

Ἄλειπτήριον

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AMONG THE DISCOVERIES of the recent excavations at Sardis are two inscriptions from the Gymnasium which give considerable prominence to the *aleipterion*. They adorned the so-called Marble Court, the monumental entrance portal to the enclosed part of the large Roman bathing establishment at the western end of the city. The portal faced onto a rectangular colonnaded palaestra from which the baths were approached. In their restoration of the Marble Court, the excavators have replaced the inscriptions in locations where no one entering the baths could have failed to notice them. The first, a long dedication by the city to Caracalla and Geta, set up in A.D. 211/212, runs along three sides of the court.¹ The following part is relevant to the present discussion:

... ἡ Σαρδιανῶν πόλις ... τὸ ἀλειπτήριον κὺν παντὶ τῶ [λιθίνῳ κόσμῳ] κατεσκεύασεν ... Ἐχρυσώθη δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἀντωνίας Σαβείνης ὑπατικῆς καὶ Φλαβίας Πολίτης ὑπατικῆς.

A later inscription, the dedication of a late antique governor of the IV–VI century, stands directly over the arched entrance to the baths:

Ἐπὶ Σεου(ή)ρ(ου) Συμπλικίου τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) κόμ(ητος) πρώτ(ου) βαθμ(οῦ) διέπ(οντος) τὴν ἑπαρχ(ον) ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἀ[λει]πτηρίας ἀνενεώθη.²

¹ For this inscription see *BASOR* 162 (1961) 42 and 177 (1965) 24f. It will be published by Professor Louis Robert in a forthcoming volume of the *Sardis Reports*, as will the other Sardinian inscription discussed here. In neither case does the present note constitute publication of the inscriptions; I merely reproduce the text of one and part of the other as a convenience for the reader. I am grateful to Professor G. M. A. Hanfmann, Director of the Sardis Expedition, for permission to cite these texts, and to Professors Louis Robert and Robert Renehan for their numerous helpful suggestions. Note that a third inscription was found on the same site, carved around the three sides of the Marble Court (see below). That was a late antique inscription in verse which mentions a gold-gleaming roof, marble veneer and a mosaic floor. Since many fragments of it were lost, it is not possible to determine whether it referred to the *aleipterion*, a suggestion which its location might encourage. The inscription is reported in *BASOR* 162 (1961) 43.

² For a transcription of this inscription see *BASOR* 187 (1967) 54; abbreviations in the titlature of the dedicant have been expanded by Professor Robert on the basis of a close

Difficulty has arisen in identifying the *aleipterion* with some part of the reasonably well-preserved Gymnasium. It was plainly not the Marble Court itself, an open structure which in plan closely resembles the rooms used for the imperial cult in gymnasia at Ephesus and elsewhere.³ At first it was suggested that the inscriptions referred to the room behind the Marble Court, but further excavation showed that that space was occupied by a swimming pool. The present discussion has been undertaken in the hope of providing an answer to this difficulty and explaining the significance of the inscriptions.

According to the generally accepted definition, an *ἀλειπτήριον*, a name derived from the verb *ἀλείφω* 'anoint', was a room for anointing the body with oil.⁴ Such anointing was, of course, fundamental to the practices of the gymnasium; the athlete would be anointed both before and after exercise. Its importance under the Roman Empire is indicated by the duties of the gymnasiarch, whose major occupation came to consist in providing for the distribution of oil.⁵ Anointing was also basic to bathing. The bather would cover himself with oil before and after cleaning; hence arose such common expressions for bathing as *ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρόν*.⁶ In these cases, the oil, sometimes heated, was applied in a hot room.⁷ Naturally, a special room would be devoted to such a necessity in both baths and gymnasia, and, after the two had become amalgamated into larger complexes under the Romans, in *thermae* such as that of Sardis.

A room which may be identified as an *aleipterion* has not yet been

parallel from Side: A. M. Mansel *et al.*, 1947 *Senesi Side Kazılarına dair Önrapor* (Ankara 1951) 75 no.29 (IV cent.?), *cf.* MAMA VI 13 (Laodicea *ad Lycum*).

³ Such structures are found at Ephesus in the Gymnasium of Vedius (J. Keil, *Führer durch Ephesos* [Vienna 1964] 56–61), the harbor Gymnasium connected with the Thermae of Constantius (Keil 80–83), and the East Gymnasium (Keil 142). Other examples are known, *inter alia*, from Pergamum and in an enigmatic building at Side (A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* [Berlin 1963] 109–21). Restored drawings of such rooms may be found in Keil 81 and Mansel 113. Their function, to provide a place for the worship of the emperor, goes back to Hellenistic times, when the kings were worshipped in the gymnasia: Delorme, *op.cit.* (*infra* n.4) 342–52.

⁴ Two fundamental works discuss the *aleipterion*: Jean Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960) [henceforth DELORME], and René Ginouvès, *Balanéutikè* (Paris 1962) [henceforth GINOUVÈS]. For discussions of the term, see Delorme 301–04 and Ginouvès 138.

⁵ Delorme 301 *et passim*. See also L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie mineure méridionale* (Geneva/Paris 1966) 83 n.7, with explanations of coin types of Syedra, Colybrassus and Pergamum which show a great vat of oil to commemorate the actions of a gymnasiarch.

⁶ Ginouvès 157 n.9, 140, 144, 210.

⁷ Ginouvès 138, 144.

found in the Sardian gymnasium, nor is its location at all obvious from the placement of the inscriptions. A possible explanation for this will be forthcoming from an analysis of the meaning of the term. For that, I have collected the *testimonia* and arranged them in approximate chronological order.⁸

1. Alexis Comicus 101 (= Edmonds II 418), *ap.* Pollux 7.156 (IV cent. B.C.): ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ μῆτε πῦρ ταῖς ἐσχάrais | ἐνὸν κεκλεισμένον τε ἀλειπτήριον; Pollux *ad loc.*: μέρος δὲ βαλανείου ἐσχάρα καὶ ἀλειπτήριον.

2. Theophrastus, *De Igne* 13: . . . οἶον καὶ τὰ ἀλειπτήρια καὶ τὰ βαλανεία θερμότερα καὶ χειμῶνος . . .

3. Theophrastus, *De Sudore* 28: . . . καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλειπτηρίοις ἐὰν μὲν εὐθὺς ποιήσῃ τις πολὺ πῦρ ἦττον ἰδρωσεῖεν . . .

4. IG XI.2 199A (Delos, 274 B.C.): 104ff Θεοφάντι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι τῆς παλαίστρας ὀροφῶσα[ι] τ[ὸν λουτρῶν]α κα[ὶ] τὸ π[αι]|δαγωγεῖον καὶ τὸ ἀλειπτήριον καὶ τὴν ἐξέδραν καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν κατάβορρον καὶ τὰς ἀστέγους στοὰς δύο . . . ; 112 Ἀντίκῳ τῷ ἐγλαβόντι διελεῖν τὸν τοῖχον τὸμ μέσον τοῦ ἀλειπτηρίου [κα]ὶ τοῦ παιδαγωγείου τοῦ ἀρχαίου . . .

5. MAMA VI no.4 (Laodicea *ad Lycum*, ca 200 B.C.): Ὀλύμπιχος Τρωῖλον | τὸ ἀλειπτήριον κα[ὶ] | τὸμ πρὸ αὐτοῦ οἶκον | τῷ δήμῳ.

6. IG XII.3 suppl. 1314 (Thera, II cent. B.C.): Προκλείδας Εὐα[γόρα] γυμνασιάρχῆσας καὶ Ἀ[λκιμέδων] Προκλείδα ὑπογυμνασι[αρχῆσας] τὸ ἀλειπτήριον Ἑρμῶι κα[ὶ] Ἑρακ[λ]εῖ.

7. IG V.1 1390.106 ff (Andania, 92/91 B.C.): Ἀλείμματος καὶ λουτροῦ· ὁ ἀγορανόμος ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχέτω, ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες | [βαλανεύε]ιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μὴ πλεῖον πράσσωντι τοὺς λουομένους δύο χαλκῶν καὶ παρέχωντι πῦρ καὶ μάκραν εὔκρατον καὶ τοῖς κατακλυ|[ζομένοις ὕ]δωρ εὔκρατον, καὶ ὅπως ὁ ἐγδεξάμενος τῶν ξύλων τὰν παροχὰν εἰς τὸ ἀλειπτήριον παρέχει ξύλα ξηρὰ καὶ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἀλει|[φομένοις] κατ' ἀμέραν ἀπὸ τετάρτας ὥρας ἕως ἐβδόμας. δοῦλος δὲ μηθεὶς ἀλειφέσθω. οἱ δὲ ἱεροὶ ἐγδιδόντω τὰν παροχὰν τῶν ξύλ[ω]ν | [τῶν εἰς τ]ὸ ἀλειπτήριον.

8. Strabo 3.3.6 (154): ἐνίοις [sc. of the Lusitanians] . . . Λακονικῶς διάγειν φασίν, ἀλειπτηρίοις χρωμένους δις καὶ πυρίαίς ἐκ λίθων διαπύρων . . .

9. Herodotus Medicus, *ap.* Oribasius, *Coll. Med.* 10.10.1 (I cent.): τὴν

⁸ References to all but nos. 10, 13 and 16 are to be found in Delorme 301f. As in the case of the Sardis inscriptions, I have abridged freely. I have omitted two inscriptions, MAMA VI no.56 (Tripolis on the Maeander) and no.355 (Acmonia), which are too fragmentary to permit certain restoration.

δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀνθράκων πυρίαν παραληπτέον ἐν τοῖς ἀλειπτηρίοις, ἢ τῇ πρὸς τὰδε [codd: ἦτοι πρὸς τὰ διὰ] τοῦ βαλανείου ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνιον ἀλγῆμα ἐχόντων.

10. Herodotus Medicus, in *RhM* 58 (1903) 112:⁹ 45^v. 8ff χρῆσόμεθα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ δρώπακι ἐν ἡλίῳ ἢ ὑποκαύστοις ἀλειπτηρίοις.

11. *Inscr.Perg.* 466 (Pergamum, II cent.): Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησε Τι(βέριον) Κλαύδιον Οὐέτερα τὸν πρῦτανιν καὶ κτίστη[ν] τοῦ ἀλειπτηρίου τοῦ ἐ[ν] τ[ῶι] τῶν νέων γυμνασίῳ.

12. *JHS* 11 (1890) 123 no.6 (Ceramus, Trajan): . . . τῇ πατρίδι Ἐρμόφαντος Διονυσίου καὶ Ἐρμόφαντος Λυκίσκου ἀγορανομοῦντες καθὼς ὑπέσ[χοντο] τὸ ἀλειπτῆ|ριον ἐκ θεμελίῳ κατασκευάσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθ[ηκαν].

13. *CRAI* 1906, p.172 (Aphrodisias, Hadrian): fr.1 Θεᾶ Ἀφροδείτη καὶ [—]; fr.2 Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Π[—]; fr.3 Εὐδάμου καὶ Ζήνωνος καὶ | Εὐδάμου καὶ Καλλίου τῶν καὶ λούττηριν; fr.4 [Ζή]ωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπφ[ί]ω[νος]; fr.5 [ὑπέ]σχετο τὸ ἀλειπτῆριον . . .

14. *IGRR* IV 1431 (Smyrna, Hadrian): 16–20 Κλαύδιος πρῦτανιν χρυσῶ|σειν τὸν ὄροφον τοῦ ἀλειπτηρίου | τῆς γερούσιας καὶ [τ]ὸ[ν] εἰς τὸν χα|ριστήριον νεῶ[ν] κείονα σὺν σπει|ροκεφάλῳ . . . 33–36 καὶ ὅσα ἐπετύ|χομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος | Ἀδριανοῦ διὰ Ἀντωνίου Πολέμω|νος . . . 40–42 κείονας εἰς τὸ | ἀλειπτῆριον Συναδίου [ο]β', | Νουμειδικὸς κ', πορφυρεῖτας σ'.

15. Liermann, *Analecta* no.14.24–26¹⁰ (Aphrodisias, late II cent.): . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ Διογενιάνῳ δὲ γυμνασίῳ . . . τὸ ἀλειπτῆριον, καὶ τὸν (οἰ)[κοβα]κιλικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀπφίας (ς)κου-(τ)λ[ί]ωσαντα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις . . .

16. *P.London* V 1830.10 (late IV cent.): . . . ἐν τῇ ἀληπτηρία με κατέκ[λεισαν] . . .

17. *The Suda* (X cent.): Γυμνάσια· ἀλειπτῆρια ἢ βαλανεῖα ἢ λουτρά.

I shall first consider the *testimonia* from the IV century v.c. through the time of Augustus, after which Roman influence became so predominant in the Greek world that the nature of both gymnasia and

⁹ R. Fuchs, "Aus Themisons Werk über die acuten und chroniken Krankheiten," *RhM* 58 (1903) 69–114. The correct attribution of the work was made by M. Wellmann in "Herodots Werk *περὶ τῶν ὀξέων καὶ χρόνιων νοσημάτων*," *Hermes* 40 (1905) 580–604. My thanks to Professor Renehan for reference to this passage.

¹⁰ O. Liermann, *Analecta epigraphica et agonistica* (Diss. Philol. Hal. 10, Halle 1889) p.73 no.14 = *CIG* 2782, from the copy of Sherard. It is reproduced here with the emendations of G. Derenne, "ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΙΚΑ," *AntCl* 2 (1933) 74, and J. and L. Robert, *BullEpig* 1973, 475 *ad fin.*; cf. *RevPhil* 55 (1929) 138 n.2.

baths was fundamentally altered.¹¹ From these texts, an impression of the *aleipterion* emerges.

The *aleipterion* was distinct from the bath (nos. 1, 2, 4 and 7), as would be expected from the expression ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρόν. It could form part of a gymnasium (nos. 4 and 6),¹² as a bath could also (no.4).¹³ It was a closed space (no.1) which could be heated with dry wood (no.7) probably in a hearth or a hypocaust, the latter a technique perfected only under the Romans.¹⁴ The heat thus produced could be sufficient to cause sweating (no.3). It was apparently a dry heat rather than a steam bath, for the two are distinguished in no.8, which refers to the practices of the barbarians of Lusitania who bathed in the Spartan manner—that is, they took a sauna followed by a plunge in cold water.¹⁵

The evidence so far considered is not adequate to permit reconstruction of the size, shape or furnishings of an *aleipterion*. In several cases (nos. 1–3, 8–10), it is not possible to determine whether *aleipteria* formed part of a public or private bath.¹⁶ Archaeological investigation has not provided any satisfactory supplement. The gymnasia of Thera and Delos, where *aleipteria* are mentioned in the inscriptions, have been investigated, but in both cases the identification of the room in question is hypothetical. In Thera, a case has been made for calling a circular chamber in the gymnasium an *aleipterion*.¹⁷ The evidence

¹¹ Both Delorme and Ginouvès end their discussions around the time of Augustus, though they draw freely on later material. For the reasons, see the important discussion of Delorme 243–50.

¹² Note that the terms *παλαίστρα* and *γυμνάσιον* were used interchangeably: Delorme 253. Hercules and Hermes (no.6) were the gods *par excellence* of the gymnasium: Delorme 340.

¹³ For baths in gymnasia see Ginouvès 124–50.

¹⁴ The suggestion of Delorme 303 that the *aleipterion* was heated by portable braziers of charcoal receives no support from the sources; no.7, for example, specifies that dry wood be used for heating. On that theory, see Ginouvès 204 n.4 and, for the heating of baths, 135f, 204–09 with 206f for hypocausts and 210 n.4 for open fires.

¹⁵ Martial 6.42, Ginouvès 200: the sauna could produce dry heat, as described by Martial, or steam.

¹⁶ Compare e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.11, in a description of a bath in a private house: *adiacet unctorium, hypocauston, adiacet propnigeon balanei*. The *unctorium* is probably an *aleipterion*; comparison with the passage of Herodotus Medicus (no.10) suggests that the following comma should be deleted and that a heated anointing room is in question. In the other Latin passage, incidentally, which is sometimes cited among the testimonia for *aleipterion*, Vitruvius *De Arch.* 5.11, the term employed, *elaiothesium*, seems rather to denote a room for the storage of oil: Delorme 304.

¹⁷ Thera: Delorme 82–86, Ginouvès 138–140; Delos: J. Delorme, *Delos XXV: Les palestres* (Paris 1961) 137ff. The identification of the *aleipterion* of Thera is not certain because the inscription which mentions it was found not in the room in question but nearby.

suffers from the additional deficiency that it consists of short texts scattered over four centuries. This makes it impossible to follow the evolution of the meaning of the word (if indeed it changed at all in that time) or of its architectural realization. Such as there is, however, is reasonably consistent and does nothing to upset or alter the accepted definition of an *aleipterion* as a room for anointing the body with oil.

With the establishment of the *pax romana* and the great current of cultural influences between east and west, the Greek gymnasium and baths underwent considerable change. The two gradually came to be combined into one monumental complex, the *thermae*.¹⁸ This incorporated an elaborate bathing establishment with the manifold aspects of the gymnasium: exercise, education, worship and social functions.¹⁹ The terminology employed naturally changed with the architectural development; under the Empire, *γυμνάσιον* and *βαλανεῖον* were used interchangeably to refer to the new baths *cum* *gymnasia*, which were sometimes also called *θήρμαι*.²⁰

Under such conditions, it would not be surprising to find some change in the meaning of *aleipterion*; such, I believe, may be demonstrated from the later *testimonia*.

These suggest that the imperial *aleipterion* was a structure of some importance. A citizen of Pergamum prided himself as the founder of one in the gymnasium of the *νέοι* (no.11).²¹ Similarly, citizens of Ceramus and Aphrodisias built *aleipteria* for their cities (nos. 12 and 15 and apparently 13). A magistrate of Smyrna gilded the roof of the *aleipterion* of the Gerousia, and the emperor Hadrian himself contributed numerous marble and porphyry columns to it or another in the city (no.14). The inscriptions of Sardis may be seen in this context. According to the first, the *aleipterion* was built from its foundations and dedicated to the reigning emperors; it was gilded (a reference to its roof) by the city and two consular ladies. Some centuries later, it was restored by a governor of Lydia.

The later references are less informative. The statement of Pollux,

¹⁸ See *supra* n.9, Ginouvès 147–50 and the remarks of Ward-Perkins in A. Boëthius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Baltimore 1970) 399.

¹⁹ On the various uses of the gymnasium, see Delorme 256, 272–361.

²⁰ Delorme 246, Ginouvès 148, 220 with n.5 on *thermai*.

²¹ The gymnasium of the *νέοι* was the whole complex built in terraces in the Middle City on the slopes of the Acropolis: Delorme 182.

a writer of the late second century, that the *aleipterion* formed part of the bath, need not be taken into account here. He was commenting on the passage of Alexis Comicus (no.1), and in any case reproduced Attic usage rather than the idiom of his own time. The papyrus fragment (no.16) is part of a petition in a case of robbery with violence in which the unfortunate victim was locked in an *aleipterion*. In spite of the dramatic circumstances, the passage adds little to what is already known.

The likelihood that *aleipterion* in the imperial period continued to indicate merely one room in a larger building is diminished by the pride with which the donors commemorate their benevolence, and the eminence of some of them. Closer examination of the texts will reveal further difficulties in accepting the normal definition.

The injunction of Herodotus Medicus (no.9) shows that steam baths could be taken in the *aleipterion*, which seems not to have been true earlier.²² Here, however, mention is still made of a room in a bath which could be heated by a hypocaust (no.10).

Much more significant are the hints of descriptions of *aleipteria* in Smyrna, Aphrodisias and Sardis (nos. 14 and 15 and the first Sardis inscription). That of the Gerousia in Smyrna (and apparently that of Sardis) had a gilded roof, which would hardly be appropriate to a room which was heated and possibly full of vapor; neither dry nor damp heat is especially beneficial to wood covered with gilt.²³ Equally curious is the number of columns presented to the *aleipterion* of Smyrna by Hadrian: 72 of Synnada marble, 20 of Numidian and 6 of porphyry.²⁴ It is difficult to conceive of an anointing-room (or perhaps any other) which would contain so many columns.²⁵ In Aphrodisias, the *aleipterion* of the Diogenian gymnasium (no.15) had within it an

²² See *supra* p. 221. The text in Oribasius is evidently corrupt; I would assume that a word has fallen out after *τῆς πρὸς τὰδε*, for here one might expect a reference to some other part of the bath near the *aleipterion*.

²³ This problem was clearly felt by Delorme, who, though he believed that the text showed the *aleipterion* to be a room (302), realised that the gilding would deteriorate under such conditions and was led to propose his theory that the heat was provided by braziers of smokeless charcoal. On that, see *supra* n.14.

²⁴ The number 72 depends on a restoration: the first edition, CIG 3148 (from the notes of Selden and Chandler), printed an upside-down *omega*, for which an *omicron* seems a reasonable substitution. The exact number, however, is immaterial for the purposes of this discussion.

²⁵ An exception might be made for the room for the imperial cult, which contains vast numbers of columns (though hardly 98⁵ in restored drawings).

οικοβασιλικόν, apparently some kind of public building.²⁶ These texts suggest that a fundamental change had taken place in the meaning of *aleipterion*.

The archaeological evidence connected with these various attestations is also helpful. The inscriptions of Sardis have already been considered; they were in a space which cannot be considered as an anointing-room. The fragmentary architrave inscription from Aphrodisias (no.13) was excavated in a room on the south side of the Baths of Hadrian. This was an open colonnaded space adjacent to a large peristyle. It was not on the main axis of the baths, which were entered on the east from the Portico of Tiberius, part of the agora of the city.²⁷ Although the inscription, now lost, was fragmentary, it may reasonably be considered to have had some connection with the room in which it was set up. That space, open and separate from the rest of the bath, could not be considered an *aleipterion* according to the normal definition of the term.

Such evidence plainly demands a new definition. A clue is provided by the entry in the *Suda* (no.17). There, the *aleipterion* is equated with gymnasia and baths.²⁸

A definition of *aleipterion* in the imperial period as the whole bathing establishment would suit all the evidence. In Pergamum, it formed part of the gymnasium of the *νέοι*, a large complex which in imperial times included a bath building. If the *aleipterion* were a whole building rather than one room, the various dedications would take on more significance. The gilded roofs of Smyrna and Sardis would cease to present a problem, and the great number of columns which Hadrian contributed in Smyrna would be seen as far more appropriate to an

²⁶ For the *basilica thermarum*, see D. Krencker *et al.*, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen* (Augsburg 1929) index *s.v.*, and for the term *οικοβασιλικόν* used here to describe it, see the works of Louis Robert referred to *supra* n.10.

²⁷ Description, publication and fragmentary plan in G. Mendel, "Fouilles exécutées à Aphrodisias," *CRAI* 1906, 72; discussion in E. Will, "Les ruines d'Aphrodisias en Carie," *RA* 12 (1938) 231–33. A detailed plan of the whole was published by L. Crema in "I monumenti architettonici afrodisiensi," *MonAnt* 38 (1939) 266. For the Portico of Tiberius, see Kenan Erim, "Aphrodisias in Caria. Results of the 1970 Campaign," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 19 (1970) 58.

²⁸ Actually, the 'clue' may be fortuitous. The definition of the *Suda* also appears, in the same form, in an anonymous *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων εκ διαφόρων σοφών τε και ῥητόρων πολλῶν* in L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* (Leipzig 1828) 187.11. *Etym. Mag.* 242.50ff presents a similar definition. These suggest that the definition in the *Suda* is abridged from an earlier common source, perhaps even Alexandrian, for the compilers of these lexica were concerned with pedantry, not contemporary usage.

entire large building than to a mere anointing-room. The βασιλικόν of Aphrodisias would make sense as part of a whole bathing complex, though impossible to fit into any one room. The dedication from the Baths of Hadrian in the same city could then be taken to refer to the construction of the entire building.

Although no text besides the *Suda* supports the definition proposed, parallels are not lacking. Βαλανεῖον underwent a similar development and came to mean both an individual room where the fire for a bath was heated and the whole complex of rooms which made up a bath building.²⁹ In the Greek gymnasium, the παιδαγωγεῖον was a room where pedagogue slaves awaited their charges; it eventually came to be applied to the whole school.³⁰ Πυριατήριον, a steam bath, was originally the name of one room, but Cassius Dio found it convenient Greek for the Thermae of Agrippa in Rome.³¹ The fluctuation of nomenclature is shown by the term θέρμαι itself (which originally meant 'hot springs'); it was used both as the equivalent of the Latin *thermae* and to indicate that part of the complex which was heated.³² Such a variety of terminology need not occasion surprise in an age which saw major cultural and architectural transformation of its institutions for exercise and bathing.³³

The *aleipterion* was the place where the action of the verb ἀλείφειν took place, and where the ἀλειπτής performed his duties. Consideration of those words will support the definition proposed for ἀλειπήριον in the imperial period. Consultation of the lexica will show that ἀλείφειν came to mean more than merely 'to anoint'; it also meant 'to train, to encourage, to supply oil,' that is, to perform other functions appropriate to a gymnasium.³⁴ Particularly significant is the

²⁹ Harpocration, ed. W. Dindorf, I (Oxford 1853) p. viii s.v.

³⁰ Delorme 331.

³¹ Cass. Dio 53.27; Delorme 137, Ginouvès 321f.

³² Ginouvès 220 n.5.

³³ The use of ἀλειπήριον to mean a bathing establishment was, of course, not universal; βαλανεῖον, λουτρόν and γυμνάσιον continued in current usage and were indeed more common. Consideration of the testimonia will show that all the certain examples of the extended use of ἀλειπήριον come from a relatively restricted area of western Asia Minor. Although this might suggest that the term was a local usage, it is more probable that the examples reflect the state of the documentation; for the early imperial period much more evidence of building activity is available for western Asia Minor than elsewhere in the Greek-speaking provinces.

³⁴ The meaning became especially extended by Christian writers; see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v.

term οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι which referred to all the users of the gymnasium in general.³⁵ Similarly, an ἀλείπτῃς (Lat. *alipetes* or *alipta*) was not just an anointer or masseur but a trainer and a teacher.³⁶ If these terms came to have such broad denotations, it is hardly remarkable that their derivative, ἀλειπτήριον, should have taken on a more extended meaning.³⁷

The inscriptions of Sardis, with which this discussion began, may now be seen more clearly. The *aleipterion* (or *aleipteria*) to which they refer is no longer a room to be sought somewhere in the recesses of the building which they so ostentatiously adorn, but the whole bath itself. The actions of an emperor and a late antique governor now become more readily comprehensible in their expression: both did work on an entire building and commemorated it in an appropriate place, the entrance to the baths.

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³⁵ Delorme, index *s.v.*

³⁶ In addition to the Greek and Latin lexica see Ginouvès 145 n.5.

³⁷ The proposed definition suits the texts presently known; the possibility need not be excluded, however, that imperial texts may be discovered in which ἀλειπτήριον means merely 'anointing-room'. In the similar cases of πυριατήριον, θέρμαι and βαλανείον, the restricted and extended meanings were in use concurrently. Since such a development would also be natural in the case of ἀλειπτήριον, each new text should be judged according to its particular context.