

An Ephebic Inscription from Egypt

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THE DUKE UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM possesses a Greek inscription of Roman imperial date (inv. DCC 75.12), which I publish here with the kind permission of the Curator of the Classical Collection, Professor Keith Stanley. The monument came to the museum in 1975 from an estate in England, with no record of its original provenience.¹ Above the inscribed text is represented in relief a standing male figure wearing a long *chlamys*, flanked by an amphora and a post entwined by a ribbon. The inscription, dated to the third year of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (A.D. 162/3), is a list of the graduating ephebes of that year (οἱ χλαμυδηφορῆ[αντες]), a kind of text known throughout the Greek world.² The list begins with the magistrates who supervised the ephebes, the first of whom, the kosmete, was also a member of the city council (βουλευ[υτής]). Then come those ephebes who were victorious in the several competitions of the ephebic games; the other ephebes follow. Names like Ammonius, Sarapammon, Anubias, Ptolemy, Didymus,³ taken together, guarantee that the monument derives from Egypt. Its form and vocabulary in fact find their closest parallel in an ephebic list from Leontopolis (Tell Moqdam), metropolis of the Leontopolite nome, dated to A.D. 220: this list opens with the words εἰς τὴν οἱ χλαμυδηφορῆ-αντες καὶ ἐφηβεύσαντες, then names the presiding magistrate (the kosmete), then the ephebes who had won victories in the games, then the rest.⁴

The presence of a councilor in the Duke inscription further limits the possible provenience, for in second-century Egypt only Ptolemais and Antinoopolis were possessed of councils.⁵ On the face of it, Antinoopolis would seem the more likely candidate simply from the

¹ Ex catalogue Charles Ede, Ltd, *Writing and Lettering in Antiquity* IV (London 1975) no.28.

² E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen*² (Leipzig and Berlin 1914) 82–86; for the ephebate in Egypt see the references in O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* (Turin 1973) 183–84.

³ For the frequency of the name Didymus in Egypt see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (Paris 1946) 8.

⁴ M. N. Tod, *JEA* 37 (1951) 86–99, with J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigr* 1952, 180 [SB VIII 9997; SEG XIV 878]. This text too shifts to smaller lettering when the list of ephebes begins.

⁵ A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils in Roman Egypt* (*AmStudPap* 11, Toronto 1971) 11–15.

far greater quantity of material evidence that it has yielded from the second and third centuries by comparison with that from contemporary Ptolemais.⁶ But what fixes with certainty the Antinoite origin of the Duke inscription is a series of inscriptions that came to light a century ago in Cairo (SB 1481): these were five fragmentary lists of names found at Antinoopolis. They show much the same mixture of Greek, Egyptian and Roman names as the Duke inscription; the majuscule copies published in 1886 reveal that several were written in the same angular style of lettering and used interpuncts.⁷

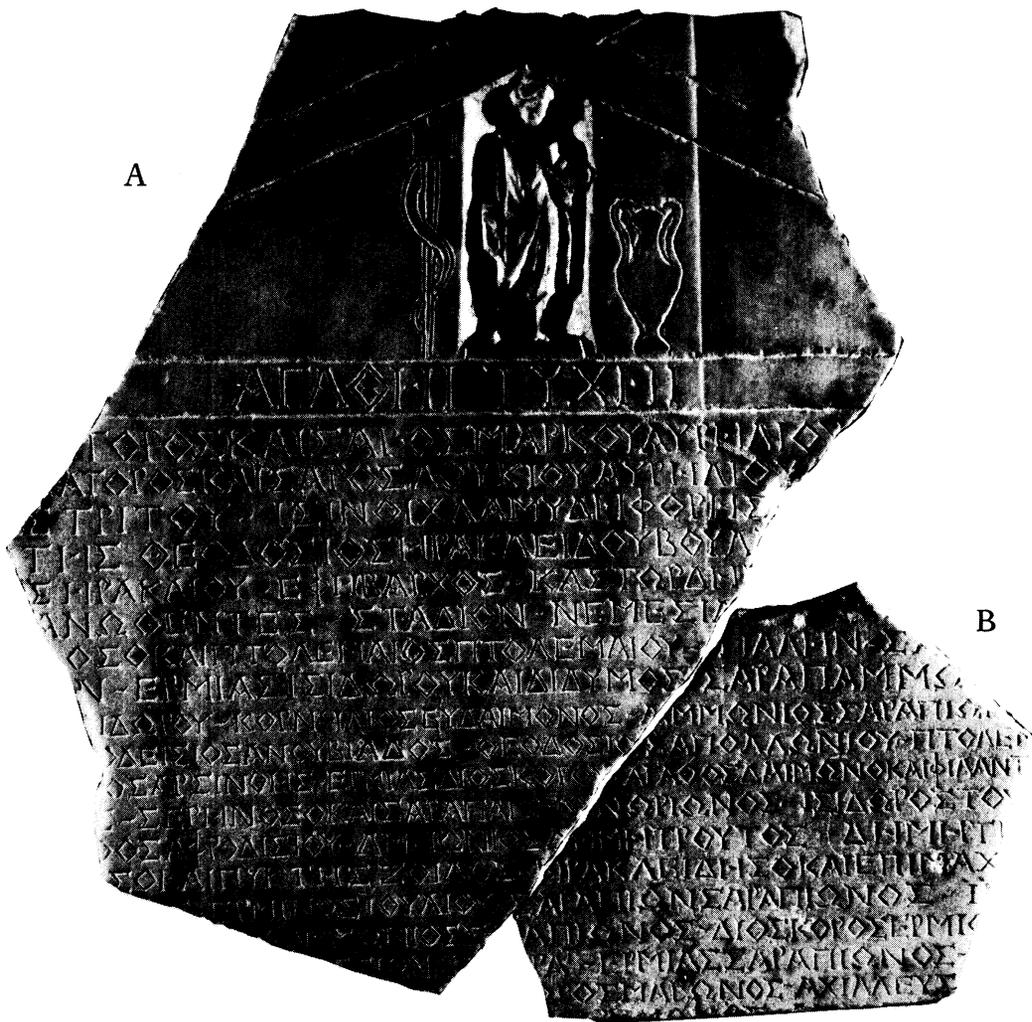
Professor André Bernand, who is preparing a corpus on this part of Egypt, responded generously to my letter of inquiry about SB 1481, referring me to M. Patrice Cauderlier, who is engaged in a study of the history and monuments of Antinoopolis. M. Cauderlier, confronting the five Antinoite fragments, now in Marseilles, with a photograph of the Duke inscription, was able to establish that the new list joins SB 1481 fr.5. To M. Cauderlier I owe the improved readings and the photograph of the Marseilles fragment presented here, and in general his careful study and patient advice have contributed more to this article than can be acknowledged point by point.

The Duke monument (see PLATE 1) is of white marble, broken on all sides; its maximum dimensions are 49.0 cm high, 38.5 wide, 1.0–2.0 thick. The angular lettering varies widely in height; the interspace is 0.5–0.6 cm. The first line, a heading, is 2.0 cm in height. Line 2, the most irregular, began large (1.8) but decreases to 1.3; thereafter the lines are generally 1.1 to 1.3, tending to decrease slightly, through line 9. With line 10 the mason visibly shifts to a slightly smaller size, 0.8–0.9, more regularly written. Interpuncts separate the names on the list. Inscription and figure were both highlighted with red paint, much of which survives. The Marseilles fragment (Musée Borely, archéologie inv. no.1630) is consistent with the Duke inscription in thickness (1.5–2.0). As PLATE 1 shows, the break between the two divides several letters which remain recognizable, so that there is no uncertainty where the stones join, along the lower right of the Duke piece. The height of the letters here is consistent, 0.8–0.9. The Marseilles

⁶ For Antinoopolis see for the present the list in A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi* I.2 (Madrid 1966) 69–114; for Ptolemais, G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten* (*Leipziger historische Abhandlungen* 18, 1910) 69–114.

⁷ E. Miller, *RA* n.s. 30 (1875) 107–10 (four lists); C. Jullian, *RA* SER. III 7 (1886) 274–76 (these four and a fifth, in majuscules): SB I 1481. To the same series of texts probably belong SB I 4962, 4965, 4982 and 5980 (P. Cauderlier).

PLATE 1 RIGSBY



EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION FROM ANTINOOPOLIS, A.D. 162/3

FR. A: Duke University Art Museum inv. DCC 75.12, photograph by W. Wilkerson
FR. B: Musée Borely arch.inv. 1630 (SB 1481 fr.5), photograph courtesy P. Cauderlier

text was also painted red. It has been damaged since its publication in the nineteenth century; the lost portions are underlined here. On the Duke stone, the edge of the join is of the same color and texture as the other edges, so that the break may be ancient.

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι

	[ἐπὶ αὐτοκρά]τορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου [Ἄντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ]	
	[καὶ αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Ο[υ]ήρου	
		Σεβαστοῦ ± 7]
4	[± 8 ἔτου]ς τρίτου ~ ἰκὶν οἱ χλαμυδηφορῆς[αντες καὶ ἐφηβεύσαντες. .]	
	[± 7 κοσμ]ητῆς Θεοδόσιος Ἡρακλείδου βουλευ[υτῆς ~ ± 16]	
	[± 13]ς Ἡρακλίου ~ ἐφήβαρχος ~ Κάστωρ Δημ[± 23]	
	[± 9 στεφ]ανωθέντες ~ στάδιον ~ Νεμεσια[νός. . .]ω[± 19]	
8	[± 14]ρος ὁ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου ~ πάλην ~ Σα[± 18]	
	[± 15]ν ~ Ἑρμίας Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Δίδυμος Σαραπάμω[νος ± 17]	
	[Ἰ]σιδώρου ~ Κορνήλιος Εὐδαίμονος ~ Ἀμμώνιος	
		Σαραπίων[ος]
	[Ἀφρ]οδείσιος Ἄνουβιάδος ~ Θεοδόσιος Ἀπολλωνίου ~	
		Πτολεμ[αῖος]
12	[]ος Ἀρσινόης ~ Ἑρμίας Διοσκόρου ~ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων	
		ὁ καὶ Φιλαντίν[ος]
	[]ς ~ Σερῆνος ὁ καὶ Σαραπάμωων Ὠρίωνος ~ Ἰσιδώρος	
		Τούρβων[ος]
	[]ος Ἀφροδισίου ~ Ἀμμώνιος Δημητροῦτος ~ Δημητριάδης	
		Ἰ[σιδώρου]
	[]ς ὁ καὶ Πύκτης Ζοῖδος ~ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Ἐπίμαχος	
		Σαραπ[]
16	[]ς ~ Ἑρμῖνος Ἰουλίου ~ Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος ~	
		Ἰέραξ Ἡρακ[λ]
	[]ων ~ Ἀμμώνιος Σαραπίωνος ~ Διόσκορος Ἑρμίου ~	
		Φιλαντίν[ος]
	[]ειών Ἀρποκρατ(ίωνος) ~ Ἑρμίας Σαραπίωνος ~	
		Χάρης Δημητρί[ου]
	[] . . [~] Διόδωρος Μάρωνος ~ Ἀχιλλεὺς Διονυσίου[]	
20	[] Ε]υδαίμονος [~] Ἄνδρ[]	

LINE 3 end: The upper left stroke of *omicron* is visible.

LINE 5 beginning: Of what I presume to be *eta* only the serif at the upper right remains.

LINE 6 *end*: The upper part of a *hasta* and the beginning of a descending angle survive: probably *Δημ[ητρίου]*.

LINE 8 *beginning*: The corner of a letter, compatible with *theta*, *omicron* or *phi*: probably [*Φιλαντίν*]*ρος* or another of the Antinous compounds popular at this city; P. Cauderlier promises a study of these names.

LINE 15 *beginning*: Before *sigma* is a serif of the upper right of the lost letter, perhaps *eta*. At the end, either *Σαραπ[ίωνος]* or *Σαραπ[ιάδος]*.

LINE 17 *beginning*: Apparently the upper right stroke of *omicron*.

LINE 18 *beginning*: Before *epsilon* is a serif of the upper right of a letter: probably [*Νε*]*μείων*. The *tau* is reduced in size and raised above the line to indicate an abbreviation.

The width of the original monument is defined by the points at which the upper of the sloping lines of the gable would have met the lower of the horizontal lines—roughly 44 cm to either side of the center as defined by the gable. I assume that the sloping lines terminated at the upper horizontal and the remaining, outer portions of the upper horizontal were capped at either side by an incised acroterion.⁸ No doubt there was a margin, and I should guess that it was no less wide than the space capped by each putative acroterion: if this is so, then to each side of center there was some 40 cm of writing at a maximum. In fact, the mason seems to have marked the center of his text with some care in line 1, where between *tau* and *upsilon* is a deep vertical cut which is ancient, still containing red paint: so that we may assume that he attempted to center the text. This limit of *ca* 40 cm to each side allows a maximum loss in line 2 of some 10 to 13 letters to the left (where the writing seems most irregular in size) and *ca* 17 to the right. Again, in line 18, which extends furthest from the center, there would be space for some 38 to 43 letters: in fact we find *ca* 37, and I conclude that line 18 ended with Chares son of Demetrius. These estimates must remain rough and restorations uncertain, both because of variations in the mason's lettering and because of the difficulty of computing lost space without an opportunity to join the two fragments. Certainly a shorter line is possible.

As in the Leontopolis inscription cited above, the text lists "those who wore the *chlamys* and were ephebes."⁹ The *chlamys* was everywhere the garment of a young man and the normal and familiar

⁸ For such a design in Egypt, see e.g. E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris 1969) pls. 25, 26, 28, 33, 46.

⁹ For the ephobic *chlamys* see in general the references collected by Tod, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 90, and the Roberts, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 67.

attribute of an ephebe, the *ephebica chlamys* of Apuleius (*Met.* 10.30: Hermes, god of the gymnasium, as an ephebe). In New Comedy the phrase “when once I put aside *chlamys* and *petasos*” means simply ‘came of age’.¹⁰ At Aegiale on Amorgos in the late Hellenistic period, a distinguished young man was honored with public burial in the gymnasium: dead at eighteen, he was “scarcely out of the *chlamys*.”¹¹ A person distinguished enough to merit this high civic honor will certainly have been a gymnasium graduate, doubtless of the same gymnasium in which he is now buried. In the second century Artemidorus of Daldis offered rules for the interpretation of dreaming that one is an ephebe (*Onir.* 1.54): “For any artisan and for a lawyer, it means that he will have leisure and ease for a year: for an ephebe must keep his right hand wrapped in his *chlamys* and not release his hand, because he is idled from work and speeches for a year (they say a year is the duration of the ephebate). . . For an unmarried person it means marriage: for by custom the *chlamys* is worn, and by custom is a woman taken to wife. If the *chlamys* is white, the dreamer will marry a free woman; if black, a freedwoman; if purple, one better born than himself; in no case a slave.” Evidently, to dream that you are an ephebe is to see yourself wearing a *chlamys*. Asclepiades wrote an epigram about the *φιλέφηβος* Dorcion, who “knows how, as though a tender boy, to throw the swift javelin of Cypris Pandemos” —by dressing in *chlamys* and *petasos*.¹² The *hapax* means, I take it, not blandly ‘fond of youth’, but ‘fond of ephebes’, and the second line, banal elsewhere, in this context has the *double entendre* of evoking their military practice in the palaestra.

The compound *χλαμυδηφορ-*, however, seems more peculiar to Egypt. Theocritus, Asclepiades’ contemporary in Alexandria,

¹⁰ Philemon fr.34 Kock.

¹¹ IG XII 7.447; for the ephebes’ rôle in burials performed by the city see L. Robert, *AntCl* 37 (1968) 414–16. Compare the inscribed epigram in L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* I (Paris 1936) no.43, adduced by the Roberts, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.4): a boy dead at twelve did not live to wear the *chlamys* or gaze on Hermes president of the gymnasium.

¹² *Anth.Pal.* 12.161; A. S. F. Gow and D. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* I (Cambridge 1965) p.49 with notes:

Δόρκιον ἢ φιλέφηβος ἐπίσταται, ὡς ἀπαλὸς παῖς,
ἔσθαι πανδήμου Κύπριδος ὠκὸν βέλος
ἴμερον ἀστράπτουσα κατ’ ὄμματος, ἧδ’ ὑπὲρ ὤμων
σὺν πετάσῳ γυμνὸν μηρὸν ἔφαινε χλαμύς.

Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 261F: the dissolute tyrant of Cumae made boys wear long hair and jewelry while girls were to cut their hair and φορεῖν ἐφηβικὰς χλαμύδας.

represents the streets of the city jammed with people making their way to attend the worship of Adonis: “everywhere boots, everywhere men wearing the *chlamys*,” complains the woman, παντᾶ κρηπίδες, παντᾶ χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες.¹³ Her reference is unclear—these could be adult soldiers; but parades of the ephebes were a frequent part of religious ceremonies in Hellenistic cities.¹⁴ Through Theocritus (presumably) the noun entered poetic vocabulary and was used by Apollo of Claros in a verse oracle where the reference is unambiguously to ephebes.¹⁵ The verb too must have appeared in literary sources, for it was known to the Byzantine lexicographers.¹⁶ In the documents it appears in the present inscription from Antinoopolis and that from Leontopolis, and in the declaration of a resident of Karanis around A.D. 200 that he is really an Antinoite and indeed was an ephebe of that city (the *sine qua non* of full citizenship): ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως βουλῆς γενομένης συνεχωρήθη χλαμυδοφ[ορεῖν].¹⁷ His reference is to εἰσκρισις, admission to the ephebic corps upon examination which here was conducted by the city council, the body which everywhere in Greek city-states was peculiarly responsible for the ephebes.¹⁸

The new fragment reveals the character of all the others, whose headings have not survived: these are all pieces of the revetment of a wall of the gymnasium of Antinoopolis, inscribed with the names of each year’s graduates. The earliest report of the existence of any of these fragments dates to 1875, when Miller published six inscriptions from squeezes sent to him from Egypt by A. Daninos; four of these

¹³ *Idyll* 15.6 with notes *ad loc.* and *ad* 14.65f in A. S. F. Gow’s edition (Cambridge 1950); *cf.* Gow, *JHS* 58 (1938) 190–91.

¹⁴ See the references in M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* II (Paris 1950) 878ff; C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l’éphébie attique* (Paris 1962) 211–56; M. P. Nilsson, *Hellenistische Schule* (Munich 1955) 61–75.

¹⁵ M. Fränkel, *I. v. Pergamon* II pp.239–42, line 25, *cf.* 35 (Kaibel, *Epigr.Gr.* 1035; *IGRR* IV 360); bibliography in J. and L. Robert, *Bull’Épigr* 1952, 66.

¹⁶ As a gloss on ἐντεθεταλίσθαι, *cf.* Tod, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.4): there spelled χλαμυδοφορεῖν, as in the Michigan papyrus cited below.

¹⁷ *P.Mich.* VI 426.16–18, *cf.* *SB* IV 7427 (the same man’s cousin as an ephebe at Antinoopolis in 168/9). Compare οἱ εἰσκριθέντες παῖδες of *PSI* III 199 (Antinoopolis, A.D. 203). For εἰσκρισις and ἐπίκρισις see U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* I 142; V. Martin, *Cd’E* 7 (1932) 300–10 [*SB* V 7561]; *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2186; J. E. G. Whitehorne, *BASP* 14 (1977) 29–38.

¹⁸ Naturally it was otherwise in the countryside of classical Roman Egypt, which lacked councils and where magistrates conducted this examination. For cities, see *Acta Alexandrinorum* 1: the proposed council for Alexandria would see that the list of ephebes was kept free of mere tax-evaders, and also would keep the citizen-body pure of the uneducated. For Athens see A. Dumont, *Essai sur l’éphébie attique* I (Paris 1875) 136–37.

were fragments of the ephebic lists.¹⁹ By 1886 these four and a fifth (precisely, the one that joins the Duke inscription) had been given to the Borely family in Marseilles by a M. Connolly. I have been unable to identify Connolly. The Borelli family of Marseilles had long-standing commercial contacts with Egypt and the Levant. Its most famous member was the jurist Philippe-Octave-Marie Borelli, who was in Egypt from 1878 to 1894 in the service of the French government.²⁰ Evidently in 1875 the extant Antinoite lists were in the possession of a Cairo dealer; Miller knew only those of which he had been sent squeezes. The five which Connolly gave to the Borelli family he must have acquired between 1875 and 1886: I imagine that he had enjoyed some favor or hospitality at the hands of the distinguished French jurist in Cairo, during these years of French-British cooperation in controlling Egypt. I am inclined to assume that Connolly acquired the Duke fragment at the same time but kept it for himself as the most artistic of the six. In sum, all of the fragments extant seem likely to have come from a clandestine excavation at Antinoopolis in the early 1870's.

In lines 5–6 are named the magistrates who supervised the ephebic corps. I would suggest that the kosmete Theodosius was introduced, at the beginning of line 5, by *προέστη*; the verb is frequent in educational texts, used of a kosmete for example in *IG II*² 1009.34. The grammatical relation between this verb and the list of ephebes proper would be given by restoring at the end of line 4 either *ὦν* or simply an interpunct. There is room for only three magistrates. At Leontopolis sixty years later we find only a kosmete and an *archiephebos* in charge of the ephebes. Perhaps the son of Heraclius was an *ἀντικοςμήτης*, as we would expect at Athens; this term, followed by an interpunct, probably would fill the space remaining in line 5, *παιδοτρίβης* would nearly do so. If the father of the ephebarch Castor was named Demetrius, about 15 spaces remain in line 6: possibly this was left empty,

¹⁹ Of the other two, one was the Latin inscription *CIL III* 6609, excavated at Nicopolis under supervised conditions in 1871: in 1875 this stone was at the Institut Égyptien and was the only one of the six whose location was reported to Miller. The other was the *asylia* edict *CIJ II* 1449, allegedly found in Cairo; by 1881 this stone had been acquired by the Dutch ambassador in Cairo and given by him to the archaeological museum in Berlin (*cf.* Th. Mommsen, *EphEp* 4 [1881] no.33). I shall comment elsewhere on this text, which has nothing to do with Queen Zenobia of Palmyra.

²⁰ *Dictionnaire de biographie française* 6 (1951) 1100. It is astonishing, however, that Jullian in 1886 did not know the origin of the inscriptions in Marseilles; but his publication is most perfunctory, and he was unaware also of their prior publication in the same journal.

marking the close of this section of the text; but more likely we should seek here the beginning of the phrase that introduced the victorious epebes of lines 7–9, something on the order of [οἱ (ἔφηβοι) ἐν τῶι (ἔφηβικῶι) ἀγῶνι στεφ]ανωθέντες.²¹

The list of the epebes themselves begins in line 7 with the ‘crowned’, those who have won in the several competitions of the games that marked their graduation. Three events at least were held: the stadion-length footrace, wrestling, and whatever is to be understood at the beginning of line 9 (where *nu* cannot be the end of a patronymic). Line 9 demands our attention first, for here two epebes are linked by *καί*. This usage might indicate the existence of a first and a second place prize in the competition; in fact, second prizes are well attested in the games of the gymnasium in Hellenistic cities.²² But if this is the implication of line 9, then we should expect second prizes in all the events, as was the case elsewhere when those existed. There is easily space for Ptolemy’s son (line 8) as a second epebe after “stadion”, linked by *καί* to Nemesianus (who must then have a rather long alias and patronymic). But there is clearly no room for a second name and patronymic after “wrestling.” Therefore I would suggest rather that Hermias and Didymus ended their event in a draw, winning a ‘sacred victory’. In Greek contests, in case of a draw, the prize was not split between the two contestants who were tied; this tradition was old, stemming from the days before money when prizes were exclusively objects and were not divisible. The prize was instead dedicated to the god, and the two competitors were said to share a ‘sacred victory’, the god’s victory. Such a ‘victory’ was nonetheless something to be proud of, and the two rivals, called *κυστεφανωθέντες*, would include the ‘sacred victory’ among their other victories in any list of their accomplishments.²³ But ties were rare, and if this is the situation in line 9, still it should not be assumed elsewhere in the text.

In short, the long space after Nemesianus in line 7 must have been filled not by an indication of another draw (*καί*) but by the name of another event, whose victor was the son of Ptolemy. If the term for the lost event was short, Nemesianus may well have had an alias, *e.g.*

²¹ A list of epebes at Gela begins simply *ἔφηβοι οἱ κτεφανωθέντες*: IG XIV 256.36.

²² Syll.³ 958 (Coesia); OGIS 339.81 (Sestos), with L. Robert, RN ser.v 15 (1973) 43–53.

²³ References in L. Robert, *RevPhil* 1930, 28 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* II [Amsterdam 1969] 1128).

Νεμεσια[*νός ὁ καὶ*] *᾽Ω*[*ρίων*—], and indeed the name of the event may have carried over to line 8. Again, at the end of line 9 there is no space to restore a fifth event with the name and patronymic of the victor; nor is such an entry likely to have carried over to line 10, for in line 10, written in visibly smaller lettering, begins the list of the other epebes. Perhaps line 9 ended with a *vacat*, marking the close of this section of the text; or else with the beginning of a rubric introducing the other epebes. It seems, then, that there were four events and four prizes in the epebic games of Antinoopolis in 162/3. At Leontopolis sixty years later there were also four events (wrestling, pancration, stadion, diaulos), but eight prizes, since there the epebes were divided into two age groups.

At Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 202 Aurelius Horion endowed epebic games with ten thousand *denarii*, the interest from which was to pay for prizes equal to “those for which the Antinoites now compete.” I have argued elsewhere that his reference cannot be to the panhellenic Great Antinoeia, as has been thought, but is rather to (unattested) epebic games at Antinoopolis.²⁴ The present inscription, while a pleasant surprise, lends no particular support to that interpretation, merely proving that Antinoopolis had epebic games, as we would have assumed in any case. But if that argument is correct, and if Horion’s fund was the total source of the prizes at Oxyrhynchus (rather than an addition to an older source), and if the Antinoite prizes were the same forty years earlier, then here at Antinoopolis in A.D. 163 a sum of approximately 1200 *denarii*²⁵ was to pay for four prizes—worth an average 300 *denarii* apiece. There are too many variables here to insist on such computations. But I may note that this valuation is broadly consistent with a cash prize list of imperial date inscribed at Aphrodisias.²⁶ There account was given of several contests, which were of different orders (in one the trumpeter wins 150 *denarii*, in a second 500). In the lower-paying contests, we find the following prizes in the boys’ category: dolichos 500 *denarii*, stadion 625 or 525, diaulos 500, pentathlon 250, wrestling 1000, boxing 1000, pancration 1250 or 1550. In a more illustrious contest in the account,

²⁴ Wilcken, *Chr.* 153, with *Cd’E* 52 (1977) 147–55.

²⁵ The usual interest rate of 12% is attested e.g. at Oxyrhynchus in A.D.178 by *P.Oxy.* III 485.

²⁶ *CIG* 2758 [O. Liermann, *Analecta epigraphica agonistica* (*Diss.Philol. Halenses* X, 1889) no. 37], cf. *MAMA* VIII 420.

the victor in boys' stadion receives 1400 *denarii*. These were all prizes for professional athletes, meant to attract famous and talented competitors to Aphrodisias; we should not be surprised to find that the prizes awarded ephebes, local boys of diverse physical capacities competing by requirement,²⁷ were worth less than half those given professionals at even a minor festival. A value of about 300 *denarii* thus seems credible.

It would be superfluous to attempt here a discussion of the nomenclature and prosopography of the text: these matters will be put on a new basis by M. Cauderlier's work on the onomastics of Antinoopolis. I may note that I do not understand the exclusive use of a metronymic by several ephebes (Anubias 11, Arsinoe 12, Demetrous 14, Zois 15); the same usage occurs in other of the Antinoite lists. Metronymics are of course common in the papyri, but normally as an addition to the patronymic. In the Leontopolis ephebic list, most of the boys name both father and mother, some only the father; but there too we find in several instances the metronymic alone.²⁸ Perhaps one listed that parent who was a citizen of the city.

The relief above the text presents its own difficulties, on which I would defer to those more expert. The figure may simply be the type of the ephebe, a '*chlamys*-wearer'.²⁹ But his flowing mane, on a monument from Antinoopolis, must surely indicate Antinous himself, here in the rôle of ephebe. The rendering of his left hand is too schematic to reveal whether it clasped some object (rather than the *chlamys* alone); perhaps a small bottle (*aryballos* or *lekythos* would be appropriate) was once represented here, now weathered smooth, or even a small bird, the emblem of a dead child (suggestion of Professor Robert). The amphora to his left must certainly evoke the allotment for the games.³⁰ By the object to his right I am puzzled: it seems

²⁷ The Leontopolis list in fact contains a section of boys excused from the competitions because of physical inadequacy: the Roberts, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 68.

²⁸ The high percentage (*ca* 15%) of these at both cities and the questions about parentage asked at εἰκρησις (SB 7561) speak against the theory (H. C. Youtie in *Le Monde grec, Hommages à Claire Préaux* [Brussels 1975] 730–32) that they are simply illegitimate, ἀπάροεσ.

²⁹ A figure wearing a *chlamys* appears *e.g.* on the contemporary ephebic monument IG II² 3746, erected in honor of one ephebe by his fellows; the figure holds a shield.

³⁰ See for example the Athenian ephebic monument IG II² 3734 (A.D. 126/7), with the important discussion of D. Peppas-Delmousou, *AAA* 9 (1976) 241–52; an amphora beside a victorious athlete at Caesarea, J. Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine* (Paris 1976) 115 with pl. 14.3, *cf.* J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpig* 1976, 733. In general, H. Gaebler, *ZfN* 39 (1929) 271–312; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (Paris 1949) 107–08.

a slender post, tapering toward the bottom, bearing a small plaque topped by a circle or ball, entwined by a tapering pennant or ribbon. The width and the taper of this last feature seem to exclude its being a *mitra* or another of the bands with which athletes were crowned,³¹ hung here as a trophy. Nor, lacking a head, ought it to be a snake.³² There are traces of red paint on the plaque; since they are not reconcilable with letters, and since all of the frieze was painted, I take these traces to be random survivals and not an inscription. The post and its trappings thus remain to be explained.³³

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³¹ See E. Egger and E. Fournier in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* I 1520–37, esp. 1523, s.v. “Corona”; A. De Ridder, *id.* III 1955–56 s.v. “Mitra.” Professor Gerhard Koepfel has kindly drawn my attention to elements of Roman triumphal art which, he notes, are only slightly similar: on the one hand, the inscribed *tabulae ansatae* carried atop posts in the triumph (to be seen e.g. on the arch of Titus); on the other, the *taenia* tied to the top of a scepter and hanging or fluttering down (e.g. M. Rotili, *L’Arco di Traiano a Benevento* [Rome 1972] pls. 114 and 135).

³² An Asclepian emblem would be appropriate to Antinous, who was a healing god (Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.36), but probably not on an ephobic monument. Serpent and amphora together on an altar from Phrygia: T. Drew-Bear, *GRBS* 17 (1976) 259.

³³ My warm thanks, for their advice and encouragement, to Louis Robert, Jeanne Robert and William H. Willis.