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Interpreting the Plural ‘Gymnasia’ within the Context of Ruler Cult: Buildings or Festivals?

Summary

Gymnasiarchy turned into an euergetic magistracy of a few wealthy families in late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Inscriptions from Asia Minor record iterated gymnasiarchies over several years and even monthly or daily periods of office, and describe gymnasiarchs who supervised several, even as many as 7, gymnasia simultaneously. The scanty archaeological evidence challenges the idea that so many gymnasia really constituted buildings within a single polis-territory. This paper suggests to interpret such multiple gymnasia in the sense of event cycles or small-scale periods of gymnasiarchy within the festivities of ruler cult. Already in Classical times, γυμνάσια could be generally taken to mean bodily exercises. A similar meaning may apply to the epigraphic record from the Roman East.

Keywords: Gymnasiarchie; Moschion; Cratippus; Paspáros; Nikephoria

In der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit verwandelte sich die Gymnasiarchie in ein euergetisches Amt für wenige reiche Familien. Inschriften aus Asia Minor dokumentieren wiederholte Gymnasiarchien über mehrere Jahre und sogar für einzelne Monate oder Tage und nennen Gymnasiarchen, die meh-

rere und sogar bis zu 7 Gymnasia gleichzeitig beaufsichtigt haben. Die spärlichen archäologischen Befunde lassen daran zweifeln, dass es tatsächlich so viele Gymnasia innerhalb einer Polis gab. In diesem Beitrag werden solche multiplen Gymnasia als Zyklen von Aktivitäten oder kurzfristige Gymnasiarchien im Rahmen von Feierlichkeiten für den Herrscherkult interpretiert. Schon in der klassischen Zeit konnte der Begriff γυμνάσια einfach generell körperliche Übungen bezeichnen. Ähnliches mag auch für die Inschriften aus dem römischen Osten gelten.

Keywords: Festgymnasiarchie; Moschion; Cratippus; Paspáros; Nikephoria

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According to a recently discovered inscription from Roman Syria, a gymnasiarchy that spanned several provinces existed alongside the traditional civic gymnasiarchies. This gymnasiarchy was related to the ruler cult. During the same time in Pergamon, a priest of the imperial cult appears to have held the function as ‘gymnasiarch of the *Sebasta Rhomaia* in the five gymnasia.’ Also, the formulation used in another Pergamene career inscription, according to which an office-holder was in charge of no fewer than ‘six gymnasia’ within the context of the provincial games of Asia also sounds somewhat unusual. Are such deviations from the standard designations of civic gymnasiarchs just exceptional cases? Research to date has mainly and – for the Classical and Hellenistic Periods – legitimately studied ‘the gymnasium’ (always expressed in the singular) within the context of its architectural features and development.¹ Whether differences based upon the respective geographical or institutional conditions play a role is seldom investigated.² The epigraphic tradition raises many questions concerning the different use of the term γυμνάσιον from Hellenism to the Roman Imperial period.³ In particular, if we examine gymnasiarchies within the context of supra-regional ruler cults and consider the different usages of the plural ‘gymnasia’ from Classical times onwards, the prevalent view that 1.) the competence of gymnasiarchs was restricted to the territories of individual poleis and, 2.) the term γυμνάσιον was exclusively used to denote buildings, starts to crumble.

1 A supra-regional gymnasiarchy in Syria

An honorary inscription from Tyre dated to the local year 169 (= 43/44 AD) represents the first explicit evidence of a “gymnasiarch of the four eparchies”:⁴ Διόδωρος vac. Ἰδου / γυμνασιαρχήσας τῶν Δ ἐπαρχιῶν / τὸ ΘΞΡ ἔτος (“Diodoros, son of Idas, was gymnasiarch of the four eparchies, (local) year 169”). The ambiguous Greek term ἐπαρχία (or *provinciae* in Latin) refers primarily to the administrative sub-divisions within the gubernatorial province of Syria (such as Phoenice or Commagene).⁵ However, studies to date have suggested that gymnasiarch’s services usually did not cover groups outside a particular polis, as stated by previous scholars such as H.-I. Marrou or P. Gauthier.⁶ W. Ameling even suggests that ‘acting for the gymnasium does not apply to any group beyond the polis’.⁷ In contrast to this, the new Tyrian inscription mentions four eparchies as the area of authority covered by the gymnasiarch Diodoros; this area went far beyond Tyre. The clarifying clause τῶν Δ ἐπαρχιῶν in the inscription has proved to be an addition made by another stonecutter in a comparably careless execution, as the inscription seems to be simply a graffito. It is not possible to determine when this addition was made.⁸ In any case, someone wished to specify the extraordinary area of responsibility of Diodoros’s office after his magistracy as gymnasiarch.

This interesting testimony from Tyre doesn’t stand alone in Syria’s epigraphic documentation: an inscription from Gerasa (today’s Jerash, in Jordan) provides the earliest parallel reference for such supra-civic offices in the context of ruler cult in Roman Syria. The stele, dat-

1 See most recently the comprehensive survey of Curty 2015 on the Hellenistic inscriptions honouring gymnasiarchs.
 2 Aside from a few exceptions: e.g. Nigdelis 1995, 179 and 181; Tzifopoulos 1998; Ferruti 2004; Vitale 2014; Kah 2014; Kah 2015; Daubner 2015, 160.
 3 Gehrke 2004, 413, points out that the situation was more varied and complex: “Eher könnte man von ‘Hellenistischen Gymnasien’ statt von ‘dem Hellenistischen Gymnasium’ sprechen. Anders gesagt: Die grundlegende und primäre Problematik im Forschungsfeld Gymnasium besteht jetzt eher darin, das Feld von Gemeinsamkeiten und Differenzen abzustecken [...]. Hierin sehe ich eine wichtige Aufgabe”; cf. also 418–419.
 4 I. Tyros II 53–54 no. 54 incl. fig. 54 a–d; Vitale 2014, 172–174 incl. fig. 1; also cf. Rey-Coquais 1981, 30; Sartre 2004, 173–174; most recently Daubner 2015, 159–162. Year 169 is based on an enumeration of years from the moment of its acquisition of *autonomia* in 126/125 BC.
 5 In Asia Minor and Syria, in particular, a gubernatorial *provincia*/ἐπαρχία was subdivided into several administrative sub-provinces that were likewise called *provinciae*/ἐπαρχία. On this particular territorial arrangement

of the Roman administrative geography and the corresponding denominations of the administrative units, cf. Marek 1993; Ziegler 1999, 137–153; Butcher 2003, 114; Marek 2003; Sartre 2004, 179; Marek 2010, part. 449–453; Vitale 2012a, *passim*; Vitale 2013, 43–48; in detail Vitale 2016, 85–89.

6 Marrou 1965, 163–164; Gauthier 1995, 9.

7 Ameling 2004, 130: “Handeln für das Gymnasium gilt keiner über die Polis hinausreichenden Gruppe?”

8 Sartre 2004, 178, reaches the logical conclusion “que Tyr abrite des concours communs aux quatre éparchies, mais que ce n’était pas encore le cas sous Claude”. Under Claudius, the gubernatorial province of Syria contained only three eparchies, namely *SyriaPhoeniceCilicia*, as Caligula had already returned *Commagene* to his friend Antiochos IV. as a kingdom in 38 AD and *Judea* was not involved in organising the provincial imperial cult. However, during the first century AD, Cappadocia may at least temporarily have formed one of the “four eparchies” of Syria in question.

ing from the early part of Hadrian's reign, names Diodoros, son of Emmeganos, as a "(former) priest of the four eparchies in the *metropolis* Antiocheia" (ἱερασάμενος τῶν τεσσάρων ἐπαρχειῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μητροπόλει).⁹ Likewise, the respective centres of the provincial imperial cult and workplaces of the γυμνασίαρχοι or ἱερεῖς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν bore similar titles. For example, Laodicea had literally the privilege of being "metropolis of the four provinces", as shown by city coinage from Caracalla to Elagabalus. The full title reads *colonia Laodicea metropolis IIII provinciarum* on coins.¹⁰

Diodoros's designation as a gymnasiarch τῶν Δ ἐπαρχιῶν raises a number of questions that we are not really able to answer, given the currently sparse documentary evidence from the former Seleucid Empire.¹¹ In any case, it is unlikely that the Tyrian gymnasiarch was simultaneously or consecutively in charge of the gymnasia of several subdivisions of the province of Syria, as the ἱερασάμενος in Antioch on the Orontes was not the federal 'chief priest' of all the temples in Syria either, but was chosen to direct and (co-)finance the jointly held events of the imperial cult. Rather, Diodoros must have been referred to by this title on the occasion of the 'common/federal games of the four provinces' held in Tyre – perhaps, as a so-called 'festival gymnasiarch'.¹² There are occasional hints that this function of a 'Festgymnasiarch',

whose 'office' lasted as long as the festivals, also existed within the *koina* of Macedonia, Lycia and Cyprus.¹³ As there are no exact parallels for such a gymnasiarchy, it remains unclear whether Diodoros's gymnasiarch title was based not only on an occasional 'Festgymnasiarchie' – the definition of which is vague in any case – but rather on a permanent official function, an annual or monthly termed ἀρχή, because provincial assemblies convened at least once a year in the major seats of the provincial commonalities.

2 Multiple gymnasia on the provincial level in Pergamon

Comparable numerical descriptions of areas of responsibility within the context of the provincial ruler cult, such as those found in the Syrian inscriptions for Diodoros and Diogenes, can be found in several provinces of Asia Minor. In particular, the function of gymnasiarchs, who could supervise several "gymnasia" at once or one "gymnasion" for the entire province,¹⁴ is attested within the context of the provincial imperial cult in inscriptions from Pergamon,¹⁵ one of the earliest metropoleis of the province of Asia.¹⁶ During the 1st century AD, for example, Pergamon – the former royal seat of the

9 SEG 7, 847 = Jones 1928, 157 no. 16; on this, cf. the extensive commentary in Sartre 2004, 167–186. In Syria – similarly to the *koinon* of Galatia under Augustus – the highest priestly offices were not referred to literally as ἀρχιερωσύνη, 'arch-priesthood', but merely as ἱερωσύνη, 'priesthood'. Despite the different wording of ἱερωσύνη versus ἀρχιερωσύνη, it is obvious that the functions of the 'ordinary' priesthood were equivalent to those of the so-called 'arch-priesthood' in other provinces. In fact, the epigraphical evidence of the title ἀρχιερεὺς (τοῦ κοινοῦ) τῆς ἐπαρχείας in Thrace provides an exemplary touchstone for our argument; IGBulg 5, 5592, ll. 3–4; cf. SEG 55, 1377; 1380. In an agonistic inscription for the athlete Artemidoros, dating from the Flavian period, Antioch is already referred to as the host city of the joint provincial games in association with the κοινὸς Συρίας Κιλικίας Φοινείκης ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ (IAG 183–186 no. 67, ll. 15–16).

10 The title appears abbreviated as METR(O) IIII – METR IIII PROV – METROPOL IIII PR; cf. Meyer 1987–1988, 89–90, no. 115, 116, 119, 122, 129; Lindgren and Kovacs 1985, 111 no. 2098; see the full discussion by Vitale 2013, 105–110 and, more recently Vitale 2013, 96–99; Vitale 2014, 172–174. Accordingly, in the period from Emperor Claudius to the first half of the third century AD, like Antioch or Laodicea, the Phoenician city of Tyre, workplace of a "gymnasiarch of the four eparchies", served as the metropolis of an administrative area covering several eparchies. We know of at least one other case of 'pan-provincial' organization, the provincial assembly of the so-called *treis eparchiai* (Cilicia-Isauria-Lycaonia), which was not restricted to the individual sub-provinces alone but covered the whole territory of the gubernatorial province. E.g. Tarsos,

in inscriptions and coins, styled itself 'first and greatest and most beautiful metropolis set before the three eparchies of Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia, twice neokoros' (ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη καὶ καλλίστη μητρόπολις τῶν ὑ' ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας Ἰσαυρίας Λυκαονίας προκαθεζομένη καὶ β' νεκόρος), in competition with Anazarbos that claimed identical privileges; for Tarsos: IGR 3, 879–880; 882; IdC 30; for Anazarbos: Sayar 2000, 25–26 no. 13; cf. Sayar 2000, 18–19 no. 4 (Caracalla); 20 no. 6 (Severus Alexander); 23–24 no. 11 (Macrinus); 24–25 no. 12 (Elagabal). See the summary in Vitale 2013, 29–30, 43–48; according to Sartre 2004, 168, besides Arabia and Syria, this "supra-provincial" commonality would have had to include the neighbouring gubernatorial provinces of Judea and Cilicia; see Vitale 2012a, 60–65 on the provincial *koinon* of Asia and Vitale 2012a, 313–319, on the provincial assembly of the so-called *treis eparchiai* (Cilicia-Isauria-Lycaonia).

11 On the amount of source material, see Daubner 2015, 149–150.

12 On the "Festgymnasiarchen", cf. Nigdelis 1995, 181 and Scholz 2015, 79 incl. note 1.

13 Macedonia: Nigdelis 1995, 179–182; Lycia: IGR III, 495; cf. Fouilles VII, no. 69 and 233; Cyprus: Nigdelis 1995, 181 incl. n. 60. However, Nigdelis 1995, 181, notes that this liturgy did not exist in all eastern *koina* in the same way.

14 On this, cf. Quass 1993, 320 incl. note 1370; also Oehler 1912, 1993–1994; Schuler 2004, 190 incl. n. 162; Gross-Albenhausen 2004, 313–314.

15 Already pointed out by J.-P. Rey-Coquais in I. Tyros II, 54.

16 On this, cf. Vitale 2014, 172–176.

Attalids – presents C. Iulius Sacerdos as the “gymnasiarch of the twelfth *Sebasta Rhomaia* in the five gymnasia” (γυμνασίαρχος τῶν δωδεκάτων Σεβαστῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν πέντε γυμνασίων).¹⁷ M. Tullius Cratippus was appointed as “gymnasiarch in the common/federal games of the province of Asia for the six gymnasia” (γυμνασίαρχος ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἕξ γυμνασίων) between 18/17 BC and 14 AD.¹⁸

Even though the Tyrian gymnasiarchy “of the four provinces” does not correspond word for word to these multiple gymnasiarchies from Pergamon, they do have in common a close connection with the provincial imperial cult and to the events associated with it. The combination of C. Iulius Sacerdos’s titles in particular provides tangible evidence for identifying ‘provincial’ gymnasiarchies in Pergamon: as ‘temple warden’, *neokoros*, of the imperial temple of the Goddess Roma and priest of Tiberius, Sacerdos was simultaneously “gymnasiarch of the five gymnasia within the twelfth *Sebasta Rhomaia*”.¹⁹ The *Sebasta Rhomaia* are attested in inscriptions from 20 BC to the 2nd century AD;²⁰ according to Cassius Dio these ‘holy competitions’ were inaugurated in the year 29/28 BC.²¹ Most probably, they are an older and/or alternative designation for the ‘common (provincial/federal) games’ (the so-called κοινὸς Ἀσίας).²² The *Sebasta Rhomaia* were not just a civic festival, but explicitly organised by the *koinon* of the province of Asia (τὰ Σεβαστὰ Ῥωμαῖα τὰ τιθέμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας).²³ If we assume a penteteric sequence of the *Sebasta Rhomaia*, the twelfth edition superintended and, probably, also financed by Iulius Sacerdos must be dated to the year 15/16 AD. Logically, before Iulius Sacerdos held his office, other gymnasiarchs were responsible for

the previous eleven *Sebasta Rhomaia*. This suggests that a specific gymnasiarchy in Pergamon was set up for the regular holding of events within this context (besides the presidency over the provincial assembly and the provincial ‘arch-priesthood’ as well as other federal/provincial offices). Up to the late 2nd century AD, we are able to list seven festivals which were organised in Pergamon in connection with the ruler cult.²⁴ At least every year, province-wide festivals for the ruler cult were celebrated. Does the excessive number of ‘five (or seven; see below) *gymnasia*’ in Pergamon refer to such games? Did a ‘gymnasiarch of the five *gymnasia*’ supervise all the gymnasium users, especially the participating athletes, and the contests of five provincial festivals?

The respective festival or the cycle in which it was held seems to have been decisive in defining such ‘specialised’ gymnasiarchies. Perhaps, there were two levels of gymnasiarchical office-holding: one level of provincial gymnasiarchies and another level of merely civic gymnasiarchies.

Such multiple and supra-regional office holdings, which were linked to the ruler cult, constituted a significant difference to the early Hellenistic forms of gymnasiarchy, which formerly was a regular one-year magistracy limited to one gymnasium.²⁵ As the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων (“from his/her own funds”) appears in the imperial honorary decrees for gymnasiarchs comparatively more frequently than during Hellenism, scholars attribute these changes primarily to the increasing economic problems of the polis elites – ‘Mangel an Amtsträgern’ –²⁶ suggesting that the gymnasiarchy developed into an euergetic-liturgical office held by a few wealthy families.²⁷ In fact, several (either consec-

17 Hepding 1907, 321 no. 50.

18 Conze and Schuchhardt 1899, 178 no. 30; on the wealthy family of the Tullii Cratippi, see Schäfer 2000, 106–107 no. 18; for the exact dating of Cratippus’s charge, cf. Habicht 1969, 164–165; Schäfer 2000, 106–107.

19 Hepding 1907, 321 no. 50: οἱ νέοι ἐτίμησαν / Γάιον Ἰούλιον Σακέρδωτα τὸν / νεωκόρον θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ / Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἱερέα / Τιβηρίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος καὶ / γυμνασίαρχον τῶν δωδεκάτων / Σεβαστῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν πέντε / γυμνασίων.

20 Moretti 1953, 151–156 no. 59.

21 Cass. Dio 51.20.9: ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὀνομασμένον.

22 In agonistic inscriptions: Moretti 1953, 174–179 no. 65, ll. 6–7 (in Pergamon); 12–14 (consecutively in Phrygian Laodiceia and Sardeis). Contrary to the minor, ἄλλοι κοῖνοι Ἀσίας (Kyzikos, Laodikeia, Miletos, Philadelphieia, Sardeis, Tralleis) the κοινὰ Ἀσίας τὰ μεγάλα held in the three most prominent metropolises of Asia, Ephesos, Pergamon and

Smyrna, were respectively called μεγὰ, ‘major (games)’; see on this Moretti 1953, 215–219 no. 74, ll. 8–11.

23 Moretti 1953, 151–162 no. 59–61; on the designations used for the agonistic games of the provincial commonality of Asia, cf. Burrell 2004, 20–21; Marek 2010, 615–616; Remijsen 2015, 72; on the *Rhomaia* in Lycia, in particular, see Reitzenstein 2011, 72–73.

24 *Asklepeia Augusteia, Herakleia, Koina Asias, Kommodeia, Nikephoria, Olympia, Sebasta Rhomaia, Traianeia Deiphileia*; on this Moretti 1954, 282.

25 On the gymnasiarchy as an annual magistracy, see e.g. Ameling 2004, 146; Schuler 2004; Curty 2015, 9–12.

26 Quass 1993, 321; followed by Scholz 2015, 85–86: “[...] alsbald notorische Mangel an Kandidaten, die auf ein hinreichendes Vermögen zurückgreifen konnten”.

27 Recent research on the Hellenistic gymnasiarchy in particular has assumed that this institution underwent a gradual change from the Classical period onwards. The studies of C. Schuler and P. Scholz point out

tively or simultaneously) iterated gymnasiarchies, or even gymnasiarchies lasting several years, are almost the norm during the Imperial period.²⁸ However, the argument of increasing financial burdens does not necessarily exclude that the corresponding gymnasiarchies were not furthermore officially regulated as 'magistracies'; ἀρχή. Our assumption is supported by an important extract from imperial regulations (related to a constitution of Hadrian) collected by the Roman jurist Modestinus. The relevant passage states that philosophers and other prominent professions are to be given immunity, during their term of appointment, from all sorts of public services for the community (expressed by the generic term ὑπηρεσία ἔθνικῆ, 'service/office for the ἔθνος provincial duties'),²⁹ such as embassies or the functions of gymnasiarchy and agoranomy: The term ἔθνος is attested in inscriptions and on coins from different periods and different provinces of Asia Minor, mostly within the same meaning as province or (provincial) κοινόν.³⁰ If the agoranomy was still a magistracy during the second and third centuries AD, the same must be implied for the gymnasiarchy.

A difficulty remains that our inscriptions, which mainly describe the career steps of gymnasiarchs, tell us almost nothing – compared with other magistra-

cies – about the institutional position and the election or appointment procedure of gymnasiarchs during Hellenism and Roman times: we cannot determine reliably whether provincial gymnasiarchies and/or gymnasiarchies over multiple *gymnasia* constituted a permanent function, a magistracy of its own; or, alternatively, on given occasions the respective civic gymnasiarch was regularly responsible not only for the board and lodging of the usual civic users of the gymnasium, but also for all the province's participating festival delegations, for other foreigners and for the Romans.³¹ However, an honorary inscription from the Macedonian polis Beroia provides a strong indication that, in at least the Macedonian provincial *koinon*, a regular charge as 'provincial/federal gymnasiarch' existed in the late 1st century AD along with other, well known, provincial/federal functions (e.g. ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων). The honorand, T. Claudius Pierion, was literally καὶ δις γυμνασίαρχος δόγματι συνέδρων Μακεδονίας καὶ πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας.³² Depending on our reading of the word order, the dedication seems to reveal that he was appointed by the decision of the delegates of the Macedonian *koinon* to his office of gymnasiarch.³³ This example fits well with

that from the early Hellenistic period of the 4th century BC onwards, a model of magistratical gymnasiarchy developed that differed from the liturgical gymnasiarchy of classical Athens (Schuler 2004, 172–178); over the course of the Imperial period, this office took on a more euergetic and liturgical character once more and became the concern of a few wealthy families (for example, towards the end of the 3rd century AD in Egypt, the gymnasiarchy was even awarded on a daily basis to different functionaries; on this, see Drecoll 1997, 79–85).

- 28 E.g. Quass 1993, 316; Schuler 2004, 189–191. Cf. the commentary by Blümel in I. Iasos no. 84; followed by Schuler 2004, 190. However, at least there is no question of iteration in these formulations, for the iteration of the office is made unequivocally clear as such in inscriptions by the use of numerical symbols and numerical words, usually as ordinals (e.g. IG V, 1, 535: ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ γυμνασιαρχίᾳ).
- 29 Dig. Modestinus 2 excus. 27. 1, 6, 8: Ὅμοιος δὲ τούτοις ἅπασιν ὁ θεότατος πατήρ μου παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διατάγματι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τιμὰς καὶ ἀτελείας ἐβεβαίωσεν, γράψας φιλοσόφους ῥήτορας γραμματικούς ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς εἶναι γυμνασιαρχῶν ἀγορανομῶν ἰερωσυνῶν ἐπισταθμῶν σιτωνίας ἐλαιωνίας καὶ μήτε πρεσβεύειν μήτε εἰς στρατείαν καταλέγεσθαι ἄκοντας μήτε εἰς ἄλλην αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔθνικὴν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀναγκάζεσθαι. See on the interpretation of the phrase ὑπηρεσία ἔθνικῆ most recently Vitale 2016, 96–97.
- 30 The administrative use of the term ἔθνος is attested both in literary sources of the third century AD, for example in Cassius Dio (Freyburger-Galland 1997, 34–35 Sherwin-White 1973, 437–444; cf. part. Bertrand 1982, 173–174 incl. n. 56), as well as in inscriptions from the early Principate (Eck 2007, 197–198); see in general Vitale 2014; in detail, cf. Vitale 2012a, 31–38. The Lycian league in particular (Behrwald 2000, 170–173),

but also the *koina* of Asia, Bithynia, Galatia and Macedonia (cf. Deininger 1965, 137 for the ἔθνη of the provinces of Asia (e.g. TAM 5.2.990), Lycia, Bithynia, Galatia, Macedonia) or Pamphylia (cf. Şahin 2004, 19–20 no. 294; 42–43 no. 321; İplikçiöğlu, G. Çelgin, and V. Çelgin 2007, 69–70 no. 13; see the discussion in Vitale 2012a, 272–277) were each referred to respectively as ἔθνος in imperial inscriptions, mostly as an alternative to the more common term κοινόν.

- 31 On the accommodation for groups from outside the polis, see Mango 2004, 275–278; similarly, Chaniotis 1995, 156–161; e.g. OGIS 339 = I. Sestos 1, ll. 30–33: γυμνασί/αρχός τε αἰρεθείς τῆς τε εὐταξίας τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων προενοήθη, / τῆς τε ἄλλης εὐσημιοσύνης τῆς κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἀντελάβετο καλῶς κα[ι] / φιλοτιμῶς (Menas decree from Sestos, 125 BC); I. Priene 113, l. 40–45 (1st century BC); IG VII, 2712, ll. 25–29: ἠρίστισε <δ>[ἐ τῆ]ν πόλιν τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα / ἀπ' ἐ[κθέμ]ματος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, μηδ[ένα π]αραλιπῶν οὐ μόνον τῶν / ἐνοί[κων] αὐτῶν, [ἀλ.]λ' οὐδὲ τῶν παρεπι[δη]μοῦ[ν]των ξένων σὺν παι/σιν ἐ[λευ]θέροις <ς> καὶ τοῖς τῶν πολειτῶν δοῦ[λοι]ς <δ>[ι]ὰ τὸ φιλόδοξον / ἦθος. (Honorary decree for Epameinondas from Akraiphia, under Nero).
- 32 SEG 27, 262: Τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερέα τῶν / Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην / τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων Τι (βέριον) Κλαύδιον / Πειριῶνα, Τι (βερίου) Κλαυδίου Πειριῶνος / ὄν καὶ δις γυμνασίαρχον δόγματι συνέδρων / Μακεδονίας καὶ πρῶτον τῆς ἐπαρχείας, φηλή / Βερεικῆ· δι' ἐπιμελητοῦ Γ(αίου) Μορίου Δομιτίου / καὶ γραμματέως Λ(οκίου) Νασιδιηνοῦ Οὐάλεντος; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 79, 1955, 274 = J. and L. Robert, BE, 1956, no. 150; Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993, 147–151.
- 33 Contrary to the concerns of Nigdelis 1995, 179–180 about the syntax of this sentence, our reading of δις γυμνασίαρχος δόγματι συνέδρων Μακε-

the definition of gymnasiarchies as an ὑπερεσία ἔθνικὴ in Hadrian's constitution.

3 Multiple gymnasia on the civic level in Asia Minor

There are many epigraphic examples of multiple gymnasiarchies which do not reveal any direct link to the ruler cult or to province-wide events. However, they all point to a specific aspect of provincial gymnasiarchies: the listing of several *gymnasia* could also express cycles of events or terms of office (most likely monthly terms). During Hadrian's reign, for example, a "gymnasiarch over the seven gymnasia" (γυμνασίαρχος τῶν ζ' γυμνασίων)³⁴ named Tib. Claudius Menogenes officiated in Pergamon. During the 1st century AD, the "participants of the third gymnasium" (μετέχοντες τοῦ τρίτου γυμνασίου) in the Lydian city of Thyateira honoured Tib. Claudius Antyllos, the "(former) gymnasiarch of all gymnasia" (γυμνασιαρχήσας πάντα τὰ γυμνάσια).³⁵ In these cases, as in further cases of 'three', 'four' or 'all' gymnasia in Iasos, Perge or Miletus,³⁶ some scholars argue that the honorands presided over different age categories, perhaps in different premises (παῖδες ἔφηβοι νέου πρεσβύτεραι).³⁷ As it happens, the services provided by a multiple gymnasiarchy could have had beneficiaries other than just "age groups", as seen e.g. in an honorary inscription from Miletus, where τῶν πολιτῶν are mentioned too,³⁸ or an inscription from Kaunos that honours the "(former) gymnasiarch of all age groups and ev-

ery class".³⁹

Nevertheless, the mention of several γυμνάσια need not necessarily and exclusively refer to several different 'gymnasia' in the sense of buildings or rooms for different age categories/groups of users. In the inscription from Thyateira, for instance, it is striking that the μετέχοντες (i.e. the "participants of the third gymnasium") are not specified as a particular age category. The expression "third gymnasium" implies a rank or an order, which does not fit for buildings. A funerary inscription on a marble base from Tralleis dating from the second half of the first century AD provides a prime touchstone for this argument: "[Claudius Epigonianos] financed from his own funds the first four-month period of the three gymnasia".⁴⁰ According to this, the gymnasiarch financed a four-month period, namely the "first": An entire year has 12 months that is exactly "three" four-month periods, which apparently correspond to the τρία γυμνάσια within the same phrase. This plural form cannot refer to buildings but refers to time periods of a gymnasiarch's office.⁴¹

It is especially four-month terms of office that are illustrated by several inscriptions from Western Asia Minor. A so-called prophetes inscription from Didyma attests a four-month gymnasiarchy (ἐπὶ τετράμηνον) over three different groups of users at one time.⁴² Contemporary honorary inscriptions from Magnesia report separately both a four-month (τετράμηνον) and a two-month (δίμηνον) term of gymnasiarchal office for Moschion, son of Moschion.⁴³ In Stratonikeia even daily terms of office are witnessed: An inscription of Aelia Glykinna and

δονίας is supported by the phrase πρώτος ἐπαρχείας δόγματι κοινοβουλίου in the honorary inscription of the Bithyniarch Tib. Claudius Piso: IK 27, 47, ll. 1-6: [τὸν ἀσὸν κρι]τον καὶ Ὀλύμπιον [καὶ] / [πρώτου]ν ἐπαρχείας δόγματι / [κοιν]οβουλίου καὶ προή[γο]ρ[ον] / [τοῦ ἔ]θνους καὶ δεκάπρωτον / [καὶ] πολιτογράφου καὶ ἄρχοντα / τ[ῆς] πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχεί[ας] (...). In this case, too, the appointment decision notice is quoted only after the relevant official title of the honorand. A syntactically analogous formulaic expression in Latin relates to the appointment of high-priests of the provincial imperial cult, for example, in Hispania Baetica: flamines Divi Augusti, consensu concilii provinciae Baeticae; cf. AE 1971, 183, l. 6; AE 1966, 181, ll. 7-8, 191; CIL 2, 2221, l. 6.

34 Iv Pergamon III 37, ll. 6-8.

35 TAM V 2, 975.

36 In Perge, the priest of the imperial cult and Agonothet Cn. Postumius Cornutus referred to his father's two demiurgies and gymnasiarchies "of the three gymnasia" (I. Perge 61: υἱὸς δις δημιουργοῦ γυμνασίαρχου τῶν τριῶν γυμνασίων) in his honorary decree from the late Flavian period; according to an honorary decree from Iasos, the former *Stephanophoros* Alexandros was in charge of as many as four gymnasia (I. Iasos 84, ll. 5-8); an inscription from Miletus/Didyma refers to a gymnasiarchy "over all

gymnasia" (CIG 2885 = Milet I 3, 343, Z. 13-14: γυμνασίαρχος πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων) cf. also Milet I 3, 237, 255, 256, 261, 278, 292, 301. See on this Herrmann 1994, 203-236.

37 Cf. in general Marrou 1965, 173-174 incl. note 24; A. Rehm on Miletus I 7, 337 no. 265; also Nilsson 1955, 34; Blümel I. Iasos on no. 84; Schuler 2004, 190.

38 SEG 4, 425 = Milet I 7, 336, 338 no. 265, ll. 8-11: γυμνασίαρχος τῶν νέων, γυμνασίαρχος τῶν πατέρων, γυμνασίαρχος τῶν πολιτῶν (...).

39 Marek 2006, 319-326 no. 139 IIIc, ll. 4-5: γυμνασιαρχήσας πάσης ἡλικίας καὶ τύχης.

40 I. Tralleis 75, ll. 6-9: (...) γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τῶν τριῶν γυμνασίων τὴν πρώτην τετράμηνον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων (...).

41 I am indebted to Christian Marek (Zurich) for this idea.

42 Milet I 3, 258, ll. 4-7: γεγυμνασια[ρ]χηκῶς τῶν νέων καὶ τῶ[ν] / πολιτῶν καὶ τῆς γερο[υ]σίας ἐπὶ τετράμηνον; cf. Milet I 3, 250.

43 I. Magnesia 164, ll. 5-7: καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τετράμηνον τῆς / πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ δίμηνον γερο[υ]σίας / γυμνασιαρχήσαντα; see on the career of Moschion the discussion by Robert 1967, 103-105; Strubbe 1987 48 n. 5; Quass 1993, 267; Fernoux 2007, 181-182.

her husband Ti. Claudius Aristetas Menander (from the end of the second century AD) describes them as having been the “first” (πρῶτου) in the city who held their (contemporaneous!) gymnasiarchies just during the two days of the annual procession called the κλειδὸς πομπή at the site of Hekate’s cult in Lagina in Stratonikeia.⁴⁴ A further inscription from the early third century AD mentions “the key-bringing on the insurmountable day of the goddess in the sacred month”.⁴⁵ Therefore, we can plausibly infer that Aelia Glykinna and Ti. Claudius Aristetas Menander took their office as gymnasiarchs not only for two days (as emphasized by the inscription I.Stratonikeia 701) but formally for the whole duration of the “sacred month”: the gymnasiarchy of Aelia Glykinna and Ti. Claudius Aristetas Menander was most probably a one-month magistracy. Thus, aside from different groups of users, a gymnasiarch could also preside over many events or finance monthly (or even daily?) small-scale periods of office respectively which were likewise called *gymnasia*.⁴⁶

4 Different usages of the plural *gymnasia* (classical period third century AD)

Similar different, technical-formulaic usages of the term *gymnasion*, especially in its plural form in the Greek East, had long been known from the Late Classical and Hel-

lenistic literary records, as shown by F. Ferruti and Y.T. Tzifopoulos.⁴⁷ For instance, in relevant text passages of Plato,⁴⁸ Aristotle and the early imperial Greek geographer Strabo, the plural γυμνάσια could refer specifically to ‘bodily exercises’.⁴⁹ Particularly in connection with Cretan gymnastic traditions of military training Aristoteles observes that slaves in Crete were conferred almost the same rights as free citizens, “except that they are forbidden gymnastic exercises (γυμνάσια) and the possession of arms”.⁵⁰ Some centuries after Aristoteles, Strabo also stresses the fact that freeborn Cretans “were accustomed from childhood to the use of arms, and to endure fatigue. Hence they disregarded heat and cold, rugged and steep roads, blows received in gymnastic exercises and in set battles (ἐν γυμνασίοις καὶ μάχαις)”.⁵¹ The alternative usage of the term γυμνάσια, taken as meaning ‘bodily exercises (primarily for military purposes)’, is comparable to the different usage of the plural term δρόμοι (the singular form δρόμος originally meaning “racetrack”) in Classical Crete. According to the Byzantine grammarian Aristophanes (3rd century BC), the ephebes in Crete were simply called ἀπόδρομοι because, in contrast to an adult δρομεύς, they weren’t sufficiently trained for the “common footraces” (κοινὸι δρόμοι).⁵² Accordingly, the Suda, a 10th-century Byzantine lexicon, even explains that in Crete the plural terms δρόμοι and γυμνάσια were used with the same mean-

44 I. Stratonikeia 701, ll. 8–10: ἐγυμνασιά[ρ]χησαν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει / τῇ τῆς κλειδὸς πομπῆς ἡμέρας δύο πρῶτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ περι/πολίῳ τὰς εἰθισμένας ἡμέρας; on the Stratonikeian κλειδὸς πομπῆς see in detail Williamson 2013, 217–218.

45 I. Stratonikeia 704, ll. 7–9: (...) κ(αί) γυμνασιαρχήσαντες ἐν τε τῷ περιπολίῳ / πάσας τὰς τῶν ἐστιάσεων ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει κ(αί) τῷ περιπολίῳ τὰς τῆς ἱερομηνίας / ἐν τῇ κλιδαγωγία τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρας ἀνυπερβλήτως (...); translation by Williamson 2013, 217 n. 38.

46 Regular offices which lasted just for several months are not a novelty for Western Asia Minor and, above all, they are not limited to Roman imperial time: In an honorary decree of the *demoi* of Erythrae from 277/275 BC nine ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ φιλότιμοι, who helped to defend the city against the Galatians, are attested to have served as στρατηγοὶ in “the first four-month period”. Probably, each of the three four-month periods (which, together, constituted a whole magistracy-year) was alternately taken over by three of the nine *strategoi*; cf. Ed. pr. A.M. Fontrier, Correspondance: inscription d’Erythrae, Fontrier 1879, 388–392, ll. 2–8 = Syl³ 410: ἐπ/εἰδη οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ στρατηγήσαντες τὴν πρώτην / τετραμήνην ἐφ’ ἱεροποιοῦ Ἥγησαγόρου, Σίμος Ἀπολλωνίου, Φύρσων Ἰατροκλείους, Ἀθηναῖος Διονυσίου, Ἀναξί/κράτης Θρασυβούλου, Ἐκατάς Γνώτου, Πύθεος Πυθέου, / [A]πελλίκων Πειθαγόρου, Μοιρώνας Ἐνδήμου, Λήν[αιος] / [H]ρογ[ένου], (...).

47 Ferruti 2004; Tzifopoulos 1998.

48 See in Pl. Leg., 625c–d the discussion between an Athenian and Clinias from Crete on the various forms of constitution: Κλεινίας: πάντων μὲν οὖν ἰδόντες δὲ μάλλον φήσομεν. ἀλλ’ ἴωμεν ἀγαθὴ τύχη. – Ἀθηναῖος: ταῦτ’ εἶη. καὶ μοι λέγε: κατὰ τί τὰ συσσιτία τε ἤμιν συντέταχεν ὁ νόμος καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων ἕξιν.

49 Cf. with further attestations, LSJ² 1968, s.v. γυμνάσιον, 262; see on this the discussions by Ferruti 2004, 286–288; Tzifopoulos 1998, 151.

50 Arist. Pol. II 1264a, 21–22: ἐκείνοι γὰρ τὰλλα ταῦτα τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες μόνον ἀπειρήκασιν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων κτήσιν.

51 Strab. 10.4.16 = C 480: πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ δειλίαν ἀλλ’ ἀνδρείαν κρατεῖν ἐκ παιδῶν ὄπλοις καὶ πόνοις συντρέφειν, ὥστε καταφρονεῖν καύματος καὶ ψύχους καὶ τραχείας ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀνάντους καὶ πληγῶν τῶν ἐν γυμνασίοις καὶ μάχαις ταῖς κατὰ σύνταγμα.

52 Slater 1986, 31–32. The distinction between the ephobic ἀπόδρομος and the adult δρομεύς is e.g. expressed in an inscription from Gortyna, mid-5th century BC, ICret IV, 72, col. VII, ll. 29–47. In the same way as δρόμοι, the meaning of the singular δρόμος can shift: according to Sophocles’ tragedy, “Electra”, Orestes won the δρόμος within the Pythian Games (Soph. El., ll. 681–687). In this case, δρόμος means a particular athletic competition, namely the footrace, but not the racetrack in itself (cf. also the inscriptions ICret I, 19, 3A, ll. 39–43 and ICret III, 4, 4, ll. 11–13); likewise, Ferruti 2004, 287 and Pleket 2014, 36, translate δρόμος as “footrace” in this context.

ing.⁵³ However, this non-architectural word usage of “γυμνάσια” does not apply only to the situation in Classical Crete because it’s not a question of local epigraphic habit or linguistic phenomenon within a specific period of time. Rather, it is a more general problem of our philological understanding. For the word γυμνάσια already existed as a term in the general use for ‘bodily exercises’ in late Classical literature, for example in Herodotus, talking about Tisamenus’s training for athletic contests (ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας),⁵⁴ or in Hippocrates’s reflections on the treatment of dislocated limbs, particularly legs (οὕτω δὲ καρτερόν γίνεται τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος: ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ φύσει διαιτᾶται, καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια προσκρατύνει αὐτό).⁵⁵

Some centuries later, analogous variations in meaning for the Latin transcription ‘*gymnasium*’ are traceable in the epigraphic habit of Roman North Africa, particularly Africa proconsularis.⁵⁶ The interest in Greek athletics emerged mainly during the first and second century in these exclusively Latin speaking regions. This phenomenon was connected to Africa’s great prosperity and improving political position, especially in the reign of Septimius Severus.⁵⁷ According to the 2nd century Latin author Tertullian from Carthage, “acting Greek” became fashionable also in clothing style.⁵⁸ As already pointed out by G. G. Fagan and R. Lafer, the closer philological analysis of African inscriptions from the period between the reigns of Trajan and Probus reveals that also the *gymnasia* commemorated there cannot be just buildings or rooms.⁵⁹ On the contrary, according to the

inscriptions these *gymnasia* were ‘dedicated’ (*dedicare*), ‘staged’ (*praestare* and *exhibere*), ‘offered’ (*praebere*), ‘ordered’ (*decernere*), ‘issued’ (*edere*) or, expressly, ‘financed’ (*inumere*):⁶⁰ accordingly, the *gymnasia* are always ‘given’ as benefactions to the *populus* or to other groups and sometimes games, meals and cash handouts are specified.⁶¹

Thus, in our epigraphic record from late Hellenistic and Imperial Asia Minor and Syria too, the Greek term γυμνάσιον did shift in meaning depending on where it appeared; its meaning was contextually, not absolutely, determined. Especially in regard to the six [reign of Augustus], five [reign of Tiberius] and seven [reign of Hadrian] *gymnasia* attested in Pergamon, the idea both of several gymnasium buildings or of different age groups is problematic for the reason alone that we have no archaeological or literary explicit evidence for so many buildings or age groups.⁶² The chronological order of our attestations, six or five or seven *gymnasia*, does not necessarily correspond to a presumptive steadily growing number of gymnasium buildings in the polis-territory of Pergamon. At the most, we could assume that, besides the four traditional age categories, other groups of gymnasium users (e.g. festival delegations, Romans, foreigners) had been added to the official group of recipients of gymnasiarchal services but, with this explanation, the inconsistency between the numbers of groups still remains a difficulty.

Nevertheless, e.g. J. Delorme, L. Robert, H.-I. Marrou and W. Radt relate the high number of *gymnasia* to buildings within the polis territory of Pergamon.⁶³

53 Ed. A. Adler, 141 no. 1535: “Ἀρόμοις: τοῖς γυμνασίοις κατὰ Κρήτας”. However, there’s no semantic equivalence between the two terms, but only an analogy of their variable usage; see on this Ferruti 2004, 288.

54 Hdt. 9.33.2: Τισαμενῶ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρησέσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἰερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν.

55 Hp. Art. 58: ἦν δὲ μὴ προσχρήται τῷ σιναρῶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ, μετέωρον ἔχων, σκίπῳι ἀντερείδεται, οὕτω δὲ καρτερόν γίνεται τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος: ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ φύσει διαιτᾶται, καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια προσκρατύνει αὐτό. Moreover, the 4th century Athenian playwright Epicrates (cited by Rocci 1974, s.v. γυμνάσιον, 404) refers the expression ἐν γυμνασίοις Ἀκαδημείας most probably for the athletic training in the Athenian Academia; cf. Pind. fr. 129.4.

56 I’m thankful to Daniel Kah (Stuttgart) for this hint.

57 Remijsen 2015, 157–160.

58 Tert. *pall.* 4.1.

59 Fagan 1999; Lafer 2013.

60 See the detailed compilation of sources in Lafer 2013, 60–61.

61 Fagan 1999, 263, draws the conclusion that there is no “universally-applicable meaning to *gymnasia*. On the broad view, the word seems to have had no more precise a meaning than “things to do with exercise”. Similarly, Lafer 2013, 66: “gymnische Aufführungen”, “athletische Agone”.

62 We have evidence for, at most, five age groups as an exception in the context of games and festival events; on this, cf. Weiler 2004, 31–33. On an earlier stage of my research I proposed to search these gymnasium-buildings within the huge territory/*chora* of Pergamon, see on this Vitale 2013, 93.

63 Delorme 1960, 178–181; Radt 1999, 113–134; in part. 113–114; H.-I. Marrou goes a step further in identifying not only the conventional civic gymnasiarch in Pergamon, but also a kind of “arch-gymnasiarch” or “gymnasiarque général” (Marrou 1965, 174). However, his assumption is doubtful: while the position of a ὑπογυμνασίαρχος, a “deputy gymnasiarch” or sub-gymnasiarch (cf. Schuler 2004, 178 and Nilsson 1955, 54) is attested, none of our multiple gymnasiarchs appear specifically as

Based on the formulation of an honorary decree for Diodoros Paspas, four gymnasium buildings were located in Pergamon (Schröder, Schrader, and Kolbe 1904, 152 no. 1, l. 58: [- - ὅπως μήποτε ἐπιλί]πιροι τὴν εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα γυμνά[σια - -]). Due to the poor state of conservation of the inscription – the text sections directly before and behind the relevant passage are completely damaged –, we cannot safely say to what context these four gymnasia are to be related within the career of Diodoros. With respect to the problematic source situation, W. Radt points out that the location of such a large number of gymnasia remains an unsolved problem,⁶⁴ not to mention the 'seven gymnasia' of Tib. Claudius Menogenes. Given the ambiguity of the term γυμνάσια, perhaps our suggestion to interpret multiple gymnasia in the sense of event cycles within the festivities of ruler cult or gymnasiarchal office-periods respectively, would provide, in many questionable cases, a possible answer to the *controversa quaestio*, at least in regard to architectural archaeology.

The 'four gymnasia' of Diodoros Paspas may be put in relation with our body of imperial-period examples of multiple gymnasiarchies taken from the context of supra-regional ruler worship, for in a further inscription Diodoros Paspas is honoured by decree of the *demos* because, among other things, he served as gymnasiarch in the twenty-ninth *Nikephoria*, that is, the cyclical games and sacrifices instituted by the Attalid kings after their victories over the Galatians and celebrated in honour of 'victory-bearing' Athena.⁶⁵ The mention of the *Nikephoria* in these few inscriptions is

not intended solely as 'formulaic' date information for Diodoros' gymnasiarchy, as suggested for example by L. Meier and A. Chankowski,⁶⁶ for a large number of Pergamene inscriptions combine the *prytanis* and a priest in the official dating formula (ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως).⁶⁷ Rather, the mention of the *Nikephoria* refers to the gymnasiarch's concrete involvement in this specific festival, most probably in its agonistic features.⁶⁸ At least one of Diodoros's four gymnasiarchies thus seems to have been held within the *Nikephoria*. As R. von den Hoff has recently shown,⁶⁹ the Attalid kings are materially present in the Pergamene 'Great gymnasium' in terms of sculptural and epigraphic remains – significantly, the relevant statues all appear to be wearing military uniform. Apparently, in Pergamon the gymnasium was also a place where the Attalid dynasty was worshipped. This worship was probably related to the *Nikephoria*.

5 Closing remarks

It is not surprising that as dynastic festivals, the *Nikephoria* have their origin in the ruler cult, too. According to Cassius Dio's review of the genesis of the province-wide imperial cult in Asia Minor, Pergamon was one of the first poleis to possess an officially recognized site for the emperor's divinization and worship.⁷⁰ Therefore, the staging of the imperial cult in Pergamon in particular required that the services of the gymnasiarch be expanded accordingly.⁷¹ Probably, for the same reason the office of a 'gymnasiarch of the four eparchies' emerged

an *Archi-Gymnasiarch* – in analogy to the provincial *Archiereis* of the imperial cult, for example. See on the "six gymnasia" of Tullius Cratippus Robert 1962, 9–11: "il est fort possible que la personne honorée ait été en même temps ou successivement gymnasiarque des six gymnases de la ville."

64 Radt 1999, 113: "Ein bisher ungelöstes Problem ist die Lokalisierung dieser großen Zahl von überlieferten Gymnasien".

65 Hepding 1907, 313 no. 36, ll. 4–5: γυμνα[σ]ιαρχοῦντα ἐν τ[οῖς ἐννεακαικαιοστοῖς] / Νικη[φορ]ίοις; Hepding 1907, 311 no. 34, l. 3: γυμν[ασιαρ]χήσαντα τὰ ἐ[ν]εξαξ[α]υ[δ]έκ[α]τ[α] Νικηφόρια.

66 Meier 2012, 334, 341 no. 48; part. 336; Chankowski 1998, 168 translates: „[Le peuple a honoré Diodoros] qui exerça sa gymnasiarchie pendant les vingt-neuvièmes *Nikephoria*“; 170: „Il ne s'agit pas, soulignons-le, d'un gymnasiarque nommé spécialement pour l'organisation de la fête, mais bien du gymnasiarque du gymnase qui, en vertu de sa fonction, joue un rôle important dans cette manifestation religieuse et civique“; similarly von den Hoff 2004, 388–389; in contrast to this view Kohl 2002, 251 „der an der Ausgestaltung der Feiern beteiligt war“.

67 Sherk 1992, 238–239 no. 148.

68 Similar phrases like γυμνασίαρχος ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας honouring M. Tullius Cratippus (see above) or – even more relevant ὁ δῆμος Μητρὶν Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἱερητεύσασαν τὰ ἑνάτα Νικηφόρια τοῦ στεφανίου ἀγῶνος (OGIS 299, ll. 1–4) – connected to Metris's priestly office for the *Nikephoria* of Athena, apparently relate to the charges of the honorees within the mentioned festivals.

69 Especially his paper, *Kings in the Gymnasium. The Case of Pergamon and the Attalid Rulers*, presented at this conference; cf. also Wörle 2007, 511–512.

70 Cass. Dio 51.20.6–8; cf. the commentaries by Deininger 1965, 16–19; Mitchell 1993, 100–102; Burrell 2004, 17–18; Campanile 2007, 138–140; Reitzenstein 2011, 25–26; Vitale 2012a, 63–64; Vitale 2012b, 167–169.

71 Continuities between the worship of Hellenistic rulers and Roman governors on the one hand and the imperial cult on the other hand can be observed in several respects: especially in the Poleis of Western Asia Minor there was traditionally a common practice to offer cults to Roman magistrates and to the city of Rome itself; see e.g. the festivities Μουκίεια, Φλάκκεια, Λευκόλλεια honouring Q. Mucius Scaevola (97 BC), L. Valerius Flaccus (90 BC) and L. Licinius Lucullus (71 BCE). For the cult of ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ cf. Mellor 1975 and Mellor 1981; Fayer 1976.

in the province of Syria. However, in light of the scant sources from all other poleis, we need still more epigraphical testimonies for the conclusive answer to the question of whether such “provincial” gymnasiarchies were only created *ad hoc* or were established as regular official functions. However, the fact, that imperial inscriptions frequently mention multiple “gymnasia” as superintended by the same office holder, cannot be exclusively explained by the existence of so many different gymnasium buildings within the relevant city terri-

tory or so many groups of gymnasium users. Rather, the relatively high numbers of gymnasia may be related to the growing number of cyclical games and festivities on the provincial level in the respective centers of ruler cult on the one hand and to the growing number of merely monthly period offices of gymnasiarchy on the other hand. As also Classical and Hellenistic literary sources demonstrate, the term ‘gymnasium’ could assume different meanings depending on the context.

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