancient road which led east from the East Gate of the city — a standard location for an ancient tomb.

It is rectangular, and measures 2.19m in length, 0.90m in width and 0.915m in height. The internal dimensions are 1.99m by 0.73m, and a depth of 0.73m. Inside the corners at 0.33m depth are triangular protrusions to support a board which could support a second occupant. It is in a good state of preservation: only the lower corners and the jutting upper edge are battered, and the vertical ridges, which originally bore a relief decoration, are broken away. The reliefs are eroded and encrusted with lichen, suggesting that it has been exposed to the elements for some time.

On the exterior, the lower part of the box is surrounded by a congé moulding followed by a fillet and a torus; on the upper part there is also a congé and a fillet followed by a cavetto, another fillet and a larger string course; above, the vertical upper edge

¹ N. de Chaisemartin, 'Les modèles grecs classiques des têtes de la frise du Portique de Tibère', *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 119–32. This quadriporticus can now be identified as the *xystus*, or exercise court of the central gymnasium of the city: eadem, 'Le "Portique de Tibère" à Aphrodisias: problèmes d'identification et de fonction', *REA* 91 (1989), 23–45.

² K. T. Erım in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 72–4.

protruded to support the lid, which is lost. The left half of the back face was decorated by regular vertical flutes, while the right half was left undecorated.

The front face bears a central design representing a naked male figure 0.60m high, standing full face, with his head turned to his right, and resting his weight on the left leg, with the hip protruding. In his left arm, which is bent, the figure holds a small wreath; his right arm extends downwards, away from the body, and the right hand holds a long attribute which continues the line of the arm and ends above the ground. The face is eroded. The hair, thick and wavy, is cropped above the nape of the neck in a bulky knot. The neck is short, the shoulders broad and sloping and the torso stout, particularly at the hips.

To the left of this male figure, a naked child 0.27m high is jumping to his left in an oblique motion nearly parallel to the composition lines of the principal figure. His head is turned back, looking at the man; he too has his hair cropped in a pony-tail. The right hand is near the face; the left arm is raised to his left and apparently has an armband. The right leg is stretched out behind him, while the left is sharply bent. The child seems about to grasp in his left hand a pair of weights for the long jump, represented as two parallel cylinders resting on the ground beside a broad flat disk 0.19m in diameter.

The field of the panel to the right and left of this central group is filled with symbols of agonistic victories: on the left eight wreaths of different foliage are arranged in rows, four in the upper row, three below and one on the ground. A large space is left between the wreaths and the central group. To the right are eight similar wreaths in two rows and in the lower right corner two curved palms (0.48m length) are crossed, the left one stretching toward the edge of the disk.

The lateral panels of the coffin are symmetrically decorated: on each of them two rows of four wreaths surmount a pair of crossed palms. The sculptor has tried to differentiate the various crowns: the diameter varies slightly as does the vegetal composition: overlapping leaves or successive bunches of foliage and/or flowers, taenaie differently tied up. On the lateral right face is the emptying hole cut into the base of the coffin for its reuse, probably for pressing grapes in the vineyards where it was found.

Despite the absence of an inscription, the repeated groups of four wreaths, together with the palms and the attributes of the figures on the face, make it clear that this sarcophagus records the victories of an athlete, for whom this unusual monument was presumably individually designed. It is certainly he who is shown on the face, holding the victor's crown, and accompanied by his young attendant and his athletic equipment: the weights and the discus. The rear face, half fluted, was apparently left unfinished, indicating a certain haste, unless the sarcophagus originally stood in a niche.

The composition, with two figures isolated among the symbols of victory, appears to be unusual; in general, the 'palaestra' sarcophagi, recently studied by M. Bonnanno-Aravantinou, show a series of groups of athletes — adults, putti or Erotes — performing a range of sports.³ These sarcophagi are not necessarily intended for children, and the appearance in two cases of young girls among the players suggests that this theme had a symbolic value, indicating *paideia*, and the effort to achieve it, elevating humanity to heroic status:⁴ 'La comparaison de la vie humaine avec les joutes des athlètes est

³ 'Un frammento di sarcofago romano con fanciulli atleti nei musei capitolini', *Boll.d'Arte* 15 (1982), 67–84.

⁴ F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Haut-Commissariat de l'Etat français en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités, Bibliothèque historique et archéologique xxxv (Paris, 1942), 470 pl. xlvii, 3; Bonnanno, 'Un frammento', 71 no. 10, provenance Rome, now at Milan, fig. 9, p. 75 and p. 80; sarcophagus of the Capitoline Museum, *ibid.*, 72 no. 15, inv. no. 2674, 69 and 82.

traditionnelle dans la philosophie grecque. Le juste qui a triomphé de ses passions et réfréné ses instincts pervers, est sorti vainqueur des combats de l'existence et on le représente recevant la couronne offerte aux champions victorieux dans les jeux helléniques'.⁵

The Aphrodisian sarcophagus, however, provides a different context, since the wreaths and palms almost certainly represent the real achievements of an individual athlete, recorded on his sarcophagus as if in an honorific inscription, such as those in Appendix II. The arrangement of the wreaths, in groups of two rows of four wreaths (except at the left of the athlete, where one wreath is placed at ground level to balance the discus at the right) recalls the Greek reliefs commemorating agonistic victories which were dedicated in the sanctuaries by athletes, by sporting associations, or even by cities.⁶ Two marble inscribed plaques found on Delos in 1904 belonged to the base of a statue dedicated to Apollo by the Athenian athlete Menodorus, who had won at the four great festivals in the third quarter of the second century B.C.: they bore four rows of nine wreaths.⁷ A relief in the Museum of Chalcis, on Euboea, bears three rows of eleven wreaths of laurel, oak, and olive. A relief fragment of unknown provenance now in the garden of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum shows three wreaths of different leaves arranged on a table.⁸ At Aphrodisias the panel of the Zoilos monument, which shows Zoilos honoured by *Time*, has wreaths in the background: these and the Hermes at the far left of the scene behind the figure of Demos strongly suggest that the benefactor was honoured in the gymnasium.⁹

Wreaths do not in themselves indicate an agonistic context, since they also appear, often in pairs, on funerary monuments, such as stelae and sarcophagi.¹⁰ But the pair of long curved palms, crossed, definitely represents the triumph of the victorious athlete: on several of the 'palaestra' sarcophagi, the victor receives a palm from the hands of the *gymnasiarch*, or holds it against his shoulder. These symbols represent real victories of the dead man, as is clear from the fact that the sculptor varied the representations of the wreaths, suggesting that these should be identified with particular festivals. For each of the four great contests of the *periodos* the wreaths were composed from different foliage — for example wild olive at Olympia, laurel at the Pythia of Delphi — and these variations were observed by the many later contests which were modelled on them.¹¹ The arrangement of the *taeniae* which fasten the wreaths also varies, and is probably also significant. For a striking example of such variations, see the funerary or honorific stele in the Selçuk Museum (inventory no. 1570) with six clearly differentiated crowns: three of pine, two of laurel or olive, and one of vine-leaves or celery (σέλινον).

A closely related monument at Aphrodisias is 71 above, clearly a fragment of a similar sarcophagus. The left end of the sarcophagus (71.A), with its lower moulding battered, bears six wreaths in three rows. Above and within each wreath an inscription

⁵ Cumont, *Recherches*, 473 ff.

⁶ See the relief on the throne of an *agonothete* found in the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 2, fig. 1334 and 1995, pp. 1083 and 1529.

⁷ BCH 31 (1907), 432, pl. 20, fig. 44.

⁸ G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* III (Constantinople, 1914), 387, no. 1154 (308).

⁹ A. Giuliano, 'Rilievo da Aphrodisias in honore di Zoilos', ASAA 37-8, ns 21-2 (1959-1960), 389-92, figs 1 and 5.

¹⁰ W. Ganszyniec, 'Kranz', RE XI (1922), 1588-607, 1598; Mendel, *Catalogue*, 176, no. 963, and 248, no. 1033.

¹¹ Pausanias VIII.48.2; P. J. Meier, 'Agones', RE I (1893), 836-67, 848; Ganszyniec, 'Kranz', 1598.

indicates at what festival they were won; here too the wreaths are of different kinds of foliage. It may even be that 94 also originally included such descriptions within each wreath, perhaps painted, which would have made more explicit the indications of the wreaths themselves. It is entirely possible that the man buried in 94 could have won thirty-six wreaths, at 'crowned' contests: Menodoros of Athens had also won thirty-six wreaths, and Damostratos of Sardis was honoured in inscriptions at several cities as 'the first and only man to win sacred contests twenty times as a child, and forty-eight times as an adult'.¹²

The central figure of the front panel is clearly an accomplished athlete. His position, balanced on the left leg and with the torso slightly turned, recalls Lysippic models such as the Alexander with a lance,¹³ but the legs are not lengthened in accordance with the Lysippic canon. The solid proportions of the torso, combined with the easy movement, suggest, as the origin of the motif, a type of young Herakles such as the ephebe of Anticythera;¹⁴ the movement of the hips and the powerful but relaxed silhouette also recall the bronze Heracles of the Museo dei Conservatori, who holds his club in the same way.¹⁵ Several representations of victorious athletes on 'palaestra' sarcophagi appear to pick up this motif: for example on the extreme right of a sarcophagus showing adult athletes in the Vatican Museum,¹⁶ and on another in the Louvre.¹⁷ But the attitude of the head and the arm recall the figure on the right in the classicizing group from San Ildefonso in the Prado,¹⁸ who is much younger, and has a more pronounced curve at the hips.

The attributes of the athlete allow us to establish more closely the meaning of this representation. His coiffure seems particularly voluminous in relation to the face, and the knot or *cirrus*, which is worn by some athletes from the first century B.C.,¹⁹ is in this case placed quite low on the head, and not at the top, as is more usual (*cirrus in vertice*). An engraved Etruscan mirror represents Agon, the genius of contests, as a winged adolescent holding a cock.²⁰ His hair is pulled back to form a bunch bound with ribbon and ending in a short wavy pony-tail. A bronze mirror-cover from Nea Michaniona, in the Thessalonica Museum, shows a three-quarter figure of a young winged genius pulling at a bow, who also has a chignon at the top of his head; he is usually identified as an Eros, but since he too is accompanied by a cock it would seem more logical to see this also as a representation of Agon.²¹ These representations offer the closest parallels for the coiffure of our athlete; the volume of wavy hair on the head also recalls the Apollo Lykeios of Praxiteles, created for a gymnasium. This coiffure is quite different from that of the 'barbarian' type of athletes of the third century,²² whose locks are pulled back tightly into a very high chignon, or who even have a shaved skull and the *cirrus* reduced

¹² E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), 110 ff.; Robert, 'Études d'épigraphie', 44–8 (= *OMS* II, 1144–8).

¹³ J. Charbonneaux, A. Martin, F. Villard, *Grèce hellénistique* (Paris, 1970), 220–1, fig. 233.

¹⁴ *idem*, *Grèce classique* (Paris, 1969), 196, fig. 223.

¹⁵ H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford, 1926), 282–4, Gall. Sup. II, no. 5, pl. 113.

¹⁶ Bonnano, 'Un frammento', 73 no. 27, fig. 17.

¹⁷ Bonnano, 'Un frammento', 72 no. 13; F. Baratte, C. Metzger, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époque romaine et paléochrétienne* (Paris, 1985), 40–1, no. 11, Ma 1571.

¹⁸ A. Blanco, *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de la Escultura* (Madrid, 1957), 30–2, no. 28 E, pls x–xi.

¹⁹ B. Gassowska, 'Cirrus in vertice — one of the problems in Roman athlete iconography', *Mélanges K. Michalowski* (Warsaw, 1966), 421–7.

²⁰ *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 303–4, fig. 223 no. 6.

²¹ Agon of Michanonia, second half of the second century B.C.

²² Gassowska, 'Cirrus in vertice', figs 1–4.

to a simple pony-tail on the crown, as in the case of the boxers found in the Theatre at Aphrodisias²³ and the athletes in the mosaic of the Baths of Caracalla.²⁴ This would suggest that the coiffure of our athlete is inspired by representations of Agon and, more remotely, of Apollo, and derives from motifs of late Greek Classicism.

The wreath in the left hand only distantly recalls the classic gesture of athletes or Erotes on sarcophagi, in paintings such as that of the Quirinal,²⁵ or the pose of the Agon of Mahdia;²⁶ these figures normally place the wreath on their heads with the right hand, while they hold the long palm in their left. The gesture of the Aphrodisian athlete is different, since he seems rather to be extending the wreath in a gesture of offering. In his right hand, he holds a long object, pointed towards the ground, and flared at the end like a club but the lower end bends back like a hook, which rules out an identification with the club of Heracles; the latter would have agreed with the silhouette of the figure, and would indicate its heroic status. Another possibility is that this is a *pedum* or a sort of hockey-stick: an Attic relief does show two young men playing a game similar to hockey with curved sticks, but they are considerably slimmer and more regularly curved than in this case.²⁷ The best interpretation of this implement with its thin curved end seems to be as a lighted torch, with the flame bending back and upwards from the ground, as in the group of San Ildefonso, where the athlete on the right lowers a torch on to the flame on the central altar. On the *ependytes* of the large marble statue of Carian Aphrodite found near the Temple, in the lower register, are three Erotes, sacrificing;²⁸ the one on the right holds himself rather like our athlete, lowering towards the ground with his right hand a lighted torch whose flame waves in an S shape. F. Cumont published a child's sarcophagus from Beirut which originated, in his view, in Asia Minor, and shows scenes from the child's education; on the right face a winged Eros advances, like the athlete, lowering a torch with his right hand and raising a wreath in his left — 'double symbole de la mort et de la victoire obtenue sur elle'.²⁹

The torch, as well as its more generic symbolic character, can also recall a sacrificial rite connected with contests: the design on the front face of a Roman sarcophagus (now lost) shows a scene of child-athletes;³⁰ at the two ends, symmetrically-placed herms indicate clearly that this is a scene from the palaestra. At the left, two children form a group with a third herm to their left. The child on the right is a discophoros, carrying his discus under his left arm and stretching his right hand towards his companion who, slightly turned to the left, holds with both hands a torch which he lowers to the level of a small mound placed between them. The attitude of the child discophoros mirrors that of the athlete on our sarcophagus, who performs the functions of these two figures. The act of lighting a torch at a fire, or using it to light a fire, may be connected with some particular sacrificial rite, associated with a sacred contest, especially since the children are placed between two herms, divinities of the palaestra. The second child with his hand stretched

²³ K. T. Erim in J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei, neue Funde* (Mainz, 1979), 217–21 nos 190–1, pls 143–4 and 271.

²⁴ B. Nogara, *I mosaici antichi* (Rome, 1910), pls I and II; Gardiner, *Athletics*, pl. 74.

²⁵ M. Borda, *La pittura romana* (Milan, 1958), 270 and fig. (Hadrianic).

²⁶ W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia, Bilderhefte des DAI Rom 2* (Tübingen, 1963), 12–14, no. 1, pls 2–3; M. Yacoub, *Musée du Bardo* (Tunis, 1970), 79, no. F 106.

²⁷ Gardiner, *Athletics*, 236, 213–4.

²⁸ M. Floriani-Squarciapino, 'L'Aphrodite d'Aphrodisias', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 148 (April 1990), 25.

²⁹ F. Cumont, *Syria* 10 (1929), 217 ff., pl. 61; *Recherches*, 341.

³⁰ G. Koch, H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarcophage, Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich, 1982), 433 no. 65, provenance Rome, and pl. 461.

out would recall the moment when the athletes offered an oath of loyalty before the contest. This might also portray a rite associated with the relay-races, *lampadedromiai*, where teams of runners passed on a torch of sacred fire.³¹

A sarcophagus lid from the Museo Nazionale Romano also shows child-athletes in a palaestra, indicated by herms.³² The pair of putti, who support with one hand the central inscribed panel, and whose knees, bent as if running, give them the posture of the putto who accompanies our athlete, hold a lighted torch in the other hand. It seems, therefore, that the torch has a function not only in the inauguration of contests, but also in the rituals of victory, when the athletes presumably made a thank-offering. It is probably this sacrifice which is represented in the Pasitelian group of San Ildefonso: the young athlete on the right holds one raised torch and another lowered towards an altar where his companion, holding a patera, is pouring a libation or an offering of incense. Near the athlete on the right, an archaizing caryatid wearing a *polos* may be interpreted as Artemis, who, in the gymnasium, was the patron of the youngest boys.

But the torch is also a funerary symbol:³³ on some sarcophagi, funerary Erotes carry a torch reversed under their arm as a sign of mourning. In a different religious context, the Mithraic deity Cautopates, symbolizing the end of the day, also carries a reversed torch. This attribute on our sarcophagus therefore has a triple connotation: the torch recalls the triumph of the athlete, and also his piety, while symbolizing the end of his life and the mourning of the bereaved.

The plump child who accompanies the athlete probably represents his small attendant slave, turning towards his master and hurrying to pass to him the pair of cylindrical weights which he used for long jumps, and the discus — somewhat out of proportion, presumably to balance the wreath on the left side of the composition. He also wears a *cirrus* on the crown of his head, and can be compared with the children massaging the torso of a young female athlete on the Milan sarcophagus.³⁴ Other similar small attendants appear on a fragmentary sarcophagus which also shows the massage of an adult athlete.³⁵ It is difficult to explain the armband which the child wears on his left arm, whose ends spread onto the background; it could be a towel, but might also be the strap of a shield, probably misunderstood by the workman following a drawing — unless the shield was simply painted on the background, as inscriptions may well have been. The child's movement is similar to that of the putti on the sarcophagus lid of the Museo Nazionale Romano, who are running in the race in armour (*hoplitodromos*) and carry a shield with a strap on the left arm.³⁶

The group formed by the athlete and his assistant in the centre of the front face therefore has no exact parallels, although the theme of an adult (male or female) accompanied by a young servant is common in classical funerary reliefs; this sarcophagus is an extremely unusual specimen of the sarcophagi of Asia Minor, which would suggest that this, and perhaps 71, may well have been individually commissioned.

³¹ R. Patrucco, *Lo sport nella Grecia antica* (Florence, 1972), 124–9; A. Martin, 'Lampadédromia', Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* III.2 (1904), 909–14.

³² Bonnano, 'Un frammento', 72, no. 17; *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le sculture* 1,2 (Rome, 1981), 66–8 no. 51.

³³ Cumont, *Recherches*, 409–11.

³⁴ Bonnano, 'Un frammento', 71 no. 10, fig. 9.

³⁵ Bonnano, 'Un frammento', 72, no. 16 and 68, fig. 1.

³⁶ Above, note 32.

The athlete is portrayed as an individual, and not as a stereotype of the victorious athlete, which is used in an analogous context in the funerary stele of an athlete at Cyrene — Antonianos the Ephesian, called The Brute — dated to the first half of the third century.³⁷ He too is surrounded by trophies of his victories, in the form of cylindrical metal crowns,³⁸ and he is accompanied by his pet dog — a parallel to the small slave in 94. But on the Cyrene stele the athlete (wrestler or boxer) is portrayed with accentuated realism — shaved head, lined face, heavy outline with bulging muscles — while the Aphrodisian athlete shows clear signs of idealization, since the models for his outline and his coiffure are provided by divinities.

The classicizing representation of the athlete is consistent with the careful workmanship of the fluting on the rear face of the sarcophagus and the elegant upper moulding, not common on sarcophagi, which usually have no more than a simple fillet. A similar upper moulding is found on a kline-sarcophagus in the Louvre dated to 180, and attributed to an Attic workshop.³⁹ The sarcophagus of Attia Hesyche at Arles is also crowned with an ovoid moulding; the relief below, with Erotes supporting a panel, very carefully worked, and the palmette acroteria in a mannered and precise style suggest an Attic sculptor, and a relatively early date. The low relief of the motifs on our sarcophagus and the spacious composition suggest a comparison with the sarcophagus of Arles, and with a sarcophagus in the Louvre decorated with Erotes and birds,⁴⁰ which may indicate a date in the second quarter of the third century.

95. SARCOPHAGUS FRAGMENT WITH A REPRESENTATION OF AGON

Plate XXIV

This fragment was found in 1969, reused in the Byzantine structures over the Theatre; it is now on the north east terrace of the garden of the Museum.⁴¹ The recessed upper edge, intended to support a lid, identifies this fragmentary relief as coming from the front face of a sarcophagus. The maximum height is 0.75m, the width 0.55m and the thickness 0.14m.

This very worn fragment preserves at the left the outline of a male figure whose face is damaged; the lower part of his right arm, and his legs below the knees are lost. To the left are the arm, the side, and the right thigh of a second figure, who holds a brace of duck. Between the two figures is an Eros holding a dog, both broken away below. Along the upper edge runs a flowing scroll decoration probably of vine leaves.

The figure on the left stands facing forward; his head, slightly turned to his left, has thick full curls which are apparently held with a band, which is very worn. Two large wings flank his head; his left arm, held away from his body, holds a palm, and his right arm, which is bent, must have held another attribute, with a circular outline, very probably a wreath. The muscles of his torso are carefully accentuated. He rests his weight on the right leg, with the hip markedly protruding, and his left leg slightly extended. A chlamys, fastened with a fibula on his right shoulder, floats behind his back and seems to be wrapped round his left arm.

³⁷ F. Chamoux, 'Une stèle funéraire de Cyrène', *BSNAF* 1988, 113–18, pl. II.

³⁸ Studied by N. Duval, *BSNAF* 1978–1979, 232–4, pl. 14, 1–2.

³⁹ Baratte-Metzger, *Catalogue*, 256–61, no. 166.

⁴⁰ Baratte-Metzger, *Catalogue*, 177–8, no. 87, dated to the early second century.

⁴¹ Dig note-book of Hambrusch, Höhn, and Hueber: excavation above the north *parodos*, Book II, 77 and photo, 78; excavation catalogue no. 69.125.

The figure on the right was also winged and naked except for a cloak, and his outline appears to balance that of the first. He raises his right fist, in which he holds up the feet of two ducks whose heads are raised symmetrically on each side.

In the field between the two figures a winged Eros faces forward, with his head slightly turned to his right, and his body leaning to his left; he has a curly coiffure with a knot at the top of his head. In his left arm he holds a *pedum*, and with his right hand he grips the neck of an animal with bared teeth; the ears identify it as a dog.

This fragment combines two motifs which are very rarely found together. The young hunter brandishing two live ducks can easily be identified as a Season, representing Winter, found on numerous Four Seasons sarcophagi in the Roman period.⁴² This genius is often a putto, less often an adolescent Eros as here; in this case he is only wearing a chlamys, while generally the other types of genius of Winter also wear a belted tunic, sometimes oriental trousers, or even the oriental costume of Attis. The two ducks are less commonly represented than a hare, held by its hind legs or by its ears. The closest parallels are found on sarcophagi of the type of the Badminton/New York sarcophagus: Winter, to the left, has a garland of reeds, wears a chlamys, and carries the ducks in his left hand.⁴³ A similar theme appears on a column sarcophagus in the Museo dei Conservatori.⁴⁴

The central group, with a springing dog whose collar is held by an Eros, also belongs to the context of hunting, and so of winter, and is found at the feet of Winter on the New York sarcophagus; on the handsome sarcophagus in Kassel, the Eros is replaced by a small Satyr with a crook.⁴⁵ This motif of Eros as a shepherd is also found on one of the pilaster capitals found at Aphrodisias near the Tetrastyle in a building to the east of the *cardo maximus*.⁴⁶

The winged genius on the left recalls the figures of victorious athletes on the 'palaestra' sarcophagi; but the wings suggest a representation of Agon, the personification and the presiding genius of contests. The overall design is not the same as that of the Agon attributed to Boethos of Chalcedon, found in the Mahdia wreck, and now in the Museum of Bardo.⁴⁷ The slim outline is that of a young man, not a child; the frontal position differs from the rapid turning movement of the Agon of Mahdia, the gesture of the right arm is less accentuated and the balance of the legs is inverted, although the representation retains the same effect of nonchalance and ease; this figure also wears a chlamys, while the Agon of Mahdia is completely naked. It is also not easily comparable, except for the gesture of the left arm, with the representation of Agon, beside a bearded herm, in one of the reliefs of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.⁴⁸

An unfinished piece, however, found at Aphrodisias in the sculptor's workshop north of the Odeon, shows a headless adolescent in a very similar attitude: facing forward, resting on his right leg, he wears a chlamys and holds a long baton on his left arm, which suggested his identification as Hermes.⁴⁹ He can also be compared to the Hermes psychopompus found on an Aphrodisian sarcophagus of the Antonine period, where a

⁴² P. Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage, Die antiken Sarkophagsreliefs* v.4, (Berlin/Rome, 1984).

⁴³ F. Matz, *Ein römisches Meisterwerk: des Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York*, *JDAI, Erg.heft 19* (Berlin, 1958); Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage*, 319–20, no. 131, pl. 56,2.

⁴⁴ Stuart Jones, *Catalogue*, 49, Sala dei Trionfi 3, no. 4, pl. 17; Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage*, no. 16, pl. 15.

⁴⁵ Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage*, no. 130, pl. 56, no. 1.

⁴⁶ K. T. Erism, *AS* 36 (1986), 178.

⁴⁷ Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (Tübingen, 1963), 12–14, no. 1, pls 2–3.

⁴⁸ To be published by R. R. R. Smith.

⁴⁹ K. Erism, *Aphrodisias, guide du site et de son Musée* (Istanbul, 1990), no. 53, Museum inventory no. 79–10–208.

dead couple are flanked by Eleusinian divinities.⁵⁰ The use of a Hermes type, with the addition of wings, for Agon, is justified by the fact that the god of eloquence was accorded leading honours in the gymnasium.

The elongated and muscular outline of this figure is clearly distinct from the representations of adolescent Seasons on sarcophagi in the late Antonine and Severan period. These too have long legs, but the torso is slim, the shoulders angular, the breasts accentuated, the hips rounded, and the lower abdomen prominent giving an effeminate outline. Our genius is athletic and virile; the broad shoulders, the rectangular breast, the outline of the muscles on the hips and abdomen clearly distance him from the ambiguous adolescence of the Seasons. Moreover, his short hair with tight curls, perhaps bound with the ribbon of a victorious athlete, recalls in its volume the coiffure of young people in the middle of the second century such as the young Marcus Aurelius.⁵¹ The damage to the face prevents any hypothesis: but it is quite possible that this is a representation of a young man who has died, represented as the genius of the gymnasium, and surrounded by the Seasons. The agonistic context need not necessarily imply that the dead man was an athlete, as in the case of 94. The purpose of such an assimilation with Agon can be explained by the parallel between the life of a cultivated man, formed by *paideia*, and the sporting contest which demonstrates the prowess of an individual. M. Bonnanno-Aranvantinou has shown that sarcophagi with sporting figures can even be used for young girls, indicating clearly the symbolic character of the theme.⁵²

The association of the genius of the palaestra with the genii of the Seasons is a very rare variant among this type of sarcophagi. One sarcophagus, at Tunis, shows, on the front face flanked by two pilasters, a scene of *dextrarum junctio* with a young married couple accompanied by Eros.⁵³ On either side are four wingless putti: the first to the left wears a belted tunic, and holds against his breast in his left hand the feet of a young fawn which he carries on his shoulders. He also holds a duck in his right hand, and can be identified as Winter. The second, who looks at him, holds up with his left hand his chlamys full of flowers, representing Spring. To the right of the young couple another putto holds a hare by the feet in his right hand, and a basket of fruit in the crook of his left arm, identifying him as Autumn. To the far right, the last putto, whose forearm is lost, appears not to bear the corn-sheaves of summer as P. Kranz thinks, but a palm with a central rib, and his posture is that of victorious athletes on the 'palaestra' sarcophagi, where these figures are also often located near a pilaster or a herm. This agonistic genius therefore replaces a representation of Summer on the Tunis sarcophagus. On the Aphrodisias fragment it is at least likely that the figure of Agon was included in a full group of the Seasons.

The grouping is clearly full of meaning: the Seasons symbolize the life-cycle, and perpetual renewal, while Agon, or the putto represented as a victorious athlete recall the rewards which await a good man who has lived his life like a sporting contest and has emerged as a victor. The function of the Agon in 95 is therefore clearly symbolic, even if

⁵⁰ Erism, *Aphrodisias*, 150.

⁵¹ For example the portrait in the Museum of the Forum Romanum: M. Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit. Das römische Herrscherbild* II, 4 (Berlin, 1939), 193, pl. 18; the relief of the Parthian monument: W. Oberleitner et al., *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake* (Vienna, 1978), 78–9 no. 61 and J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1964), 76 no. 43, pl. xxvii, 1.

⁵² See above, and n. 3.

⁵³ Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage*, 287–8, pls 122, 2 and 3–123, no. 588; from Henchir Romana (Teboursouk region), and now in the National Museum at Bardo.

he was portrayed with the characteristics of the dead man, while the figure in **94** was a heroic, but real, representation of the dead athlete.

This badly damaged fragment is hard to date. The vine branch running along the upper edge, a theme associated with good fortune which could refer to the after-life of the Blessed, has only two parallels on Season sarcophagi: a sarcophagus in Jerusalem, dated to the early years of Gallienus,⁵⁴ and a sarcophagus in the Vatican;⁵⁵ but the vine branches are differently designed, and associated with representations of Dionysos. Some Attic sarcophagi in the Louvre bear a vine branch, isolated from the rest of the decoration, in the upper course.⁵⁶ Some sarcophagus lids have a fillet decorated with branches which have been associated with Asia Minor.⁵⁷ The classicizing treatment of the figures and the coiffure of Agon may perhaps indicate a date in the third quarter of the second century, but the condition of the fragment makes this far from certain.

Both **94** and **95** present elements of striking originality: **94** by its central group of figures surrounded by the symbols of victory which associate it with traditional Greek agonistic ex-votos; **95** by its rare association of Agon with the Seasons. The heroization of the dead man is clear in **94**, but only hypothetical in **95**; in any case, it is undertaken in different ways on the two monuments. If the Agon in **95** does represent the deceased, it is by the generic mythological symbolism of the young Genius of the palaestra, in the Greek tradition which assimilates the individual to a divine archetype. By contrast, the athlete in **94**, like his fellow athlete in **71**, represents his personal achievements on his funerary monument, in the language of Roman historic or funerary reliefs: his earthly glory is commemorated and offered as a model to passers-by. His portrait, even if idealized by the reference to Heracles, is accompanied by elements from the real world of his exploits.

⁵⁴ Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage*, 217–18, no. 129, pls 54,3 and 55,3 and 4.

⁵⁵ Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage*, 222–3, no. 140, pl. 55,5.

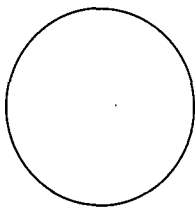
⁵⁶ Baratte-Metzger, *Catalogue*, 265–70, nos 172–5.

⁵⁷ Baratte-Metzger, *Catalogue*, 232–4, nos 141–3.

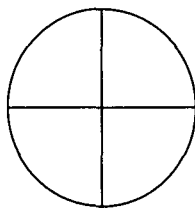
APPENDIX V. GAMEBOARDS AND PAVEMENT DESIGNS

The abundant gameboards and designs found in the auditoria have been described using the terminology of the new British Museum Typology (BMT), to be published by R. C. Bell and C. M. Roueché, 'Pavement signs and gameboards in the Greek and Roman periods: a British Museum typology', in I. Finkel (ed.), *British Museum Colloquium on Ancient Games* (London, forthcoming). For the convenience of readers, the forms encountered in this volume are described below:

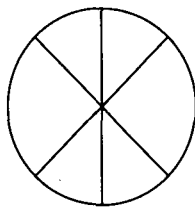
C.1 A simple circle.



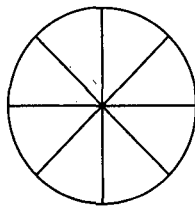
C.2 Circle with four spokes.



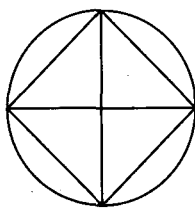
C.3 Circle with six spokes.



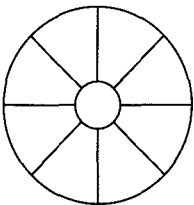
C.4 Circle with eight spokes.



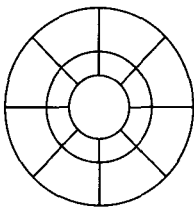
C.7 Circle with four spokes, four chords.



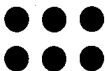
CC.2 Circle with eight spokes, central circle.



CCC.1 Central circle, two outer circles with eight spokes.



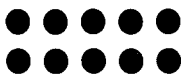
H.1 2 x 3 holes.



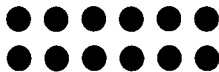
H.2 2 x 4 holes.



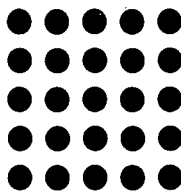
H.4 2 x 5 holes.



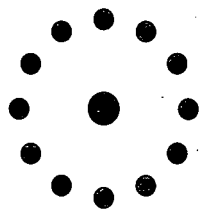
H.5 2 x 6 holes.



H. 8 5 x 5 holes.



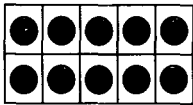
H.10 Twelve holes surrounding one.



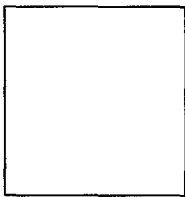
R.1 2 x 5 rectangles.



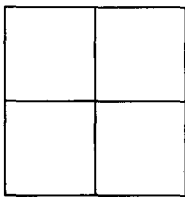
R.6 Rectangles, 2 x 5, with holes.



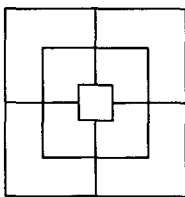
S.1 Single square.



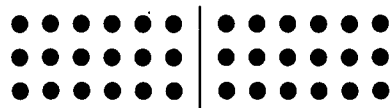
S.3 Square, four spokes.



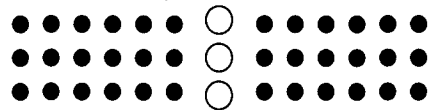
SSS.1 Mill design or Nine Men's Morris.



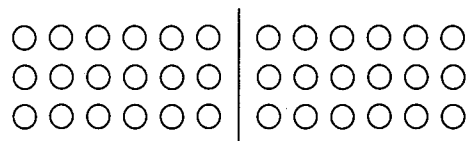
3Rows.1 3 x 12 dots, divided by line.



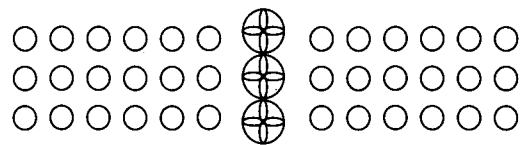
3Rows.2 3 x 12 dots, divided by circles.



3Rows.3 3 x 12 circles, divided by line.



3Rows.4 3 x 12 circles, divided by circle or rosette in circle.



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INDEX VI. INDEX VERBORUM

Words not otherwise attested are marked by an asterisk.

Religious terms

See below under:

ἐπιφανής, θεά, θεός, ιερός, κύρα, κύριος, Μαιουμάρχης, μανδ(άτωρ), ναός, τέμενος, φθόνος

Secular institutions, ranks and titles

See below under:

ἀγορανομέω, ἀντινεοποιός, ἀξιόλογος, ἀρχεῖον, ἀρχιερατεύω, ἀρχιερέυς, ἀρχινεοποιία, ἀρχινεοποιός, ἄρχων, Αὐτοκράτωρ, βουλάρχης, βουλευτής, βουλή, γερουσία, γραμματεὺς, γραμματεῦω, γυμνασιάρχος, δῆμος, ἔφηβος, ἡγεμών, ἱερέυς, Καῖσαρ, κολωνεία, λαμπρότατος, λογιστεία, λογιστής, μητρόπολις, νεοποιός, νέος, οἰκόνομος, πόλις, πολιτεία, πολιτής, προγραφή, προεδρία, προήγορος, προθεσμία, προταυράριος, πρωτόλογος ἄρχων, πρῶτος ἄρχων, σεβαστός, στεφανηφορέω, στεφανηφόρος, συνκλητικός, σύνοδος, συντεχνία, σφραγίς, ὑπατικός, ὑπατος, φυλή, ψηφίζομαι, ψήφισμα, ψηφός

Agonistic terms

See below under:

ἀγενεῖος, ἄγων, ἀγωνιστής, ἀγωνοθεσία, ἀγωνοθετέω, ἀγωνοθέτης, ἄθλον, Ἀκτιονείκης, ἀνήρ, ἀποβάτης, ἄρμα, Ἀσιονείκης, ἀσπίς, αὐλητής, ἀφετηρία, βῆλον, γυμνικός, δευτερεῖον, διαυλοδρόμος, δίαυλος, δολιχαδρόμος, δόλιχος, εἰμαντοπάροχος, εἰσελαστικός, ἐγκωμιογράφος, ἐπιτελέω, ἡμιταλαντιαῖος, θέμα, ἱερονείκης, ἰσάκτιος, κέλης, κηρύξ, κιθαριστής, κιθαρωδός, κρίσις, κύκλιος, κωμωδία, κωμωδός, μάγγανον, μειμόλογος, μίμοι, μουσικός, νεανισκολόγος, Νεμεακός, ξυστάρχης, ξυστικός, ξυστός, οἰκουμενικός, Ὀλυμπιονεΐκης, ὁμηριστής, ὁπλειτοδρόμος, ὄπλον, παῖς, παλαιστής, πανηγυριάρχης, πανκρατιαστής, πανκράτιον, παράδοξος, πενταετηρικός, πεντάθλης, περιοδονίκης, περίοδος, περιπολιστικός, πλειστονεΐκης, ποιητής, πολιτικός, πρωτεῖον, πυγμή, πυθαύλης, πυθικός, Πυθιονεΐκης, πυκτής, πυρρίχη, πυρριχ(ιστής), Ῥωμαϊκός ποιητής, σαλπικτής, σκάμμα, σταδιαδρόμος, στάδιον, στεφανείτης, συναγωνιστής, συναθλητής, συνωρίς, ταλαντιαῖος, τετραετηρίς, τεχνεΐτης, τραγικός, τραγωδία, τραγωδός, τριετία, τριτεῖον, χοραύλης, χοροκιθαρεύς, ψειλοκιθαρής

Gladiatorial and wild-beast fight terms

See below under:

ἐσσεδάριος, Θρᾶξ, καταδίκαι, κυνηγεσίον, μονομάχοι, πάλος, ταυροκαθαπτός, ταυρωτρόφος, φαμίλια

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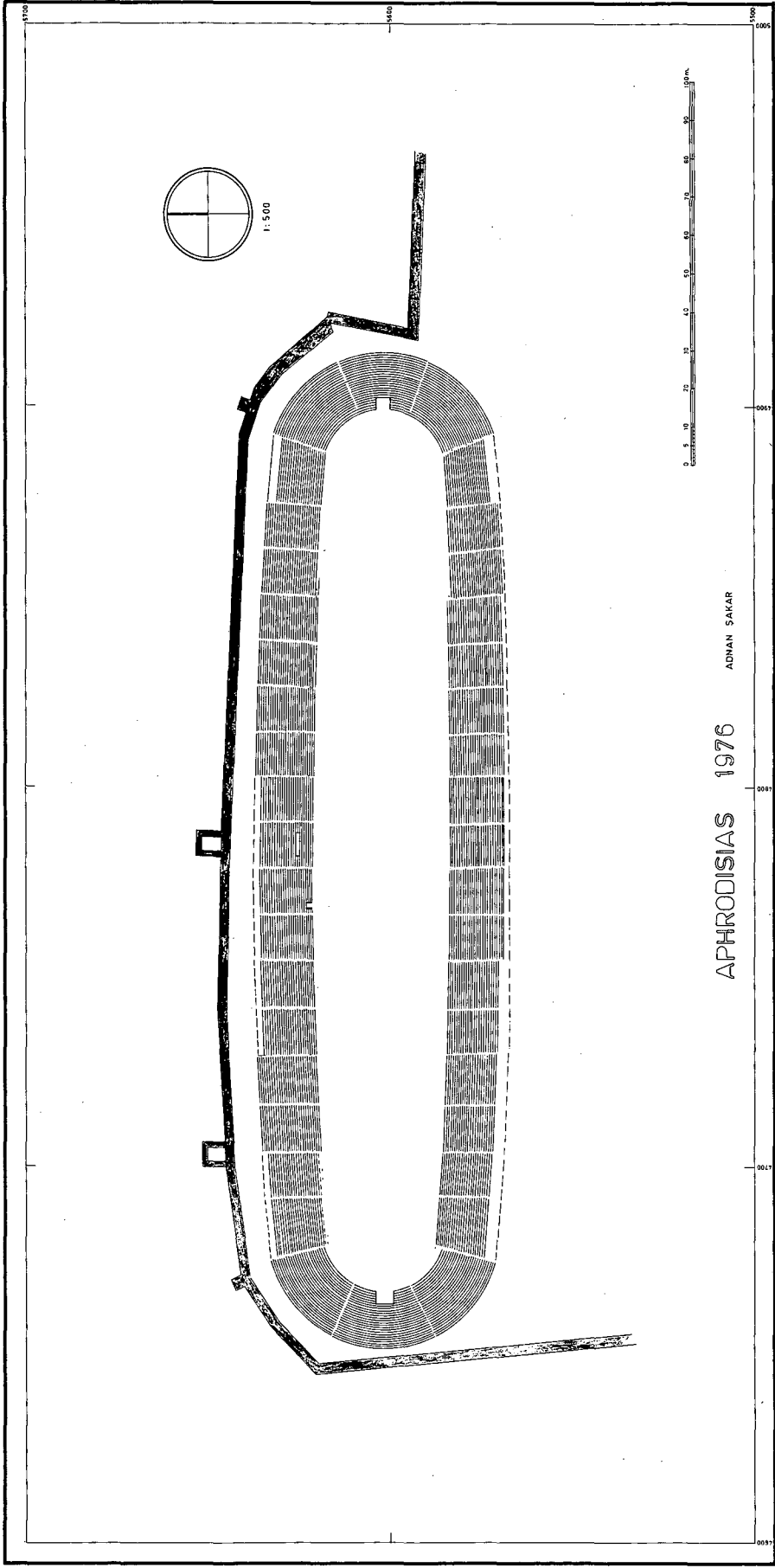
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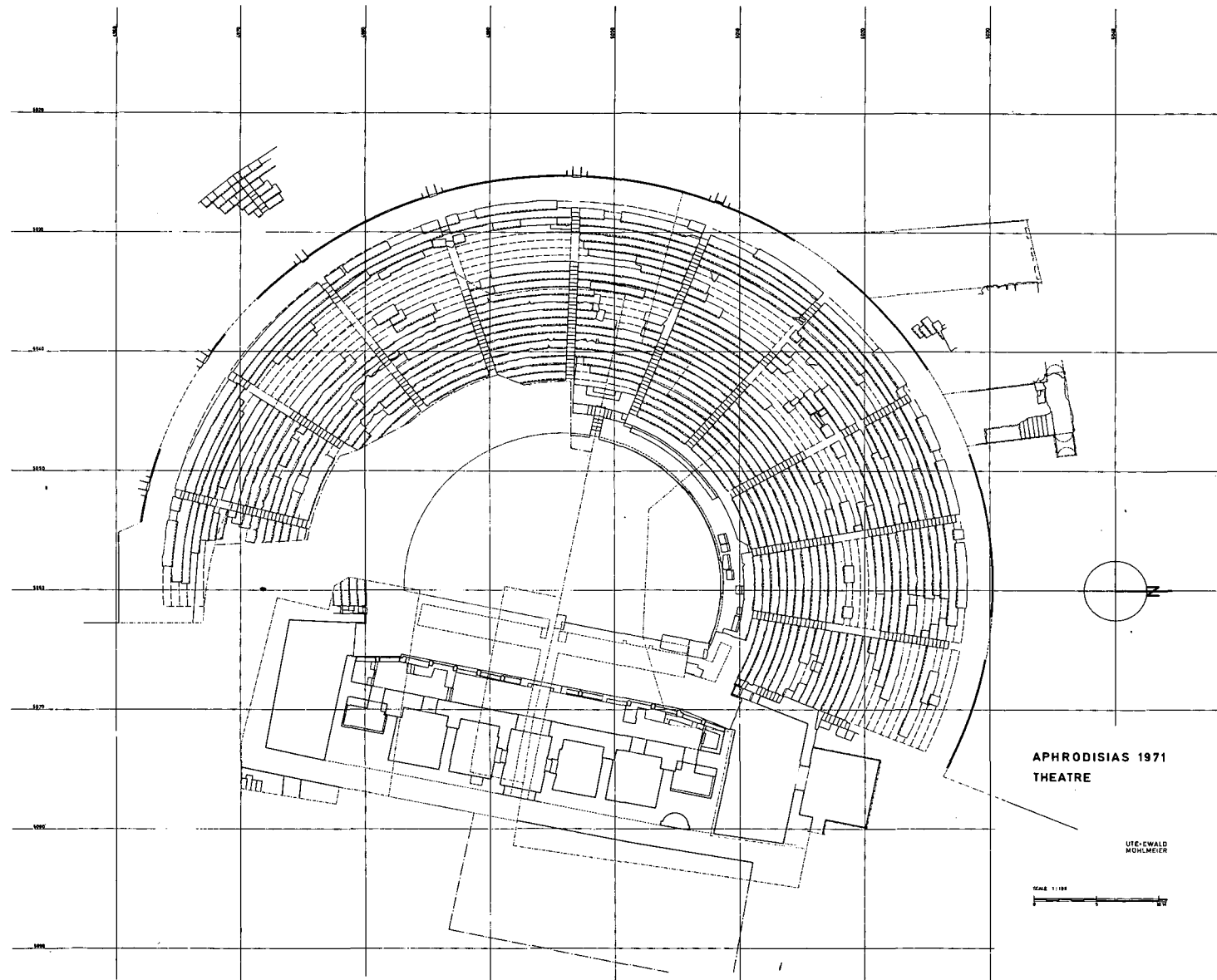


Fig. 2. Aphrodisias: The Theatre (plan by Ute and Ewald Mühlmeier).

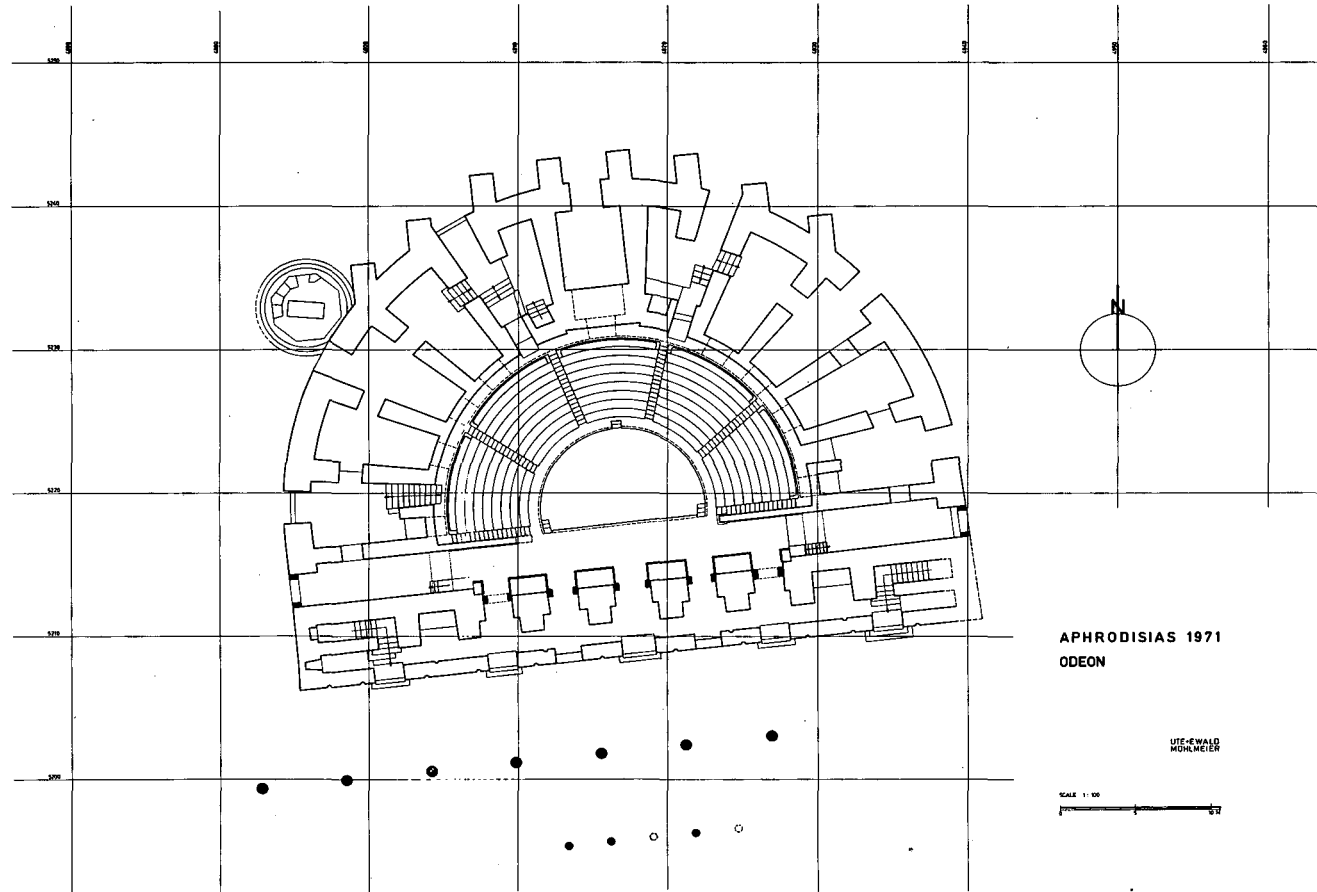
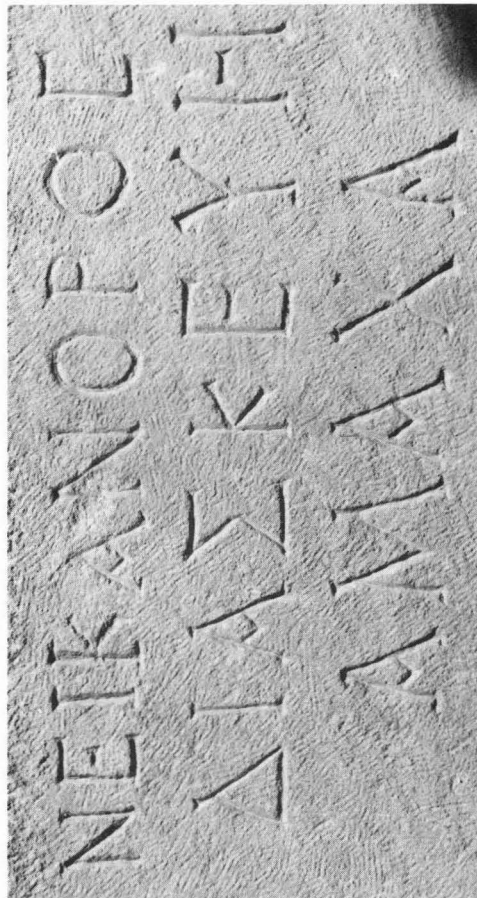


Fig. 3. Aphrodisias: The Odeon (plan by Ute and Ewald Mühlmeier).



1. 1.iii. Stage Room 1, south wall.



1. 5.i. Stage Room 5.



1. 1.i. Stage Room 1, north wall.



1. 3.ii. Stage Room 3.



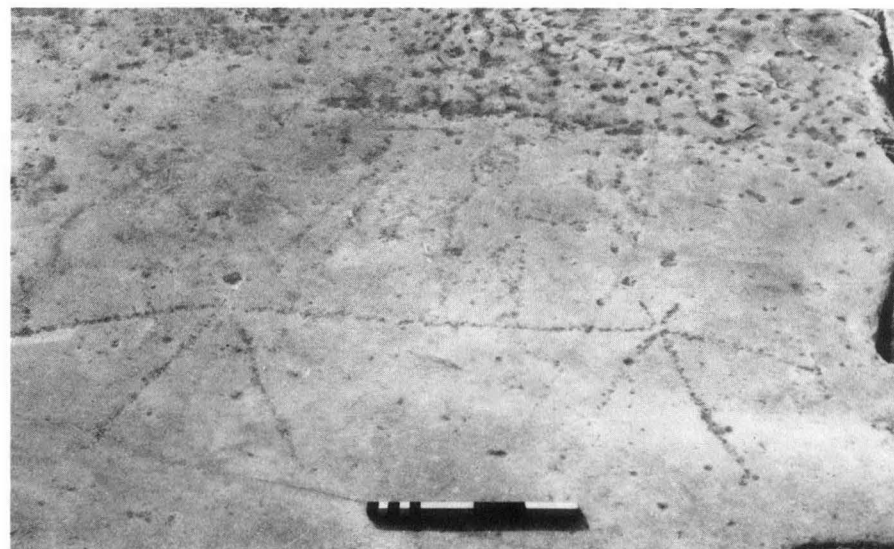
2. Invocation of Ourania, Theatre stage building.



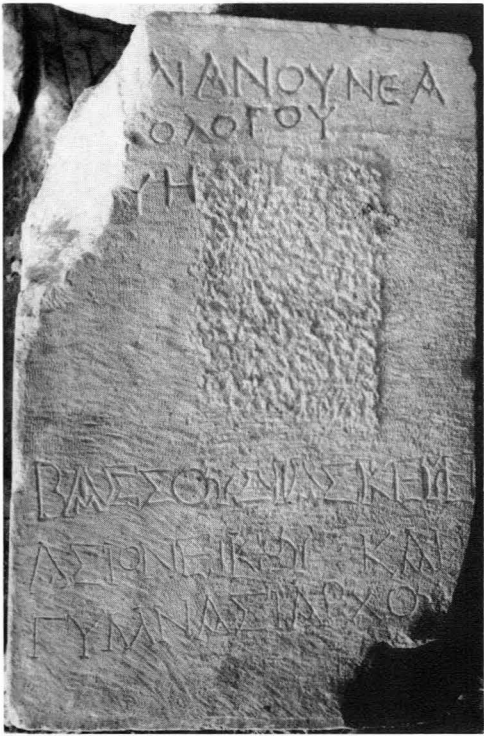
7. *b* and *c*. Stage building inscriptions.



8. *b.i*. Stage surface, inscription.



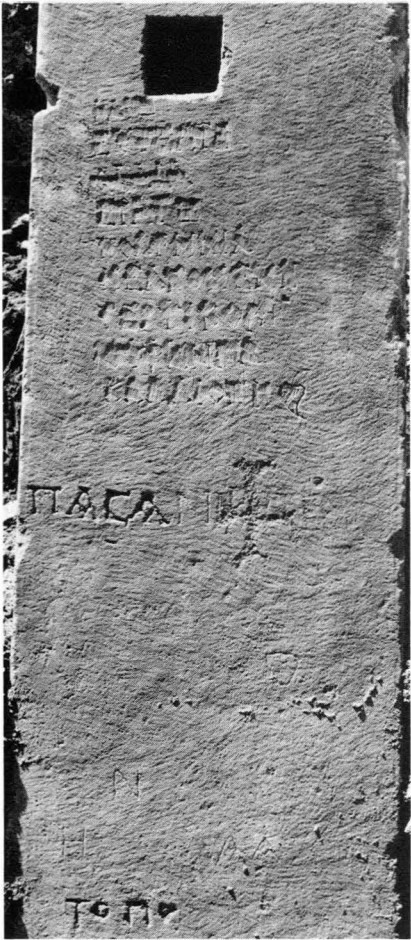
8. *b.ii*. Stage surface, design.



1. 5.iii and iv. Stage Room 5.



6. 1. List of Muses, Theatre stage column.



6. 2. *a* and *b*. List of Muses, Theatre stage column.



6. 13. *a* and *b*. Lists of Muses, Theatre stage column.



11. A. Plaster from Odeon stage buildings.



11. A.ii and iv. Plaster from Odeon stage buildings.



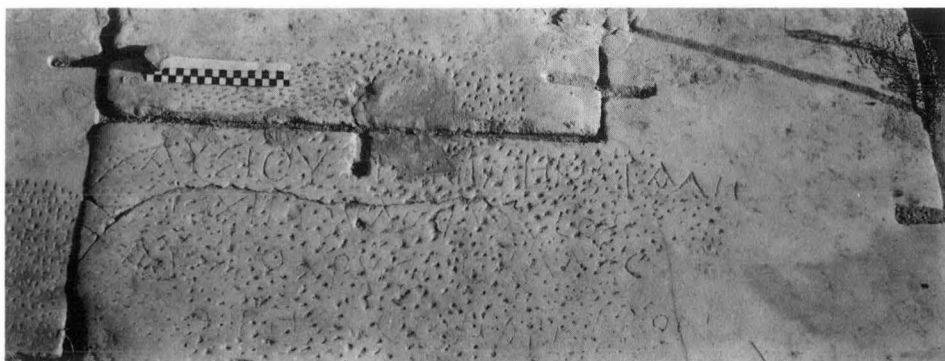
11. B.ii. Plaster from Odeon stage buildings.



11. E.i and ii. Plaster from Odeon stage buildings.



11. F. Plaster from Odeon stage buildings.



12. Invocation of Ourania, Odeon stage.



19. -enis, gladiator.



20. Euplous, gladiator.



21. Eupithanus, gladiator.



23. Calandio, gladiator.



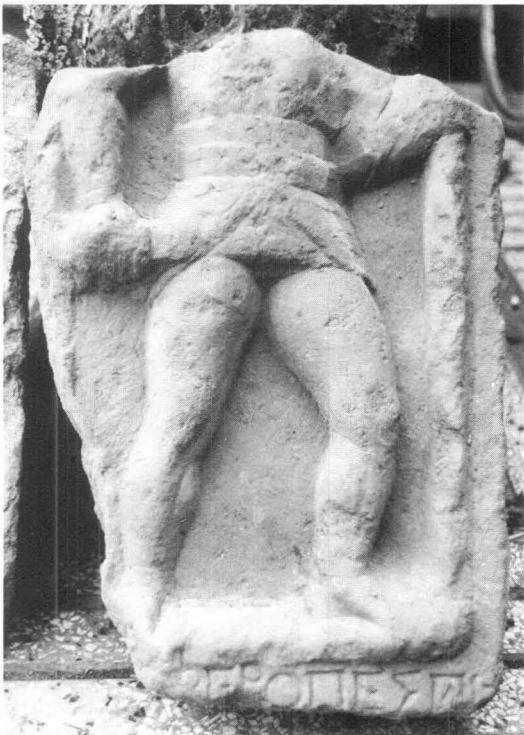
13. *Familia* of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus.



17. Unio, gladiator.



18. Narcissus, gladiator.



24. Pheropes, gladiator.



25. Xanthus, gladiator.



26. Patroclus, gladiator.



29. Fortis, gladiator.



30. Anicetus, gladiator.



31. Scirtus, gladiator.



33. Gladiator.



35. Secundus, gladiator.



37. -pes, *bestiarius*.



38. Gladiators in combat.



39. Gladiators in combat.



40. Wild-beast fight.



41. Bear attacking captive.



43. Epitaph of Eirenion, gladiator.



44. Epitaph of Epiphanius, bull-rearer.



45. 36. Y.ii. Stadium seat, with gameboard.



45. X.2. Stadium, graffito of *retiarius*.



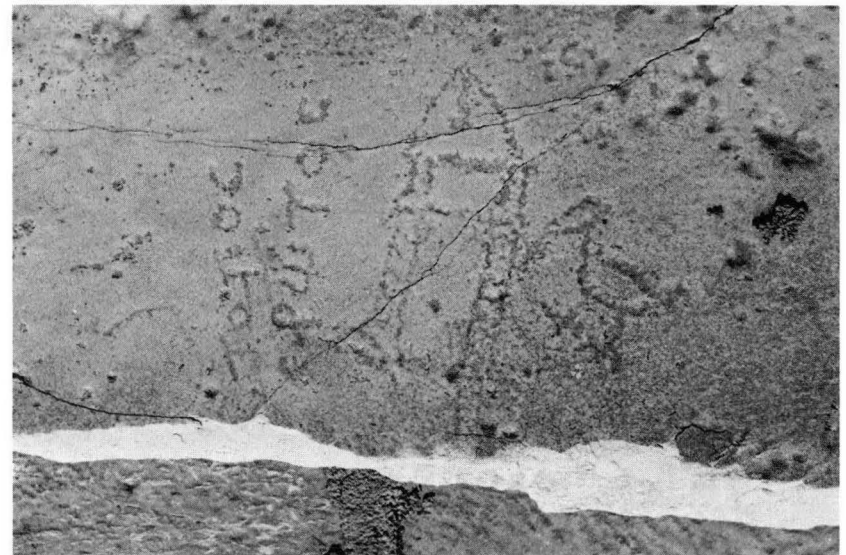
45. 4.0. Stadium seat, reserved for people from Mastaura.



46. A.3. Theatre seat, reserved for *mandator*.



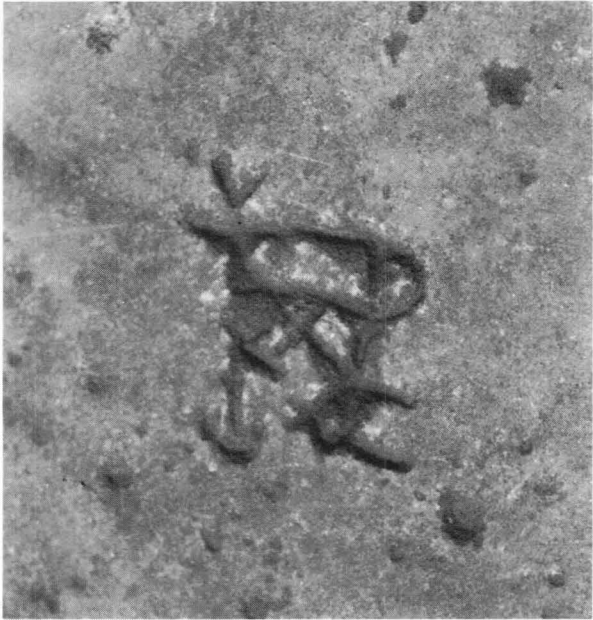
46. C.18. Theatre seat, with malediction of the Greens.



46. F.18. Theatre seat, place of Eros.



46. A.9. Theatre seat, with figure.



46. E.9.i. Theatre seat, with monogram of the Greens.



46. E.10. Theatre seat, figure with ?head-dress.



46. H.9.i. Theatre seat, with design of Thracian gladiator (with 46. H.8.i).



46. H.4.i. Theatre seat, with design of ?gladiator.



46. H.8.ii and iii.a. Theatre seats, one reserved for Heptamenius, one with monogram.



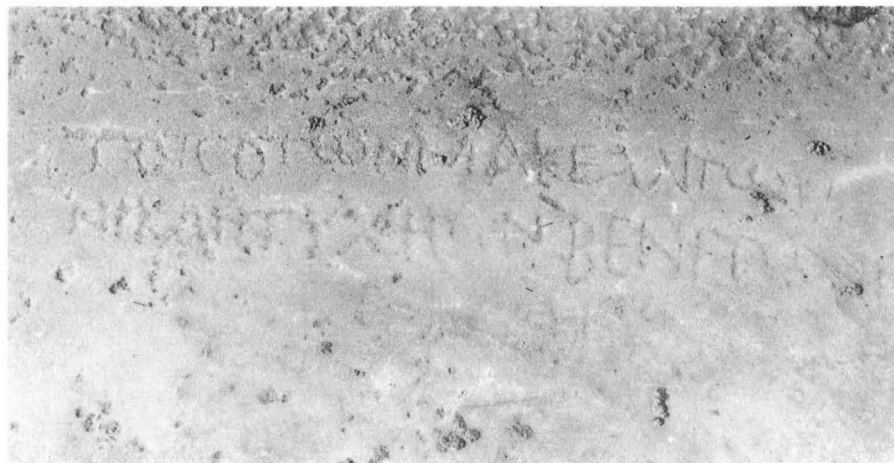
46. H.9.ii and iii. Theatre seats, one reserved for Athanasius and Eusebius, one with monogram.



46. J.4.ii. Theatre seat, with design of two heads.



46. J.8. Theatre seat, reserved for *protaurarius*.



46. J.13. Theatre seat, reserved for butchers.



46. X.18.ii (part). Theatre seat for Carminia Claudiana.



47. B.5. Odeon seat, reserved for young men.



47. E.5. Odeon seat, reserved for Blue faction.



47. E.7. Odeon seat, reserved for Blues.



48. Honours for ?Papulos, contest-president. First century A.D.



55. a. Honours for Hosidius Iulianus. Second century A.D.



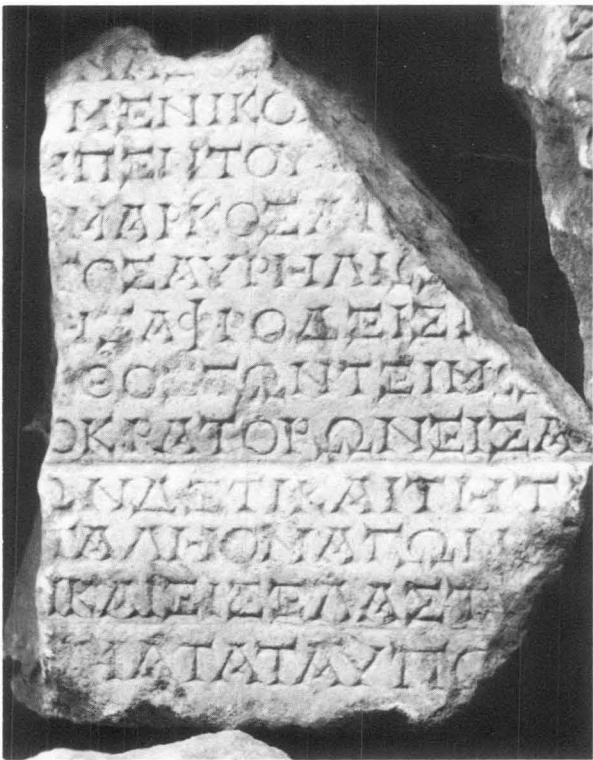
46. J.3. Theatre seat, with design of wrestler.



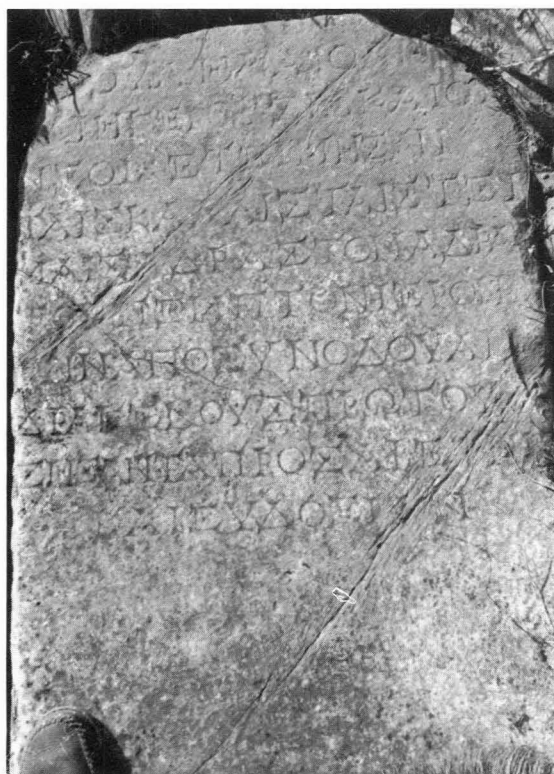
54. M. Flavius Antonius Lysimachus, contest-organizer. ?Second/third century A.D.



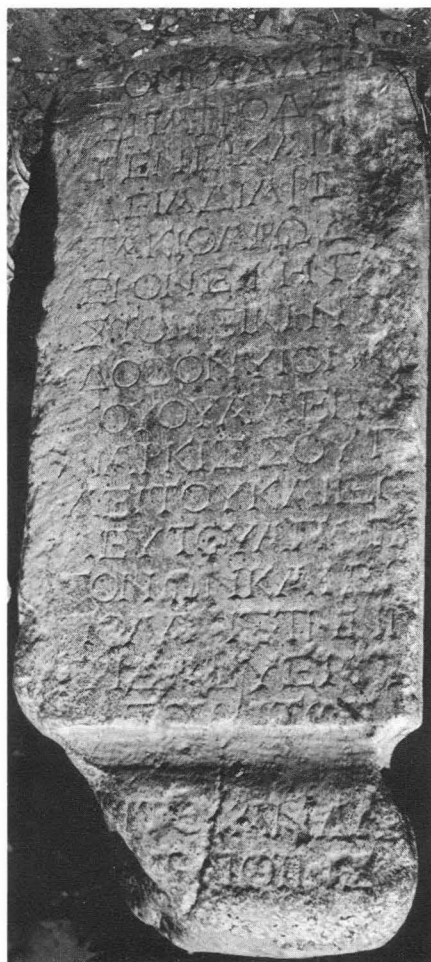
63. Honours for the People of Tabae. Third century A.D.



57. ?Schedule for the Attalea. ?Third century A.D.



66. Adrastus, son of Adrastus, sacred victor.
First/second century A.D.



68. M. Valerius Epaphrodeitus,
singer to the kithara. Second/third
century A.D.



69 (part). Melito, kitharist.
?Third century A.D.



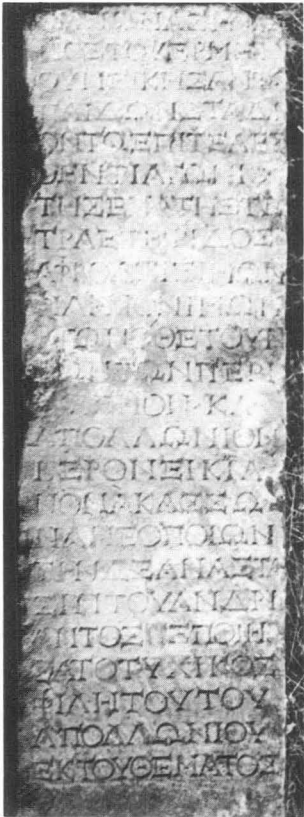
71. B. Anonymous, pancratiast.
Second/third century A.D.



72. ii. Honours for Aurelius Achilles.
Third century A.D.



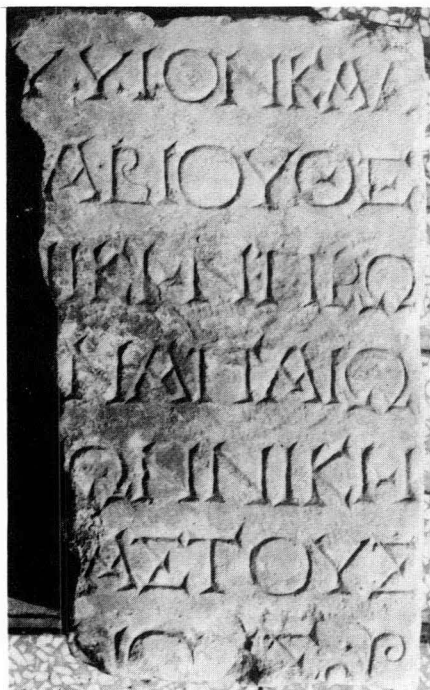
80. ?Andreas, son of
Androneicianus, boy
runner. Victor at the
Third Philemonia,
?c. A.D. 190.



82. Zeno, son of Zeno,
boy runner. Victor at the
Ninth Philemonia,
?c. A.D. 208.



83. ?Boy runner. Victor at the
Fifteenth Philemonia, ?c. A.D. 226.



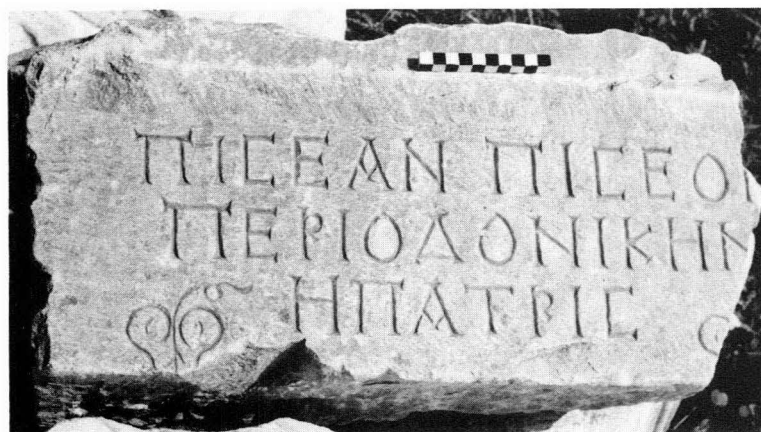
67. Callimorphus, flautist. *Floruit*
A.D. 117–38.



88. Honours for C. Julius
Longianus, poet. A.D. 127.



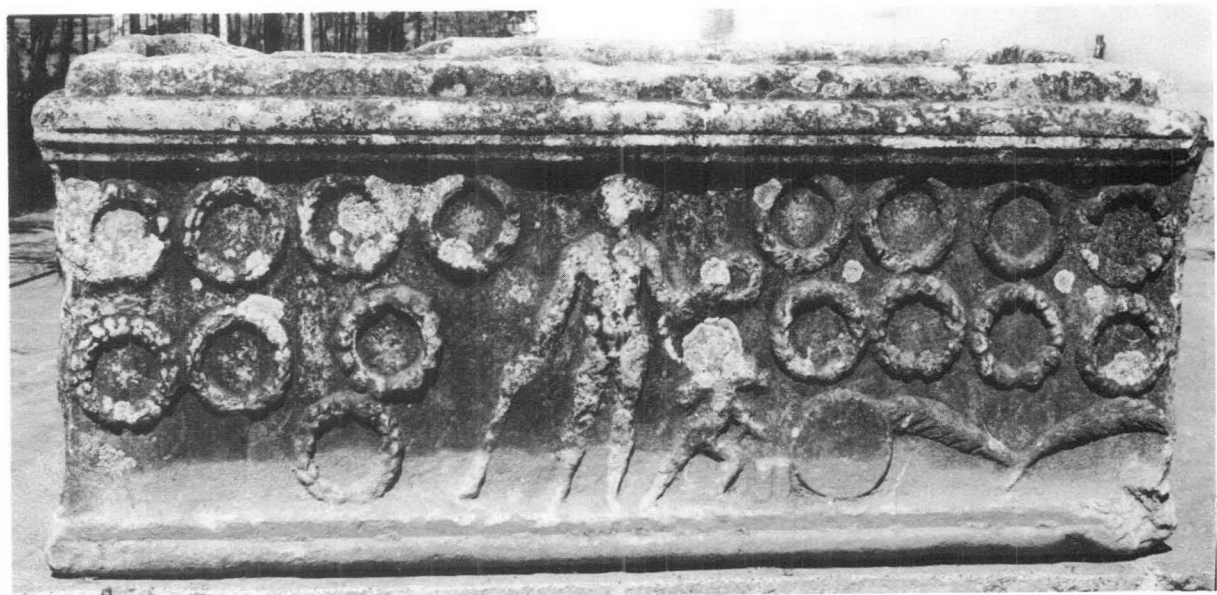
74. Candidianus, circuit-victor. Third century A.D.



75. Piseas, circuit-victor. Third century A.D.



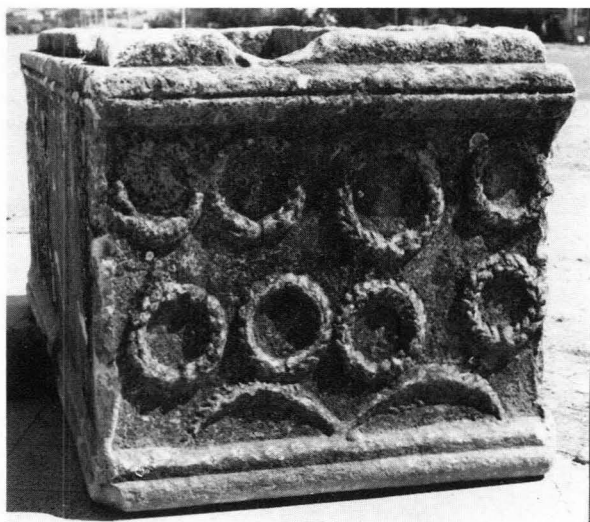
91. i.11.1–6. Honours for T. Aelius
Aurelius Menander. *Floruit*
A.D. 138–69.



94. Athlete's sarcophagus, front view.



94. Athlete's sarcophagus, rear view.



94. Athlete's sarcophagus, left face.



94. Athlete's sarcophagus, right face.



94. Athlete's sarcophagus, head of athlete.



94. Athlete's sarcophagus, detail of child.



95. Agon sarcophagus fragment.



95. Agon sarcophagus fragment, detail of ducks held by Winter.



95. Agon sarcophagus fragment, detail of Eros with a dog.

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