



TYCHE

**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

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Peter Siewert
zum 27. 4. 2000

Ekkehard Weber
zum 30. 4. 2000

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Tafeln 1–4

NIGEL M. KENNELL

The Status of the Ephebarch

The status of the official known as the ephebarch, attested in many Greek cities of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, has long been a subject of contention. Over a century ago, Girard in Daremberg-Saglio considered that the titles *ephebarchos*, *archephebos*, and *huphephebarchos*, “rapportent plutôt aux éphèbes eux-mêmes qu'aux magistrats chargés de veiller sur eux et des les instruire”¹. Louis Robert, on the other hand, classified ephebarchs among the magistrates of the gymnasium². More recently, while favoring different answers to this question, both Papazoglou and Kleijwegt have reached essentially the same conclusion, namely that practices varied too widely from city to city and epoch to epoch to permit any definitive statement concerning the normal age of an ephebarch³. On the face of it, the texts from Macedonian Stuberra published by Papazoglou provide powerful support for this *non liquet*, since some inscriptions record the ephebarch's name in the list of ephebes for his year of office. In several of these documents, the ephebarch is specified as holding his office “through (*dia*) the *epimeleia* of his father”. Without doubt, these ephebarchs were themselves ephebes. In the others, however, the person named as ephebarch in the introduction is not listed among the ephebes, which indicates that the office-holder was not enrolled in the ephebate that year⁴. As Papazoglou put it, “Les deux possibilités ont peut-être coexisté: éphébarque-magistrate et éphébarque-premier éphèbe”⁵.

The conundrum can in fact be solved by examining the epigraphical references to ephebarchs from several dozen cities, which range in date from the early Hellenistic period to the third century AD. The earliest reference to an ephebarch appears in an inscription from Thespieae, dated to the late third century BC, which lists the city's various magistrates, civic and military: among military officials such as the *lochagoi* of the *agema*, the *peltophoroi*, and the commanders of the *pharetritai* and *sphendonatai* appears the *ephebarchos* Pouthion son of Pouthion⁶. This Thespian ephebarch was a functionary in the military machine which depended on Boeotian ephebes for its manpower, and as such was undoubtedly an adult⁷. Ephebes, known as *triakatioi*, were

¹ P. Girard, *Ephebi*, Daremberg-Saglio 2.1 (1892) 635. For a similar opinion, see T. Drew-Bear, *A Hellenistic Metrical Epitaph*, GRBS 16 (1975) 287.

² L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 200.

³ F. Papazoglou, *Les stèles éphébiques de Stuberra*, Chiron 18 (1988) 249; M. Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, Amsterdam 1991, 100.

⁴ Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 100.

⁵ Papazoglou, *Les stèles éphébiques*, 249.

⁶ P. Roesch, *Thespies et la confédération béotienne*, Paris 1965, 5 (220–215 BC). An ephebarch also appears in an inscription from Loryma in the Rhodian Peraea (IGSK 38.10), dated to the fourth or third century BC.

⁷ P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes*, Paris 1982, 307–354.

also vital for the army of Cyrene from the fourth century down into the Hellenistic period, and their commanders, the *triakatiarchoi*, were likewise listed among the commanders of the cavalry and other infantry forces. Significantly for our purposes, as the office evolved in the Roman period, the *triakatiarchoi* became *ephebarchoi* by the later second century AD⁸. Indeed, the vast bulk of our evidence for the post comes from the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, when, as is usually supposed, the ephebrates in Greek cities had lost much of their earlier military significance.

In many cases where the ephebarch appears his age cannot be determined — ephebic lists whose introductions refer to an ephebarch are often fragmentary, making it impossible to determine whether or not the ephebarch's name was listed among the ephebes as well. In honorific texts, the bare mention of the post is not in itself enough to indicate the age at which the honorand held it. But there are some diagnostic texts which, taken in the aggregate, indicate that the ephebarchate was, properly speaking, a fully-fledged civic magistracy, usually held early in a man's career while he was still counted among the *neoi*, the young men between 20 and 30 years of age who often joined with the ephebes of a city to honor patrons or march in parades.

Two inscriptions, one from Apollonia in Pisidia and another from Priene, provide unequivocal testimony that the ephebarchs in those cities were adults. At Apollonia, Aurelius Euphemos' career as an active member of the civic elite included three stints as ephebarch, while at Priene an ephebic list is dated to the ephebarch's second tenure of that office⁹. Since, with a very few exceptions, the ephebrates of the Roman period were of one year's duration, this iteration of office can only indicate that the man serving as ephebarch was not himself an ephebe¹⁰. That the ephebarchate was usually a full civic magistracy (*arche*) is indicated by an inscription from Aphrodisias in Caria which honors a man for his public service in "embassies, the ephebarchate, the generalship, the secretariat, and all the rest of the offices" (τὰς λοιπὰς πάσας ἀρχάς)¹¹. In 37 AD the ephebarch of Cyzicus in Mysia was called to lead the ephebes and the *paidonomos* the free *paides* in an official greeting (*hupantesis*) for the sons of Rhoemetalces, king of Thrace; here also the juxtaposition of the two offices indicates their equality in status¹². Generally speaking, honorific texts which include a conspectus of the honorand's career, record tenure of the ephebarchate at random among the customary civic offices and liturgies. For example, on a statue base from Phocaea in Aeolis Lucius Vibius Eumenes is described as a philosopher, *strategos*, boularch, eirenarch, ephebarch, gymnasiarch, and *agoranomos*; at Ephesus, C. Mindius Hegoumenos was honored for a career that saw him holding the posts of

⁸ On *triakatioi*, *triakatiarchoi*, and the Cyrenean army, see A. Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique: Libykai historiai de l'époque républicaine au principat d'Auguste*, Paris 1987, 132–134.

⁹ Apollonia: E. Legrand and J. Chamonard, *Inscriptions de Phrygie*, BCH 17 (1893) 255 no. 34 (212–250 AD); Priene: *IvPriene* 147 (IIIp).

¹⁰ Cities with multi-year ephebrates in the Roman period included Sparta (N. Kennell, *Gymnasium of Virtue*, Chapel Hill 1995, 38), Messenia (SEG XLIII [1993] 145), Mytilene (IG XII Supp. 690), Heraclea Pontica (IGSK 47.60b), and Apollonis (TAM V.2 1206).

¹¹ MAMA VIII 410, line 6 (aet. imp.): καὶ πρεσβείας καὶ ἐφηβarchίαν καὶ στρατηγίαν καὶ γραμματεῖαν καὶ τὰς ἄλοιπας ἀρχάς.

¹² IGR IV 145 (37 AD).

dekaprotos, *ephebarchos*, *limenarches*, *paidonomos*, and *neopoios*¹³. The city of Philadelphia in Lycia erected a statue of Marcus Aurelius Diodoros, who had been *bouleutes*, served as *agoranomos* at a time of great crisis, and performed his duties as ephebarch piously and with distinction (εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἐπιφανῶς)¹⁴. Finally, the *demos* of Thyatira honored P. Aelius Menogenes Pyrichus Marcianus, the poet, *strategos*, *agoranomos* for six months, secretary of boule and *demos*, ephebarch, and *triteutes*¹⁵. In all these examples, the ephebarchate appears as one of the usual offices or liturgies that any prominent citizen would have held in the course of a political career, but it occupies no fixed position in lists of posts; it can just as likely be found in the middle or at the end of an inscribed career as at the beginning¹⁶. Nothing in the inscriptions just surveyed indicates that the ephebarch was anything other than a fully-fledged civic, adult magistrate. Epictetus, the sole Greek author to mention ephebarchs, gives the same impression: he imagines a typical citizen of Corinth to be “an *astynomos*, ephebarch, *strategos*, or agonothete, whatever”¹⁷.

Still, other inscriptions offer incontrovertible indications of the youth of some ephebarchs. An ephebarch in the city of Thyatira in Lydia was *amphithales* in the Great Antoneia after his year of office¹⁸. *Amphithaleis*, people with both parents still living, were in antiquity inevitably rather young and were particularly prized as participants in religious festivals¹⁹. At Thessalonike in the third century AD, some ephebarchs were also priests of Fulvus, an ephebic god who represented the divinized Antinous, and whose priests were correspondingly young; one such ephebarch received the honor of an inscribed altar from his maternal grandfather in the year following his tenure, and another received one from his mother²⁰. Even children could be ephebarchs sometimes. The two ephebarchs mentioned in the introduction to an ephebic list in Carian Iasos in the early first century AD, the gymnasiarch’s sons, appear among the ephebes themselves in a list inscribed seven years later, which would make them about eleven or twelve years old during their year as ephebarchs. At Philadelphia, where, as we saw, the ephebarchate seems to have been considered an adult magistracy,

¹³ Phocaea: SEG XLI (1991) 1044 (aet. imp.); Ephesus: SEG XXXIV (1984) 1093 (II–IIIp).

¹⁴ SEG XLIV (1994) 961 (ca. 176 AD).

¹⁵ TAM V.2 930 (aet. imp.). Other examples of a tendency to include the ephebarchate among the civic magistracies in inscribed careers can be found at Carystus (IG XII.9 20 [IIp]); Apamea (MAMA VI 180 col. 2.4 [after 150p]); Kios (Prusias ad mare) in Bithynia (IGSK 29 16 [108–109 AD]); and Colossae in Phrygia (IGR IV 870 [I–IIp]).

¹⁶ In comparison, ephebic posts and relationships are always the first item in the inscribed careers of Spartan notables: e.g. IG V.1 32B, 38, 39, 45, 47; SEG XI (1954) 486, 492, 495. For the terms employed, see Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 38–44.

¹⁷ Epictetus *Diss.* 3.1.34.

¹⁸ TAM V.2 1024, lines 4–5 (I–IIIp)

¹⁹ On *amphithaleis*, see L. Robert, *AMPHITHALES*, in: *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson*, HSCP Supplement 1 (Cambridge, MA 1940) 509–519 (= OMS I 633–643).

²⁰ IG X.2.1 168: Flavius Claudius Menon, priest and agonothete of Fulvus, was also ephebarch in 258/9 AD. On the priest of Fulvus, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* II–III (Paris 1946) 37–42; IG X.2.1 163: Aurelius Isidorus honors his grandson (*ekgonon*) (249/50 AD); Anthestiane Minuciane Procope honors her son: IG X.2.1 170 (269/70 AD).

there is also an inscription from that city honoring someone who was ephebach as a child (ἐφήβαρχον ἐν παιδί γεγόμενον)²¹. This evidence is not as contradictory as it first appears, for the precarious state of many cities' finances in the Roman empire overwhelmed any lingering cultural reservations about the fitness of women, children, or even (much to the chagrin of the Roman state) ex-slaves to occupy certain offices properly held by free-born adult male citizens²². Magistracies, such as the gymnasiarchy, that entailed a hefty financial commitment on the part of their incumbents were the ones women or children most often held²³.

A distinction must therefore be made between the office and the person occupying it. Magistracies for which, properly speaking, only adult males qualified, could be and were actually held by people who were not full citizens. Any duties the magistracy entailed that were inappropriate or impossible for these office-holders to carry out, were discharged instead by someone often called a "manager" (*epimeletes* or *epimeloumenos*)²⁴. In the case of underage office-holders, the managers were usually their fathers, as happened with Ctesicles son of Ctasadas from Idebessus in Lycia, who held the office of captain of a torch-race team (*agelarchia*) on behalf of his son, whereas at Pergamum an association of Paniastai Hippikeitai honored a man who had been, among other things, "agoranomos for himself and for his son" (ἀγορανόμον [ἐ]φ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ παιδί)²⁵. And, in a close parallel with what some of the Stuberra ephebic lists describe, when Damonius, son of Demetrius, was an ephebe in Apollonia and also gymnasiarch for the year, his father "distributed the oil on his behalf" (ἀλίφοντος δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ) all day long²⁶.

In several inscriptions the ephebarchs at Stuberra are described as performing their duties διὰ ἐπιμελείας of their fathers. Since the phrase occurs when the ephebarchs are listed among the ephebes for the year, Papazoglou took it to mean that, as minors, the ephebarchs needed "la surveillance de leurs pères"²⁷. Although *epimeleia* can have a general application, as when a gymnasiarch in Hellenistic Phintia Gelorum in Sicily was praised for having taken care (ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιήται) of the *epheboi*, *neoteroi*, and others who came to exercise in the gymnasium, the word's use at Stuberra refers

²¹ Iasos: IGSK 28.2 276 (5 AD), 277 (12 AD); Philadelphia: IGR IV 1633 (act. imp.).

²² Financial problems, exacerbated by natural and other disasters, were endemic in the cities of the Roman Empire: see R. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge 1990, 159–173. The plague under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus had a devastating effect on recruitment to magistracies and liturgies and led to the relaxation of qualifications in certain cities: see Duncan-Jones, *The Impact of the Antonine Plague*, JRA 9 (1996) 108–137, esp. 134; J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, Hesperia Supplement 13, Princeton 1970, 7–8, lines 57–83.

²³ On women holding gymnasiarchies and similar posts, see R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation*, Amsterdam 1996, 55–81. Van Bremen also emphasises (41–59) that the range of offices and liturgies open to women remained quite restricted.

²⁴ On *epimeletai*, see L. Robert, *Recherches épigraphiques IV–IX*, REA 62 (1960) 294–296 (= OMS II 810–812).

²⁵ TAM II.3 838a. Pergamum: H. Hebding, *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908–1909, II. Die Inschriften*. MDAI(A) 35 (1910) 476 no. 64. On parents substituting for their children, see Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 253–262.

²⁶ TAM V.2 1203, line 16.

²⁷ Papazoglou, *Les stèles éphebiques*, 248.

specifically to the performance of an office and thus surely to the actual responsibilities undertaken by an *epimeletes*²⁸. *Epimeleia* has this significance in many inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods: upon being chosen as agonothete, the Athenian Euryclides "assigned his son to discharge this duty" (τὸν υἱὸν δοῦς [εἰς ταύτην] | τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν²⁹). Also at Athens, at the end of the second century AD, a cosmete stated that he "did not use an *antikosmetes* because there was nothing written in the law about this; otherwise I used my son for this duty (*epimeleian*)"³⁰. In the third century AD a Spartan was praised for joining the *epimeleia* of Lycurgus' patronomate to his own, in other words, for acting as the god's *epimeletes* right after he had held the eponymous magistracy in his own right.³¹ At Stuberra, then, the fathers were not "supervising" their ephebach sons but actually performing the duties of the office themselves³².

To sum up, the evidence adduced thus far indicates that the post of ephebach was originally an early Hellenistic military office and later evolved into a proper, civic magistracy of the same status as those others found in later Greek cities, such as the *strategos*, the *agoranomos*, eirenarch, or secretary of the boule and demos. Most of the incumbents seem to have been young, even when they were not actually below the age of majority and so would have been disbarred from performing some of the duties associated with the post.

Usually, then, the ephebach was a young male adult and, as such, belonged to an age group the Greeks called *neoi*. Loosely defined, *neoi* ("youths") were young men between twenty and thirty years of age who had just left the ephebate and were embarking on their civic careers, and who in the Hellenistic period (and to some degree also in the Roman) were getting their first experience of military life³³. In very many cities they formed themselves into associations, presenting benefactors with honors and maintaining close ties with the life of the gymnasium they had recently known as ephebes³⁴. Several inscriptions may imply a connection between the *neoi* and the ephebach. The *epheboi* and *neoi* of Sestos in Chersonese jointly crowned the ephe-

²⁸ IG XIV 256, line 12.

²⁹ IG II² 834.

³⁰ IG II² 219, lines 128–135; see S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle*, Paris 1976, 230.

³¹ IG V.1 541; on the patronomate of the divine Lycurgus, see P. A. Cartledge and A. J. S. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta*, London 1989, 202.

³² P. Gauthier and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia*, Meletemata 16, Athens 1993, 171, reach the same conclusion.

³³ For former ephebes functioning as a local militia in the late Hellenistic period, see IGSK 3 73 (Poimananon); Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye*, 465 (Berenice); L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 10. The evidence for the participation of young Greeks in Roman military campaigns, either individually or in contingents levied from cities, has not been given the systematic attention it deserves: see A. J. S. Spawforth, *Notes on the Third Century AD in Spartan Epigraphy*, ABSA 79 (1984) 267–269; A. Plassart, *Une levée de volontaires thespiens sous Marc Aurèle*, in: *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, vol. 2, Paris 1932, 731–738, with C. P. Jones, *The Levy at Thespieae under Marcus Aurelius*, GRBS 12 (1971) 45–48.

³⁴ On *neoi* in general, see C. A. Forbes, *NEOI*, Middletown 1933.

barch³⁵. A letter to the *sunodos* of *neoi* at Pergamon mentions [ἐφεβ]άρχους δέκα³⁶. At Iasos, a certain Melanion was honored for conducting himself as ephebarch in a manner worthy of his father, the *neoi*, and the whole *demos*³⁷. The evidence of the documents is admittedly far from conclusive, but an important inscription from Macedonia, which still awaits full publication almost twenty years after its discovery, makes a much stronger case for the association of ephebarch and *neoi*. In their 1993 publication of the gymnasiarchical law from Beroea, Gauthier and Hatzopoulos provide, on the basis of a published photograph, the text of the first six lines of a law from Amphipolis regulating the responsibilities and powers of the ephebarch, among which was the authority to fine miscreants up to 100 dr. Most significant for the status of the ephebarch is the introduction's statement that the law was presented to the *neoi* by a former ephebarch³⁸. As the published resume of the law makes clear, the ephebarch's duties were concerned solely with the education and training of ephebes, so the interest of the *neoi* in the law derived not from any impact the law had on their own collective activities in the gymnasium, but that they would form the pool of candidates for future holders of the ephebarchate³⁹.

Returning to the Stuberra ephebic lists, we can now see that Papazoglou's conception of the ephebarch as essentially an adult magistrate was accurate. One of these lists also offers additional evidence for the relative youthfulness of ephebarchs. A text from 53/4 AD records that one of the ephebarchs, though apparently not underage, was the son of a man who had taken on the duty of distributing oil bought at public expense for that year. This circumstance indicates the ephebarch was young, quite probably one of the *neoi*⁴⁰.

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³⁵ IGSK 19.1 41 (133–120 BC).

³⁶ IGR IV 350 (117–138 AD).

³⁷ IGSK 28.1 98, line 22 (Ia).

³⁸ Gauthier and Hatzopoulos, 161–162 n.3.

³⁹ G. Mylonas, *Amphipole*, *Ergon* (1984) 21–22; French version in Gauthier and Hatzopoulos, 161–162.

⁴⁰ Papazoglou, *Les stèles éphebiques*, 238 no. 4.