

ENTRETIENS SUR L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

TOME LVIII

---

L'ORGANISATION DES SPECTACLES  
DANS LE MONDE ROMAIN

HUIT EXPOSÉS SUIVIS DE DISCUSSIONS  
PAR

JOHANNES NOLLÉ, ONNO M. VAN NIJF,  
CHRISTINA KOKKINIA, MARIA LETIZIA CALDELLI,  
JEAN-PAUL THUILLIER, RUTH WEBB,  
GUY CHAMBERLAND, CHRISTOPHER JONES

Introduction de Kathleen COLEMAN et Jocelyne NELIS-CLÉMENT

Entretiens préparés par Kathleen Coleman et Jocelyne Nelis-Clément  
et présidés par Pierre Ducrey

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FONDATION HARDT  
POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE  
VANDOEUVRES – GENÈVE

*Les premiers «Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique» ont eu lieu en 1952, du 8 au 13 septembre. Dans l'avant-propos du volume où ils sont consignés, le Baron Kurd von Hardt en donne la définition. La voici: «Chaque année, au siège de la Fondation à Vandœuvres, auront lieu des 'Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique', au cours desquels des spécialistes, représentant plusieurs pays, feront des exposés sur un domaine choisi et, au cours des discussions, procèderont à d'enrichissants échanges de vue.»*

*Conçue et mise au point par des savants tous aujourd'hui décédés – parmi eux Ludwig Curtius, Bruno Snell, Kurt von Fritz, Albin Lesky, Theodor Klauser, Olof Gigon –, l'institution s'est révélée viable. Cinquante-sept fois, des savants de divers pays se sont réunis en été à Vandœuvres; les «Entretiens» ont été régulièrement publiés.*

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**VANDOEUVRES – GENÈVE  
22-26 AOÛT 2011**



FONDATION HARDT  
POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

*ENTRETIENS*

*TOME LVIII*

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DANS LE MONDE ROMAIN

ORGANISATION DES SCHOOLS  
DANS LE MONDE ROMAIN

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## PRÉFACE

C'est à Kathleen Coleman et à Jocelyne Nelis-Clément que la Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'Antiquité classique doit la préparation des 58<sup>e</sup> *Entretiens*, qui ont eu lieu du 22 au 26 août 2011. Et ce sont elles qui, en collaboration avec Pascale Derron, ont assuré l'édition du présent volume.

Le thème proposé par les deux responsables de ces *Entretiens*, "L'organisation des spectacles dans le monde romain — The Mounting of Spectacles in the Roman World", est particulièrement évocateur. Chacun se fait une idée des jeux du cirque, des combats de gladiateurs et d'autres spectacles chers au cœur des Anciens. Mais beaucoup plus rares sont les analyses qui portent sur les 'coulisses' d'une telle manifestation. Les organisatrices, elles-mêmes spécialisées dans l'étude des spectacles, l'une par l'intermédiaire du poète latin Martial, l'autre au travers des inscriptions, ont su réunir pour ces *Entretiens* des chercheuses et des chercheurs venus d'horizons, de pays et de spécialités très divers. L'apport de sensibilités et d'approches différentes et complémentaires contribue à la richesse du présent volume, qui, comme de coutume, réunit les communications présentées durant les *Entretiens* et les discussions qui ont suivi. Les textes présentés oralement se distinguent de leur version publiée par un important travail de développement et d'édition. Quant aux discussions qui suivent chaque conférence, elles sont adaptées elles aussi, en ce sens que chaque intervenant est invité à reprendre et à préciser les questions qu'il pose et les réponses qu'il donne.

La Fondation veille à rester fidèle à l'esprit des rencontres annuelles de Vandœuvres, tel qu'il a été défini par le baron Kurd von Hardt dès 1952, date du premier de ces *Entretiens*. On ne rappellera jamais assez que le mécène qui a donné son nom à la Fondation avait pour but de réunir autour de lui des

savants de toutes origines pour les inviter à débattre sur les thèmes qu'offre l'héritage commun de l'Occident, la tradition et les disciplines classiques. A l'issue d'une guerre intereuropéenne d'abord, mondiale ensuite, particulièrement cruelle et sanglante, le baron voulait que soient réaffirmées les valeurs d'un legs collectif, celui de la tradition classique.

En cinquante-huit éditions, le champ couvert par la série n'a cessé de s'élargir, au fur et à mesure du renouvellement des problématiques et des sujets abordés. Par la force des choses, les questions posées sont 'filles de leur temps'. Elles visent à susciter des réponses aux questionnements contemporains. Problématiques et participants aux cycles annuels sont soigneusement sélectionnés, évalués et discutés par la Commission scientifique de la Fondation avant les réunions elles-mêmes, qui interviennent selon la règle dans la dernière semaine complète du mois d'août. Le processus de préparation peut prendre jusqu'à trois ou quatre années. Toutefois, pour garder le contact avec l'actualité, la Fondation s'est fixé de ne pas étendre le programme des *Entretiens* futurs au-delà de cinq années au plus.

En 2011, pour la troisième fois, les *Entretiens* se sont déroulés dans le cadre accueillant et devenu usuel de l'orangerie. Durant les sessions, le regard des participants peut ainsi se détendre en contemplant les arbres du parc et le dessin de la serre qui se profilent au-delà des belles baies vitrées du bâtiment jadis réservé aux essences exotiques. Cette salle de conférencesnée de l'imagination créatrice des architectes qui ont rénové et conservé le domaine et les bâtiments du domaine sert aujourd'hui de cadre à de nombreuses séances, séminaires, colloques et réunions. Elle contribue à assurer le rayonnement de la Fondation, de Vandœuvres et de Genève, dans le monde.

Il reste à l'auteur de ces lignes à exprimer sa gratitude aux deux spécialistes qui ont préparé ces 58<sup>e</sup> *Entretiens*, Kathleen Coleman et Jocelyne Nelis-Clément, et qui n'ont épargné ni le temps, ni les efforts pour que les textes publiés ici atteignent un haut niveau scientifique. On trouvera dans les pages qui suivent l'introduction qu'elles ont rédigée pour préciser leurs intentions

et résumer les résultats atteints. Jusqu'ici, les volumes ne contenaien des illustrations qu'à titre tout à fait exceptionnel. Sans doute ce tome marquera-t-il une nouvelle adaptation aux goûts du temps, avec l'apparition d'un cahier de 16 planches. La mise en page des illustrations a été réalisée par Michael Krieger, historien de l'Antiquité, collaborateur de la Fondation et de l'École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce. L'édition du volume a été conduite par Pascale Derron, docteur ès lettres, bibliothécaire de la Fondation, qui s'est chargée en outre de composer les index. L'organisation matérielle était du ressort de Monica Brunner, secrétaire scientifique et administratrice, appuyée par le personnel de la Fondation. À toutes et à tous va notre vive gratitude.

Pierre Ducrey,  
Directeur de la Fondation Hardt



## INTRODUCTION

"How I decided that the contests should be arranged about which there were speeches and petitions before me in Naples I have indicated to you and I am writing to the provinces and to the cities from which embassies on this matter were present. I have set the beginning from the Olympia, since this contest is ancient and certainly the most prestigious of the Greek ones. After the Olympia shall be the Isthmia, and after the Isthmia the Hadrianeia, so that the contest begins on the next day after the festival at Eleusis ends, and this is by Athenian reckoning the first day of Maimakterion. There shall be forty days for the Hadrianeia, and the contest in Tarentum shall be held after the Hadrianeia in the month of January, with the Capitolia, as they have been completed up to now, preceding the contests in Naples. Then shall be the Actia, beginning nine days before the Kalends of October, and ending within forty days. During the passage there shall be the contest in Patrae, then the Heraia and Nemea from the kalends of November to the kalends of January. After the Nemea shall be the Panathenaia, so that the contest is completed on the same day by the Attic calendar as it ended up to now. After the Panathenaia the Smyrnaeans shall hold their contest, with the contestants having fifteen days from the shield-race of the Panathenaia, and with the contest beginning immediately after the fifteen days, and being finished within forty days. After the shield-race, leaving an interval of two days, the contest of the Pergamenes shall start immediately and be finished within the forty days. The Ephesians shall leave an interval of four days from the shield-race in Pergamum and the contest shall be finished on the fortieth day from the beginning (?). Then from there the contestants shall go to the Pythia and the Isthmia that follow the Pythia, and to the Joint Festival of the Achaeans and Arcadians in Mantinea, and then to the Olympia. In this year the Panhellenia take place. The Smyrnaeans shall begin their local Hadrianea from the day before the Nones of January and will hold the festival for forty days. The Ephesians, having left an interval of two days from the shield-race in Smyrna, shall begin their local Olympia, having fifty-two days

for the Olympia themselves and the Balbilleia that follow them. After the Balbilleia come the Panhellenia and the Olympia following the Panhellenia.”

This text is an extract from the second of three letters addressed by the emperor Hadrian to the association of ‘artists of Dionysus’, probably in AD 134. It has come down to us in a Greek inscription carved on a marble plaque that came to light at Alexandria Troas in 2003.<sup>1</sup> These letters are a very good illustration of the central role that the emperor played as chief *editor* with over-arching responsibility for the organization of games and spectacles throughout the entire Roman world or *oikoumene*.<sup>2</sup> They show how he was directly involved in the organization of athletic and cultural contests, which, since the beginning of the principate, had been incorporated into the ceremonies of the imperial cult throughout most of the Greek East and under the direct control of the emperor. They reveal in detail the type of planning and arrangements demanded by the organization of games and spectacles — in particular, in the imperial period, the organization of circuits or *agônes*, athletic and cultural contests in which itinerant professionals participated who were themselves elite athletes and artists.

<sup>1</sup> This important document (89 lines long, preserved almost complete in sixteen fragments) has already been the subject of several studies since its publication by G. PETZL and E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler. Drei in Alexandria Troas neugefundene Briefe des Kaisers an die Künstler-Vereinigung* (Bonn 2006); see, for example, C.P. JONES, “Three Letters of the Emperor Hadrian”, in *ZPE* 161 (2007), 145–156, especially 155–156 (whose translation, with his gracious permission, is re-printed here), W.J. SLATER, “Hadrian’s Letters to the Athletes and Dionysiac Artists Concerning Arrangements for the ‘Circuit’ of Games”, in *JRA* 21 (2008), 610–620, P. GOUW, “Hadrian and the Calendar of Greek Agonistic Festivals” in *ZPE* 165 (2008), 96–104, J.-Y. STRASSER, “Qu’on fouette les concurrents...’ À propos des lettres d’Hadrien retrouvées à Alexandrie de Troade”, in *REG* 123 (2010), 585–622, and J.L. SHEAR, “Hadrian, the Panathenaia, and the Athenian Calendar”, in *ZPE* 180 (2012), 159–172; *AE* 2006, 1403 a-c (with a French translation) and *SEG* 56, 1359.

<sup>2</sup> More generally, R. BEACHAM, “The Emperor as Impresario. Producing the Pageantry of Power”, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. by K. GALINSKY (Cambridge 2005), 151–174.

To understand the importance of this institution, one has to remember that such competitions not only involved athletes in the stadium or performers at the theatre; the cities themselves, and the different sponsors who organized spectacles and contests, were also competing with one another. Spectacles were put on everywhere in the Roman world, not only in Rome and at the provincial capitals or *conventus* centres, but also in more modest communities. In organizing games, magistrates and local worthies assumed their political responsibilities, while simultaneously making a public display of their generosity towards their fellow citizens, who were usually very good at making known their expectations and demonstrating their dissatisfaction or, conversely, expressing their gratitude when the games did not disappoint them. The article by Guy Chamberland in this volume advances our understanding of the difference between required and spontaneous patronage of arena spectacles in the West.

In the case of the contests, it is above all the great cities of Asia, such as Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum, which vied with one another for imperial favor. The city that succeeded in obtaining a favorable response and managed to secure the right to organize games and, especially, set up a sacred contest knew very well how to demonstrate — to cities that were either subject to it or in competition with it, but also to the entire Roman world — proof of the imperial privilege that linked it to Rome and the emperor.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of the Capitolia at Rome by Domitian (mentioned by Hadrian in the letter above), which succeeded Nero's short-lived Neronia and lasted into the fourth century, shows that by the second half of the first

<sup>3</sup> J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 621; in general, A. HELLER, *Les bêtises des Grecs. Conflits et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine* (129 a.C.-235 p.C.) (Bordeaux 2006), especially chapter 5; on the foundation of a circuit of sacred games as a coveted benefit conferred by the emperor, É. GUERBER, *Les cités grecques dans l'Empire romain. Les priviléges et les titres des cités de l'Orient hellénophone d'Octave Auguste à Dioclétien* (Rennes 2009), 215-301. See especially the contributions of Nollé, Van Nijf, and Kokkinia in this volume.

century AD Rome's own participation in the circuit that she had inherited from the Greek world had become an urgent necessity.<sup>4</sup> As is shown by the contribution of Johannes Nollé in this volume, it is in the context of the competitive circuit that coin issues displaying emblems of the games are to be understood.

As Hadrian remarks at the beginning of his second letter, it is precisely at the Sebasta in Naples that the representatives of the associations took advantage of the emperor's presence to present him with their demands both in speech and in writing, a circumstance that, incidentally, put the emperor under stress in a very exposed position.<sup>5</sup> The problematic aspects to which the emperor alludes in his letters give us an idea of the extent of the organization and formalities involved in putting on games. There is the question, for example, of the exemptions and privileges granted to the artists, the contracts for members of the synod, the publicizing of the regulations that were to be followed (an important element when it came to litigation), cheating during the actual events, penalties for infringing the rules, the organization of juries, and the financing of the contests and the distribution of prizes ( $\alpha\thetaλ\alpha$ ) and awards ( $\sigmaυντάξεις$ ) to the victors.

In the second letter, it is the calendar that constitutes the main focus of the emperor's response. This is a fundamental issue for the organization of spectacles and festivals in general.<sup>6</sup> It is all the more decisive when it is a matter of contests constituting a

<sup>4</sup> M.L. CALDELLI, *L'agon Capitolinus. Storia e protagonisti dell'istituzione domiziana al IV secolo* (Roma 1993), with the addendum identified by K.M.D. DUNBAIN, "A Theatrical Device on the Late Roman Stage", in *JRA* 19 (2006), 191-212.

<sup>5</sup> O. HEKSTER, "Captured in the Gaze of Power. Visibility, Games and Roman Imperial Presentation", in *Imaginary Kings. Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, ed. by O. HEKSTER and R. FOWLER (Stuttgart 2005), 157-176.

<sup>6</sup> For the scheduling of arena spectacles at Pompeii, see S.L. TUCK. "Scheduling Spectacle: Factors Contributing to the Dates of Pompeian *munera*", in *CJ* 104 (2008), 123-143 (cf. *Rivista di studi Pompeiani* 19 [2008], 25-34); see p. 271, n. 14.

network, based on a fixed circuit and calendar, that brought together over very long distances all the parties involved — dignitaries, associations of artists, and performers operating independently (athletes, musicians, *praecones*). This is a question discussed in this volume by Onno van Nijf. The organization of the games implied a respect for the calendar, and the calendar in turn had to adapt to different modifications that were put in place, as well as accommodating the creation of new festivals, such as the Aktia at Nicopolis, the Rhômaia at Pergamum, and the Sebasta at Naples, founded under Augustus<sup>7</sup>, or the Balbilleia founded at Ephesus under Vespasian, or the Hadrianeia, Olympeia, and Panhellenia introduced by Hadrian himself<sup>8</sup>.

The other fundamental issue is money. The organization of contests, like that of spectacles in general, required secure funding. This meant that each of the cities within the network had to be able to guarantee its budget.<sup>9</sup> In this letter, Hadrian goes so far as to describe, in detail, how money is to be disbursed to the performers, as illustrated in the following passage, which comes just before the end; at issue is the display of money and wreaths on the tables, where the spectators could see them,<sup>10</sup> as well as the place where they were awarded and distributed to the victors, and how this was to be done:<sup>11</sup>

“Hence what I laid down elsewhere is necessary, that the money be set out beside the crowns in the theater and in the stadium, and that the victor should receive it immediately in the sight of [?]

<sup>7</sup> J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 588-589.

<sup>8</sup> P. GOUW, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 97; J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 604-607.

<sup>9</sup> On the financing of the games circuits, see *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec. Actes du colloque international Saint-Denis et Paris, 5-6 décembre 2008*, éd. par B. LE GUEN (Paris 2010); see also F. CAMIA, “Spending on the *agones*. The Financing of Festivals in the Cities of Roman Greece”, in *Tyche* 26 (2011), 41-76.

<sup>10</sup> See now K.M.D. DUNBABIN, “The Prize Table. Crowns, Wreaths, and Moneybags in Roman Art”, in *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec, op. cit.* (n. 9), 301-345.

<sup>11</sup> C.P. JONES, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 156, translating lines 78-83.

the spectators. The agonothete who does not so award it will be liable for a fine equal to twice the prize-money, in such a way that half is taken by the contestant and half by the city in which the contest is set up."

Questions concerning awards and prizes, as well as other arrangements relating to the city accounts (notably those of Corinth), or to the contracts of the members of the synod, had already come up in Hadrian's first letter, where, referring to the juridical norms established on this subject, he said that the sums allocated to the games by the cities must be set aside strictly and exclusively for their organization, specifying in addition that an eventual subsidy on his part could be envisaged, but only in cases where there was a shortage of provisions and upon submission of a request in writing.<sup>12</sup>

"I order that all the contests be held, and that it not be permitted for a city to divert funds destined for a contest held according to law, decree or will to other expenses, nor do I permit to be used on the construction of a building money from which prizes are offered to contestants or from which contributions are given to victors. If it should ever be urgent that a city find some source of revenue, not for the purpose of luxury and extravagance, but as when I have procured wheat (or: in order to procure wheat) in a time of shortage, then let me be written to."

Hadrian mentions the ban that he had put upon transferring to the construction of buildings the money reserved for the games. The contribution of Christina Kokkinia will shed light upon the tension represented by these alternative types of civic benefaction.

It goes without saying that the financing of spectacles and the concept of euergetism are an important part of the question at the heart of the theme of these Entretiens, and if the declaration of Hadrian in his first letter to the synod is particularly concerned with contests, it can also apply more generally to the financing of the spectacles in their entirety. Our understanding of euergetism has been transformed by the work of

<sup>12</sup> C.P. JONES, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 153, translating lines 8-12; see *infra* p. 107.

Paul Veyne, who sketched a picture, both dense and detailed, in which he chose to privilege a sociological approach to the question of donation, in a very wide perspective that applied to the Greek world as well as the Greco-Roman *oikoumene*.<sup>13</sup> As he himself emphasized, his study was largely inspired by the ideas of Max Weber and the work of Louis Robert, whose study *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, which also deals with hunts and animal combat, had been published a quarter of a century earlier.<sup>14</sup> He was also able to make use of the research of Georges Ville, who had devoted himself to gladiatorial combat in the West, and whose manuscript on this subject, virtually complete when he suffered a fatal motor accident, was seen through the press by Veyne in 1981.<sup>15</sup> The refining, and contesting, of Veyne's theories is on-going into the twenty-first century,<sup>16</sup> and an analysis of the stress on the social fabric that sustained euergetism (an aspect that Veyne largely ignored) is the subject of a recent somewhat controversial publication.<sup>17</sup>

The stimulating effects of Veyne's work are clearly visible in the explosion of bibliography on the question of games and spectacles in the years following the publication of *Le pain et le cirque*, a trend that accelerated, particularly in the anglophone world, after the appearance of the abridged version in English in 1990.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> P. VEYNE, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris 1976).

<sup>14</sup> L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris 1940), especially chapter 4 (pp. 267-307), devoted to the organization of gladiatorial spectacles.

<sup>15</sup> G. VILLE, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à Domitien* (Paris-Rome 1981).

<sup>16</sup> P. GARNSEY, "The Generosity of Veyne," in *JRS* 81 (1991), 164-168; on euergetism, see also *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992*, éd. par M. CHRISTOL et O. MASSON (Paris 1997), and *Bread and Circuses. Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy*, ed. by K. LOMAS and T. CORNELL (London 2003).

<sup>17</sup> A. ZUIDERHOEK, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 2010), with the review by C.P. JONES, "A Model of Euergetism for Asia Minor", in *JRA* 24 (2011), 773-775.

<sup>18</sup> P. VEYNE, *Bread and Circuses. Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*. Abridged edition, translated by B. PEARCE, with an introduction by O. MURRAY (Harmondsworth 1990).

Obviously, in this Introduction we do not intend to put together an exhaustive bibliography of recent publications on spectacle, either general treatments or selective studies devoted to specific categories, the *munera* of the arena (with its gladiatorial shows, beast-fights, staged executions, or aquatic spectacles), the sporting events of the stadium and the diverse contests of *agônes*, the performances in the theatre, or the *ludi circenses*, with their chariot races and grandiose spectacles. We will limit ourselves to underlining the great diversity of analytical approaches and the necessity of having recourse to different types of sources that supply information about numerous aspects of the spectacles and their staging.<sup>19</sup>

Contemporary scholarship is interested, for example, in the range of performers: gladiators and *bestiarii*,<sup>20</sup> actors, mimes, and pantomimes (on which see Ruth Webb's contribution),

<sup>19</sup> For general treatments of the various categories of spectacle, see, for example, K.M. COLEMAN, "Spectacle", in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, ed. by A. BARCHIESI and W. SCHEIDEL (Oxford-New York 2010), 651-670; EAD., "Public Entertainments," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. by M. PEACHIN (Oxford-New York 2011), 335-357; G. MANUWALD, *Roman Republican Theatre* (Cambridge 2011), especially 68-90 on staging, acting, costumes, masks, impresarios, actors, and musicians; G. DAGRON, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris 2011); ID., "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le Livre des cérémonies", in *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance* 13 (Paris 2000), 1-200; Z. NEWBY, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World. Victory and Virtue* (Oxford 2005); J. KÖNIG, *Athletics and Literature in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Literary sources have little to say about gladiators and *bestiarii*, but two relevant works have recently received full-scale commentaries: K.M. COLEMAN, *M. Valerii Martialis liber spectaculorum. Edited with introduction, translation, and commentary* (Oxford 2006); G. KRAPINGER, [Quintilian] *Der Gladiator (Größere Deklamationen, 9)* (Cassino 2007). On the epitaphs of gladiators in Italy: V. HOPE, "Fighting for Identity. The Funerary Commemoration of Italian Gladiators", in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. by A.E. COOLEY (London 2000), 93-113. On the role of gladiators in promoting the imperial cult, especially in the provincial capitals: J. BENNETT, "Gladiators at Ancyra", in *Anatolica* 35 (2009), 1-13. On the fusion between Roman elements in the presentation of gladiators and the heroizing of athletes in the Greek East: C. MANN, "*Um keinen Kranz, um das Leben kämpfen wir!*" *Gladiatoren im Osten des Römischen Reiches und die Frage der Romanisierung* (Berlin 2011).

and the staff in charge of the decor, equipment, and costumes;<sup>21</sup> athletes of all sorts, and the professional associations to which they belonged;<sup>22</sup> charioteers and other performers at the circus (*sparsores, hortatores*), not to mention the musicians, the dancers, and the staff on the track itself, as well as the stagehands, doctors, workmen, or other attendants, and the role of the factions in creating an identity and structure for circus personnel (a topic to which Jean-Paul Thuillier makes a contribution in this volume);<sup>23</sup> and, an essential element of the spectacles, the animals that had to be captured, transported, fed, looked after, trained (in some cases), or simply kept alive until the spectacles took place.<sup>24</sup> The spectators themselves, and their reception of

<sup>21</sup> On theatrical performers: *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. by P. EASTERLING and E. HALL (Cambridge 2002); *Le statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*, éd. par C. HUGONIOT, F. HURLET et S. MILANEZI (Tours 2004); W.J. SLATER, "Mimes and *Mancipes*", in *Phoenix* 59 (2005), 316-323; on décor: V. MALINEAU, "L'iconographie d'un accessoire de mise en scène (II<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> siècles). Problèmes d'interprétation", in *Antiquité tardive* 15 (2007), 113-126, who, however, underlines (p. 125) how seldom the sources mention the support staff in the Roman theatre; R. WEBB, *Demons and Dancers. Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 2008); *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*, ed. by E. HALL and R. WYLES (Oxford 2008); E. CSAPO, *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theater* (Chichester 2010); D. HAMMER, "Roman Spectacle Entertainments and the Technology of Reality", in *Arethusa* 43 (2010), 63-86, especially 69-75.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., O.M. VAN NIJF, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam 1997); J.-Y. STRASSER, "La carrière du pancratiate Markos Aurélios Démōstratos Damas", in *BCH* 127 (2003), 251-299; W. DECKER et J.-P. THUILLIER, *Le sport dans l'Antiquité. Égypte, Grèce et Rome* (Paris 2004), especially 223-246; N.P. MILNER, "Athletics, Army Recruitment and Heroisation. L. Sep. Fl. Flavillianus of Oinoanda", in *Anatolian Studies* 61 (2011), 151-167; on Roman attitudes to Greek athletics: A.J.S. SPAWFORTH, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2012), especially 165-167 (on Augustus).

<sup>23</sup> J. NELIS-CLÉMENT, "Les métiers du cirque, de Rome à Byzance. Entre texte et image", in *CCG* 13 (2002), 265-309; W. DECKER et J.-P. THUILLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), 178-222.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., É. DENIAUX, "L'importation d'animaux d'Afrique à l'époque républicaine et les relations de clientèle", in *L'Africa romana. Atti del XIII convegno di studio, Djerba, 10-13 dicembre 1998*, a cura di M. KHANOSSI, P. RUGGERI e C. VISMARA (Roma 2000), 1299-1307; C. EPPLITT, "The Capture of Animals by the Roman Military", in *Greece and Rome* ser. 2, 48 (2001), 210-222; and

the spectacles (why did they want to watch them in the first place?), have also been the subject of scholarly studies, including the role that they played, not only during the games by delivering acclamations, but also in making their wishes known to the various organizers or *editores*, magistrates or private sponsors, or the emperor.<sup>25</sup>

The relative paucity of our evidence makes it tempting to generalize across time. But the evolution of the institutions representing the general category of 'spectacle' supply both continuities and discontinuities. The first circus games were conceived as having been organized as part of the origins of the city, supplying the context for the rape of the Sabine women which was destined to ensure the survival of the Roman race, and they lasted into the Byzantine period and the ceremonies of the hippodrome in Constantinople, where the acclamations of the cheer-leaders alternated with those of the people celebrating not simply the victorious charioteers but the imperial victory and the eternal victory of Christ. Gladiatorial combat, on the other hand, arose as a funerary celebration, but in the late Republic the funerary context started to become more obviously a pretext for a highly politicized display of personal power, as became evident with the games following Julius Caesar's quadruple triumph in 46 BC, which included a gladiatorial display ostensibly commemorating the death of his daughter Julia some eight years previously. This trend accelerated in the

ID., "The Preparation of Animals for Roman *Spectacula. Vivaria* and their Administration", in *Ludica* 9 (2003), 76-92. The horrific rate of wastage and attrition is demonstrated by M. MACKINNON, "Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheatre Games. New Reconstructions Combining Archaeological, Ancient Textual, Historical and Ethnographic Data", in *Mouseion* ser. 3, 6 (2006), 137-161. The ecological impact of the beast-trade is sketched by D. BOMGARDNER, "The Trade in Wild Beasts for Roman Spectacles: A Green Perspective", in *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992), 161-166.

<sup>25</sup> An innovative study of the spectators at arena spectacles makes use of modern analyses of crowd behavior at sporting events and in other contexts promoting "us vs. them" attitudes: G.G. FAGAN, *The Lure of the Arena. Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (Cambridge 2011).

decades following Caesar's assassination: with the rise to power of Augustus and the institutionalization of the Principate, spectacles tended to cluster around the emperor and the imperial cult, which included members of the imperial family. From now on, celebrations of victories and triumphs were reserved exclusively for the emperor, and could no longer be celebrated by the legates who led their troops in battle. With Augustus, all victories become the emperor's, no matter who wins them; it is the emperor who is greeted with acclamations and celebrates triumphs, in the course of which he offers spectacles, while the general who defeated the enemy at the head of his troops receives, for his part, *ornamenta triumphalia*.<sup>26</sup>

The procession of the Roman triumph has recently attracted a great deal of attention, and although there is no contribution devoted to it in this volume, it must be considered a seminal aspect of spectacle culture at Rome, its cachet all the greater because the celebration of a triumph was not a fixed date in the calendar, but sporadic and unpredictable.<sup>27</sup> The procession itself (*pompa*), however, was only one element in the triumph: the attendant spectacles were concomitantly lavish, and must have strained the imperial infrastructure to the limit. Dio (or,

<sup>26</sup> W. ECK, "Kaiserliche Imperatorenakklamation und *ornamenta triumphalia*", in *ZPE* 124 (1999), 223-227.

<sup>27</sup> S. BENOIST, *Rome, le prince et la Cité. Pouvoir impérial et cérémonies publiques (1<sup>er</sup> siècle av. - début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.)* (Paris 2005); G. SUMI, *Ceremony and Power. Performing Politics in Rome between Republic and Empire* (Ann Arbor 2005); J.-L. BASTIEN, *Le triomphe romain et son utilisation politique à Rome aux trois derniers siècles de la République* (Rome 2007); M. BEARD, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, Mass. 2007); K.-J. HÖLKESKAMP, "Hierarchie und Konsens. *Pompaie* in der politischen Kultur der römischen Republik", in *Machtfragen. Zur kulturellen Repräsentation und Konstruktion von Macht in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, hrsg. von A.H. ARWEILER und B.M. GAULY (Stuttgart 2008), 79-126; Triplici *in uestus triumpho. Der römische Triumph in augusteischer Zeit*, hrsg. von H. KRASSER, D. PAUSCH und I. PETROVIC (Stuttgart 2008); M.R.P. PITTINGER, *Contested Triumphs. Politics, Pageantry, and Performance in Livy's Republican Rome* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 2008); I. ÖSTENBERG, *Staging the World. Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford 2009); P. ARENA, *Feste e Rituali a Roma. Il principe incontra il popolo nel Circo Massimo* (Bari 2010).

more accurately, his epitomator) describes the global reach of Trajan's second triumph over Dacia in AD 107 (68, 15, 1, trans. Ernest Cary):

"Upon Trajan's return to Rome ever so many embassies came to him from various barbarians, including the Indi. And he gave spectacles on one hundred and twenty-three days, in the course of which some eleven thousand animals, both wild and tame, were slain, and ten thousand gladiators fought."

If anything, the epitomator's figures are too low; the total number of gladiators recorded by the *Fasti Ostienses* for the three series of *munera* associated with the triumph is 5,614 pairs, i.e., a total of 11,228 men. The *Fasti* associate the triumph with Trajan's third and final *congiarium*, confirmed by the coin legend *CONGIARIVM TERTIVM* (*BMC* 769), which may have amounted to a handout of 500 *denarii* per person. The logistical challenge in mounting spectacles on this scale, and the drain on the imperial coffers, defies the imagination.

Spectacle buildings have attracted considerable scholarly interest in recent years,<sup>28</sup> and attention has been paid to the location of spectacle buildings in the urban landscape, as much

<sup>28</sup> Recent work on amphitheatres: K.E. WELCH, *The Roman Amphitheatre. From its Origins to the Colosseum* (New York 2007); *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula. A 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Perspective. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> February 2007*, ed. by T. WILMOTT (Oxford 2009). On theatres: P. CIANCIO ROSSETTO e G. PISANI SARTORIO, *Teatri greci e romani alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato* (Roma 1994); F. SEAR, *Roman Theatres. An Architectural Study* (Oxford 2006). On circuses: *Le cirque romain et son image* (Bordeaux 2008), éd. par J. NELIS-CLÉMENT et J.-M. RODDADZ; F. MARCATILLI, *Circo Massimo. Architetture, funzioni, culti, ideologia* (Roma 2009); more generally, S. BELL, "Recent Work on the Roman Circus", in *JRA* 25 (forthcoming in 2012). On venues for athletics: F. RAUSA, "I luoghi dell'agonismo nella Roma imperiale. L'edificio della *Curia Athletarum*", in *MDAI(R)* 111 (2004), 537-554. On *naumachiae*: R. TAYLOR, "Torrent or Trick? The Aqua Alsietina, the Naumachia Augusti, and the Transtiberim", in *AJA* 101 (1997), 465-492; A. BERLAN-BAJARD, *Les spectacles aquatiques romains* (Rome 2006), with the review by K.M. COLEMAN, "Not Waving but Drowning'. Total Immersion in Aquatic Displays", in *JRA* 21 (2008), 458-464. On spectacle structures in Italy, comprising a catalogue and thematic essays, with a separate volume of plates: G. TOSI, *Gli edifici per spettacoli nell'Italia Romana*, 2 vols. (Roma 2003).

in the provinces, where it is important to take account of the status of individual cities, as in Italy and the city of Rome, where centres for the staging of spectacles were promoted as a result of the initiative and policies of individual emperors. Access, accommodation, and amenities for the spectators — *inter alia*, latrines, awnings, and free handouts — have been reconstructed from traditional textual and archaeological sources. Recently, ‘réalité virtuelle’ has helped to refine our impression of how such features as the awning worked, and ingress and egress have also been tested in computer modeling, with some surprising results; getting in and out of the Colosseum was apparently not as stream-lined as scholars have traditionally supposed.<sup>29</sup>

The subject is vast, in that the spectacles permeated every aspect of daily life throughout the Roman world. Just as a medieval city was dominated by its cathedral, so a Roman city was dominated by its theatre, often located in proximity to a sanctuary, and (in the West) its amphitheatre or (in the East) its stadium. The town square would boast statues of local worthies,

<sup>29</sup> General amenities: A. SCOBIE, “Spectator Security and Comfort at Gladiatorial Games”, in *Nikephoros* 1 (1988), 191–243; P. ROSE, “Spectators and Spectator Comfort in Roman Entertainment Buildings. A Study in Functional Design”, in *PBSR* 73 (2005), 99–130. The *locus classicus* for the treatment of seating: E. RAWSON, “Discrimina Ordinum. The Lex Julia theatralis”, in *PBSR* 55 (1987), 83–114, reprinted in EAD., *Roman Culture and Society. Collected Papers* (Oxford 1991), 508–545; see also T. BOLLINGER, Theatralis licentia. *Die Publikumsdemonstrationen an den öffentlichen Spielen im Rom der früheren Kaiserzeit und ihre Bedeutung im politischen Leben* (Winterthur 1969). On the awning: R. GRAEFE, Vela erunt. *Die Zeltdächer der römischen Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen*, 2 vols. (Mainz 1979). On latrines: L. LOMBARDI, “Il sistema idraulico”, in *Il Colosseo*, a cura di A. GABUCCI (Milano 1999), 228–240; M. BUONFIGLIO, “Appunti sui sistemi idraulici del Circo Massimo”, in *Le cirque romain et son image, op. cit.* (n. 28), 30–46. On free handouts: C. BRIAND-PONSART, “Les ‘lancers de cadeaux’ (*missilia*) en Afrique du Nord romaine”, in *Antiquités Africaines* 43 (2007), 79–97. On modeling the awning: PH. FLEURY et S. MADELEINE, “Réalité virtuelle et restitution de la Rome antique du IV<sup>e</sup> s. après J.-C.”, in *Histoire Urbaine* 18 (2007), 157–165; on modeling access to the Colosseum: D. GUTIERREZ et al., “AI and Virtual Crowds. Populating the Colosseum”, in *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 8 (2007), 176–185.

whose qualifications for this honor were advertised on the base; frequently these benefactions included shows sponsored by the deceased. Everyday objects such as lamps were likely to be decorated with theatrical masks or gladiatorial scenes or racing charioteers. The walls of Pompeii are covered with cartoons and slogans scribbled by gladiatorial fans. Magicians who knew the formulae for magic spells were in high demand to compose curses to hobble the horses of the rival circus-faction or render a beast-fighter impotent before his quarry.<sup>30</sup> Upper-class authors made disparaging remarks about the spectacles attended by the masses, even while they attended them themselves, occupying seats of honor near the front. The authors of the books of the New Testament have frequent recourse to athletic imagery to encourage their fledgling Christian flocks; so do the early church fathers.<sup>31</sup>

New *corpora* of sources, or major new archaeological discoveries like the letters of Hadrian, have the capacity to re-shape the field. An updated collection of verse inscriptions from the Greek East contains many epitaphs for performers of all types.<sup>32</sup> An updated collection of Greek epitaphs for gladiators has also recently been compiled, amounting to 198 items.<sup>33</sup> Inscriptions from the West relating to amphitheatre displays are being collected in a major new series, region by region; eight volumes have appeared so far, covering most of mainland Italy, plus Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, France, Spain, Portugal, Britain, and Roman Gaul and Germany.<sup>34</sup> The discovery at Ephesus in the 1990s of the first site to be decisively identified as a gladiatorial graveyard has supplied unique forensic information about details

<sup>30</sup> J. TREMEL, *Magica agonistica. Fluchtafeln in antiken Sport* (Hildesheim 2004).

<sup>31</sup> C.P. JONES, "Imaginary Athletics in Two Followers of John Chrysostom", in *HSPh* 106 (forthcoming).

<sup>32</sup> *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, 5 Bände, hrsg. von R. MERKEL-BACH und J. STAUBER (Stuttgart 1998-2004).

<sup>33</sup> In the appendix to C. MANN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 182-272.

<sup>34</sup> *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* (Roma 1988- ).

such as the gladiatorial diet, or the areas of the body most prone to sustain wounds — and its ability to recover from them.<sup>35</sup> We should expect (or, at least, hope) that similar finds will likewise advance our knowledge in significant increments in the decades to come.

The variety of angles and themes available for treatment (e.g., the religious character and ritual aspect of the games; games as entertainment, as sport, as a mirror of Roman society, as political display, or as an element of the Roman triumph; the violence of the staged executions) reflects the omnipresence of spectacle in the Roman world, in all ranks of society and all aspects of daily life. Literary texts, inscriptions, mosaics, pottery, coins, paintings — all these sources contain tidbits from which we can piece together an idea of what went on at the games. But many details of their organization remain extremely obscure. That was the challenge we put to the participants in the 58th Entretiens: how were the spectacles actually produced, from the initial administrative arrangements to the disposal of the corpses of the animals massacred in the shows? It makes sense to study the sponsorship of spectacles *en bloc*, because of the generic unity among them that makes them distinct from other types of munificence (construction of buildings, endowment of communal meals, etc.).<sup>36</sup> At the same time, the overlap with spectacle-related forms of euergetism in other categories (e.g., the construction of amphitheatres) affords the opportunity for some fruitful contrasts and comparisons.

The articles in this volume consider eight independent aspects of the theme. Johannes Nollé seeks to explain the explosion of agonistic motifs on Greek coins in the Roman era, which in

<sup>35</sup> For a consolidated account, see F. KANZ and K. GROSSSCHMIDT, "Dying in the Arena. The Osseous Evidence from Ephesian Gladiators", in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 211-220.

<sup>36</sup> The model is exemplified in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. by B. BERGMANN and C. KONDOLEON (Washington, D.C. 1999), which includes an even wider range of categories than is offered here, including triumphal processions and the "spectacle of the street".

the Classical and Hellenistic periods had scarcely alluded to *agônes* at all. Drawing on the model of the game theorist, Michael Chwe, Onno van Nijf argues that the athletic festivals of Greek cities under Roman rule may be understood as ‘rational rituals’ that fulfilled a political function through the production of ‘common knowledge’, which was itself the basis of political legitimacy. In investigating why donors chose to give their communities spectacles rather than buildings, or *vice versa*, Christina Kokkinia argues that these choices were determined by strategies of commemoration, as well as by practical, fiscal, and honorific considerations, but that representatives of the Roman state also influenced such decisions by appearing to have endorsed one or the other form of euergetism at different times. Maria Letizia Caldelli brings the topic west by investigating evidence for associations of theatrical artists in the city of Rome in the late Republic, demonstrating that the Campus Martius was a distinctively multicultural area in which imported theatrical traditions flourished down to the age of Augustus.

In the second half of the volume, Jean-Paul Thuillier traces the origins of the circus factions to demonstrate that they grew out of colors associated with the different districts in Rome, and that it was not until the age of Augustus that they came to supply the over-arching organizational structure for chariot-racing, a structure far more pervasive than has hitherto been realized. Starting from the recent demonstration that pantomime was introduced into agonistic festivals in the East in the late second century, Ruth Webb aims to situate this development in a broader chronological context, looking at the evidence for competitive performances of pantomime and mime in earlier and later centuries in both East and West, with a particular focus on the role and significance of theatrical contests in the Late Antique East. In a detailed study of (mainly) epigraphic evidence for the sponsorship of arena spectacles in the Latin West, Guy Chamberland teases out the distinction between donations required by municipal charters, and true (i.e., voluntary) euergetism. Finally, Christopher Jones traces the differing

evolution of gladiatorial combat, *venationes*, horse-racing, mime, and pantomime in both East and West ca. AD 400-600, and weighs the religious, economic, and cultural factors that may have influenced these changes; if the increasing tendency of the emperors to bring spectacle under their control, combined with the increasing expense of mounting the games, causes their decline, the influence of Christianity, he argues, should not be underestimated.

Much remains to be done. For example: was betting as endemic at the amphitheatre as it was at the circus? When visitors flooded into the cities to attend the spectacles, how were they fed and housed? Did attending the spectacles of the amphitheatre brutalize people and make them more violent, or did it have a cathartic and calming effect? The answer to this last question may be more closely linked to the organization of the spectacles than first appears, since it depends in part upon the behavior of the personnel engaged in crowd control, who may have found themselves in circumstances just as threatening in Antiquity as the police who control football fans today, and whose reaction may have fueled the passions of the spectators after the show was over. The logistics of mounting spectacles in the modern world still pose a considerable challenge to the authorities; with far less sophisticated technology at their disposal, the Romans 'kept the show on the road' for nearly a millennium. This volume tries to reveal some of the means by which the fundamental institution of public spectacle was sustained in the Roman world.

Kathleen COLEMAN and Jocelyne NELIS-CLÉMENT



# I

JOHANNES NOLLÉ

## STADTPRÄGUNGEN DES OSTENS UND DIE 'EXPLOSION AGONISTIQUE'

ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU UMFANG, AUSSAGEN UND HINTERGRÜNDEN  
DER PROPAGIERUNG VON AGONEN AUF DEN PRÄGUNGEN DER  
STÄDTE DES GRIECHISCHEN OSTENS\*

### 1. Die 'explosion agonistique' und ihre Bezeugung durch Münzen: Einführung und Fragestellung

Antike Münzen geben Identitäten ihrer Prägcherren — das sind Poleis, Bünde und Herrscher — wieder: Die Bilder und Legenden griechischer und römischer Geldstücke präsentieren ihre Emittenten so, wie sie sich sahen bzw. gesehen werden wollten. Münzen sind somit Primärquellen für zentrale Aspekte

\* Abgekürzt zitiert werden folgende numismatische Standardwerke: *BMC Ionia* = B.V. HEAD, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Ionia* (London 1892); *BMC Lydia* = B.V. HEAD, *Catalogue... Lydia* (London 1902); *BMC Pamph.* = G.F. HILL, *Catalogue... Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* (London 1897); *CNG, ElAuct* = Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auctions; *SNG France 3* = E. LEVANTE – P. WEISS, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum France 3. Cabinet des Médailles. Pamphytie, Pisidie, Lycaonie, Galatie* (Zürich 1994); *SNG Kopenhagen* = *SNG Denmark. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum* (Copenhagen 1942–1965); *SNG PfPs IV* = J. NOLLÉ, *SNG Deutschland. Pfälzer Privatsammlungen IV. Pamphylien* (München 1993); *SNG Switzerland I* = E. LEVANTE – P. WEISS – I. VECCHI, *SNG Switzerland I. Levante – Cilicia* (Berne 1986); *SNG Tübingen* = D. MÄNNSPERGER, *SNG Deutschland. Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Berlin-München 1981–1998); *SNG von Aulock* = *SNG Deutschland. Sammlung Hans von Aulock* (Berlin 1957–1981).

öffentlicher und offizieller Identitäten. Deshalb können antike Münzen einen Blick auf antike Poleis vermitteln, den einzelne Inschriften meist nicht zu liefern vermögen: Oft lassen sich nur aus der Zusammenschau von vielen epigraphischen Texten jene Erkenntnisse über eine antike Stadt gewinnen, die uns eine einzige Münze mit einem skizzenhaften Bild oder einer knappen Legende komprimiert bietet. Andererseits können wir oft nur mit Hilfe von Inschriften und weiteren Zeugnissen — z.B. literarischen Texten und Bildmonumenten — die schlagwortartigen Propagierungen von Münzen genauer verstehen und mit Leben füllen.

Auf das Thema der 58<sup>e</sup> *Entretiens* bezogen sollten antike Münzen gemäß der vorausgehenden Prämissen wesentlich deutlicher als etwa die meisten agonistischen Inschriften zeigen können, welche Rolle das Wettkampfwesen im Selbstverständnis von Städten zu einer bestimmten Zeit spielte (synchrone Betrachtung) und wie sich die agonistische Identität von Poleis bzw. von Inhabern staatlicher Macht im Laufe der Zeit entwickelte bzw. veränderte (diachrone Betrachtung). Deshalb dürfte es anhand von städtischen Münzen des griechischen Ostens gut möglich sein, den von Louis Robert geprägten Begriff der ‘explosion agonistique’ zu hinterfragen. Robert verstand darunter folgendes: “Sous l’Empire, ce fut une prolifération de nouveaux concours. La paix augustéenne s’étendit partout et, pour la plupart des provinces grecques, elle se prolongea fort avant dans le III<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ce fut une explosion agonistique”. Seiner Meinung nach spielten unter den Zeugnissen für die ‘explosion agonistique’ die Münzen eine signifikante Rolle: “La documentation se gonfle aussi, à partir d’un moment, par les monnaies avec noms de fête et symboles du concours et de ses récompenses”.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. ROBERT, “Discours d’ouverture”, in *Πρακτικά των Η’ διεθνούς συνεδρίου Ελληνικής και Αιτωλικής επιγραφικής. Αθήνα, 3-9 Οκτωβρίου 1982, Τόμος Α'* (Athena 1984), 35-45, bes. 38 = *Opera Minora Selecta*, VI (Amsterdam 1989), 709-719, bes. 712. Seinen Vorstellungen sind die meisten Gelehrten gefolgt, z.B. D.O.A. KLOSE – G. STUMPF, *Sport, Spiele, Sieg. Münzen und Gemmen der*

Wenn der Augusteische Friede tatsächlich zum Entstehen zahlreicher neuer Agone geführt hat, so sollte die ‘explosion agonistique’ in der Zeit zwischen dem Prinzipat des Augustus und der Herrschaft des Antoninus Pius ihren Höhepunkt erreicht haben, als die Kerngebiete des Reiches überhaupt nicht und die Randgebiete kaum von kriegerischen Ereignissen betroffen wurden. In dieser Zeit müssten, wenn die städtischen Münzen eine solche Entwicklung der städtischen Agonistik exakt reflektierten, die meisten lokalen Geldstücke mit agonistischer Thematik emittiert worden sein.

Grundsätzlich ist jedoch die Frage zu stellen, wie verbreitet eine solche, von Robert konstatierte explosionsartige Häufung von kaiserzeitlichen Münzen mit agonistischen Bezügen in den einzelnen Städten war und ob tatsächlich eine Mehrzahl von Gemeinden agonistische Münzen prägte. Schließlich ist zu untersuchen, ob sich den Bildern und Legenden dieser Prägungen tatsächlich entnehmen lässt, dass die Agonistik einen ganz neuen Stellenwert im Leben der städtischen Gemeinden gewonnen hatte und als neue Identität propagiert wurde oder ob mit der Emission von Münzen mit agonistischer Thematik etwas anderes herausgestellt werden sollte.

Ich werde, wie diese Fragen zeigen, in diesem Beitrag zunächst zu untersuchen haben, ob Quantität und Qualität der vorhandenen numismatischen Zeugnisse überhaupt eine Grundlage für das Konstatieren einer monetären ‘explosion agonistique’ im Sinne Roberts bieten, um in einem zweiten Schritt die Frage nach der genauen Aussage von Münzen mit agonistischen Themen zu stellen. Bei dieser Untersuchung geht es folglich nicht darum, einzelne ikonographische Aspekte der Münzprägung zu behandeln, was bereits oft genug geschehen ist, sondern danach zu fragen, was die während der Kaiserzeit geprägten Lokalmünzen agonistischer Thematik zu unserem

*Antike* (München 1996), 96; O. VAN NIJF, “Local Heroes. Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East”, in *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic, and the Development of Empire*, ed. by S. GOLDHILL (Cambridge 2001), 306-334, bes. 310.

Wissen über den Stellenwert der Agonistik in den Städten des Ostens und deren Umgang mit dem Phänomen Agonistik beitragen können.

## 2. Münzen mit agonistischen Darstellungen vor der ‘explosion agonistique’

### 2.1. Griechische Münzen der Klassik und des Hellenismus mit agonistischen Themen

Griechische Agonistik wird fast ausschließlich auf Stadtprägungen des griechischen Ostens während der Kaiserzeit thematisiert, was auf den ersten Blick für die Richtigkeit von Roberts These von einer ‘explosion agonistique’ spricht. Eine Ausnahme bildet lediglich die Münzprägung des 5. Jh. v. Chr. in der Magna Graecia. Die Tetradrachmen vieler Städte Siziliens und Unteritaliens zeigen Gespanne. Das Aufkommen dieses Münztypus — darin sind die Altertumswissenschaftler einig<sup>2</sup> — geht auf die Siege sikeliotischer Tyrannen in hippischen Agonen zurück. Die Aristokraten Westgriechenlands waren stolz auf ihre Pferdezuchten<sup>3</sup> und auf die darauf gründenden Erfolge bei hippischen Wettkämpfen im griechischen Mutterland, besonders in Olympia. Mit Siegen in diesen Wettkämpfen konnten die sikeliotischen Adelsherren ihre Macht, ihren Reichtum<sup>4</sup> und ihre Tüchtigkeit propagieren. Siege bei den panhellenischen

<sup>2</sup> E. BOEHRINGER, *Die Münzen von Syrakus* (Berlin-Leipzig 1929), 95; C.M. KRAAY, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London-Berkeley 1976), 209; S. VON REDEN, “Money, Law and Exchange. Coinage in the Greek Polis”, in *JHS* 117 (1997), 154-176, bes. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Nicht ohne Grund bezeichnet BAKCHYLIDES in seiner Epinikie auf Hieron für dessen olympischen Sieg mit dem Rennpferd im Jahre 476 (V 1 f.) die Syrakusaner als *ἱπποδίνητοι*, als “Leute, die die Pferde wirbeln machen”; zu der aktiven Bedeutung dieses Epithetons vgl. H. MAEHLER, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides*. I (Leiden 1982), 85 f.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. etwa C.P. JONES, “A Leading Family of Roman Thesiae”, in *HSPh* 74 (1970), 223-255, bes. 242: “Then, as now, a stable of successful horses was an infallible sign of wealth”.

Spielen hoben die Tyrannen, die in einem komplizierten und oftmals prekären Verhältnis zu den Verfassungen und Bürgern der von ihnen beherrschten Städte standen, so aus der Masse heraus, dass sie durch ihre auf diese Weise unter Beweis gestellte *Arete* die Möglichkeit gewannen, auf den Münzen ihrer Heimatstädte mittelbar präsent zu werden.

Ausdrücklich bezeugt ist das für die Prägung jener Tetradrachme von Rhegion, die auf der Vorderseite ein Maultiergespann zeigt, auf der Rückseite aber einen Hasen abbildet (Abb. 1.1).<sup>5</sup> Sie soll an den Sieg des Tyrannen Anaxilas (494–476) von Rhegion in Olympia im Jahre 484, 480 oder 476 erinnern. Im Lexikon des Pollux, das Aristoteles zitiert, steht nämlich: καὶ μὴν Ἀναξίλας ὁ Ρηγῖνος οὐσῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, τῆς Σικελίας τέως ἀγόνου λαγῶν, ὁ δ' εἰσαγαγών τε καὶ θρέψας, δύμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ολύμπια νικήσας ἀπήνη, τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Ρηγίνων ἐνετύπωσεν ἀπήνην καὶ λαγῶν.<sup>6</sup> Aus der *Rhetorik* des Aristoteles erfahren wir, dass Anaxilas nicht nur diese Münze auf seinen Sieg prägen ließ, sondern auch Simonides — allerdings nur gegen eine größere Zahlung — dafür gewann, eine Epinikie auf diesen Sieg zu verfassen: καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ ὁ νικήσας τοῖς ὄρεῦσιν, οὐκ ἤθελε ποιεῖν, ὡς δυσχεραίνων εἰς ἡμιόνους ποιεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἵκανὸν ἔδωκεν, ἐποίησε· “χαίρετ’ ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων”, καίτοι καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν.<sup>7</sup> Herakleides Lembos, der einen Auszug aus den ‘Staatsverfassungen’ des Aristoteles fertigte, steuert schließlich noch die Information bei, dass Anaxilas den

<sup>5</sup> Vs. Maultiergespann nach rechts, im Abschnitt Lorbeerblatt. — Rs. ΡΕΓΙΝΟΝ; Hase nach rechts laufend (E. BABELON, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines II 1* [Paris 1907], 1474 f. Nr. 2193–2199; M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO, *La monetazione di Messana con le emissioni di Rhegion dell’età della tirannide* [Berlin 1993], 343–353; P.R. FRANKE — M. HIRMER, *Die griechische Münze* [München 1964], Tf. 98; N.K. RUTTER, *Historia Numorum. Italy* [London 2001], 187 f. Nr. 2472/Tetradrachme, Nr. 2473–2474/Drachme, Nr. 2475/Litra, Nr. 2476/Hexas); Auktion UBS Gold & Numismatics 59, 2004, Nr. 4070 (= Abb. 1.1).

<sup>6</sup> ARIST. fr. 578 R (bei POLLUX V 15).

<sup>7</sup> ARIST. *Rhet.* 3, 2 (1405 b 23). Vgl. dazu J.H. MOLYNEUX, *Simonides. A Historical Study* (Wauconda Ill. 1992), 212 ff.

Sieg mit einer aufwendigen Bewirtung der in Olympia versammelten Griechen feierte. Der dort errungene Sieg war für den Tyrannen offensichtlich von größter Wichtigkeit; die Münze, die daran erinnert, ist zweifellos ein zentraler Aspekt seiner herrscherlichen Selbstdarstellung. Die Prägung dieser agonistischen Münze war so ungewöhnlich, dass dieses Münzbild einen markanten Nachhall in der antiken Literatur gefunden hat,<sup>8</sup> schon die Zeitgenossen über die Eitelkeit des Anaxilas spotteten<sup>9</sup> und Gelehrte unserer Zeit nicht dem Zeugnis des Aristoteles vertrauen und der Münze ganz oder teilweise ihren agonistischen Hintergrund bestreiten wollen.<sup>10</sup>

Neben diesen Münzen, die mit Bildern von Gespannen, die oft von einer Nike bekränzt werden, die Siege sikeliotischer Tyrannen in panhellenischen Agonen evozieren, gibt es mindestens eine Münzemission, die speziell für die materielle Belohnung der Sieger geprägt wurde. Bei einem Fest zu Ehren des Flussgottes Acheloos<sup>11</sup> wurde auf Kosten von dessen Heiligtum um ca. 440/430 v. Chr. in Metapont eine Festmünze geprägt,

<sup>8</sup> M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO, *op. cit.* (Anm. 5), 32 bezeichnet dieses Phänomen als “una delle rarissime testimonianze letterarie pervenute a giustificazione dell’uso di una tipologia monetale”.

<sup>9</sup> HERACLID. LEMB. *Excerpta politiarum* 25, 5 (*FGH* II 219): ἐτυράννησε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀναξίλας Μεσσήνιος, καὶ νικήσας Ὁλύμπια ἡμίονος είστασε τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἐπέσκωψεν εἰπών· οὗτος τί δὲ ἐποίει νικήσας ἵπποις; ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐπινίκιον Σιμωνίδης· (fr. 19 Diehl 3) “χαίρετ’ ἀελοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων” {ἐγένοντο}.

<sup>10</sup> Insbesondere M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO, *op. cit.* (Anm. 5), 33-40, deren Kommentare zu dieser Münze — nach der das Maultiergespann den *hieros gamos* repräsentiere und der Hase (Das griechische Wort ὁ λαγώς ist nicht weiblich wie italienisch ‘la lepre’, was Caltabiano aus den Augen verloren hat!) eine Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin, die die Partnerin des göttlichen Wagenlenkers sei — mich nicht überzeugen.

<sup>11</sup> In der Forschung ist die Identifikation des Acheloos umstritten: Handelt es sich um einen Kult des griechischen Flussgottes Acheloos, der aufgrund mythischer Verwandtschaften (L. LACROIX, *Monnaies et colonisation dans l’Occident grec* [Bruxelles 1965], 82; H.P. ISLER, *Acheloos. Eine Monographie* [Bern 1970], 87) auch in Metapont verehrt wurde, oder um den Kult eines metapontischen Flussgottes (so etwa G. GIANNELLI, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia* [Firenze 1963], 77), der — möglicherweise in Rückbesinnung auf die Heimat der Kolonisten — Acheloos genannt worden war.

die auf der Vorderseite die für die Stadt so typische Gerstenähre zeigt, auf der Rückseite den menschengestaltigen Flussgott Acheloos mit Stierhörnern und -ohren (Abb. 1.2). Die Legende lautet ΑΕΘΛΑΝ ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ, d.h. "Preis(geld) des Acheloos"<sup>12</sup> und besagt, dass diese Münzen Preise sind, die vom Heiligtum des Acheloos ausgesetzt worden waren. Es handelt sich also um 'Tempalgeld'. Möglicherweise waren auch jene Dekadrachmen von Syrakus, die um die Wende vom 5. zum 4. Jh. v. Chr. in Syrakus geprägt wurden, die im Abschnitt eine Panhodie abbilden und zuweilen darunter die Legende ΑΘΛΑ tragen (Abb. 1.3),<sup>13</sup> ebenfalls Geschenke für Sieger in Wettkämpfen. Diese frühen Preisgeld-Münzen weisen aber keine besondere agonistische Ikonographie auf.

Die Ringer auf der Vorderseite der weitverbreiteten Statere von Aspendos (zwischen ca. 420 und 300 v. Chr. geprägt), Selge und Etenna reflektieren meiner Meinung nach einen uns noch unbekannten Gründungsmythos dieser pamphylianischen Stadt (und auch ihrer beiden pisidischen Nachbarstädte Selge und Etenna), möglicherweise den Ringkampf eines griechischen Heroen mit einem Einheimischen (Heros Aspendos?)<sup>14</sup> — wie er uns etwa auch für die Stadt Eryx auf

<sup>12</sup> Vs. Gerstenähre, links im Feld Heuschrecke, rechts im Feld META. — Rs. ΑΕΘΛΑΝ ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ; menschengestaltiger Flussgott Acheloos mit Stierhörnern und -ohren, nackt bis auf ein umgelegtes Mäntelchen in Vorderansicht, in der ausgestreckten Rechten Patera, in der Linken Schilstängel haltend (S.P. NOE, *The Coinage of Metapontum 1-2* [New York 1927-1931, 2<sup>1984</sup>], 70 Nr. 311 und 311½ (= Abb. 1.2); P.R. FRANKE — M. HIRMER, *op. cit.* [Anm. 5], Nr. 82; N.K. RUTTER, *op. cit.* [Anm. 5], 132 Nr. 1491). Zur Preisgeldfunktion dieser Münze vgl. M. MAYER, *RE*, XV. 2, 1932, s.v. Metapontum, 1326-1367, bes. 1351.

<sup>13</sup> Für diese Münzen vgl. z.B. E.S.G. ROBINSON, *A Catalogue of the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection of Greek Coins I* (Lisbon 1971), 104-106 Nr. 310-317 und das schöne Exemplar Auktion NAC 48, 21. Oktober 2008, Nr. 52 (= Abb. 1.3); dazu die ausführliche Diskussion von W. FISCHER-BOSSELT, "ΑΘΛΑ", in *AA* 1992, 39-60.

<sup>14</sup> Für Aspendos vgl. O. TEKIN, "Aspendian 'Wrestlers': an Iconographic Approach", in *Mécanismes et innovations monétaires dans l'Anatolie achéménide. Numismatique et histoire. Actes de la Table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 22-23 mai 1997*, éd. par O. CASABONNE (Beyoğlu-Istanbul 2000), 159-169, der die

Sizilien für Herakles und den eponymen Gründerheros Eryx belegt ist —, während auf der Rückseite der Eponym Aspendos als Schleuderer dargestellt ist.<sup>15</sup> Schon eine frühere Serie von aspendischen Münzen war auf einen Mythos bezogen, nämlich auf den von der Gründung durch Mopsos.<sup>16</sup> Interessant ist, dass für die Wiedergabe der beiden mythischen Ringer die aspendischen Stempelschneider ganz unterschiedliche Griffe des Ringens bzw. verschiedene Szenerien des Kampfes zur Darstellung brachten,<sup>17</sup> was darauf schließen lässt, dass Ringer im Aspendos des ausgehenden 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. ein wohl eingeführter Sport war: So stehen auf den meisten Münzen die Ringer sich einfach gegenüber und haben sich an den Armen gepackt; auf anderen versucht einer von ihnen, den Gegner mit Hilfe seines gestreckten Beins zu Fall zu bringen; ein wieder anderer Typus zeigt, wie ein Ringer seinen Gegner zu umklammern versucht und dabei sein angezogenes Bein gegen ihn drückt (Abb. 1.4a-c).<sup>18</sup> Ein unmittelbarer Zusammenhang dieser über viele Jahrzehnte geprägten aspendischen Silberstatere mit Festen oder einem Agon der Stadt Aspendos ist aber nicht festzustellen; dagegen sprechen vor allem die kontinuierlichen, d.h. nicht ereignisbezogenen Emissionen dieses Typus.

Darstellung der Ringer für agonistisch hält (insbes. 159: “The types are agonistic”) und J.D. GRAINGER, *The Cities of Pamphyllia* (Oxford-Oakville 2009), 58 f., der die Münzen als Beleg für einen griechischen Agon in Aspendos hernimmt, dessen Argumentation aber von Missverständnissen und Irrtümern strotzt; für Selge C. BRIXHE, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire* (Paris 1976), 288 ff.; für Etenna s. die Belege bei H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens II* (Tübingen 1979), 75 Nr. 399 f. und dazu J. NOLLÉ, “Zur Geschichte der Stadt Etenna in Pisidiens”, in *Forschungen in Pisidiens*, hrsg. von E. SCHWERTHEIM (Bonn 1992), 61-141, bes. 75.

<sup>15</sup> HDT. 5, 43; DIOD. SIC. 4, 23, 2-3; PAUS. 3, 16, 4 f.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 11-12 (Paris 1960), 177-188: Monnaies et divinités d’Aspendos; J. NOLLÉ, *Die Abwehr der wilden Schweine. Schwarzwildjagden im antiken Lykien* (München 2001), 49 mit 78 Anm. 231.

<sup>17</sup> O. TEKIN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 14), 159: “These staters, which seemingly display only a pair of wrestling figures at first sight, in fact describe 16 different positions”.

<sup>18</sup> Für diese drei Typen vgl. z.B. *SNG von Aulock* Nr. 4529, 4531 und 4538 (= Abb. 1.4a-c).

Die mit Boxerriemen (*caestus*) umwickelten Hände auf Bronzemünzen des 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. von Smyrna haben ebenfalls nichts mit dem aktuellen Agonbetrieb zu tun (Abb. 1.5).<sup>19</sup> Sie weisen wie die gleichzeitigen Homerprägungen Smyrnas auf einen *prōtos heuretēs* der Stadt Smyrna hin, nämlich auf den smyrnäischen Olympioniken Onomastos. Dieser gewann als erster den Wettbewerb des Boxens, als bei der 23. Olympiade im Jahre 688 v. Chr. diese Disziplin in Olympia eingeführt wurde. Der sagenhafte Athlet galt der Nachwelt als der Erfinder der Regeln dieses Sports.<sup>20</sup> Onomastos war anscheinend so real, wie es Homer war, doch war Smyrna durch Onomastos das geworden, was bereits Pindar an Kyrene röhmt: *κλεινάν τ' ἀέθλοις, berühmt durch seine Wettkämpfe.*<sup>21</sup> Wie wenig dieses Münzbild mit den damals ausgetragenen Agonen Smyrnas zu tun hatte, ergibt sich daraus, dass die Smyrnäer diesen Münztypus über viele Jahre unter der Aufsicht verschiedener Beamten prägten.

## 2.2. Agonistische Darstellungen auf Stadtprägungen der Frühen und Hohen Kaiserzeit

Auch in der römischen Kaiserzeit kamen Prägungen, die mit aktuell ausgetragenen sportlichen und musischen Wettkämpfen zu tun hatten, nicht schlagartig auf, sondern es benötigte

<sup>19</sup> Vs. Kopf des Apollon nach rechts. — Rs. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ; zwei Hände in Boxhandschuhen, ein oder zwei Palmwedel (Namen von Prägeaufsehern); vgl. z.B. BMC *Ionia*, 242 f. Nr. 47-64; SNG *Kopenhagen, Ionia* Nr. 1166-1167 und Nr. 1216-1222; SNG von *Aulock* Nr. 2171; SNG *Tübingen* Nr. 3182-3184; *Auktion Künker* 133, 2007, Nr. 7592 (= Abb. 1.5).

<sup>20</sup> PAUS. 5, 7, 7 und dazu G. DOBLHOFER — P. MAURITSCH, *Quellendokumentation zur Gymnastik und Agistik im Altertum. 4. Boxen* (Wien-Köln-Weimar 1995), 130; τρίτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῇ ἀθλα ἀπέδοσαν. 'Ονόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελούσῃς ἡδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἰωνας; EUS. *Chron.* (Schöne I 195 f.): προσετέθη πυγμὴ καὶ Ὁνόμαστος Σμυρναῖος ἐνίκα, δὲ καὶ τῇ πυγμῇ νόμους θέμενος; IULIUS AFRIC. zur 23. Olympiade: προσετέθη πυγμὴ καὶ Ὁνόμαστος Σμυρναῖος ἐνίκα, δὲ καὶ τῇ πυγμῇ νόμους θέμενος.

<sup>21</sup> PIND. *Pyth.* I, 70; vgl. A. KÖHNKEN, "Meilichos orga". Liebesthematik und aktueller Sieg in der neunten pythischen Ode Pindars", in *Pindare. Huit exposés suivis de discussions* (Vandœuvres-Genève 1985), 71-116, bes. 96.

geraume Zeit, bis sie in einigen Städten eine gewisse Häufigkeit gewannen. Im 1. Jh. n. Chr. waren sie noch äußerst selten. Erst mit Hadrian sind einige agonistische Darstellungen auf städtischen Münzen fassbar, was zweifellos die Urbanisierungs-, Monetarisierungs- und Hellenisierungspolitik<sup>22</sup> dieses Kaisers reflektiert: Unter diesem Kaiser gab es Stadtgründungen, er regte zahlreiche Poleis dazu an, städtisches Wechselgeld zu prägen, auf dem ihr Name stand, und er förderte auch die Agistik, die dazu beitragen konnte, seine Hellenisierungsbestrebungen attraktiv und populär zu machen.<sup>23</sup> *In omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit*, schreibt sein Biograph in der Sammlung der Historia Augusta.<sup>24</sup>

Hadrians Förderung der Agistik fand keine Fortsetzung in der Politik seines Nachfolgers. Antoninus Pius lobte in einem Brief an die Stadt Ephesos den ephesischen Honoratioren Vedius Antoninus ausdrücklich dafür, dass er Ephesos mit Bauwerken ausgestattet hatte und das Geld nicht für Unterhaltungsveranstaltungen und Spiele ausgegeben hatte. Insofern muss man sich nicht wundern, dass auch die Ansätze zu einer verstärkten Prägung von agonistischen Themen zunächst keine Fortsetzung erfuhren.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. R. ZIEGLER, *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik. Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Düsseldorf 1985), 9 und 67. T. SPAWFORTH, “Kapetôleia Olympia”. Roman Emperors and Greek *Agônes*”, in *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals. From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, ed. by S. HORNBLOWER and C. MORGAN (Oxford 2007), 377-390, bes. 379.

<sup>23</sup> S. MITCHELL, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor I. The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule* (Oxford 1993), 221; M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton 2000), 99.

<sup>24</sup> HIST. AUG., *Hadr.* 19, 2. Vgl. dazu J. FÜNDLING, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta II* (Bonn 2006), 875 f.

<sup>25</sup> IK-Ephesos 1491, in der der Kaiser beklagt, dass die meisten Honoratioren ihr Geld zur Gewinnung der Bürgergunst nicht zur Verschönerung der Städte, sondern für Schauveranstaltungen, Verteilungen und die Etablierung von Agonen ausgaben; allerdings ist die die Agone betreffende Partie ergänzt: οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρῆμ[α εὐδοκιμ]εῖν χά[ρι]οιν εἰς θέα[ς καὶ διανομὰς καὶ τὰ τῶ[ν ἀγώνων θέματα δαπαν]ῶ[σιν] | [τὴ]ν φι[λοτιμ]ίαν; dazu M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 98 f.

Auch in der Zeit des Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus kam es nicht zu einem bemerkenswerten Anwachsen agonistischer Prägungen. Die Phase ihrer gemeinsamen Herrschaft wurde durch den triumphalen Feldzug gegen die Parther bestimmt, der in der städtischen Münzprägung reichlich Resonanz fand. Später, insbesondere in der Zeit der Alleinherrschaft des Marc Aurel, wurde das Reich von einer schweren Seuche, Einbrüchen von germanischen Stämmen an der Donaufront und einer Usurpation erschüttert, so dass es für diesen Kaiser wichtigere Dinge als die Privilegierung von Agonen gab.

### 3. Eine monetäre ‘explosion agonistique’ in der Zeit von 180 bis 268 n. Chr.?

Auf den ersten Blick könnte man versucht sein, für die Zeit von Kaiser Commodus bis hin zum Ende der Regierung des Kaisers Gallienus von einer ‘explosion agonistique’ zu sprechen. In dieser Phase der fortgeschrittenen Kaiserzeit sind die meisten jener Münzen, die sich auf aktuelles agonistisches Geschehen beziehen, geprägt worden. Die numismatischen Zeugnisse für die in zahlreichen Städten ausgetragenen Agone gewannen wie die Inschriften einen solchen Umfang, dass sie bisher nicht corpusmäßig zusammengestellt werden konnten.

Mit der Regentschaft des Kaisers Commodus begannen die bis dahin nur sporadisch auftauchenden agonistischen Prägungen häufiger zu werden. Ein erster Gipfelpunkt wurde allerdings erst in der Severerzeit erreicht. Die Dynastie der Severer förderte das Festwesen überall im Reich, besonders aber in jenen Regionen, die von strategischer Bedeutung waren. Es waren meist keine neuen Agone, die von den Severern geschaffen wurden, vielmehr waren es traditionelle Wettkämpfe der Städte, die teilweise wiederbelebt — das gilt insbesondere für die Kommodia —, teilweise aber rangmäßig erhöht wurden, indem sie reichlich mit neuen Privilegien ausgestattet und die Mitglieder des neuen Kaiserhauses in ihre Austragung einbezogen wurden:

So wurden bald wieder Kommodeia für den angeblichen kaiserlichen Ahn der Dynastie veranstaltet, Severeria für den neuen Dynastiegründer, Antonineia für seinen ältesten Sohn und die Philadelpheia Severeria für die Eintracht der beiden sich hassen den Söhne des Septimius Severus.<sup>26</sup> Alte Agone, die schon in den Tagen des Kaisers Augustus gegründet worden waren, bis dahin aber noch nie auf Münzen propagiert worden waren, wurden damals monetär thematisiert.<sup>27</sup>

Agonistische Prägungen wurden von den Städten des Ostens auch unter den vielen Kaisern, die den Severern nachfolgten, in großer Zahl ausgebracht. Ein weiterer agonistischer Höhepunkt in der Münzprägung wurde unter Gordian III. erreicht. Die Begeisterung des Ostens für den jungen kleinasiatischen Kaiser und seine Gattin und im Wechsel sein Philhellenismus und seine großzügige Privilegierungspolitik führten zur Rang erhöhung vieler Agone. Die von den beiden Araberkaisern begangene 1000-Jahr-Feier Roms löste anscheinend im gesamten Reich eine Feststimmung aus, die zu besonders illustren Austragungen der Agone führte. Anscheinend reflektiert ein Teil der Münzmissionen dieser Zeit mit agonistischer Thematik diese Atmosphäre.<sup>28</sup>

Den letzten Gipfelpunkt erreichte die ‘explosion agonistique’ in der Zeit der Samtherrschaft der Kaiser Valerian und Gallien. Überall im Osten wurden Agone privilegiert. Davon

<sup>26</sup> L. ROBERT, “Deux concours grecs à Rome”, in *CRAI* 114 (1970), 6-27, bes. 23 f. mit Anm. 3 = *Opera Minora Selecta*, V (Amsterdam 1989), 647-668, bes. 664 f.; S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 221; W. LESCHHORN, “Die Verbreitung von Agonen in den östlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches”, in *Stadion* 24 (1998), 31-57, bes. 36.

<sup>27</sup> Z.B. die Sebasta Homobomia von Kadoi in Phrygien, die zu Ehren von Augustus und der Livia gegründet worden waren, aber erst unter Elagabal auf Münzen erwähnt werden, vgl. dazu J. NOLLÉ, “Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Münzkunde und Geschichte 11: Von Kadois Mythen und Geschichte. Einblicke in ethnische Strukturen und Mentalitäten des mysisch-phrygisch-lydischen Grenzraums”, in *Gephyra*, im Druck.

<sup>28</sup> Die Förderung von Agonen durch die Philippi ist nur schwer einzuschätzen, vgl. CH. WALLNER, *Soldatenkaiser und Sport* (Frankfurt am Main etc. 1997), 115.

zeugen die vielen Spiele, in deren Titulatur zu dieser Zeit die Namen der beiden Kaiser aufgenommen wurden. Valerianeia und Gallieneia bzw. Valerianeia Gallieneia oder auch Augusta schossen wie Pilze im Herbst aus dem Boden.<sup>29</sup> Es ist schon seit langem richtig erkannt worden, dass Valerian und Gallien auf dem Höhepunkt der Reichskrise äußerst großzügig agonistische Privilegien verteilt haben, um die Bevölkerung des Reiches von der trüben Alltagssituation abzulenken und auch das Bekenntnis zu den Kaisern und den alten Göttern zu stärken.<sup>30</sup> Die Privilegierung städtischer Spiele war vor allem der Dank für jene griechischen Poleis, die den Kaiser und seine Soldaten beim Abwehrkampf der an allen Fronten das Reich bedrohenden Feinde unterstützten.

Doch deutete schon so manches darauf hin, dass es tatsächlich Herbst geworden war: Münzen, mit denen die Städte die Gewinnung dieser Spiele feierten, sind in sehr großer Zahl auf uns gekommen. Sie sind offenbar schnell und lieblos gemünzt und zeigen sehr oft stilistisch bereits den Niedergang der Stempelschneidekunst. Oft sind sie mit schlechtem Metall, voll von Blei- und Zinknestern, geprägt.<sup>31</sup> Bei einem zweiten, genaueren Blick stellt sich heraus, dass es wenig zu feiern gab, und die religiöse, ökonomisch-soziale und politische Grundlage für kostspielige Agonfeiern und für die Inschriften und Münzen, die die Erinnerung an sie wachhielten, immer mehr dahingeschwunden

<sup>29</sup> S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 224; W. LESCHHORN, *art. cit.* (Anm. 26), 39; CH. WALLNER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 28), 164; R. ZIEGLER, "Die Agonistik in Kleinasiens des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. — Religiöse, kulturelle und politische Bedeutung", in *Geschehen und Gedächtnis. Die hellenistische Welt und ihre Wirkung. Festschrift für W. Orth zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von J.-F. ECKHOLDT, M. SIGISMUND und S. SIGISMUND (Berlin 2009), 203–225, bes. 216.

<sup>30</sup> Z.B. S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 224; W. LESCHHORN, *art. cit.* (Anm. 26), 39.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. J. NOLLE, "Bronzene Reflexe einer Krise. Das städtische Münzwesen Kleinasiens als Indikator von Phänomenen der Reichskrise des 3. Jahrhunderts und von zeitgenössischem Krisenempfinden", in *Deleto paene imperio Romano. Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, hrsg. von K.-P. JOHNE, TH. GERHARDT und U. HARTMANN (Stuttgart 2006), 271–287.

war. Die starke Ausbreitung des Christentums in vielen Gebieten des Ostens stellte zunehmend die mit heidnischen Götterfesten oder dem Kaiserkult verbundenen Agone in Frage. Viele Honoratioren hatten aufgrund der Geldentwertung und der immer stärkeren Belastung ihrer Vermögen durch staatliche Abgabenforderungen ihren Reichtum und damit ihre Stellung in den Städten eingebüßt; sie konnten weder geldverschlingende Austragungen der Agone finanzieren noch den Siegern kostspielige Bronzestatuen aufstellen, deren Inschriften bis dahin nachhaltig den Eindruck einer ‘explosion agonistique’ gefördert hatten. Die römischen Kaiser verloren angesichts vieler Rückschläge und der aus der Not geborenen Zwangsmaßnahmen bei der Bevölkerung immer mehr von dem Charisma, das sie zuvor besessen hatten. Zunehmend weniger waren die Kaiser bemüht, die Gunst der Bevölkerung durch Euergetismus zu gewinnen. Der Staat ging dazu über, mit Verordnungen zu regieren; schon wenige Jahrzehnte später verzichtete er darauf, der Bevölkerung seine Politik mit immer neuen Münzbildern der Reichswährung zu erklären und monetär für sie zu werben. So wundert es nicht, dass nach 268 n. Chr. die ‘explosion agonistique’ wie eine richtige Explosion auf einen Schlag nicht mehr fassbar ist: Seit dieser Zeit gibt es nur noch wenige Inschriften und Münzen, die die Austragung von Agonen reflektieren.

#### 4. Zeitliche und zahlenmäßige Aspekte der monetären ‘explosion agonistique’

In der Kaiserzeit prägten im griechischen Osten (Pontosgebiet und Balkan, griechisches Mutterland, Kleinasien, Levante und Ägypten) von Augustus (27 v. Chr.) bis hin zu Kaiser Tacitus (276 n. Chr.) ca. 530 Städte eigene Münzen. Von diesen Städten emittierten um die 100 Poleis Lokalbronzen mit agonistischen Themen.<sup>32</sup> Es muss also festgestellt werden, dass

<sup>32</sup> W. LESCHHORN, *art. cit.* (Anm. 26), 31 ff.

die Mehrheit der Städte des Ostens mit ihrer Münzprägung an jener ‘explosion agonistique’, die Louis Robert konstatiert hat und die in seinem Gefolge viele Gelehrte meist unkritisch aufgegriffen haben, nicht teilhatte. Es gilt zwar zu bedenken, dass die numismatische Evidenz nur ein partielles Bild von dem agonistischen Betrieb bietet,<sup>33</sup> doch bleibt in jedem Fall festzuhalten, dass die Mehrheit der kaiserzeitlichen Städte des Ostens auf ihren Münzen wie in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit ihre Identität nicht durch Agonistik repräsentiert sah bzw. sehen wollte.

Es waren meist die führenden Poleis einer Provinz, die agonistische Münzen prägten. In der Provinz Asia wiesen Pergamon, Smyrna und Ephesos, also jene Städte die in einem harten Konkurrenzkampf miteinander um Rollen und Ränge in der Provinz standen, mit Münzbildern nachdrücklich auf ihre Spiele hin. Das gleiche gilt etwa für Perge und Side in Pamphylien oder für Nikaia und Nikomediea in Bithynien. Schon bei einer oberflächlichen Betrachtung kommt der Eindruck auf, dass die Thematisierung von privilegierten Agonen auf Münzen wie viele andere Themen — etwa Metropolititel, Neokorien und Kaiserbeinamen — etwas mit der konfliktträchtigen rangmäßigen Selbstdarstellung der Städte zu tun hat. Da es Rangstreitigkeiten auch auf niedrigerer Ebene gab, etwa auf Conventus-Ebene, ist es kein Wunder, dass auch einige mittelgroße Städte sich unter diesem Aspekt des Themas der Agonistik widmeten.

Bezeichnend ist, dass die Megalopoleis Antiocheia in Syrien und Alexandreia bei Ägypten, an deren Führungsrolle durch die schiere Größe kein Zweifel sein konnte, nicht eine einzige Münze mit einem agonistischen Thema emittierten.<sup>34</sup> Agonpropagierungen fehlen auch auf den Münzen der meisten kleinen Poleis: Bei ihnen ist anzunehmen, dass sie zum einen

<sup>33</sup> Richtig bereits S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 218: “The abundant numismatic evidence also only offers a partial picture”.

<sup>34</sup> W. LESCHHORN, *art. cit.* (Anm. 26), 41.

nicht genug Geld hatten, um aufwendige Agone abzuhalten, dass sie auch nicht über die Kontakte verfügten, um ihre Agone mit Privilegien auszustatten, und dass es ihnen schließlich auch an der Möglichkeit bzw. der wirtschaftlichen Notwendigkeit fehlte, eine intensive eigene Münzprägung zu realisieren, mittels der sie solche Spiele hätten propagieren können.

Manche Gelehrte verbinden mit dem Robert'schen Begriffe der 'explosion agonistique' die Vorstellung von einer massiven Zunahme der Agone, wie etwa Peter Herz, der davon ausgeht, dass sich die Zahl der Agone gegenüber der klassischen Zeit um das Drei- bis Vierfache erhöhte.<sup>35</sup> Ich glaube nicht, dass diese Vorstellung das Richtige trifft, denn, wie ich noch darlegen werde, war die Austragung von Agonen an kultische Feste — von Göttern und Herrschern — angebunden. Insofern war die Zahl der Agone nicht beliebig vermehrbar. Sie hat sich in der Kaiserzeit lediglich um die Kaiserkultagone vermehrt, wobei es zu bedenken gilt, dass der Kaiserkult sehr häufig mit dem Kult einer Hauptgottheit verbunden wurde, weil die Städte auf diese Weise ihre Kosten erheblich absenken konnten.

Was sich mit dem gesteigerten Reichtum der Städte und mit der kaiserlichen Privilegierung der Agone allenfalls vermehrte, war der Aufwand, mit dem einzelne Wettkampfveranstaltungen ausgetragen wurden. Nicht ohne Grund klagt Cassius Dio darüber, dass in seiner Zeit die Honoratioren immer mehr Geld für Agone aufwendeten bzw. sich in der allgemeinen Stimmung und Erwartungshaltung der Bevölkerung gezwungen sahen, es aufzuwenden.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> P. HERZ, "Die musiche Agonistik und der Kunstbetrieb der Kaiserzeit", in *Theater und Gesellschaft im Imperium Romanum*, hrsg. von J. BLÄNSDORF (Tübingen 1990), 175-196, bes. 177.

<sup>36</sup> DIO CASS. 52, 30, 3-7. Vgl. dazu R.F. NEWBOLD, "Cassius Dio and the Games", in *AC* 44 (1975), 589-604 und H.W. PLEKET, "Mass-Sport and Local Infrastructure in the Greek Cities of Roman Asia Minor", in *Stadion* 24 (1998), 151-172, bes. 155.

## 5. Zu Hintergründen und Beweggründen der monetären 〈explosion agonistique〉

### 5.1. Monetäre Entwicklungen als Voraussetzungen für komplexere Münzen mit agonistischen Darstellungen

Eine grundlegende Voraussetzung für das Aufkommen und die massive Prägung agonistischer Typen waren mehrere Entwicklungen der städtischen Aes-Prägung in der Kaiserzeit. Die zunehmend wichtigere Rolle der Münzen für die Bekundung städtischer Identität in der Kaiserzeit ist zunächst der gesteigerten Hellenisierung des griechischen Ostens geschuldet, die zur Ausbreitung und Intensivierung der griechischen Geldwirtschaft und der städtischen Münzprägung führte. Die massive Prägetätigkeit der Städte des Ostens wurde von Rom nicht nur geduldet, sondern anscheinend sogar gefördert. Rom wollte angeichts des Umfangs seines Reiches nicht den Aufwand einer zentralen Prägung von Kleingeld und der dann erforderlichen Belieferung der Städte mit ihm. So übertrug im hochentwickelten Osten mit seiner langen Prägetradition Rom den Städten weitgehend die Eigenversorgung mit Wechselgeld. Diese auf kluger Berechnung aufbauende Liberalität führte dazu, dass im Lauf der Kaiserzeit die Prägeintensität der Städte zunahm. Zahlreiche neue Städte begannen in hadrianischer Zeit, eigenes Wechselgeld zu prägen, und dank einer positiven wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung wurde der Bedarf an solchem Geld immer größer. Schließlich wurde es zu einer Frage von Prestige, dass eine griechische Stadt, die in römische Verwaltungsbezirke integriert war, für ihr Territorium eigenes Geld prägte und in Umlauf brachte, mit ihm ihren Status als 'eigenständige' Polis unterstrich und mit den Münzbildern sowohl individuelle als auch rechtsrömische Identitäten propagierte. Dabei bildete sich von Anfang an eine neue Bildkonvention heraus: In der Regel gab die Vorderseite einer städtischen Münze das Bildnis von Mitgliedern des kaiserlichen Hauses wieder und brachte damit die Reichszugehörigkeit der Städte zum Ausdruck; die Rückseite

war hingegen spezifisch städtischen Themen gewidmet — meist ging es um die Schutzgötter der Stadt — und sollte insbesondere die Individualität einer Stadt herausstellen. Ich will nur kurz andeuten, dass dieser thematische Zuschnitt der städtischen Münzen in Wirklichkeit komplizierter und alles andere als statisch war: Da in der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit auf den Vorderseiten der städtischen Münzen in der Regel der wichtigste Schutzgott abgebildet war, konnte der auf dem Obvers kaiserzeitlicher Münzen abgebildete Kaiser nach traditionellem Verständnis auch als neuer Schutzgott einer Stadt verstanden werden, der, wie etwa Isis oder Serapis, in das Pantheon der Stadt einbezogen worden war. So überrascht es nicht, dass die Taten des neuen Schutzgottes — insbesondere seine Erfolge und Wohltaten — immer häufiger auch auf den Rückseiten der Münzen dargestellt wurden.

Die Steigerung der Wirtschaftskraft der Städte aufgrund der langen Friedenszeiten führte im Kerngebiet des Reiches zu einem stetig wachsenden Warenumsatz und zu einem erhöhten Wechselgeldbedarf, von dem die Stadtkasse profitieren konnte, und in Folge davon zu häufigeren und stärkeren Emissionen von lokalem Kleingeld. Vor allem Heereszüge und Kaiserbesuche provozierten umfangreichere Geldemissionen.<sup>37</sup> Der Agonistikbetrieb selbst schuf einen spürbaren Bedarf an Klein- bzw. Wechselgeld und an Festemissionen, d.h. an ökonomisch und ikonographisch auf einen Agon bezogenen Münzen.<sup>38</sup> Geldemissionen wurden deshalb von zahlreichen Städten in verhältnismäßig kurzen Abständen getätigt, so dass die Bilder auf dem bronzenen Wechselgeld eine bis dahin nicht gekannte Aktualität haben konnten.

<sup>37</sup> Das wurde vor allem von R. ZIEGLER, *Kaiser, Heer und städtisches Geld. Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Anazarbos und anderer ostikilikischer Städte* (Wien 1993) untersucht und erörtert.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. z.B. M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 98; D.O.A. KLOSE, "Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire", in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. by Ch. HOWGEGO, V. HEUCHERT and A. BURNETT (Oxford 2005), 125-133, bes. 125.

Zunehmend wurden die lokalen Münzen über ihre ökonomische Funktion hinaus als Propagierungsinstrumente erkannt und genutzt. Dabei spielte die Übernahme der Konzeption reichsrömischer Münzen eine wichtige Rolle: Sie wurden seit Augustus nicht nur dazu verwendet, langtradizierte Identitäten zu propagieren, sondern auch dafür, aktuelle Geschehnisse, die zu einer positiven Darstellung des Kaiserhauses beitragen konnten, der Bevölkerung nahezubringen. Das Aufgreifen dieser reichsrömischen Prägumentalität führte zu einer bis dahin nicht bekannten Aktualität der Bilder der städtischen Münzen und zu ihrem Einsatz bei Prozessen der lokalen Meinungsbildung bzw. der Indoktrination. Am Ende muss man sich sogar die Frage stellen, wie weit die griechische Münze bei diesem Prozess noch ihren alten griechischen Charakter wahren konnte und nicht einem neuen, d.h. römischen Konzept der Münze verpflichtet war.

Sichtbar wurde diese Entwicklung vor allem deswegen, weil es nach dem römischen Vorbild zu einer Typenentfaltung kam: Keine anderen Münzherren haben jemals wieder eine solche Vielfalt von Bildern geschaffen, und manche der antiken Poleis übertrafen bald schon das römische Vorbild. Diese ‘explosion iconographique’ schuf eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Realisierung von Bildern, die aktuelle Entwicklungen städtischer Agonistik reflektierten.

Das Prägen größerer Münzen ermöglichte eine Bildentfaltung: Immer komplexere Botschaften konnten deshalb über Münzen vermittelt werden. Zudem brachten die größeren und ästhetisch ansprechenderen Münzen die Nutzer dieses Geldes dazu, sich länger und intensiver mit diesen Münzbildern auseinanderzusetzen und diese Geldstücke als Erinnerungsobjekte aufzuheben, so dass es nicht nur zu einer stärkeren, sondern auch nachhaltigeren Beeinflussung der Benutzer dieses Geldes gekommen sein dürfte.

Hand in Hand mit den größeren und komplexeren Bildern ging die Erweiterung der Legenden: Sie wurden immer reicher eingesetzt und machten auf diese Weise komplizierte

Propagierungen — wie etwa auf dem Gebiet der Agonistik — mit großer Präzision möglich. Auf einigen Münzen nahm die Legende sogar die gesamte Rückseite ein.

### *5.2. Eine neue Gewichtung der Agone im Rahmen der Götterfeste*

Wir sollten aber auch im Auge behalten, dass der griechische Agon nie eine selbständige Sportveranstaltung gewesen ist, wie wir sie heute kennen. Agonaustragungen waren eingebunden in Götterfeste. Durch die Jahrhunderte regelmäßig begangene Feste zu Ehren einer Gottheit (oder eines Herrschers) bestanden aus der Vigilfeier (Pannychis) am Vorabend, bei dem es um die Entzündung des am nächsten Tag benötigten Opferfeuers ging; der Prozession, bei der die Opfertiere und die hierarchisch gegliedert auftretende und agierende Gemeinde im Mittelpunkt standen; dann dem Opfer, das den Höhepunkt des Festes bildete. Es folgten das Bankett, bei dem das Opferfleisch verteilt und gegessen wurde, und schließlich der Agon, bei der die Wettkämpfer ihre Höchstleistungen für den Gott gaben und die übrigen Gemeindemitglieder unterhalten wurden. Die Götter, zu deren Ehren die aufwendigsten und prunkvollsten Feste gefeiert wurden, waren die sogenannten führenden Gottheiten, die meistens als Gründer- und Schutzgötter einer Stadt Verehrung erfuhren. Meist seit Beginn ihrer Münzprägung thematisierten die Städte besonders sie auf ihren lokalen Prägungen. Die monetäre Huldigung der führenden Polis-Gottheiten war ein offizieller Akt der Eusebeia und trug erheblich zur religiös-politischen Identität der Städte bei. Zahlreiche Städte des Ostens maßen in der Zeit zwischen 180 und 270 n. Chr. dem agonistischen Teil ihrer Feste eine solche Bedeutung bei, dass sie auf ihren Münzen neben der Darstellung von führenden Göttern, ihren Tempeln und Riten sich nachdrücklich der Wettkämpfe für die monetäre Repräsentanz von Götterfesten bedienten und nicht selten die traditionelle Ikonographie hintanstellten: Der Agon wurde in der Münzpropaganda einiger Poleis zum wichtigsten Künster eines

Götterfestes.<sup>39</sup> Selbst ein Zeitgenosse konnte aus den Prägungen einiger Städte leicht den Eindruck gewinnen, dass die Spiele nicht mehr, wie es die alte Tradition war, in ein Götterfest eingebunden waren, sondern dass Prozession und Opfer, die religiösen Höhepunkte eines Götterfestes, zu einer Agonveranstaltung gehörten.

### *5.3. Das Interesse der Honoratioren an der monetären Propagierung von Agonen*

Alle diese monetären Entwicklungen hätten aber nicht zur massiven Steigerung der Prägung von städtischen Münzen mit agonistischen Themen geführt, wäre da nicht der Wille der städtischen Führungsschichten (Honoratioren) gewesen, durch Veränderung überkommener Prägetraditionen die lokalen Münzen als wirkungsvolle Instrumente der städtischen und damit auch ihrer eigenen Selbstdarstellung zu nutzen. Der aus den führenden Familien konstituierte Stadtrat — die Boule — kontrollierte die Prägung der städtischen Bronzemünzen. Er bestimmte, wann solche Münzen geprägt wurden, und er setzte auch fest, welche Bilder und Legenden sie trugen.<sup>40</sup> Somit spiegeln die Bilder und Legenden der städtischen Münzprägung weitestgehend die Mentalitäten der Honoratioren. Ihre Vorstellungen von ihrer Heimatstadt ( $\pi\alpha\tau\pi\zeta$ ) setzten fest, worauf die Identität ihrer Heimatstadt gründen sollte und welche Aspekte dieser Identität auf dem städtischen Geld propagiert werden sollten. Und dabei spielten die städtischen Agone zunehmend eine größere Rolle. Ganz offensichtlich griffen die Honoratioren mit Agonprägungen auch eine Stimmung der

<sup>39</sup> R. ZIEGLER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 22), 9: "Oft ist auch in Inschriften mit dem Begriff  $\delta\gamma\omega\nu$  nicht der Wettkampfabschnitt eines Festes, sondern — als *pars pro toto* — das ganze Fest gemeint. Die gleiche Sprache sprechen die Münzbilder: agonistische Motive symbolisieren die Feste". Ihm sehr eng folgend D.O.A. KLOSE, *art. cit.* (Anm. 38), 125.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. etwa P. WEISS, "The Cities and Their Money", in *Coinage and Identity...*, *op. cit.* (Anm. 38), 57–68, bes. 61: Coinage: A Facet of City Government by the Civic Elite.

Zeit auf, doch ging es bei diesen Münzbildern überwiegend um ihre eigenen Interessen.

Bei der Entscheidung des Stadtrates, Münzen anlässlich einer Agonaustragung zu prägen, dürften auch finanzielle Interessen der Honoratioren bzw. der Stadt eine Rolle gespielt haben. Oft war eine Verstärkung des umlaufenden Wechselgeldes geradezu geboten, weil der Zustrom an Zuschauern zu einer Steigerung der Geschäfte führte oder führen sollte, an denen vermutlich auch die Honoratioren nicht schlecht verdienten.<sup>41</sup>

Im Zusammenhang mit der städtischen Münzprägung ist uns die Honoratiorenenschicht nur als eine uniforme gesellschaftliche Gruppe fassbar, da keine Stadt des griechischen Ostens es einem einzelnen Honoratioren gestattet hat, städtische Münzen zur direkten Selbstdarstellung zu nutzen.<sup>42</sup> Die Sonderinteressen einzelner Honoratioren und Familien, ihr Wettkampf untereinander um Ränge, Einfluss und Reichtum sind in der Münzprägung der Städte für uns nicht greifbar; sie werden ansatzweise in der epigraphischen Überlieferung sichtbar. Allerdings müssen die städtischen Münzen in ihrem Zusammenhang mit anderen Denkmälern und aktuellem Geschehen in einer Stadt, insbesondere der Austragung von Agonen, gesehen werden.

Ehrgeizige Honoratioren konnten in einer städtischen Gesandtschaft zum Kaiser zu reisen, um Agonprivilegien, die nur er verleihen konnte, zu gewinnen oder von einem der großen Heiligtümer sich das Recht zur Feier von Olympien, Pythien oder Aktia übertragen zu lassen. Dabei hatten die städtischen Gesandten die Chance, in näheren Kontakt mit dem Kaiser zu treten, zumindest aber dem Kaiser vorgestellt, d.h.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. etwa K.W. HARL, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East, A.D. 180-275* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1987), 64; M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 98; D.O.A. KLOSE, *art. cit.* (Anm. 38), 125.

<sup>42</sup> In einigen Landschaften Kleinasiens war es Honoratioren allenfalls erlaubt, sich als Prägeaufseher, Antragsteller oder Stifter einer Emission auf Münzen zu verewigen, vgl. als Einführung in die Problematik etwa A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, I. CARRADICE, *Roman Provincial Coinage II* (London-Paris 1999), 1-4, deren Schlüsse ich aber nicht in jeder Hinsicht teile.

σεβαστόγνωστος zu werden.<sup>43</sup> Hatte eine solche Mission Erfolg, so konnten die daran beteiligten Honoratioren ihre Stellung und ihr Ansehen in der Heimatstadt gewaltig steigern. Ihr Stadtregiment wurde dann von einer Aura des Erfolgs gestützt. Mit den lokalen Münzen konnten sie der eigenen Bevölkerung Titel und Ehrenrechte eines neu gewonnenen Agons näherbringen und einprägen, aber auch die Erinnerung an ihr erfolgreiches Wirken im *memory theatre*<sup>44</sup> der umlaufenden städtischen Münzen konservieren. Wenn auch nicht die Namen jener Honoratioren, die ein Agonprivileg für ihre Heimatstadt gewonnen hatten, auf den Münzen standen, so reichte die monetäre Erinnerung an den Agon in vielen Fällen aus, um Verknüpfungen in Gang zu setzen: Menschen, die agonistische Geldstücke in die Hand nahmen, erinnerten sich an die Austragung dieser Spiele oder an Ehrenstatuen, die erfolgreichen Honoratioren für ihre agonistischen Erfolge als Gesandte, Funktionäre oder auch Athleten in der Stadt errichtet worden waren. Münzen stehen in einem kommunikativen Beziehungsgeflecht mit anderen Monumenten, mit Personen und metaphysischen oder abstrakten Konstrukten wie Göttern und Werten.

Ein gutes Beispiel für solche Zusammenhänge ist der Fall der sidetischen Pythien: Im Jahre 243 stattete Kaiser Gordian III. einen Agon zu Ehren des Stadtgottes und Stadtgründers Apollon mit zahlreichen Privilegien aus: Aus dem Agon Phoibeios<sup>45</sup> wurde ‘der heilige, eiselastische, ökumenische und isopythische Agon Apollonios Gordianeios Antonineios’.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. z.B. L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938), 85 Anm. 1; M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (München 1988), 52 Anm. 40.

<sup>44</sup> S. PRICE, “Local Mythologies in the Greek East”, in *Coinage and Identity...*, *op. cit.* (Anm. 38), 115–124, bes. 115.

<sup>45</sup> Zum Agon Phoibeios vgl. J. NOLLÉ, *Side im Altertum 2* (Bonn 2001), 434–436 Nr. 129.

<sup>46</sup> Der genaue Titel der sidetischen Pythia wird in einer Inschrift aus dem kleinen ostpamphylianischen Bergstädtchen Kasai erwähnt: J. NOLLÉ, *Side im Altertum 1* (Bonn 1993), 87 und 204–208 Nr. TEP Nr. 4. Zu den Hintergründen der Privilegierung vgl. auch CH. WALLNER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 28), 90.

Sidetische Münzen, die anlässlich der ersten Aufführung emittiert wurden, brachten der Bevölkerung die Rangtitel des neuen Agons nahe und hoben einzelne von ihnen besonders hervor. Eines dieser Geldstücke bildet auf dem Revers eine Preiskrone ab, die auf einem Preistisch liegt. Sie ist mit runden Kugeln geschmückt, die anscheinend einerseits die Wappenfrucht von Side, den Granatapfel, darstellen, gleichzeitig aber an die goldenen Äpfel der Pythischen Spiele erinnern sollten.<sup>47</sup> Auf dem Mittelband dieser Preiskrone steht ΙΕΡΟC, was den soeben gewonnenen privilegierten Status des Agons hervorhebt; in der Umschrift wird mit ΕΙCΕΛΑCTIKOC darauf verwiesen, dass die Rangerhöhung auch dieses für die teilnehmenden Athleten so verlockende Privileg umfasste (Abb. 1.6a).<sup>48</sup> Ein weiterer Münztyp, der Apollon Kitharoidos neben einer überdimensionalen Preiskrone auf einem Preistisch zeigt, propagiert mit diesem Münzbild, dass dieser Agon zu Ehren Apollons gefeiert wurde. Mit der dabeistehenden Legende ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙKOC wird herausgestellt, dass dieser Agon ökumenischen Status besaß (Abb. 1.6b).<sup>49</sup> Zu eben dieser

<sup>47</sup> Zum Granatapfel von Side vgl. J. NOLLÉ, *op. cit.* (Anm. 46), 38 ff.; zu den pythischen Äpfeln vgl. L. ROBERT, “Une vision de Perpétue martyre à Carthage en 203”, in *CRAI* 126 (1982), 228–276, bes. 266–272 = *Opera Minora Selecta*, V (Amsterdam 1989), 791–839, bes. 829–835; S. PERROT, “Pommes agonistiques à Delphes: réflexions autour du cognassier sacré d’Apollon”, in *BCH* 133 (2009), 153–168.

<sup>48</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste der Tranquillina nach rechts. — Rs. ΕΙCΕΛ-A-CTI-KOC - ΙΕΡΟC (auf Preiskrone) // ΚΙΔΗ-TΩΝ (unter dem Tisch); Preistisch, darauf Preiskrone mit zwei Palmzweigen; im Abschnitt ein Palmzweig (F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* 2 [Wien 1902], 341 Nr. 27b; *SNG von Aulock* Nr. 4832; *SNG France* 3, Nr. 860; J. NOLLÉ, “Side. Zur Geschichte einer kleinasiatischen Stadt in der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel ihrer Münzen”, in *AW* 21 [1990], 244–265, bes. 257 Nr. 94 aus der Privatsammlung Bloecker = Abb. 1.6a). Zum Status *eiselastikos* vgl. PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 118 (vgl. den Kommentar von A.N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary* [Oxford 1966], 729 f. und P. WEISS, “Ein agonistisches Bema und die isopythischen Spiele von Side”, in *Chiron* 11 (1981), 315–346 und DERS., “Textkritisches zur Athleten-Relatio des Plinius (ep. 10, 118)”, in *ZPE* 48 [1982], 125–132).

<sup>49</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste der Tranquillina nach rechts. — Rs. ΟΙΚΟΥΜ-ΕΝΙ-KOC - ΙΕΡΟC auf Preiskrone - ΚΙΔΗΤΩΝ im Abschnitt; Apollon in langem

Emission gehört schließlich noch ein Typus, der auf seiner Rückseite eine Stele abbildet, auf der ΔΩΡΕΑ steht und damit die Privilegienverleihung des Kaisers als solche thematisiert (Abb. 1.6c).<sup>50</sup> Alle diese Typen machen deutlich, dass die Stadt Side mit diesen agonistischen Prägungen sich ihrer Begünstigung durch Kaiser Gordian III. brüsten wollte. Für das Selbstwertgefühl der Stadt, für ihre Identität waren die sportlichen und musischen Wettkämpfe oder die religiösen Begehung zu Ehren Apollons (und des Kaisers) offensichtlich nicht so wichtig wie Privilegierung durch den Kaiser. Und so wundert es nicht, dass nicht einmal der Name des Agons auf den Münzen genannt wird. Erst vier Jahre später, bereits unter den beiden Araberkaisern, emittierte Side im Jahr 247 bei der zweiten Austragung des Agons wiederum eine Münze, auf deren Revers eine Preiskrone auf einem Preistisch dargestellt ist, stellte aber diesmal heraus, dass der Agon — der nach der Ermordung Gordians III. seine kaiserlichen Beinamen Gordianeios Antonineios verloren hatte — nach pythischem Reglement, also isopythisch, ausgetragen wurde (Abb. 1.6d).<sup>51</sup> Im Jahre 251 unter Trebonianus Gallus, bei der dritten Austragung, erinnerte eine sidetische Münze daran, dass Side als erste Stadt Pamphyliens einen heiligen Agon erhalten

Gewand in Vorderansicht stehend, Kopf nach rechts gewandt, in der gesenkten Rechten Plektron, mit der Linken Kithara haltend; rechts Preistisch, darauf große Preiskrone mit Palmzweig, darunter Amphora, Granatapfelzweig und Palmzweig (*SNG Pfp's* IV Nr. 764; J. NOLLÉ, *op. cit.* [Anm. 48], 257 Nr. 95 = Abb. 1.6b).

<sup>50</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste Gordians III. mit Lorbeerkrantz nach rechts. — Rs. CIΔH-TΩN; stilisierte Stele, darin ΔΩ|P€|A (*SNG Pfp's* IV Nr. 753 = Abb. 1.6c mit weiteren Belegen). Zur Bedeutung von δωρεά vgl. L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (Anm. 47), 228 und 232 f. (bzw. 791 und 795 f.); etwas anders S. MITCHELL, “[Besprechung von W. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest*, und R. ZIEGLER, *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik*]”, in *JRS* 80 (1990), 183–193, bes. 191.

<sup>51</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste Philippus' II. mit Lorbeerkrantz nach rechts. — Rs. Mit Granatäpfeln verzierte Preiskrone auf Preistisch, darunter von Palmzweigen flankierte Amphora; CIΔHTΩN auf dem Tischrand / ICOΠVΘΙOC in Umschrift // IEPOC auf der Preiskrone (J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* [Anm. 48], 257 Nr. 93 = Abb. 1.6d).

hatte (Abb. 1.6e).<sup>52</sup> Zweifellos war das eine Spitze gegen Perge, das in der Zwischenzeit offensichtlich auch einen pythischen Agon hatte gewinnen können.

Interessant ist, dass die Münzen die neuen sidetischen Pythia unter einem ganz anderen Aspekt propagierten, als es etwa jene bereits erwähnte Inschrift tut, die uns den vollständigen Titel des neuen sidetischen Agons unter Gordian III. überliefert. Bei ihr handelt es sich um eine Inschrift, die in dem kleinen Gebirgsstädtchen Kasai auf der Basis einer Ehrenstatue gestanden hat. Das Denkmal wurde von der Tochter eines Honoratioren errichtet, und der Text hebt hervor, dass er zur Oberschicht Kasais gehörte und wichtige politische Funktionen in seiner Heimatstadt versehen hatte, die ihn sogar in Kontakt mit dem Kaiser Severus Alexander gebracht hatten. In einem Nachtrag wird erzählt, dass er neben seiner Karriere in der kleinen Taurusgemeinde in Side, der Metropole der Region, die Demiurgie bekleidete und die Agonothesie der ersten privilegierten Pythien übernehmen durfte.<sup>53</sup> Mit der Agonothesie der ersten sidetischen Pythien war der gesellschaftliche Erfolg, der Reichtum und der Euergetismus dieses Mannes aus dem Umland von Side manifest geworden. Es war schon etwas Besonderes, dass der erste Agonothet dieser für Side so bedeutenden Spiele nicht aus einer der führenden Familien Sides kam, und wir können sicher sein, dass die Sideten, die die agonistischen Prägungen aus der Zeit Gordians III. in die Hand bekamen nicht nur an die kaiserliche Privilegierung dachten, sondern auch an den Honoratior aus Kasai. Münzen und

<sup>52</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste des Trebonianus Gallus nach rechts. — Rs. Preistisch, darauf Preiskrone; im Abschnitt zwei Palmzweige; ΠΡΩΤΑ ΠΑΝΦΥΛΩΝ in Umschrift // ΙΕΡΟC auf der Preiskrone / ΣΙΔΗ-ΤΩΝ unter dem Tisch (P. WEISS, "Auxē Perge". Beobachtungen zu einem bemerkenswerten städtischen Dokument des späten 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.", in *Chiron* 21 (1991), 353-392, bes. 391 Nr. 7 = Abb. 1.6e).

<sup>53</sup> J. NOLLÉ, *op. cit.* (Anm. 46): ἀγωνοθέτησα[ν]τα καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα πο[λυτελῶς μετὰ τὴν δημοιοργία[ν] ἀγῶνος ἵεροῦ οἰκουμενικ[οῦ] Ἀπολλωνεύο Γορδιανεύο Ἀντωνινίου ἴστοπυθίου ἐκεχειρίου | ἴσελαστικοῦ ἡς ἀπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην κατὰ θεῖαν δωρεάν τοῦ πρώτως ἀχθέντος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.

Inschrift stimmen trotz ihrer unterschiedlichen Perspektiven darin überein, dass sämtliche Privilegien des Agons und die θεῖα δωρεά besonders erwähnt werden.

Honoratioren so wie ihre Städte konnten durch gewonnene Agonprivilegien demonstrieren, dass sie sich der kaiserlichen Gnade erfreuten. Das verschaffte einer Stadt gegenüber ihren Nachbarn bzw. ihren provinziellen Rivalen eine Verbesserung ihres Ranges und eine Hebung ihres Ansehens. Viele griechische Poleis befanden sich durch die Jahrhunderte in einem häufig konfliktreichen Wettbewerb mit ihren Nachbargemeinden. Missgunst und Hass hatten sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte gesteigert. Rom hatte zwar den bewaffneten Austrag städtischer Feindschaften unterbunden, durch seine Provinzialordnung und seine Privilegienpolitik aber den Agon der Städte intensiviert und auf ganz neue Felder verlagert. Es ist für den Einzelfall nicht leicht festzustellen, ob dabei machtpolitische Erwägungen im Sinne einer *divide-et-impera*-Politik hinter der römischen Politik standen oder ob es oftmals nicht eher ad-hoc-Entscheidungen waren, die die komplizierten Verhältnisse nicht gebührend berücksichtigten. Jedenfalls lässt sich an den Münzemissionen miteinander rivalisierender Städte zeigen, wie die Honoratioren mit dem von ihnen emittierten lokalen Münzgeld ihrer eigenen Bevölkerung neue Erfolge im Privilegien-Agon propagierten. Gleichzeitig wollten sie aber auch ihre Nachbarn, die die neuen Gepräge mit Sicherheit zu Gesicht bekamen, ärgern.<sup>54</sup> Dabei spielten die populären Agonprivilegien zunehmend eine Rolle. Sie gewannen in der Zeit des Commodus, als der römische Kaiser nicht mehr über eine gefüllte Staatskasse verfügte und die Abgabenschraube anziehen musste, Konjunktur, weil andere Privilegien — Neokorien, Metropolis-Titel, Prote-Titel — bereits üppig verliehen worden waren und

<sup>54</sup> J. NOLLÉ, "Die uneinigen Schwestern — Betrachtungen zur Rivalität der pamphylianischen Städte", in *Die epigraphische und altertumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens. Hundert Jahre Kleinasienatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Akten des Symposiums vom 23. bis 25. Oktober 1990* (Wien 1993), 297–317.

von der römischen Administration nicht ohne weiteres vergeben werden konnten. Das Interesse der Honoratioren und ihrer Städte an privilegierten Agonen versetzte die römische Administration bzw. die Kaiser in die Lage, über einen ganzen Sack mit Glasperlen zu verfügen, mit denen sie die willige Leistung der ständig steigenden Abgaben an den römischen Staat 'bezahlen' konnten.<sup>55</sup> Wenn man für die 'explosion agonistique' auf den städtischen Münzen nicht allein nach einer intensivierten sportlichen Begeisterung sucht, sondern nach ihrer Fundierung in der Politik der römischen Kaiser und der städtischen Honoratioren, wundert man sich über das Einsetzen der agonistischen Thematik unter Commodus nicht.

Wie wenig die meisten Münzen, die Agonsymbole tragen, mit Sportbegeisterung zu tun haben, zeigen insbesondere jene Prägungen, die Preiskronen als Zeichen für kaiserlich privilegierte Spiele in größerer Zahl aufreihen. So präsentierte Anazarbos in Kilikien in der Zeit des Trebonianus Gallus und dann wieder unter der Herrschaft Valerians und Galliens auf seinen Münzen voller Stolz gleich sechs Preiskronen (Abb. 1.7a).<sup>56</sup> Dabei ging es nicht um eine athletisch-musiche Identität der Stadt, sondern um deren außergewöhnliche Privilegierung durch römische Kaiser, die andere Städte im Agon um die Agone auf hintere Plätze verweisen und neidisch machen sollte.

Die Honoratioren waren grundsätzlich daran interessiert, ein positives Bild des Kaisers zu propagieren, da er — wie sie glaubten — es war, der ihr Regiment stützte. In der Regel bestand die Verknüpfung zwischen Kaiser und städtischer

<sup>55</sup> K.W. HARL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 41), 64 scheint mir dieses Interesse zu unterschätzen.

<sup>56</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste des Valerian mit Lorbeerkrantz nach rechts. — Rs. ANAZAPBOY | Γ Γ | ΕΤ BOC [= 253/4 n. Chr.] | A M K (im Abschnitt) (SNG Switzerland I Nr. 1518 = R. ZIEGLER, *op. cit.* [Anm. 37], 363 Nr. 836, 1 = Abb. 1.7a mit Kommentar auf S. 126); vgl. Ch. WALLNER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 28), 159, der davon ausgeht, dass die Münzen mit den sechs Preiskronen die Restitution von zwei durch die *damnatio memoriae* des Trebonianus Gallus und Volusian verlorengegangenen Agonen durch eine Privilegierung von Valerian und Gallienus feiern.

Agonistik darin, dass der Herrscher als Gewährer von agonistischen Privilegien und damit als städtischer Euerget evoziert und der privilegierte Agon mit dem Kaiserkult verbunden wurde. Oftmals wurde der kaiserliche Gnadenerweis dadurch deutlich gemacht, dass die Legenden der Münzen den kaiserlichen Namen hervorhoben, der in die Agontitulatur eingebaut worden war.<sup>57</sup>

Nur sehr selten wurde die Verleihung eines Agons durch den römischen Kaiser mittels Bilder und Legenden auf Münzen explizit dargestellt. Szenen, in denen der Kaiser einem Repräsentanten der Stadt eine Preiskrone überreicht, d.h. mittels einer ‘Schenkung’ ( $\delta\omega\rho\varepsilon\alpha$ ) einen städtischen Agon privilegiert, sind ausgesprochen rar, was nicht wundert, da die Herstellung solcher Münzen besonders geschulte Stempelproduzenten erforderte und außerdem großformatige Münzen mit höheren Materialkosten zur Voraussetzung hatte. Meistens zeigen derartig kunstvolle Münzbilder, wie der Kaiser der personifizierten Stadtgöttin (‘Stadttyche’), die die Stadt repräsentiert, eine Preiskrone übergibt. Solche Münzen kennen wir etwa von Byzantion (Caracalla und Stadtgöttin; Abb. 1.8),<sup>58</sup> Thyateira (Elagabal und Apollon Tyrimnaios; Abb. 1.11a),<sup>59</sup> Perge (Tacitus und Stadtgöttin; Abb. 1.10a-c), Mopsuhestia (Valerian und Gallien

<sup>57</sup> Eine gute Übersicht über die auf Münzen propagierten Kaisernamen in Agonbezeichnungen bieten W. LESCHHORN — P.R. FRANKE, *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen I* (Wien 2002), *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste Caracallas mit Strahlenkrone nach rechts. — Rs. ΕΠΙΤΙΤΑΙΑ Κ-ΑΠΙΤΩΑΞΙΝΟΒ ΒΒΖΑΝ-ΤΙΩΝ (die letzten Buchstaben im Abschnitt); Stadtgöttin, links stehend, nimmt von dem vor ihr stehenden Caracalla eine Preiskrone entgegen (E. SCHÖNERT-GEISS, *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion II* [Berlin-Amsterdam 1972], 76 Nr. 1537; Auktion Gorny & Mosch 122 [2003], Nr. 1708 = Abb. 1.8).

<sup>59</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste Elagabals mit Lorbeerkrone nach rechts. — Rs. Der Kaiser, links stehend, reicht dem Sonnengott Apollon Tyrimnaios, rechts stehend mit Doppelaxt in der Linken, seine Rechte und übergibt ihm eine Preiskrone. Über der Preiskrone steht ΙΙVΘΙΑ (Pythische Spiele), in Umschrift ΕΠΙΤΡΑΠΟΝΕΙΚΙΑ-ΝΟΥ, im Abschnitt ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗ-ΝΩΝ (BMC *Lydia* 312 Nr. 112, vgl. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Lydische Stadtmünzen. Neue Untersuchungen* [Genf-Leipzig 1897], 158 f.; Auktion Gorny & Mosch 125 [2003], Nr. 315).

und Stadtgöttin; Abb. 1.9)<sup>60</sup> und Anazarbos (Elagabal und Stadtgöttin; Abb. 1.7b).<sup>61</sup>

Im Falle Perges beschreibt die Münzlegende, was auf der Münze dargestellt ist, nämlich die Verleihung eines privilegierten Agons durch den Kaiser an die zur Metropolis gewordenen Stadt Perge (Abb. 1.10a).<sup>62</sup> Den Namen des Agons — Takitos Metropolitios — erfahren wir von weiteren Münzen, auf denen außerdem propagiert wird, dass die neuen Spiele isokapitolisch waren (Abb. 1.10b-c).<sup>63</sup> Dargestellt ist auch der pergäische

<sup>60</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste des Valerian bzw. des Gallien. — Rs. ΑΔΡ OVA ΓΑΛ ΜΟΥΡΕΑΤΩΝ ΔΩΡΕΑΙ ΕΤ ΓΚΤ (= 323, d. i. 255/6 n. Chr.); Valerian und Gallien auf der rechten Seite auf *sellae curules* sitzend haben der vor ihr stehenden Stadtgöttin eine Preiskrone überreicht (*SNG Switzerland I*, Nr. 1358 und 1362 mit der irrgen Beschreibung “City-goddess offering prize-crown to Valerian and Gallienus seated on *sellae curules*”; *CNG, ElAuct 224*, 16. Dezember 2009, Nr. 447 = Abb. 1.9). Der Plural δωρεαι bezieht sich zum einen auf die Agonprivilegierung, zum anderen auf die Brücke über den Pyramos, die von Valerian und Gallien erneuert wurde.

<sup>61</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste Elagabals mit Lorbeerkrantz nach rechts. — Rs. ΑΝΑΖΑΠΒΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞΕΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ ΡΩ ΚΤ / Γ-Β / Α Μ Κ (im Abschnitt); der rechts auf einer *sellae curulis* sitzende Kaiser hat der links vor ihm stehenden Stadttüche eine Preiskrone überreicht (R. ZIEGLER, *op. cit.* [Anm. 37], 288 Nr. 443 = Abb. 1.7b mit der irrgen Beschreibung: “Kaiser l. auf *sellae curulis* sitzend, erhält von r. stehender Tyche eine Preiskrone”: Was soll der Kaiser mit der Preiskrone?).

<sup>62</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste des Tacitus mit Lorbeerkrantz nach rechts. — Rs. · ΠΕΡΓΗ · ΜΗΤΡΟ-ΠΟΛΙ ΤΑΚΙΤΟC · (in Umschrift) - CEB (im Abschnitt); Kaiser Tacitus mit Panzer und Paludamentum auf der rechten Seite nach links sitzend, mit der erhobenen Linken Zepterstab haltend, auf der vorgestreckten Rechten Preiskrone überreichend; Stadttüche mit Mauerkrone auf der linken Seite nach rechts stehend, im linken Arm Füllhorn haltend, mit der Rechten Preiskrone entgegennehmend; über der Preiskrone Buchstabe A = πρώτη (F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *op. cit.* [Anm. 48], 333 Nr. 35 mit Taf. 11, 8 = Abb. 1.10a).

<sup>63</sup> Vs. wie zuvor. — Rs. Preiskrone zwischen zwei Palmzweigen über Preisatisch; TAKITIOC ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΟC (in Umschrift) — ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ (im Abschnitt) — ICOKΑΠΕΤΩ (auf der Preiskrone)-ΛΙΑ (unter der Preiskrone), über der Preiskrone A = πρώτη (die richtige Lesung der Legende wurde erst durch ein im vorigen Jahr aufgetauchtes Stück [*CNG, ElAuct 237*, 21. July 2010, Nr. 104 = Abb. 1.10b] gesichert; sie war schon von P. WEISS, *art. cit.* [Anm. 52], 361 f. mit Anm. 24 anhand eines schlechter erhaltenen Exemplars weitgehend richtig entziffert worden; Konfusion bei S. SAHIN, *Die Inschriften von Perge II* [Bonn 2004], 51, der trotz der von ihm publizierten Inschriften 58 f. IK-Perge 334 und 336 noch immer von ‘Kaisareia’ spricht). // Vs. wie zuvor. — Rs.

Zeus, in dessen Kult dieser Agon eingebunden wurde (Abb. 1.10c). Dadurch wurde dieser eng mit Iuppiter Capitolinus und ‚Zeus Tacitus‘<sup>64</sup> verknüpft. Wie die Stadtgöttin von Perge wurde er zum Empfänger der neuen Privilegien. Schließlich feierte Perge sich als Inhaberin dreier ökumenischer Agone (Abb. 1.10d);<sup>65</sup> Christian Wallner betont, dass Perge auf diese Weise als Inhaberin eines isopythischen, isollympischen und isokapitolischen Agons zu „einem der bedeutendsten Zentren des agonistischen Lebens Kleinasiens“ geworden war.<sup>66</sup>

Auf der großformatigen thyateirenischen Münze übergibt der Kaiser, in diesem Falle Elagabal, die Preiskrone nicht der Stadtgöttin von Thyateira, sondern der führenden Schutzgottheit der Stadt, Apollon Tyrimnos/Tyrimnaios (Abb. 1.11a), der auch als Helios Pythios Tyrimnaios bezeichnet wird. Dies hat damit zu tun, dass Elagabal den Sonnenkult, dessen fanatischer Priester er war, im ganzen Reich förderte und in Thyateira der göttliche Stadtschützer Apollon Tyrimnaios als lokale Manifestation eines universalen griechisch-levantinischen Sonnengottes angesehen werden konnte. Allein aus der Münze gewinnen wir die Information, dass die Augusteia zu Ehren Elagabals mit dem Pythienfest des Apollon Tyrimnaios verknüpft worden waren. Das Phänomen, dass römische Kaiser die Agone jener Städte mit Privilegien ausstatteten, die einem kaiserlichen Schutzgott gewidmet waren, ist nicht neu. So hatte schon Commodus als Hercules Romanus besonders jene städtischen Agone privilegiert, die zu Ehren des

TAKI[T]IOC - ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ-ΛΕΙΤΙΟC Π[ΕΡΓ]ΑΙΩN (in Umschrift) - KA[ΠΕ]/[ΤΩΛ]IA (im Abschnitt); Zeus nach links sitzend, mit der erhobenen Linken Zepter, auf der vorgestreckten Rechten Preiskrone haltend (*BMC Pamph.* 140 Nr. 104 mit Taf. 25, 4 = Abb. 1.10c).

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. den Hymnus auf Perge: ἥμην μὲν πρόσθεν κεφαλὴ Παμφυλίδος αἵης, | Ζηνὸς δ' ἐκ Ταχίτου μητρόπολις γέγονα in S. ŞAHİN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 63), 52 *IK-Perge* 331, Z. 1-4.

<sup>65</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste des Tacitus. — Rs. Tisch mit zwei geschwungenen Beinen, darauf drei Preiskronen mit hineingesteckten Palmzweigen; ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ (oben) — ΙΕΡΟΙ ΟΙΚΟVΜΕΝ-I-K auf dem Tischrand, die beiden letzten Buchstaben neben dem Tischrand bzw. darüber — ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ/ΛΕΩC unter dem Tisch (*SNG PPs* IV Nr. 457 = Abb. 1.10d).

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* (Anm. 28), 211 f.

Herakles ausgetragen wurden;<sup>67</sup> später hat Caracalla zahlreiche Asklepiosagone im Reich mit Privilegien bedacht.<sup>68</sup>

Weitere Reverse der elagabalzeitlichen Stratonikianos-Emission von Thyateira zeigen Apollon Tyrimnaios mit einer Preiskrone (Abb. 1.11b),<sup>69</sup> ferner einen Kranz, der die Legende AVTOV|CTEIA | ΠΙVΘΕΙΑ ΘVATEI|PHNΩ|N umrahmt (Abb. 1.11c),<sup>70</sup> und schließlich noch einen Preistisch, auf dem zwei Preiskronen liegen, die durch ihre Aufschriften auf den Doppelagon der AVTO-VCTE|IA ΠIV-ΘIA zu beziehen sind (Abb. 1.11d).<sup>71</sup>

Über die Privilegienverleihung durch Elagabal an Thyateira geben uns zahlreiche Inschriften weitere Informationen an die Hand, insbesondere jene, die den Thyateirener C. Perilius Aurelius Alexander erwähnen. Er war nicht nur ein erfolgreicher Pankratiast, sondern auch Erzpriester und Präsident des

<sup>67</sup> S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 23), 221.

<sup>68</sup> J. NOLLÉ, "Caracallas Kur in Pergamon. Krankheit und Heilung eines römischen Kaisers im Spiegel der Münzen", in *AW* 34 (2003), 409-417.

<sup>69</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste der Iulia Soaemias nach rechts. — Rs. In Umschrift ΕIII CTP TI K CTPATONEΙKIANO|V - ΘVAT-ΕΙ-PHNΩ|N; Apollon Tyrimnaios in Vorderansicht stehend, Kopf nach links gewandt, auf der vorgestreckten Rechten Preiskrone haltend, in der gesenkten Linken Doppelbeil (F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *op. cit.* [Anm. 59], 158 Nr. 29 mit Tf. VI 16 = H. BLOESCH, *Griechische Münzen in Winterthur* 2 [Winterthur 1997], 167 Nr. 3973 = Abb. 1.11b; K. KRAFT, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien. Materialien und Entwürfe* [Berlin 1972], 148 f. Nr. 27 mit Abb. Tf. 42; BMC *Lydia* 314, Nr. 119).

<sup>70</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste des Elagabal mit Lorbeerkrantz nach rechts. — Rs. ΕIII CTP T KA CTPATONEΙKIANOV ΝΕΟ in Umschrift, Kranz, darin AVTOV|CTEIA | ΠΙVΘΕΙΑ ΘVATEI|PHNΩ|N (R.E. HECHT, "Some Greek Imperial Coins in My Collection", in *NC* 8 (1968), 27-35, bes. 29 Nr. 7 mit Abb. Tf. IX 7; *Auktion Gorny & Mosch* 152 (2006), Nr. 1795 = *Auktion Rauch GmbH* 81, 2007, Nr. 511 = Abb. 1.11c; *Auktion Peus* 366, 2000, Nr. 739 [Slg. M. Burstein] = *Auktion Peus* 382, 2005, Nr. 626).

<sup>71</sup> Vs. Drapierte Büste des Elagabal mit Lorbeerkrantz nach rechts. — Rs. ΕΠΙ CTP T ΚΑ CTPA-TONΕΙKIANO-V in Umschrift, letzter Buchstabe vor dem rechten vorderen Tischbein, ΘVATEI|PH|ΝΩΝ im Abschnitt, rechteckiger Preistisch, darauf zwei unterschiedliche Preiskronen (eine mit Blättern, eine mit Äpfeln) mit je einem hineingesteckten Palmzweig, darüber AVTO-VCTE|IA ΠΙV-ΘΙΑ, zwischen den Preiskronen Geldbeutel, unter dem Tisch Losurne (*Auktion Hauck & Aufhäuser* 20, 2007, Nr. 413 = Abb. 1.11d).

Reichsverbandes der Athleten in Rom, ferner Priester des Tyrimnaios in seiner Heimatstadt Thyateira.<sup>72</sup> Er unternahm eine Gesandtschaftsreise zu Elagabal und erreichte bei diesem die Privilegierung des thyateirenischen Apollonagons mittels der Einrichtung der Augusteia: - - - Γάιον Περήλιον Αύρήλιον Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν περίοδον, πρεσβεύσαντα | πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἀγήτητον Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὔρ. || [Ἀντωνεῖνον] || εὺσεβῆ εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστὸν ὑπέρ τῆς | γλυκυτάτης πατρίδος καὶ ἐπιτυχόντ[α] | παρὰ τῆς θείας τύχης αὐτοῦ ἵερὸν [ἀγῶνα]να εἰσελαστικὸν Αὐγούστ[ειον] ἴσοι|πύθιον εἰς ἄπασαν [τὴν οἰκουμένην].<sup>73</sup> Während die Münzen den Agon als Geschenk des Kaisers an den Gott Apollon Tyrimnaios propagieren, die Kult- und Festgemeinschaft von Kaiser und Gott betonen und auf die Bedeutung der Privilegierung für die Stadt abheben, stellen die Inschriften die Verdienste eines einzelnen Honoratioren für die städtische Agonistik heraus.<sup>74</sup> In diesem Fall kam offenbar einem Athleten, der aus dem Kreise der Honoratioren Thyateiras stammte, das Verdienst zu, für seine Vaterstadt die für Rang und Selbstverständnis so wichtige Agonprivilegierung erreicht zu haben. Sogar die Zunft der Wollarbeiter errichtete für Gaius Perelius Aurelius Alexander ein Ehrenmal<sup>75</sup> — ein Zeichen dafür, wie sehr die

<sup>72</sup> TAM V 2, 984: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ: | Μ. Γν. Δικιν. Ρουφ[ε]ῖνον | [τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικόν, | κτίστην καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς | πατρίδος, φίλον τοῦ Σε[β.], Γ. Περ. | [Α]ὔρ. Ἀλέξανδρος ἀρχιερε[ύ]ς | τοῦ σύνπαντος ἔνστοῦ διὰ | βίου, ξυστάρχης καὶ ἐπ[ι]τιθέμενος τοῦ Σεβ. καὶ ἵερεὺς τοῦ | προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθ[εί]οις Ἀπόλλωνος Τυριμναίου | τὸν ἔνστον καὶ πάσης τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτην.

<sup>73</sup> TAM V 2, 1018 (mit der älteren Literatur).

<sup>74</sup> Insofern kann ich L. Robert, in *La déesse de Hiérapolis Castabala (Cilicie)*, éd. par A. DUPONT-SOMMER et L. ROBERT (Paris 1964), 90 Anm. 1, der zu der Ehreninschrift für G. Perelius Aurelius Alexander meint, “La traduction plastique est donnée par une monnaie de Thyatire à l’effigie d’Elagabal”, nur bedingt zustimmen.

<sup>75</sup> TAM V 2, 1019: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ: | Γ. Περήλιον Αύρηλιον | Ἀλέξανδρον | μόνον καὶ πρῶτον | τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀθηναῖς ἀφθάρτων οἰκουμενικῶν ἀγώνων Αὐγούστειον Πυθίων | τὸν ἀλειπτὸν πρεσβευτὴν | οἱ λανάριοι, | ἐπιμελησαμένων Αὔρ. Μοσχίανος, Ἀμμιανοῦ; vgl. G. LABARRE, M.-Th. LE DINAHET, “Les métiers du textile en Asie Mineure de l’époque hellénistique à l’époque impériale”, in *Aspects de l’artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranéen (Egypte,*

gesamte Stadt an der kaiserlichen Privilegierung Anteil nahm und den Pankratiasten mit der Gewinnung dieses Agons verband. Wahrscheinlich war die Zunft der Textilproduzenten dem erfolgreichen Sportfunktionär und Gesandten dankbar, weil die neuen Spiele viel Volk nach Thyateira lockten, so dass eine gute Aussicht bestand, die Umsätze der Textilmanufakturen zu steigern.

Im Gegensatz zu den Inschriften geben die Münzen nicht den geringsten Hinweis auf Gaius Perelius Aurelius Alexander. Allerdings müssen wir die Münzen und die Inschriften, die auf Statuenbasen stehen, in ihrer Verbindung sehen: Die meisten Bürger Thyateiras wurden, wenn sie jene Münze in die Hand bekamen, die zeigt, wie Elagabal dem Apollon Tyrimnaios die Preiskrone überreicht, daran erinnert, dass sie die Gewinnung dieses Wettkampfes dem Perilius Aurelius Alexander zu verdanken hatten und umgekehrt erinnerten sie sich, wenn sie seine Statuen mit den Inschriften sahen, daran, dass die Stadt die Gewinnung der Wettkämpfe so sehr schätzte, dass sie eigens Münzen auf diesen Erfolg geprägt hatte.

Die meisten Typen der unter der Aufsicht von T. Claudius Stratonikianos emittierten thyateirenischen Münzen auf diese Privileggewinnung sind enorm große und schwere Münzen, die für den normalen Zahlungsverkehr wegen ihrer Größe und Schwere nicht zu brauchen waren. Offenbar sind sie eine Art Festemission. Solche medaillonartigen Geldstücke wurden auch von anderen Städten auf ihre privilegierten Agone gemünzt. Unbeantwortbar bleibt die Frage, wer solche Festmünzen — einzelne oder einen ganzen Satz von ihnen — erhielt: Zu denken ist in erster Linie an die Wettkämpfer und Athleten, aber auch an Personen, die einen finanziellen Beitrag zur Durchführung des Agons geleistet hatten. Diese Münzen

*Grèce, Monde romain*) (Lyon-Paris 1996), 49-116, bes. 84 f. Nr. 28 mit einer vor Fehlern strotzenden Übersetzung; ferner I. DITTMANN-SCHÖNE, *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens* (Regensburg 2001), 181, die ebenfalls den Text nicht richtig verstanden hat.

wurden offenbar nicht nur aufbewahrt, sondern auch getragen oder aufgehängt. Bei jenem Stück mit dem Preistisch wurden Spuren einer antiken Fassung festgestellt.<sup>76</sup>

## 6. Schlussbetrachtungen

Die Vorstellung Louis Roberts, dass die von ihm konstatierte ‘explosion agonistique’ besonders von den städtischen Münzen des Osten gespiegelt wird, ist bei eingehender Analyse der numismatischen und historischen Verhältnisse nur mit weitreichenden Einschränkungen und Präzisierungen aufrechtzuhalten.

Das gehäufte Auftreten agonistischer Motive auf städtischen Münzen ist zeitlich auf jene 90 Jahre von der Alleinherrschaft des Commodus bis zum Ende der Regentschaft des Gallien beschränkt. Bei einer diachronen Betrachtung der Reverse städtischer Bronzemünzen lässt sich für diese Zeit auf den ersten Blick tatsächlich eine ‘explosion agonistique’ konstatieren, da es zuvor eine solche Menge von agonistischen Motiven in der griechischen Münzprägung nicht gegeben hat: In klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit finden sich nur äußerst selten agonistische Darstellungen, in der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit werden Agone zwar hin und wieder, aber immer noch sehr selten thematisiert. Daher lässt sich die Vermutung Louis Roberts, dass die ‘explosion agonistique’ eine Folge des Kaiserfriedens und des durch ihn heraufgeführten Wohlstands ist, nicht mit dem Zeugnis der Münzen untermauern. Das bedeutet zwar nicht, dass die Existenz jener von Robert behaupteten ‘explosion agonistique’ von der Zeit des Augustus bis in das 3. Jh. durch das Zeugnis der städtischen Münzmissionen widerlegt würde, jedoch müssen wir für das Einsetzen einer massiven Prägung von agonistischen Münzbildern gegen Ende

<sup>76</sup> Auktion Hauck & Aufhäuser 20, 2007, Nr. 413: “Unbedeutende antike Fassungsspuren am Rand”.

des 2. Jh. — also ca. 200 Jahre nach der Heraufführung der *Pax Augusta* — nach anderen Gründen suchen, zumal der Höhepunkt dieser Entwicklung in einer Zeit liegt, in der der Hauch des Krieges überall im Reich spürbar war.

Bei dieser Suche zeigte sich, dass es nur eine Minderheit der prägenden Städte — nicht einmal ein Fünftel — war, die Münzen mit agonistischen Motiven emittierte. Da es sich bei ihnen aber meist um größere und bedeutende Poleis mit einem beträchtlichen Münzausstoß handelt, ist, was die Wahrnehmung dieser ‘explosion agonistique’ angeht, weithin ein falscher Eindruck von den Dimensionen und der Bedeutung dieses Phänomens entstanden.

Abgesehen von diesen zeitlichen und quantitativen Einschränkungen des Begriffes der ‘explosion agonistique’ musste genauer hinterfragt werden, was agonistische Münzbilder zu dem von Louis Robert skizzierten Phänomen inhaltlich beitragen, d.h. was genau sie propagierten. Dabei zeigte sich, dass ein kompliziertes Geflecht von monetären, ikonographischen, religiösen und politischen Entwicklungen hinter der ‘explosion agonistique’ auf den städtischen Münzen des Ostens stand.

Die Entwicklung des römischen Denars zu einem allgegenwärtigen Kurant im gesamten Imperium Romanum übte seit Augustus eine nicht zu unterschätzende Wirkung auf die Gestaltung der städtischen Lokalprägungen aus. Sie führte — in großem Umfang erst nach der Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr., d.h. etwa zu jener Zeit, in der auch die verstärkte Prägung agonistischer Typen einsetzte — nicht nur zu der Übernahme einzelner Bilder der Reichsprägung, sondern auch zu einer Aneignung der römischen Vielbildrigkeit bei der Gestaltung der Reverse. Die durch diesen römischen Einfluss gesteigerte Bedeutung der Bilder auf den Münzen der griechischen Städte wurde dadurch noch weiter erhöht, dass aus geldtechnischen und propagatorischen Gründen seit der Zeit des Commodus vor allem sesterzgroße Nominale geprägt wurden, die Raum für umfangreichere Münzbilder boten. Schließlich führte die aufgrund der ökonomischen Entwicklung zunehmend intensivierte Prägetätigkeit der Städte und

wiederum das Vorbild der römischen Münzprägung dazu, dass neben den traditionellen, nahezu wappenartigen Bildern auch aktuelles Geschehen in den Bildern der Münzen reflektiert wurde. Wir können für diese Zeit mit vollem Recht von einer ‘explosion iconographique’ sprechen, in deren Folge traditionelle Themen mit mehr und auch größeren Bildern propagiert, aber auch neue und aktuelle Themen aufgriffen wurden, so dass die Städte mit ihren Münzen ihre Identität vielfältiger und komplexer zum Ausdruck bringen konnten. Vor allem bis dahin nicht thematisierte Identitäten in neuartigen Bildern bedurften — um die Rezeption der Münzbilder nicht allzu kompliziert zu machen und um die Assoziationen der vielen Leute, die diese Münzen in die Hand bekamen, in die von den Prägeberherren beabsichtigten Richtungen zu lenken — längerer explikativer Legenden, die entweder die neu konzipierten und schwer verständlichen Bilder erläuterten oder im Extremfall sogar den gesamten Raum einer Münzrückseite einnahmen. In diesem vergrößerten ikonographischen und legendarischen Rahmen wurde das alte Hauptthema städtischer Prägungen — die fromme Verehrung der führenden Stadtgottheiten — dadurch erweitert, dass nicht nur wie bisher die Bilder der Götter oder ihre Tempel abgebildet, sondern auch die mit immer größerem Aufwand gefeierten Feste dieser Gottheiten mittels der zu ihren und der Stadt Ehren ausgetragenen Agone evoziert wurden. Die Herausstellung gerade dieses Teilaspekts der traditionellen Götterfeste kam nicht von ungefähr. Er reflektierte vielmehr den ständig wachsenden Bedarf der Gesellschaft nach Amusement — entweder um die Langeweile zu bekämpfen oder um, besonders in den schwierigen Zeiten des 3. Jh., die alltäglichen Nöte und Probleme zu überdecken und vergessen zu machen — und die damit einhergehende schleichende Neuakzentuierung der altüberlieferten religiösen Feste. Die oftmals langen Legenden der Münzen mit agonistischen Themen lassen es überdeutlich werden, dass es den Städten bei diesen Agonen vor allem um die Gewinnung von kaiserlichen Privilegien ging, die sie ihren immer bombastischeren Stadttiteln zu- und einfügen konnten. Für den Kaiser war die Verleihung

von Agonprivilegien ein billiges Mittel, um die Städte für ihre Unterstützung, insbesondere bei den sich häufenden Kriegen, zu belohnen. Die Gewinnung vom Kaiser erhöhter Agone verschaffte den Honoratioren einen Nachweis für ein erfolgreich geführtes Stadtregiment, denn nahezu alle Städte einer Region standen in einem heftigen Konkurrenzkampf um Ränge und Titel, und es war schmerzlich für eine Stadt, hinter einer anderen in der Zahl ihrer privilegierten Agone zurückzufallen. In diesem Zusammenhang erklärt sich auch das eingangs beobachtete Phänomen, dass es gerade die führenden Städte bestimmter landschaftlicher oder administrativer Einheiten waren — also jene, die in diesem brutalen Konkurrenzkampf als die wichtigsten Kontrahenten auftraten —, die ihre errungenen Agonprivilegien auf ihren Münzen zur Schau stellten.

So werden wir auf den städtischen Münzen des Ostens weniger mit einer ‘explosion agonistique’ in dem Sinne, dass es sich um eine neue Begeisterung für die ‘combats des athlètes’ handelte, konfrontiert als vielmehr mit einer ‘explosion agonistique’, bei der die ‘combats des cités’ eine zentrale Rolle spielten. Dabei wurde der Kampf um die Agone zu einer eigenen agonalen Disziplin. Im eigentlichen Sinne propagieren die Münzen keine agonistische Identität der Städte, sondern einen wichtigen Aspekt ihrer Privilegienidentität. Sie sind deshalb jenen Münzen an die Seite zu stellen, die mit neugewonnenen Neokorien prunken. Wäre es um die Spiele selbst gegangen, so hätten die Durchführung und die Sieger der Agone im Focus stehen müssen.

Dass diese Selbstfindung in kaiserlicher Privilegierung auf einer realen Sport- und Wettkampfbegeisterung des Stadtvolkes aufbaute bzw. sich deren bediente, sollte nicht bestritten werden. Die Bilder und Legenden der Münzen sowie die Kontexte ihrer Prägung lassen aber deutlich werden, dass diese instrumentalisiert und politischen Zielen dienstbar gemacht wurde. Insofern sind die Münzen der Städte des Ostens aus der Zeit zwischen ca. 180-270 n. Chr. weniger und nur indirekt Zeugnisse für eine ‘explosion agonistique’ bzw. für die

gesteigerte Begeisterung der breiten Massen für 'Sport, Spiele, Sieg' als vielmehr für die Ausnutzung eines solchen Über schwangs für politische Ziele, sowohl durch den Kaiser als auch durch die Führungsschichten der Städte. Es ist dieses, was uns die Münzen erzählen.

## DISCUSSION

*O. van Nijf:* I think that your double observation that the number of local mints issuing coins with agonistic scenes is lower than has been suggested before, and that this imagery becomes popular only relatively late, is an important correction of received opinion. I am not convinced, however, by the suggestion that these observations also imply that the ‘agonistic explosion’, as it was called by Robert, either happened later, or should not be interpreted as an explosion at all. We should take into account the development of the various types of media. It would seem to me that the observation of Robert is based on the fact that from the late Hellenistic period onwards the inscriptions show an increasing preoccupation with agonistic life and, in particular, with athletics. We are talking about a huge difference of scale in terms of numbers, details of the individual texts and visibility of the monuments. I think that we can also see a similar increase in papyri, and in literary texts that occupy themselves with athletics in particular. It is no coincidence that the main sources for Greek athletics (like Pausanias, Philostratus, Lucian) are in fact from the imperial period. The literature of the Roman Empire in general shows a fascination with athletics, which suggests that it was certainly a hot topic at the time (cf. J. König, *Athletics and Literature in the Roman Empire* [Cambridge 2005]).

*J. Nollé:* Ich bin völlig Ihrer Meinung, dass die Münzen ein spezifisches wie auch eingeschränktes Bild von dem agonistischen Geschehen im römischen Kaiserreich liefern und nicht dazu verwendet werden können, um Louis Roberts These von einer ‘explosion agonistique’ zu bestreiten. Sie sind aber auch nicht dazu geeignet, wie Louis Robert meinte und worin ihm

viele nachfolgten, als Kronzeugen für diese ‘explosion’ zu dienen. Münzen reflektieren, wie ich darzulegen versuchte, nur sehr bedingt eine agonistische Identität, vielmehr aber eine Privilegienidentität. Ob die Begeisterung für Agonistik in der Oberschicht weit verbreitet war oder eher politisch motiviert war — wie etwa die Besuche von wichtigen Fußballspielen durch führende Politiker —, vermag ich anhand der Münzen nicht zu entscheiden und scheint mir auch anhand der übrigen Quellen nicht quantifizierbar zu sein.

*C. Jones:* I think you have shown us very well that from a numismatic standpoint it is hard to discern an ‘explosion agonistique’, when we postpone the explosion to the late second century. On the other hand, we might conclude from papyri and inscriptions that a major change did begin about the time of Augustus. I am thinking primarily of the constitutions of Antony and after him of various emperors (Claudius, Trajan, Hadrian) concerning athletic privileges. We can add the foundation of the *Actia* by Augustus, with the publication of the regulations at Olympia. We have to think of athletics not only as the playroom of the *honoratores*, but to consider how the interests of the working classes (the *penetes*) coincided with those of the *plousioi*. A *penes* would not enter the gymnasial class or afford the specialised training and equipment of a *plousios*, but the pressure from below created by expectations of entertainment and spectacle supported the aspirations of the wealthy few.

*J. Nollé:* Dass die politische Indienststellung von Sport massiv bei Augustus einsetzt, wundert mich nicht, zumal — wie ich gezeigt habe — Augustus auch derjenige gewesen ist, der zuerst die Reichsprägung zur Kündung seiner aktuellen Politik nutzte. Allerdings wird sie in der Münzprägung nicht greifbar.

*C. Kokkinia:* In order to assess the elite’s attitude towards athletics, and the place agonistics held in the value systems of elite members, I think it is important to take into account the

metaphoric value athletics might have had, and in this sense I believe Philostratos' *Gymnastikos* is essential. The fact that this piece remains to some extent enigmatic must mean that we do not necessarily understand well enough the attitude towards sport of even the Greek *pepaideumenoi* of imperial times, let alone that of the Roman elite in the same period.

*J. Nollé:* Auch ich bin nicht in der Lage, aus den Münzen die persönliche Einstellung der Honoratioren zu Agonistik und Athletik zu eruieren. Meine diesbezügliche Skepsis habe ich gerade mit diesem Beitrag unterstreichen wollen, indem ich zeigte, wie wenig die agonistischen Darstellungen auf den Münzen etwas mit der eigentlichen Agonistik zu tun haben, sondern dass es in den Münzbildern eher um städtische Privilegien, um ein enges Verhältnis zum Kaiser und um die Leistungen der Honoratioren, beides erreicht zu haben, geht.

*C. Jones:* I would add the way in which athletics form part of the mental furniture of the *pepaideumenoi* well before Philostratos: Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, even the supremely unathletic Aelius Aristides. I have long thought that a study could be written of 'agonistique imaginaire', the way in which imperial writers exploit athletics in their imagery (simile and metaphor). This tradition continues in Christian literature when writers such as Caesarius of Arles presumably had very little experience of organized athletics.

*K. Coleman:* In a context with a didactic purpose appealing to a different readership we have the many metaphors in the letters of St. Paul that are drawn from the agonistic sphere.

*J. Nollé:* Ich möchte in keiner Weise bestreiten, dass auch die gebildeten Oberschichten von einer allgemeinen Athletenbegeisterung beeinflusst wurden und agonistische Bilder und Vergleiche Einzug auch in ihre Gedankenwelt hielten. Manche von ihnen waren selber als Athleten aktiv — ich erinnere an

den Fall des Mannes aus Thyateira —, manche mögen auch regelrechte Fans einzelner Athleten gewesen sein. Die Frage, die sich anhand der Münzen erörtern lässt, ist, welche Rolle die Honoratioren solchen Vorlieben in der öffentlichen Identität ihrer Städte zubilligten. In diesem Punkte scheinen sie mir sehr zurückhaltend gewesen zu sein. Es gibt z.B. keine Münzen, die einem extrem erfolgreichen Athleten von seiner Heimatstadt gewidmet worden wären.

*C. Jones:* To the question of the role of the *honestiores* in choosing coin-types, controlling the size of emissions etc., do we get any illumination from coins with the ἀνέθηκεν-formula (e.g. Πολέμων ἀνέθηκε Λαοδικηνοῖς)?

*J. Nollé:* Münzen mit dieser Legende weisen auf einen sehr speziellen Fall der Einflussnahme von Mitgliedern der städtischen Führungsschichten auf die Münzprägung hin. Die ἀνέθηκεν-Formel bringt zum Ausdruck, dass ein Honoratior die Kosten für eine spezielle Prägung oder ganze Emission übernahm. Wir können davon ausgehen, dass ein solcher Finanzier ein gewichtiges Wort bei der Auswahl der Typen gehabt hat, was aber nichts daran ändert, dass auch eine solche Emission vom Rat genehmigt werden musste.

*J.-P. Thuillier:* J'ai été très intéressé par la monnaie de Smyrne — ville de tradition pugilistique — sur laquelle on voit une main de boxeur protégée par un 'ceste' à la forme un peu curieuse: connaît-on beaucoup de monnaies représentant ainsi une main de pugiliste?

*J. Nollé:* Nein, bei der Darstellung der smyrnäischen Bronzemünze handelt sich um ein singuläres Münzbild. Die Identifikation als *caestus* wurde aber, soweit ich weiß, bisher nicht in Frage gestellt. Wir sollten bedenken, dass die durch Monamente überlieferten *caestus* sehr verschiedene Formen haben.

*G. Chamberland:* You talk about Hadrian's 'Förderung' of agonistics. The sudden multiplication of coin issues advertising an imperial grant of an agonistic festival is indeed remarkable. But is there not the possibility that coinage is providing only a distorted view of reality? No city will advertise on coins its failure in obtaining a favour from the emperor, and it may well be that many more cities than we will ever know asked for such privileges. I was just wondering, therefore, whether one can hope with the assistance of epigraphy or any other evidence (however scant) to somewhat provide a counterweight to the numismatic evidence.

*J. Nollé:* Selbstverständlich stellen Münzen Städte nur als erfolgreiche Gemeinwesen dar. Misserfolge sind durch sie nicht zu fassen, aber darin unterscheiden sie sich kaum von den Inschriften. Ich glaube aber nicht, dass die Münzen eines 'Gegengewichts' bedürfen, das ihr Zeugnis ausbalanciert. Wir müssen uns eher den absichtlich eingegrenzten Blickwinkel verdeutlichen, unter dem die Münzen bzw. die sie emittierenden städtischen Oberschichten ein Phänomen wie den städtischen Agonistikbetrieb zu einer bestimmten Zeit und in bestimmten Situation propagierten, um den spezifischen Zeugniswert unserer monetären Quellen für viele Fragen, die wir an die antike Agonistik richten, zu erkennen. Die Honoratioren waren als Prägeberherren vor allem an dem Identitätswert von Agonen interessiert, und der lag ihrer Meinung nach vor allem in der kaiserlichen Privilegierung. Was bei ihrer Münzprägung entsteht, ist kein 'distorted view of reality', sondern eher ein fokussierter Blick auf ein äußerst komplexes Phänomen.

*J. Nelis-Clément:* Parallèlement à l'envoi d'ambassades auprès de l'empereur et à la recherche active d'une occasion de le rencontrer, à Rome ou lors de ses déplacements dans l'empire, par exemple pendant les *agônes* (sur ce point, la récente publication de l'inscription d'Alexandrie de Troade qui a conservé trois lettres d'Hadrien, un dossier étudié en détails

par Christopher Jones, est tout à fait exemplaire), les cités et associations d'artistes n'avaient-elles pas d'autres moyens d'établir et même d'entretenir sur le long terme des contacts suivis avec le pouvoir central? Je pense en particulier à la possible présence à Rome (et aussi à Pouzzoles ou Ostie) d'antennes ou de *stationes* de plusieurs cités (Tralles, Sardes, Tarse, Anazarbos, peut-être Éphèse, ou encore Mopsueste et Tyr), établies vraisemblablement dans le secteur du forum de César et de la Via Sacra, et qui viennent de faire l'objet d'une étude aujourd'hui sous presse.

*J. Nollé:* Das kann ich nur bestätigen; gerade der von mir skizzierte Fall des C. Perilius Aurelius Alexander von Thyateira, der Erzpriester des Athletenverbandes war, zeigt, wie wichtig die Präsenz in Rom sein konnte, um agonistische Privilegien zu gewinnen.

*P. Ducrey:* Könnte bei diesen Aktionen, Agonprivilegien zu gewinnen, auch Bestechung eine Rolle gespielt haben?

*J. Nollé:* Das ist anzunehmen. Da wird sich die Antike nicht sehr von heutigen Gepflogenheiten unterscheiden, die etwa vor kurzem bei der Vergabe der Olympischen Spiele teilweise ans Tageslicht gekommen sind. Aber da diese Vorgänge das Licht der Öffentlichkeit scheuen müssen, ist über sie aus den Münzen, die Öffentlichkeit herstellen sollen, nicht das Geringste zu erfahren.



σπουδαία από την πολιτική λειτουργία στην οποία μετέβησε η πολιτική στην πολιτική γεννητικής στην πόλη. Η πολιτική γεννητική στην πόλη ήταν η πολιτική στην πόλη που διατηρούσε την πολιτική γεννητική στην πόλη στην πόλη.

II. στην Ελληνική πόλη της αρχαιότητας

ONNO M. VAN NIJF

## POLITICAL GAMES<sup>1</sup>

*Political culture and political theatre*

There was a strong taste for the spectacular in the Greek city after the classical age that found its chief expression in the dramatic increase of festivals with athletic and artistic competitions.<sup>2</sup> This ‘agonistic explosion’, as it was dubbed by Louis Robert, left a clear mark on political and institutional life in post-classical Greek cities, particularly in the Roman period. One of the more obvious symptoms of this development was the rise to prominence of the gymnasiarach and the agonothete, i.e. the officials and functionaries who occupied themselves with athletic festivals and their infrastructure. Quass describes these functions as liturgical *archai* (leiturgische Ämter), since the officials appear to have been elected by political means,

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Harry Pleket, Sofia Voutsaki, Kaja Harter-Uibopuu, Christina Williamson and Eleni van Nijf for their help with this paper. The comments of my colleagues at the 2011 *Entretiens* have caused me to reconsider some of my formulations. I have, however, kept the tenor of the original, so as not to pre-empt the discussion that is appended.

<sup>2</sup> A. CHANIOTIS, “Sich selbst feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenismus im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Politik”, in *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, hrsg. von M. WÖRRLER und P. ZANKER (München 1995), 147–172; A. CHANIOTIS, “Negotiating Religion in the Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire”, in *Kernos* 16 (2003), 177–190. The agonistic explosion: L. ROBERT, “Discours d’ouverture”, in *Πρακτικά των Η’ διεθνών συνεδρίων Ελληνικής και Αστινομίκης επιγραφικής. Αθήνα, 3–9 Οκτωβρίου 1982, Τόμος Α'* (Athena 1984), 35–45, esp. 35–36 = *Opera Minora Selecta*, VI (Amsterdam 1989), 700–719, esp. 700–701.

but were expected to foot the bill themselves.<sup>3</sup> The traditional explanation of this phenomenon is that the cities lacked the resources to pay for these extravaganzas from their own pockets,<sup>4</sup> yet the overall financial situation was, in fact, not all that bad, and it has recently even been argued that benefactors provided mostly just the icing on the cake.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, even if many festivities were funded by the treasury, the fact remains that the officials appointed to organize and supervise them tended to use their term of office to embellish, expand, and enlarge existing festivals at their own expense. The most striking example of this festive euergetism may be found in the many spectacles that were organized and funded by private benefactors. In south-west Asia Minor alone, hundreds of these prize contests (*themides*) are known. For example, at least fifteen local agonistic contests are attested just for the city of Termessos, all named after their local founders.<sup>6</sup> A recent study by Hall and Milner mentions another ten in nearby Oinoanda.<sup>7</sup> The total number of local games all over Roman Asia Minor can only be surmised, but it must have been considerable.<sup>8</sup> In this paper I will argue that these large numbers

<sup>3</sup> F. QUASS, *Die Honoratiorenenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit* (Stuttgart 1993).

<sup>4</sup> W. TARN, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, rev. by the author and G.T. GRIFFITH (London 3<sup>rd</sup>1966); P. VEYNE, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris 1976).

<sup>5</sup> A. ZUIDERHOEK, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 2009).

<sup>6</sup> R. HEBERDEY, "Gymnische und andere Agone in Termessus Pisidiae", in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (Manchester 1923), 195-206.

<sup>7</sup> A. HALL and N.P. MILNER, "Education and Athletics. Documents Illustrating the Festivals of Oenoanda", in *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia in Memoriam A.S. Hall*, ed. by D. FRENCH (Ankara 1994), 7-47.

<sup>8</sup> H.W. PLEKET, "Einige Betrachtigungen zum Thema: 'Geld und Sport'", in *Nikephoros* 17 (2004), 77-89; A. FARRINGTON, "Θέμιδες and the Local Elites of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia", in *Pathways to Power. Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Athens Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 19 December 2005*, ed. by A.D. RIZAKIS and F. CAMIA (Athene 2008), 241-249.

of contests and other spectacles (whether funded by private or public means) not only had an impact on civic life, but were moreover events of major political significance, entirely embedded in the statecraft of the imperial Greek city. They were all, so to speak, political games.

Our knowledge of these festivals derives from several types of source. Among the most common are of course the numerous individual victory monuments that were set up for the successful athletes in the cities, and the many local coins that commemorated civic games.<sup>9</sup> More information on the procedures is given in the inscriptions that record aspects of the foundation of a particular festival in individual cities. Very often these documents disclose who the organisers were and which processes led to the establishment of the festival. The often long inscriptions show the great impact of such festivals on political life in institutional terms (e.g. the need for extra officials such as market supervisors, or religious officials), but also in terms of political deliberation. Some texts offer a glimpse of the political processes that often remain hidden. The entire dossier of the Demosthenia of Oinoanda, for example, reveals how the negotiations took place between the donor and the city, which apparently did not accept every festival that was offered to her simply as a matter of course. Demosthenes ultimately had to rely on the support of Hadrian to get his way with his fellow citizens. Similar procedural elements are visible in the organisation of the procession that Vibius Salutaris set up in Ephesus. In the prelude of the decree that confirmed the acceptance of his offer we read:

“Concerning all these things, having privately proposed the bequest, he has asked that it be ratified by a decree of the *boule* and the *demos*, and now the governors of the province... have ordered us to introduce with their sanction the motion concerning his dedications.”

<sup>9</sup> W. LESCHHORN, “Die Verbreitung von Agonen in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches”, in *Stadion* 24 (1998), 31-57. See also J. NOLLÉ in this volume.

The whole procedure from the first presentation of the festival to its final acceptance by the civic authorities appears to have been an extended affair, not to mention the fact that each festival put a huge administrative burden upon the city officials.<sup>10</sup>

It is tempting to see the increase in political attention for spectacles and festivals as a symptom of the decline and fall of the old Greek *polis*, and *polis* politics, which many believe to have been unavoidable after Chaeronea. Previous scholarship on the political history of the Greek *polis* after the classical age has tended to consider any political activity irrelevant, dismissing it as mere show or empty ritual.<sup>11</sup> Political deliberation was, in this view, largely spent on such trivial matters by an order of notables who thought it “better to amuse people than to govern [them].”<sup>12</sup> Assemblies continued to meet, but they were only meant to rubberstamp decisions taken by the councillors; the voice of the *demos* was only heard during carefully orchestrated acclamations, expressing admiration for the notables or loyalty to Rome. The notables assumed the costs of office from their own pockets, and stepped in as benefactors when city funds were insufficient to pay for cheap food, buildings, and festivals. In other words, political life in the Greek city had changed beyond recognition. The *polis*, once the home of democracy, was now dominated by an oligarchic clique supported by an oppressive empire, but was devoid of any real power. Political life had turned into political theatre: elite status involved role-playing. Local politics had, in this view, become a spectator sport.

<sup>10</sup> G.M. ROGERS, “Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism”, in *JRS* 81 (1991), 91-100; K. HARTER-UIBOPUU, “Zum Gerichtswesen im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta”, in *Symposium 2005. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Salerno, 14.-18. September 2005)*, hrsg. von E. CANTARELLA (Wien 2007), 335-348.

<sup>11</sup> O.M. VAN NIJF and R. ALSTON, “Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age. Introduction and Preview”, in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, ed. by O.M. VAN NIJF and R. ALSTON (Leuven 2011), 1-26.

<sup>12</sup> W. TARN and G.T. GRIFFITH, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 115.

Discussing the changes as exclusively negative and in terms of decline, however, is of little help in interpreting what was really going on at the time. Had local politics indeed been reduced to empty rituals devoid of political meaning, it is hard to understand why someone like Plutarch even bothered to write advice to local politicians, why any of the thousands of notables pursued a political career and invested their time and money, or why tens of thousands of ordinary citizens thought it worth their while to show up in the assemblies and vote. Indeed, historians are now gradually abandoning long-held views about the supposed decline of the Greek city, and there is a revival of interest in the political history of the Greek city in the later period. Scholars have begun to agree that the Hellenistic *polis* was vibrant, at least until the advent of Rome. Recent scholarship now seems to argue for greater continuity of political forms and institutions well into the empire itself.<sup>13</sup> It is well known that, even at the end of the third century AD, when *polis* status was in the gift of the emperor, political decisions were still taken locally by the *boule* and the *demos* in an assembly. Political institutions, and the formulae of political decision making, would have been recognizable to Greeks of an earlier age. Indeed, contemporary observers took local politics very seriously. The epigraphic record shows that the historical actors invested widely in their cities in terms of time, money, and effort, and that patriotism was thriving. In general, we have every reason to assume that political activity and local citizenship remained a major source of personal identity and collective pride.<sup>14</sup> The civic — dare I say democratic? — spirit had not totally vanished.

<sup>13</sup> V. GRIEB, *Hellenistische Demokratie. Politische Organisation und Struktur in freien griechischen Poleis nach Alexander dem Grossen* (Stuttgart 2008); S. CARLSSON, *Hellenistic Democracies. Freedom, Independence and Political Procedure in Some East Greek City-States* (Stuttgart 2010); A. ZUIDERHOEK, "On the Political Sociology of the Imperial Greek City", in *GRBS* 48 (2008), 417-445.

<sup>14</sup> E.C.L. VAN DER VLIET, "Pride and Participation. Political Practice, Euergetism, and Oligarchisation in the Hellenistic Polis", in *Political Culture, op. cit.* (n. 11), 155-184.

*Political culture*

We need to be aware, however, that there had been significant changes, as well as continuities, and we need to address both these aspects in order to make sense of politics in the post-classical *polis*. If local politics adopted a taste for the spectacular, and if it had evolved into a kind of political theatre, then we should put this development at the centre of our investigations into politics as it really was, rather than viewing it as a decline from what it ought to have been. Politics is not only defined by the institutions that it uses to run the state machinery, but also by its wider cultural context — the values and norms that influence the way in which it is conducted. We must complement, then, our conventional analysis of structures and institutions, and study political aspects of the imperial Greek city from a wider cultural perspective, which gives a place to spectacle and performance. I refer to the notion of ‘political culture’, which encapsulates a ‘menu of approaches’ developed in political science, but also adopted by historians. “Involving both the ideals and the operating norms of a political system, political culture includes subjective attitudes and sentiments as well as objective symbols and creeds that together govern political behaviour and give structure and order to the political process”.<sup>15</sup> In modern political historiography, the concept has been enthusiastically received, because it liberates historians from the limits of a narrow analysis of formal institutions and practices, while legitimizing the inclusion of new sources and the discussion of new subjects, including games and festivals. Of course, the observation that politics does not only rely on institutions is not new. Already in the nineteenth century Bagehot warned historians that not only the ‘efficient’, but also the ‘dignified’ elements of a political system should be scrutinized.<sup>16</sup> Politics is thus analyzed as a form

<sup>15</sup> L.W. PYE, “Political Culture”, in *The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*, ed. by J. KRIEGER (Oxford 2001), 661-662.

<sup>16</sup> W. BAGEHOT, *The English Constitution* (London 1867).

of culture with ritual, symbolic, and ludic elements, the development of which still needs to be charted. Indeed, a particularly popular metaphor for politics in this type of analysis is that of spectacle or theatre. While this metaphor may be applied to every age, historians agree that some periods develop a stronger taste for the spectacular or theatrical. British politics in the nineteenth century may have been one example, with the rise of the political sketch-writer as a kind of theatre critic; the development of modern-day television democracies is another example.<sup>17</sup> I suggest that we analyze politics in the post-classical city also for its spectacular and theatrical components. A cultural approach to politics in the post-classical *polis* then provides us with a new set of conceptual and analytical tools, allowing us to draw on a much wider range of cultural and social practices for political analysis. It also encourages us to use new sources, including material culture, and offers a new approach to the study of public inscriptions and monuments, our most common type of evidence. Looking at politics as part of a wider political culture reminds us that we should not only mine the texts for information on institutions, administrative concerns, and individual careers, but contextualize them in their wider settings (cultural, political, and material), and approach them as elements of a continuing public discourse that addressed and informed the 'values, expectations, and implicit rules that express and share collective intentions and actions'.<sup>18</sup>

### *Athletes and politicians on a pedestal*

There are several ways in which the spectacular was intertwined with the political in the imperial Greek cities. I have

<sup>17</sup> H. TE VELDE, *Het theater van de politiek* (Amsterdam 2003); D. PELS and H. TE VELDE (red.), *Politieke stijl: over presentatie en optreden in de politiek* (Amsterdam 2000).

<sup>18</sup> L. HUNT, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley 1984).

argued above that public festivals became an important object of political decision-making, but there is also evidence that politics itself adopted a more 'spectacular' character, and in particular that politicians started to make — so to speak — a spectacle of themselves. Politicians, or rather the members of elite families who dominated political life to a large extent, began to play a different role in the cities — not in terms of formal political power, but rather in the way they behaved, and in the styles and roles in which they wished to be publicly portrayed. Peter Brown has admirably captured the changes in atmosphere with his expression, 'the age of ambition', referring, of course, to the notion of *philotimia* which was a driving force behind much of the elite's behaviour. Honour was to be found in acts of generosity and public service, but it was also a matter of lifestyle, of public role-playing, and of the development of a particular political style. Of course, we can no longer observe local politicians in action, nor explore all the roles they performed, but we can get an idea as to how the political class was publicly representing itself by considering honorific language and, in particular, its material expression in the form of honorific inscriptions.

In this part of my paper I want to argue that there is a strong tendency to merge athletic and political representations. One of the most striking characteristics of the urban landscape of the imperial Greek city was the proliferation of statues and inscriptions. Lining the streets, framing the agoras, and adorning public buildings were monuments that commemorated the deeds, names, and faces of local heroes. Among them we find local priests, magistrates, and benefactors, as well as the members of their families, but also a surprisingly large number of athletes. When we look at honorific inscriptions in our epigraphic corpora, it is easy to forget that each text was part of a much larger monument with a prominent visual impact. Moreover, these were public monuments, and we may expect that each monument was the result of long

discussions, i.e. the investment of political time and of private and public energy and money. They were part and parcel of politics, and an example of the particular political culture of the Graeco-Roman city.

Most of the scholarship on these monuments has been concerned with the factual information that they provide on institutional life and individual careers (including those of athletes), but honorific monuments also offer insights into the political culture. It should be noted that honorific monuments carried a political statement: as public monuments they were the expression of values and ideologies shared by the honorands and the honouring communities. To put it more strongly, they were 'civic mirrors', i.e. they were as much a statement of how leaders ought to behave, as a reflection of their actual behaviour.

So the question is: what are the qualities that were expected of the political leaders in the Roman East? All over the Roman East the monuments highlighted obvious political virtues such as patriotism (in the form of benefactions, political office, and other outstanding services to the city), exemplary piety, and priestly functions — and, of course, loyalty to Rome. A salient feature of the honorific language of the time, however, is the commemoration of athletic achievements found in so many texts. The statue for the victorious athlete must have been among the most common sights along the colonnaded streets and in the open squares that characterized the great rebuilding of the Roman East. A good and accessible example is Aphrodisias, where Charlotte Roueché's excellent study, *Performers and Partisans*, allows us to grasp the importance of agonistics for the image of the local elites.<sup>19</sup> My own studies of the epigraphic representation in the small city of Termessos, with an excellently preserved record of honorific monuments, show that up to 50% of the monuments referred to athletic victory.

<sup>19</sup> CH. ROUECHÉ, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods. A Study Based on Inscriptions from the Current Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria* (London 1993).

I suggest that an honorific map in other cities might yield a similar image as well.<sup>20</sup>

There are various ways to look at these monuments. Some statues display the athletes in action, drawing attention to the moment of competition; others emphasize victory by representing the athlete as crowning himself. A great number of monuments adopt the Lysippian image of the *apoxyomenos*, thus marking the moment of transition from the role of athlete to that of a private citizen.<sup>21</sup> We can also differentiate between different types of athletes. Some monuments would have been set up for the real heroes — the champions of the international athletic circuit. Even the smallest city might have one or two native stars to commemorate. A great example of this is the spectacularly detailed honorific inscription that was set up by the city of Sardeis for the top athlete, M. Aurelius Damostratos Damas.<sup>22</sup> It is worth quoting the text in full, to get an idea of the range of contests and the status of the star athletes of the Roman Empire.

“(A) M. Aurelius Demostratos Damas, high priest of the entire athletic association, president of the athletic association for life and supervisor of the imperial baths, pankratiast, twice period victor, boxer without a lost match, victor *extraordinaire*, citizen of Sardeis, Alexandria... Pergamon Corinth (?)... Argos, Sparta... Elis, having obtained in all... victories, of which [67] in sacred contests. In Italy, Hellas, Asia, and Alexandria, including the following: the Olympia at Pisa [... times], the Pythia at Delphi three times, the Isthmia, five times, the Nemeia [... times]; the Aspis at Argos three times; in Rome the Capetolia twice, in Puteoli twice, in Nea Polis [... times], the Actia twice,

<sup>20</sup> O.M. VAN NIJF, “Inscriptions and Civic Memory in the Roman East”, in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. by A. COOLEY (London 2000), 21-36; O.M. VAN NIJF, “Public Space and Political Culture in Roman Termessos”, in *Political Culture, op. cit.* (n. 11), 215-242.

<sup>21</sup> O.M. VAN NIJF, “Quelques notes préliminaires sur la nudité athlétique comme problème”, in *S’habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens*, éd. par F. GHERCHANOC et V. HUET (Paris in press).

<sup>22</sup> *I.Sardis* 79; cf. J.-Y. STRASSER, “La carrière du pancratiaste Markos Aurèlios Démôstratos Damas”, in *BCH* 127 (2003), 251-299.

in Athens ten times: of which the Panathenaia [... times], the Panhellenia three times, the Olympeia [... times], the Hadrianeia, once; in Rhodes the Haleia three times; at Sardeis the Chrysanthinos four times, at Ephesos nine times; at Smyrna six times; at Pergamon the Augsteiae three times; at Alexandria [... times]; at Rome in the triumphal contests of our Lords the emperors Antoninus and Commodus he was crowned with a golden crown and he obtained the gold prize. Upon request he obtained from our most divine Lords, the emperors Severus and Antoninus, the right to transfer his high priesthood and his presidency of the athletic association to his sons. His statue was erected by his sons: Aurelius Damas, high priest of the entire athletic association, president of the athletic association for life, supervisor of the imperial baths, multiple victor and victor *extraordinaire*, Marcus Demostratianos, multiple victor and victor *extraordinaire*, Demostratos Hegemonides multiple victor and victor *extraordinaire*, and Damianos, president of the athletic association.

(B) And of all the prize games [where he competed in the pankration in the categories of boys and men]: [unknown] three times; at [Larissa] in Thessaly, three times; at Thespiae, the Erofideia once; [unknown] once; [unknown] twice; [unknown ending in AS] once; [unknown] four times; [unknown ending in N] once; [unknown] once (now a sacred contest); [unknown] once (now a sacred contest); at [Byza]ntion once (now a sacred contest); at [Peri]nthos once (now a sacred contest); [the Olymp]eia of Macedonia [...]; [unknown] twice; the contests [of the *koinon*] of the Arcadians in Mantinea three times; at Sparta(?) six times: the [Euryk]leia twice (now a sacred contest); [unknown ending in IIA?] twice; [unknown ending in EIA] three times; at [Demetri]as in Macedonia once; in the [unknown ending in EIA] in the Isthmos four times; at [unknown ending in ONA] once.

(C) The only and first ever of men to have won twenty contests in the category of boys, and having progressed from the category of boys to the category of adult men, he won forty-eight sacred contests, among them the boxing in the Pythian games at Delphi, in the Isthmian Games, in the Nemean Games; in the Hadreia-neios Philadelpeios of Alexandria. And he was honoured by the Divine Marcus and the Divine Commodus with citizenship at Alexandria on the terms of a native Alexandrian, and with the presidency of the athletic association of the contests listed below:

the Capetolia in Rome, the Chrysanthinos in Sardis; the contests of the *koinon* of Asia in Sardis; the Didymeia in Miletos, the Hadrianeios Philadelphios in Alexandria, the Sebasteios in Alexandria, the Seleukeios in Alexandria, the contests of Antinoopolis, and all the contests in Egypt, the contests of the *koinon* of Asia in Tralleis, the contests of the *koinon* of Bithynia in Nikomedea, the Eurykleia in Sparta. He was honoured by the divine Severus and our most divine Lord Antoninus with many other great honours and with the presidency of the athletic association at the Eusebeia at Puteoli and the Sebasta at Neapolis.”

Damas was, of course, one of the most successful athletes of the Roman Empire, but every city was in fact keen on commemorating and listing the international successes of its foremost athletes, and so Damas’ honorific inscriptions were rooted in a vocabulary that was widely shared throughout the Roman East. It should be noted, however, that the majority of athletic honorific inscriptions were set up for local heroes: athletes from the local gymnasium, boys and young men of ephebic age, who only starred in local competitions.<sup>23</sup> Most of them were of course scions of elite families, as the gymnasium catered mainly to the needs of the *jeunesse dorée*. The prize lists of *gymnasion* contests suggest that they were joined by the sons of wealthier craftsmen and traders, but public individual recognition of their athletic exploits was by and large the preserve of members of the local elite families. It is, however, a sign of the times that many monuments commemorated the athletic successes of (adult) priests and magistrates. Athletic victory, priestly functions, and magisterial generosity could be mentioned on one and the same monument, an indication that these were seen as commensurable qualities.

An inscription from Termessos illustrates how these elements could come together: a certain M. Aurelius Moles, member of one of the city’s foremost families, was identified as

<sup>23</sup> O. VAN NIJF, “Local Heroes. Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East”, in *Being Greek under Rome*, ed. by S. GOLDHILL (Cambridge 2001), 306–334.

a priest and praised for his athletic exploits at home and abroad.<sup>24</sup> Before we dismiss this as the irrelevant exception from an Anatolian backwater, it may be useful to remember that Moles places himself in a venerable tradition that included such luminaries as the Kolophonian politicians, Polemaios and Menippos, who, despite their philosophical and political activities, were also eager to have their athletic successes publicly commemorated.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, and tellingly, statues for athletes were not only found in gymnasia, where one would expect them, but throughout the city in the most conspicuous places, alongside the statues for magistrates, priests, and benefactors, which suggests that the achievements of victorious athletes were deemed to have been of the same order. Everywhere in the Roman East citizens were presented with images of their leaders as well-trained athletes, and apparently there was no perceived conflict between these different spheres. In fact, an athlete was *ipso facto* a public figure, as is indicated by a passage in Dio Chrysostom, where a practising athlete is contrasted with an *idiotes* (private citizen).<sup>26</sup> The boxer Melankomas showed his excellence in training:

“He was just like one of the most carefully wrought statues, and also he had a colour like well-blended bronze, moreover [he] was more courageous and bigger than any other man in the world, not merely than any of his opponents; and furthermore, he was the most beautiful. And if he had remained a private citizen (*idiotes*) and had not gone in for boxing at all... he would have become widely known simply on account of his beauty.”

It is no surprise, then, that in a second oration we learn that Melankomas’ death was seen as a loss for the entire community. How can we explain this? As I have argued elsewhere, athletics was a quintessentially Greek cultural activity that helped the elite to stake out its claim to Greek *paideia* in search

<sup>24</sup> TAM III, 168.

<sup>25</sup> L. ROBERT et J. ROBERT, *Claros I. Décrets hellénistiques*, 1 (Paris 1989).

<sup>26</sup> DIO CHR. Or. 28, 5: cf. Or. 29.

of social distinction.<sup>27</sup> I would like to suggest here, however, that athletics also had a distinct civic and political dimension. Athletics was a successful combination of aristocratic and civic ideologies. Athletic victory served to denote individual excellence, but at the same time represented it as a primordial civic quality, because it was established in a public context, open to all and to be seen by all. Athletic skills constituted, therefore, an attractive asset in the political discourse of the time, where attempts at oligarchization and hierarchization still had to be framed in terms that were acceptable to the *demos* in the assembly. As the example of Melankomas shows, perfect citizens also had perfect bodies. Now your average notable was no Melankomas, but the fact that the commemoration of athletic success was so popular reflected the persistence of the 'Greek dream' that individual valour was established in open contest, while effectively limiting its social value to a narrow circle of notables who were able to secure public commemoration. Athletic success put the elite literally and metaphorically on a pedestal — and this was pure politics.

### *Political spectacles as rational rituals*

Can we explore the link between politics and athletic competition in the post-classical Greek city in other ways? If local politics indeed developed a theatrical style, with a growing emphasis on spectacle and performance and on the representation of political roles, we should also expect the world of festivals and spectacles itself to become increasingly politicized. This was indeed the case. Public ceremonies and other ritualized collective practices, such as processions, banquets, and agonistic festivals, had always had a civic function, but in the period with

<sup>27</sup> O. VAN NIJF, *art. cit.* (n. 23); O.M. VAN NIJF, "Athletics, Andreia and the Askesis-Culture in the Roman East", in *Andreia. Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, ed. by R.M. ROSEN and I. SLUITER (Leiden 2003), 263–286.

which we are concerned this role increased at the expense of other dimensions.<sup>28</sup> Festivals retained a religious core, of course, but political or civic ingredients seem to have been more and more visible: the growing prominence of liturgical magistrates, such as the *agonothetai* (discussed above), at the expense of priests is only one symptom of this development. But the whole atmosphere seems to have changed: Angelos Chaniotis aptly describes this as a growing ‘functionalization’ of the festival that now “offered the *polis* the proper opportunity to undertake a diplomatic mission, to attract visitors, to demonstrate loyalty towards a king, to organize a fair, to represent itself, to transmit traditions to the youth, to strengthen its cohesion, to distract the attention of the poor from their problems.”<sup>29</sup> Under Roman rule, organizers kept emphasizing their piety towards the traditional deities, although the latter were now joined by the ‘imperial gods’,<sup>30</sup> which had a massive impact on agonistic festivals. As has been pointed out by Robert and Mitchell, the imperial cult seems to have been a major factor behind the extraordinary rise of agonistic festivals, immediately followed by the foundations of private benefactors who organised the large numbers of *themides*, or other local festivals.<sup>31</sup> The populace may have been grateful for the fact that these spectacles dispelled their tedium,<sup>32</sup> but the overall effect was that these rituals also helped the benefactors to establish themselves as the ruling order. The question is: how do cultural practices such as rituals and ceremonies constitute power?<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> A. CHANIOTIS, “Negotiating Religion”, *art. cit.* (n. 2).

<sup>29</sup> A. CHANIOTIS, “Sich selbst feiern”, *art. cit.* (n. 2), 162.

<sup>30</sup> P.A. HARLAND, “Imperial Cults within Local Cultural Life. Associations in Roman Asia”, *Ancient History Bulletin* 17 (2003), 85-107; S. PRICE, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984).

<sup>31</sup> L. ROBERT, “Discours d’ouverture” (see n. 2), 35-36; S. MITCHELL, “Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor”, *JRS* 80 (1990), 183-193; for local games, see n. 8 above.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *CIL* IX 1589 (p. 695) = *CIL* X 521b. A certain Tanonius Marcellinus was praised because his entertainments had dispelled the *longa populi taedia*.

<sup>33</sup> M.S.-Y. CHWE, *Rational Ritual. Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge* (Princeton 2001).

Cultural anthropologists like Geertz have suggested that spectacular demonstrations of power (such as the royal progress or the imperial burial) can be read as a text, a cultural fiction that was offered to the population as a blueprint for how to live their lives.<sup>34</sup> Ancient historians have followed suit.<sup>35</sup> This is a powerful model, but it can be criticized on the grounds that it is not very successful in explaining change, except as the result of top-down symbolic action, nor does it explain sufficiently how it is that large audiences are so affected by these spectacles that they adapt their behaviour. At this point, I want to draw on the work of Michael Chwe, whose model of the 'rational ritual' addresses exactly these questions. The twin notions of rational ritual and common knowledge will allow me to sketch a more nuanced and dynamic picture of the role of ceremonies and festivals in the political culture of the Graeco-Roman city.

As a game theorist, Chwe is interested in the issue of coordination among humans. In his work he focuses on the processes that are used to generate common knowledge, which is a prerequisite for collective action. Getting people to take a particular course of action, e.g. support a common goal, share in a group identity, support a political regime (or, on the contrary, undertake action to subvert it), presents, in Chwe's view, a coordination problem. Chwe argues that to get common action, or a common will, 'common knowledge' is needed first. This is to be distinguished from 'shared knowledge', in the sense that it requires not simply that 'everybody knows', but rather that this knowledge is also present at a meta-level: i.e. it is important that "everybody knows that everybody knows the same thing as well". For collective action, it is important that people know that other people agree with them, for only then

<sup>34</sup> C. GEERTZ, *Negara. The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton 1980).

<sup>35</sup> S. PRICE, "From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult. The Consecration of Roman Emperors", in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. by D. CANNADINE and S. PRICE (Cambridge 1987), 56-105.

are they inclined to take a common course of action. Accordingly, in this view political legitimacy depends on general agreement between the rulers and the ruled, on common knowledge that everyone will take the written and unwritten rules of the political game seriously. It is, therefore, in the interest of political rulers to ensure that everybody shares their view of society, and that alternative views do not become 'common knowledge.'

There are, of course, various ways in which information can be shared and common knowledge can be created, e.g. by means of coinage, inscriptions, advertising, gossip, or nowadays Twitter, but Chwe argues that rituals often perform this role. The importance of rituals is that they let individuals interact with each other. A public ritual is first and foremost an occasion where all the members of a community are required to be present in one place and jointly learn the cultural information contained in the spectacle — but they are especially required to learn that everybody else has learnt the same thing.

Rituals help in social and political integration by making public the values and implicit rules that express and share collective intentions and actions and by making sure that everyone knows that these values are shared by all concerned. It is important in this context to note that agonistic (and other civic) festivals were not simply spectacular entertainment displayed to a passive population, but that they demanded an active role by the ordinary population. Angelos Chaniotis, among others, has noted that festivals became heavily scripted events that involved the participation of large parts of the population in fixed roles.<sup>36</sup> Sacred laws and civic decrees that dealt with their organization read, in the words of Chaniotis, like dramatic scripts with increasing elaboration. Many texts show that processions, distributions, banquets, and contests became strictly regulated according to hierarchical principles, carefully listing all the participants and stipulating their role in the spectacles. This trend

<sup>36</sup> A. CHANIOTIS, "Sich selbst feiern", *art. cit.* (n. 2).

began in the Hellenistic period, but culminated under the Empire. One of the most striking examples may be found in the provisions for the organization of a quadrennial theatrical festival that were left by the benefactor C. Iulius Demosthenes of Oinoanda (mentioned above). Among the regulations, we find exceptionally detailed instructions for a civic procession, in which a portable altar and imperial images were to be escorted by the festival officials, civic priests (the imperial priest and priestess and the priest of Zeus), and political functionaries of the city, as well as by representatives of the dependent villages in Oinoanda's territory, each with one or more sacrificial bulls.<sup>37</sup> The procession encapsulated civic identity in terms of its political hierarchy, all participants being the representatives of institutional or local groups.<sup>38</sup> Other festivals contained similar regulations.<sup>39</sup> These processions, then, were scripted by and for the elites, who were thus hoping to impose their sense of order on their fellow citizens. By performing a particular public role in the festival, the participants showed that they had accepted the political order of which the festival was an expression — and the public nature of the festival made sure that their acceptance was common knowledge, making it harder for people to dissent.

I wish to argue that spectacles such as athletic competitions also served to foster civic identity. In this case, a special role was played not so much by the performers, but by the spectators, the members of the audience of the shows, contests, and spectacles that were so often put on in the cities of the Roman East. Again, I draw on Chwe, who insists that one important and practically universal way in which rituals create common knowledge is through the spatial organization of the participants in an

<sup>37</sup> SEG 38, 1462 ll. 65-75. Translation: Mitchell. See M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* (München 1988).

<sup>38</sup> G.M. ROGERS, *art. cit.* (n. 10), 96-99.

<sup>39</sup> Ephesus: Vibius Salutaris *IK-Ephesos* 27; Akraephia: Epaminondas *IG VII* 2712; Gytheon: Eurykles *SEG* 11, 923.

inward-facing circle, which enables everyone not only to see, but also to be seen. The inward-facing circle not only reaches many people at the same time, but it also allows for intervisibility, which generates common knowledge in the sense that all spectators know that they have all seen the same thing, so that they can adjust their behaviour accordingly.<sup>40</sup> No place in the Graeco-Roman city was more suited to this purpose than the auditoria of theatres, amphitheatres, and stadia, which were the prime setting for musical or athletic contests, but which also functioned as important stations for civic and religious processions, providing benefactors with a suitable location to present handouts and distributions or toss out small gifts (*rhimmata*) to the citizenry. The great rebuilding of the Roman East added other types of auditorium to the repertoire. Stadia and hippodromes were built for athletic contests and horse racing; amphitheatres were rarely built in the East, but existing theatres were adapted for gladiatorial shows, which were an indispensable element in the celebrations connected with the imperial cult. Moreover, theatres were also frequently the sites of assembly meetings, yet another reminder of the closeness of the political and the spectacular. Going to the theatre, or to gladiatorial games, meant more, therefore, than being entertained. These were places that defined a whole sector of civic activity, and they demanded appropriate dress, gestures, and decorum of the spectators who attended them. In ancient auditoria, spectators took part in the ritual performance. To adapt Ovid's quip in the *Ars Amatoria*: everyone came to see the games, but also to be seen.<sup>41</sup>

It should be noted, therefore, that the composition of the audience was far from random. In the classical Greek city, theatres were designed to express the isonomic basis that underlay the political order. Each wedge offered notionally equivalent places to all the individual members of a *phyle*, the only

<sup>40</sup> M.S.-Y. CHWE, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 36-37.

<sup>41</sup> Ov. *Ars* 1, 99 *Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae.*

exceptions being the ornate seats in the front rows that were reserved for the (annually rotating) officials and priests. Distinction was thus marked by function in the political organization of the city and its democratic institutions. It is useful to compare the classical Greek auditorium with the situation in Rome, where seating arrangements were hierarchical by tradition and meant to express individual rank and social status. In the late Republic and the early imperial period, Roman seating arrangements were seen as an expression of a well-ordered society. The fact that the word *ordo* could be used both for a row of seats and for a political order in the modern sense again suggests a close relation between the two domains, but one that was diametrically opposed to that in the classical Greek *poleis*.

Such political regulations only seem to have increased over time. After Augustus' *Lex Julia Theatralis*, seating arrangements were subject to the strictest political control, and the amphitheatre (the perfect inward-facing circle!) in particular emerges as a kind of ideal representation of Roman social and political hierarchy that focuses on the emperor, his family, and other members of his entourage.<sup>42</sup> In the imperial period, in what may be a clear case of cultural transfer, the seating arrangements in Greek auditoria began to present a distinct and hierarchical view of society: auditoria were enlarged by the addition of *diazomata* and other subdivisions of the *cavea*, which allowed for a corresponding subdivision of the audience. Moreover, in many places we find evidence that spectators watching the contests and games were segregated by class or social category; seating inscriptions marking out different groups have been found in a large number of auditoria throughout the Roman East, including theatres, *odeia*, and stadia in cities as diverse as Athens, Termessos, Saittai, Aphrodisias, Bostra, Didyma, and Miletos.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> E. RAWSON, "Discrimina Ordinum. The *Lex Julia Theatralis*", in *PBSR* 55 (1987), 83-114.

<sup>43</sup> O.M. VAN NIJF, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam 1997), 209-240.

The members of the order of local councillors were, of course, seated in the front row, wearing their crowns and purple clothes. Special seats were reserved for magistrates and priests, and their families (a sign that such offices had come to be seen as the property of a particular social class). Apart from these, we find a number of groups, such as youth associations and *gerousiai*, or craftsmen and traders, who were seated with the fellow members of their professional associations, as inscriptions from various cities show. Other groups with reserved seats were the boards of religious functionaries such as *hymnoidoi* or *chrysophoroi*. Seats of honour were also given to successful performers and victors in sacred games (the theatre of Termessos has a row for the *hieronikai*), yet another sign of their importance for the city's self image.<sup>44</sup> So, if we look at the theatres and stadia as 'inward-facing circles', we see that each auditorium was a representation of the city as a hierarchy of (overlapping) status groups. Each festival served as a "structure of participation" by groups with a stake in the community that had to be reinforced in a public setting. The audience had a clear role in the ritual display: simply by sitting in their allocated places, they performed — and, hopefully, internalized — their relative position in the civic hierarchy.

This, at least was the general idea. But ritual power is a fickle thing. Modern studies of political rituals suggest that the same events that are used to produce civic solidarity are also often the locus of civic unrest. Pride of place goes, of course, to the example of the carnival procession in the French city of Romans, turned into a blood-bath, that has been analyzed by the French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie.<sup>45</sup> Festival-related riots are, of course, also attested for Antiquity, even though the most famous examples lie outside the proper scope of this essay. Our sources make clear that at the end of antiquity the hippodrome had become a locus of civic, politically-based unrest. The Nika

<sup>44</sup> TAM III, 872.

<sup>45</sup> E. LE ROY LADURIE, *Le carnaval de Romans de la Chandeleur au mercredi des Cendres, 1579-1580* (Paris 1979).

riots of AD 532 are, of course, a classic case, infamous for the rapid spread of violence that ultimately cost over 30,000 lives. But riots have also been attested for the hippodromes of Thessalonica, Antioch, and Alexandria.<sup>46</sup> Another famous example is the riot that broke out in the amphitheatre of Pompeii in AD 59, leading to the ban on illegal *collegia* in that town. The story is known from Tacitus, who apparently attributes it to local rivalries and political in-fighting.<sup>47</sup> A fascinating wall painting in Pompeii, found in a house of moderate wealth, seems to show the same event. Why the owner was so interested in the episode remains unknown: it has been suggested that he was a gladiator, but we cannot exclude the possibility of some personal connection with the turmoil.<sup>48</sup>

It should, therefore, be noted that ritual settings, and particularly the 'inward-facing circles' of stadia and amphitheatres, were then, as they are today, also likely spots in which popular protests and riots might erupt. The organizers of the Demosthenia in Oinoanda were aware of the risks: the text stipulates that the *agonothetai*, who were responsible for the *eukosmia* (orderly behaviour) during the festivals, made sure that *mastigophoroi* (scourge-bearers) or *rhabdouchoi* (rod-bearers) were at hand to impose discipline.<sup>49</sup> As much as the notables tried their best at crowd control, however, there was always the possibility that matters could get out of hand, that there would be fights between rival groups of supporters, or that grievances against the organizing politicians would be expressed publicly. Several texts prove that such riots or protests were also susceptible to the logic of common knowledge: many individuals in a city may have been disgruntled for one reason or another, but only when they were publicly expressed in the context of a ritual

<sup>46</sup> J.H. HUMPHREY, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1986), 461 (Antioch); 510 (Alexandria); 630 (Thessalonica).

<sup>47</sup> TAC. *Ann.* 14, 17.

<sup>48</sup> V. HUET, "La représentation de la rixe de l'amphithéâtre de Pompéi. Une préfiguration de l'« hooliganisme »", in *Histoire Urbaine* 10 (2004), 89-112.

<sup>49</sup> M. WÖRRLE, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 212-213: 219-220.

could these feelings become common knowledge, encouraging each individual to join the protest, riots, or plundering. There is, perhaps predictably, not much epigraphic evidence that such protests occurred frequently, but the known cases did take place at a festival, or at least in a theatrical setting. The Christian writer Tertullian plays on what must have been a common stereotype when he argues that Christians ‘prefer to celebrate the Emperor’s festivals with a good conscience, instead of with riotous behaviour’.<sup>50</sup> Another Christian text shows how riotous behaviour and theatrical spaces could be closely connected. This occurred during the famous riot of the silversmiths at Ephesos: “The city became filled with confusion, and with one accord [the Ephesians] rushed into the theatre.” The situation was clearly getting out of hand: “Some were crying out one thing and others another; for the assembly was in confusion, and the majority of them did not know the reason why they had come together … but when they recognized that [Paul] was a Jew, one cry arose from them all, as they shouted for about two hours: ‘Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!’” The day, however, was saved for St Paul by the *grammateus*, who quietened the crowds by pointing out that the events might bring about Roman displeasure: “And when he had said these things, he dismissed the assembly.”<sup>51</sup> For the Ephesians, therefore, the theatre was the natural place to air their grievances. In fact the (para)political role of this meeting is indicated by the *grammateus* who addresses the spontaneous gathering as an assembly meeting (*ekklesia*). If we can assume that the behaviour of the masses at regular political meetings was not all that different, we may understand a little better why Plutarch and his colleagues still spoke about the assemblies of their day with awe. *Polis* politics had all but come to an end.

To conclude this section: I have argued that festivals had a clear political dimension. Their structured organization was

<sup>50</sup> TERT. *Apol.* 35.

<sup>51</sup> *Acts* 19:23.

not a reflection of an immutably ordered society, but instead represented a phase in the ongoing process of social and political negotiation, whereby the elite used these performances to impose their hierarchical world-view upon a potentially unwilling population. Although our information about these events generally derives from official inscriptions and regulations, which emphasize the static and hierarchical outcome as a matter of course, we have nonetheless seen that there is also evidence that such events could take a very different political turn.

### *The city and the oikoumene*

In the last part of this paper, I want to look at the way in which festivals functioned at the level of intercity relations. After the classical period, the Greek cities found themselves in a new multi-polar world that John Ma has described in terms of ‘peer-polity interaction’, drawing attention to the way in which these nominally equal cities established and maintained connections through diplomatic means and symbolic practices, such as kinship diplomacy.<sup>52</sup> But some players were more equal than others. After Hellenistic kings had dominated parts of the scene for a long time, the entire Mediterranean ultimately became a single interconnected geo-political and cultural system under the domination of Rome. We could describe this as a form of ancient globalization; the Greeks themselves used the term *oikoumene*, i.e. the inhabited world, an old theoretical term that now, with the onset of Roman rule, became a political as well as a cultural unity.<sup>53</sup> In

<sup>52</sup> J. MA, “Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age”, in *P&P* 180 (2003), 9-40.

<sup>53</sup> C.A. BAYLY, “‘Archaic’ and ‘Modern’ Globalization in the Eurasian and African Arena, c. 1750-1850”, in *Globalization in World History*, ed. by A.G. HOPKINS (London 2002), 46-73; O.M. VAN NIJF, “Global Players. Athletes and Performers in the Hellenistic and Roman World”, in *Hephaistos* 24 (2006), 225-235; C. NICOLET, *L’inventaire du monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l’Empire romain* (Paris 1988).

this section I want to investigate how this form of globalization interacted with the world of the agonistic festivals. I want to show that athletic, dramatic, and musical contests became an important mechanism for linking this globalizing world together. I shall argue that the development of an empire-wide athletic network provided a crucial link between the old and new Greek cities of the Roman empire, and between the Greek cities and Rome. Greek athletic culture and Roman power were fully implicated with one another: the spectacular rise of Greek athletics would have been impossible without the protective aegis of Rome, while Rome, for its part, used athletics as a means of securing its hold over the Greek cities.

By the imperial age a remarkably homogeneous Greek festival culture had spread over the eastern Mediterranean as far as Italy. Its greatest manifestations were undoubtedly the panhellenic games that had been celebrated in Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea since the Archaic period and were still flourishing under the emperors. From the Hellenistic period onwards, the number of festivals increased dramatically, reaching its acme only under the Roman emperors. Many of these festivals were local, but there was also a rising number of festivals that claimed superior panhellenic status, i.e. they aimed for recognition by the growing number of Greek cities. Some of these were actually set up by Hellenistic rulers, who thereby attempted to raise their prestige among their Greek subjects, but the majority seems to have been the initiative of both new and old Greek cities who were jockeying for position in this new enlarged and multi-polar world.<sup>54</sup> Ian Rutherford has argued that we can best interpret this phenomenon in terms of network theory. New (panhellenic) festivals were a way for cities to create a space among and make connections with other Greek cities, each forming the central hub in an agonistic network. He shows that there were many of these festival

<sup>54</sup> J. MA, *art. cit.* (n. 52).

networks with a local, regional, and in some cases even inter-regional reach.<sup>55</sup>

One of the best-known examples is certainly the case of Magnesia on the Maeander, in Caria, which was eager to gain pan-hellenic recognition for its festival for the local goddess Artemis Leukophryene.<sup>56</sup> After a failed attempt in 221 BC to be the ‘first of the Greeks in Asia’ to have their local festival acknowledged as stephanitic by their ‘fellow Greeks’, the Magnesians undertook a new and successful effort in 208. They launched an incredible diplomatic offensive, which included sending envoys to the ends of the Greek world, from Sicily to present day Iran; the documentation of this endeavour was displayed on a long ‘archive wall’ along the perimeter of the agora. The festival established (or aimed to establish) Magnesia for a brief period as the centre of a panhellenic world, a network of its own making, characterized by common religious and cultural interests, and a common Greek identity. This case is particularly well documented, but the Magnesians symbolize a trend that is widely visible. There is ample evidence that collectively suggests that in the Hellenistic and Roman period a concerted effort was made to formalize and extend (and link) such athletic networks. It is particularly noteworthy that specific institutions arose that regulated — or tried to regulate — the festive relations, and that this interaction was to a large extent left to specialists, without whom the festivals would not have succeeded: in the first place was a new group of specialist spectators, the *theoroi*, and in the second place were, of course, the athletes and other performers who toured the festivals and who bundled their power in associations that operated on a translocal and ultimately oikoumenical scale. The rise and formal organization of these groups may be interpreted as a function of the growth and strengthening of

<sup>55</sup> I. RUTHERFORD, “Network Theory and Theoric Networks”, in *MHR* 22 (2007), 23–37.

<sup>56</sup> K.J. RIGSBY, *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1996), 179–279; P. THONEMANN, “Magnesia and the Greeks of Asia (*I.Magnesia* 16.16)”, in *GRBS* 47 (2007), 151–160.

a worldwide athletic network that played a major part in maintaining political relations between Greek cities, and between the Greek cities and the great centres of power, including Rome.

The first sign of this process of institutionalization and specialization is the rise of the *theoria*, the formalized system of viewing, whereby Greek cities and sanctuaries sent 'official spectators' to observe and participate in religious celebrations. As we know, the panhellenic gatherings served to create a sense of common identity among the Greeks; some scholars even maintain that it was at these festivals that the notion of a Greek (or panhellenic) identity was formulated for the first time.<sup>57</sup> Here I would like to draw once more on Chwe's model and propose that such festivals can also be seen as rational rituals, geared towards the generation of common knowledge at the panhellenic level (i.e. the awareness and mutual recognition of Greek identity). It is, I think, highly suggestive that ancient sources often draw attention to the capacity of panhellenic sites to generate 'common knowledge' among all the Greeks. Inscriptions for athletic victors, for example, suggest that the special kudos of a victory at Olympia rested exactly on the knowledge that it was obtained under the 'gaze of the whole of Hellas'.<sup>58</sup> In later times, announcements that were relevant to all Greeks (such as the proclamation of Greek freedom) were also made at the panhellenic gatherings. From the late classical period onwards, we find evidence that a new category of specialist spectators was needed to secure the 'common knowledge' of these 'cultural performances'. A fragment of the comic poet Heniokhos strikingly uses the image of a circular setting — an inward-facing circle — to describe their presence at Olympia: "This place is all round, it is Olympia, and there understand that you see the *skene*, housing the *theoria* delegations of the *poleis*".<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> J.M. HALL, *Hellenicity. Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago-London 2002).

<sup>58</sup> L. ROBERT, *Monnaies grecques. Types, légendes, magistrats monétaires et géographie* (Genève-Paris 1967); IAG 30, 36, 37, 41; IvO 225.

<sup>59</sup> HENIOCH. fr. 5 PCG.

*Theoria* can be presented as a sequence of reciprocal acts involving ever widening circles of participants. Before a particular edition of a festival was actually held, the organizing cities or sanctuary sites sent out envoys to announce the celebrations (*epangelia*) and invite Greek cities to take part. For their part, the cities responded by sending *theoroi* as official spectators, but also to take part in the festivities, conduct ritual acts, or accompany the contestants in the name of their *polis*.<sup>60</sup> *Theoroi* had their counterparts in *theorodokoi* — formally appointed ‘official hosts’ — who may in their turn have served as *theoroi* in the other direction.<sup>61</sup> Although these exchanges must have had a long history, they become particularly prominent in the Hellenistic period, when we find a growing number of inscriptions that testify to their activities, especially the formal lists of *theorodokoi* connected to a particular festival, and honorific inscriptions for *theoroi* and *theorodokoi* erected by both the organizing sites and the visiting cities. While the rise of this institution may partly be connected to the growing number of newly established panhellenic festivals in the Hellenistic world, it would seem that *theoria* was becoming more important to old cities and renowned festivals as well: sites such as Delphi and Nemea — hardly newcomers — began to publish long lists of *theoroi* and *theorodokoi*, and in Athens the *theoria* to Delphi, the Pythais, was “revitalized in a spectacular manner.”<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the rise of these institutions, which tend to be left to specialists, seems to represent a move away from the personalized nature of interstate relations, such as *xenia*, that had characterized the world of the archaic and classical *polis*.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> I. RUTHERFORD, *art. cit.* (n. 55); C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, “What is Polis Religion?”, in *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, ed. by O. MURRAY and S. PRICE (Oxford 1990), 295–322.

<sup>61</sup> P. PERLMAN, *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece. The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen 2000); S.G. MILLER, “The Theorodokoi of the Nemean Games”, in *Hesperia* 57 (1988), 147–163.

<sup>62</sup> I. RUTHERFORD, “Theoria”, in *Brill’s New Pauly*, ed. by H. CANCIK and H. SCHNEIDER (2011). *Brill Online*. University of Groningen. Accessed 03 November 2011. <[http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e1209940](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e1209940)>

<sup>63</sup> G. HERMAN, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge 1987).

The rise of institutionalized *theoria* may have been a response to the growing number of cities that made a claim to Greek identity and wanted these claims to be known and recognized. The job of the *theoroi* was to generate the ‘common knowledge’ of these festivals throughout the expanded world. The monumentalization of these exchanges, often at great expense, both at the festival site and the host city, as well as in the participating cities, fixed this knowledge for all eternity. The rise of *theoria* was, therefore, an important feature of post-classical intercity diplomacy, and the exchange of official observers and the commemoration of these exchanges became an important way to assert Greek city status in the contemporary multi-polar world. This kind of festival diplomacy did not come to an end when the ascendancy of Rome replaced the multi-polar world of the post-classical *polis* with a single hierarchical network spanning the entire world (the *oikoumene*). It is clear, however, that there were some changes: *theoroi* recede into the background and were often replaced by *synthytai* (fellow-sacrificers), whose title puts the focus on the common sacrificial banquet as the high point of the joint festivities.<sup>64</sup> Cities nonetheless continued to send and invite envoys to their festivals, as is evident in the case of Mytilene, which announced its decision to celebrate games in honour of Augustus to cities all over the Mediterranean as well as to other festival sites:<sup>65</sup>

“And it was decided to send at the occasion of the first time these contests were ever held... to the most illustrious cities, and to set up placards or *stelai* with a copy of this decree in the temple that was built by the *koinon* of Asia in Pergamon... (and envoys were also sent to?) Actium, Brindisi, Tarraco, Massalia... and Antiochia near Daphne.”

<sup>64</sup> C.P. JONES, “‘Joint Sacrifice’ at Iasus and Side”, in *JHS* 118 (1998), 183–186; W. ORTH, “Gemeinschaftserhaltende Opfer”, in *Iconologia Sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festchrift für Karel Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von H. KELLER und N. STAUBACH (Berlin-New York 1994), 1–8.

<sup>65</sup> *IG XII* 2, 58 ll. 10–14. S. PRICE, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 128.

And the same happened — albeit on a smaller scale — in less prestigious festivals as well. One example is found in Oinanda. Here the benefactor M. Aurelius Artemon “invited also the splendid cities Termessos in Pamphylia, the ancestral kin, and Caesarea Kibyra in Asia” to a festival that was celebrated in his name.<sup>66</sup> It should also be noted that seats were reserved in the *stadion* of Aphrodisias for the observers from friendly cities: Mastaura, Antioch, Kibyra, and Miletos.<sup>67</sup> Another inscription shows that the Aphrodisians had been in a local alliance with Tabae and Kibyra since the late republic.<sup>68</sup>

The shift towards *synthytaī* marked a further significant change: the growing importance of Rome. Christopher Jones has demonstrated that the documentation for the *synthytaī* of the imperial age is almost exclusively found for festivals that were associated with emperors or imperial benefaction.<sup>69</sup> In the imperial period, festive diplomacy went on under the close supervision of the emperor. Contests remained the object of considerable local pride, as is evident from the monumental inscriptions and the legends that we find on coins commemorating local festivals. It is, furthermore, well known that festivals were the object of intense intercity rivalry.<sup>70</sup> Cities competed to have bigger games, larger prizes, and better athletes, but most of all to obtain prestigious titles and privileges that were in the gift of the emperor. Acknowledgment of these privileges no longer depended on mutual recognition, but became centralized through the hands of the emperors, who used their power to establish a centrally sanctioned hierarchy. Simon Price has demonstrated the various ways in which the imperial cult was integrated with existing festivals, and new imperial festivals were added to the civic calendars. New

<sup>66</sup> SEG 44, 1186, 23 ff.

<sup>67</sup> In the stadium of Aphrodisias, specially marked seats were found for representatives of Mastaura, Antioch, Kibyra, and Miletos: CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), nos. 45. 4O; 34S; 35L; 12H (= *IAph*2007, 10.4; 10.29; 10.30; 10.11H).

<sup>68</sup> J.M. REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London 1982), no. 1 (= *IAph*2007, 8.210).

<sup>69</sup> C.P. JONES, *art. cit.* (n. 64).

<sup>70</sup> A. HELLER, *Les bêtises des Grecs. Conflits et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine*, 129 a.C.-235 p.C. (Bordeaux 2006).

stephanitic festivals, or festivals that were promoted to this rank by the emperors, would henceforth be known as a *dorea*, i.e. a donation by the emperor.<sup>71</sup> Cities and emperors became locked in a system of (symbolic) exchange, whereby cities had to ask for the right to organize imperial festivals and emperors ultimately had to grant such privileges, while all parties upheld the shared fiction that such exchanges were not automatic.

With the rise of Rome, therefore, a new kind of centricity was put into place. Subtle distinctions between the imperial privileges and titles allowed a hierarchy of prestige to develop, through which each city entered into negotiation with Rome about status distinctions, while at the same time nervously eyeing its peers, lest these should receive greater honours.<sup>72</sup> What was at stake for each city at every festival was its prestige, and the recognition of both its place among its 'peers' (and rivals) and its reputation vis-à-vis the imperial centre in Rome. What was at stake for Rome was a means to control the circulation of honour among its subject cities. The exchanges of envoys, observers, and sacrificers again produced a common (oikoumenical) knowledge, allowing the cities to celebrate their common Greek identity as well as their loyalty to the emperor in Rome. It is thus obvious that the essentially non-hierarchical networks that revolved around the panhellenic festivals of the classical period and that had multiplied in the Hellenistic period were gradually being replaced by one global hierarchical network, with Rome and the emperor at its centre.

In this context a particular role was played by the travelling athletes (and other performers) who toured the Roman Empire 'along a perpetual cycle' (*ἀεὶ ἐν περιόδῳ*), as it was put by the Aphrodisian *curator urbis* M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles.<sup>73</sup> The evidence for their activities consists largely of honorific inscriptions and dedications that recorded their victories in the

<sup>71</sup> S. PRICE, *op. cit.* (n. 30), ch. 5.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. J.E. LONDON, *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford 1997).

<sup>73</sup> CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), no. 51, l. 15 (= *I Aph*2007, 15.330).

festivals, as well as the various honours and privileges that they had obtained. In the imperial period, monuments for individual athletes and artists not only became more numerous, but also grew longer and more detailed, as more importance was attached to each individual achievement and distinction.<sup>74</sup> Victories were listed with great care, and there was a marked tendency to rank these victories, either in chronological order or according to the relative standing of the festivals themselves.<sup>75</sup> The amazing level of detail of these inscriptions has allowed modern scholars from Louis Robert to Jean-Yves Strasser to reconstruct the careers of individual artists and athletes. There has been less reflection, however, on the fact that throughout the Greek world these inscriptions, while set up at different locations (festivals sites or cities), are so very consistent in the way that they record and value victories and titles. Of course, the athletes will have provided the necessary information to the individuals and organizations involved, but honorific monuments were not pure self-representation by the honorands; they were civic monuments and, therefore, a joint product — or civic monuments that were set up to reflect the identities and social aims of all the parties involved. The relative uniformity of the monuments suggests, however, that they had a significance that extended far beyond the boundaries of each individual city. They were, so to speak, a truly global phenomenon. One interesting aspect is that they seem to rely on a common pool of knowledge, which suggests that information on agonistic victories was systematically recorded and circulated throughout the Greek world. How was this common knowledge created? And what was its purpose?

Authors like Pausanias and Philostratus show that there were records available at Olympia for consultation, and the names

<sup>74</sup> The crowns were often represented on the monuments as well, with a brief indication of the games where they were obtained. For a good example, see J.P. MICHAUD, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1968 et 1969", in *BCH* 94 (1970), 946-949.

<sup>75</sup> S.A. BRUNET, *Greek Athletes in the Roman World. The Evidence from Ephesus*. Diss. University of Texas (Austin 1998).

of the Olympionikai circulated widely, giving rise to a distinct literary genre.<sup>76</sup> Festival sites and cities must have had similar archives. We know, for example, that in Ephesos athletes could obtain a copy of a document stating their victory in one of the city's contests for 60 *denarii* (a hefty fee!), and the same would have applied elsewhere.<sup>77</sup>

Athletes and other performers must have kept these precious certificates recording their personal victories, as papyrological finds make clear. Peter Frisch has collected a number of papyrological dossiers with information about the privileges to which athletes and performers could lay claim, such as the right to a triumphal entry, reserved seats at games, a *syntaxis* (a gratification or annuity provided by the victor's hometown), and other marks of individual distinction.<sup>78</sup> This knowledge, however, must also have been available to the authorities. Agonistic victories were used to support the claims of athletes to privileges. It is unthinkable that the cities would have relied exclusively on the *ad hoc* information supplied by the individual victors themselves. Cities must have had access to their own records. As the matter of athletic privileges was ultimately a concern for the imperial authorities and therefore subject to legislation, this knowledge must also have been available in Rome as well.<sup>79</sup> It has been suggested that the oikoumenical (worldwide) associations of athletes formed a crucial link in this empire-wide communication.<sup>80</sup> Athletics did not only produce a festival network, but also a network of common knowledge.

<sup>76</sup> P. CHRISTESEN, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (Cambridge-New York 2007); cf. PHILOSTR. *Gym.* 2; PAUS. 5, 21, 9.

<sup>77</sup> IK-Ephesos 14.

<sup>78</sup> P. FRISCH, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* (Opladen 1986) (= *P.Agon.*).

<sup>79</sup> PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 118-119. Now spectacularly confirmed in G. PETZL und E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler. Drei in Alexandria Troas neugefundene Briefe des Kaisers an die Künstler-Vereinigung* (Bonn 2006). For the triumphal entry: L. ROBERT, in *BE* (1961), 221.

<sup>80</sup> R. MERKELBACH, "Der unentschiedene Kampf des Pankratiasten Ti. Claudius Rufus in Olympia", in *ZPE* 15 (1974), 99-104.

Seen in this light, athletes played a role not unlike the *theoroi* of earlier ages: they embodied the links between the individual cities in the agonistic network, both those that organized the contest as well as those that sent the athletes. Moreover, their victory monuments helped to preserve and promote common knowledge about these links. A spectacular example is the dossier of the athlete Aurelius Demostratos Damas that I quoted above.<sup>81</sup> The dossier was collected by Jean-Yves Strasser and contains documents from sites in Italy, Asia, Egypt, and Hellas where Damas had been active. These texts will have promoted the status of Damas by commemorating his victories all over the *oikoumene*, but they must also have raised awareness of the connections between the cities themselves, and of their joint membership in a commonwealth of Greek cities under the protection of Rome.

Table 1: Frequency of the victories of Damas

Alexandria <i>Seleukeios, Sebasteios, Hadrianeios Philadelpheos</i>	x 4
Argos <i>Aspis</i>	x 3
Athens <i>Panathenaia, Olympia, Hadrianeia, Panhellenia</i>	x 10
Ephesos i.a. <i>Balbilleia</i>	x 9
Isthmia	x 5
Naples <i>Sebasta</i>	x 4
Nemea	x 3 (at least)
Nikopolis <i>Aktia</i>	x 3
Olympia	x 2 (at least)
Pergamon <i>Augousteia</i>	x 3
Puteoli <i>Eusebeia</i>	x 2
Pythia	x 3
Rhodos	x 3
Rome <i>Kapetolia and Epinikia</i>	x 3
Sardeis <i>Chrysanthrina</i>	x 4 ( <i>patri</i> )
Smyrna <i>Koina Asias, Hadriana Olympia, Olympia</i>	x 6

<sup>81</sup> *I.Sardis* 79, the entire dossier in J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 22).

Moreover, the case of Damas also underlines the political nature of these links, since not only his victories were commemorated, but also the grants of citizenship that he acquired in the course of his career.

**Table 2: The citizenships of Damas**

Alexandria
Antinoopolis
Argos
Athens
Corinth
Delphi
Ephesos
Elis
Lakedaimon
Miletos
Naples
Nikomedia
Pergamon
Pinara
Sardeis ( <i>patris</i> )
Smyrna
Tralleis

In a recent paper on which these paragraphs are based, I have discussed the political or civic implications of the phenomenon of multiple citizenship, which appears to have been rare outside the world of athletes and artists.<sup>82</sup> I argue that these citizenship grants were not to be taken lightly. There were strict procedures, and the decision to award citizenship

<sup>82</sup> O.M. VAN NIJF, "Athletes, Artists and Citizens in the Imperial Greek City", in *Patrie d'origine et patries électives. Les citoyennetés multiples dans le monde grec d'époque romaine*, éd. par A. HELLER et A.-V. PONT (Bordeaux 2012), 175-194, on which this section is based.

was taken by the formal political institutions of the city, as the outcome of political deliberation.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, multiple citizenship titles do not seem to have led to a depreciation of their value or to a weakening of the bonds between an athlete and his original *patris*. Many inscriptions emphasize the patriotism of athletes and performers, or take care to specify their original hometown, which suggests that this link was still important.<sup>84</sup> More significantly, it would seem that the offer of citizenship could even lead to a strengthening of ties between various cities. It is striking that many inscriptions recording the grant did not only list an athlete's original hometown, but even strove to implicate it in the honorific exchanges between the new *patris* and the athlete. Several texts show that a city might send a copy of the decree to the original *patris*. It was not uncommon for the new *patris* to offer to set up an honorific statue in the old home city, to commemorate the new grant. Another spectacular case that illustrates this practice highlights how the commemoration of honorific citizenship was used in diplomatic games between the cities of Ephesos and Aphrodisias. When the Aphrodisian athlete Aurelius Achilles was offered Ephesian citizenship, his new *patris* erected a monument in his old hometown, in the hope of strengthening existing links. The text shows how the two cities represented the exchange as a joint effort that brought glory to both.<sup>85</sup>

"[- -] since the most splendid city of the Ephesians always welcomes those who have shown zeal with testimonies that are fitting and just for their worth, and takes a share of pleasure in the advantages of all (men) as if they were her own, and (since she considers that) whatever outstanding (advantages) accrue to the good reputation of other cities from distinguished men, these

<sup>83</sup> E.g. *FD* 3.1, 209; *FD* 3.2, 102; *FD* 3.2, 105; *FD* 3.4, 118; Hellenistic examples: *IK-Ephesus* 1415, 1416; 2005; *IvO* 54.

<sup>84</sup> E.g. *SEG* 35, 1125; 41, 1407; L. ROBERT, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1980), no. 1.; *IvO* 55, 225; *IK-Tralleis* 111.

<sup>85</sup> CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), no. 72 (= *IAph2007*, 5.214).

are matters of (?general) good fortune; and since she assigns an especial portion of her inclination towards goodwill to the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians, towards which she has many and outstanding justifications for the exchange of affection. For these reasons, (the city) has welcomed Aurelius Achilles — who has both undertaken the training of the body, and is also most noble in training, and most dignified in his way of life and his conduct, so that in him all virtue of body and soul is blended — (has welcomed him) often, both in previous contests, which he adorned, having competed impressively and with all courage, and especially in the contest of the Olympia, because, when the city encouraged him — as if it were his own fatherland — to proceed to the ultimate competition and to the category of men, he listened and was persuaded by the encouragement, and defeated his opponents and bound on the (crown of) olive with such glory that his (?display of) courage and eagerness are to be numbered among the most distinguished of contests.”

Moreover, it is worth pausing at the next lines, which explicitly seem to state that the aim of this exchange was to make Aurelius’ success a matter of common knowledge:

“For these reasons it was resolved that the testimony about these events should not extend only as far as the knowledge of those who were present and happened to be in the stadium at the time, but that by means of this decree he should be commended even more to his fatherland.”

So we see how one grant of citizenship, and the ensuing diplomatic moves, contributed to reinforcing the political ties between two cities, and thus to the construction and maintenance of one particular link. Imagine the activity generated by Damas alone, who had citizenship in sixteen cities. Even if not all of the links were commemorated with the same zeal as those between Ephesos and Aphrodisias, we cannot exclude that the commemoration of victory gave rise to some diplomatic traffic along the links of the oikoumenical agonistic network, which had the effect of forging even closer ties between these cities, as well as raising consciousness of their membership in a global network of Greek cities under Roman rule.

Finally, against this background we should also understand the role and rise to prominence of the associations of athletes and other performers which, under various names and titles, operated on a translocal and even empire-wide scale.<sup>86</sup> The organization of athletes and artists in large associations was part of a tradition that went back to the Hellenistic period.<sup>87</sup> At the beginning of the third century BC, artists were being organized in regional associations under the aegis of Dionysos. Individual associations were regionally based in the great cultural centres of the Hellenistic world: Athens; Nemea and Isthmia; Alexandria (with subsidiaries in Ptolemais, Rhodes, and Cyprus); and western Asia Minor (the association of Ionia and the Hellespont). For Greek sites in Italy and Sicily a similar association was established. A distributional pattern appears that reflects the organization of agonistic life in the Hellenistic world as a number of networks that, however, were not yet fully integrated. Athletes organized themselves somewhat later: from the late first century, similar associations arose that were placed under the protection of agonistic deities, like Herakles. Such associations could only exist if their freedom to travel, their freedom from seizure, and their freedom against indirect taxes were guaranteed. In the Hellenistic world these associations relied on international treaties, or the *asylia* that was offered by particular festivals, or they could turn to the Hellenistic kings for protection. When Rome became the dominant power in the Mediterranean, it gradually acquired these protective roles. These regional associations faded from sight, and in the imperial period they seem to have been replaced by one 'global' (oikoumenical) association, under the protection of the emperor, with headquarters that were ultimately moved to

<sup>86</sup> For a longer discussion of the role of associations, on which these paragraphs are based: O.M. VAN NIJF, *art. cit.* (n. 53).

<sup>87</sup> S. ANEZIRI, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine* (Stuttgart 2003); B. LE GUEN, *Les associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, I-II (Paris 2001).

Rome. Eventually, the associations of athletes and artists were even joined in what may perhaps best be understood as a flexible agglomeration of various overlapping groups of different types of performers, all of whom were connected to the central headquarters in Rome.<sup>88</sup> In other words, athletes and performers had organized themselves in a network-like organization.

These associations must have maintained permanent contact with Rome: the documentation suggests that they were at pains to highlight their close relationship with the emperors, as they listed their privileges and had these confirmed, expanded, and reconfirmed by successive emperors. Recently, a spectacular confirmation of the close collaboration between associations and the emperors was found in the letters by Hadrian to a branch (or node, to follow the network terminology) of the association based in Alexandria Troas.<sup>89</sup> The long first letter is a motley set of imperial rescripts confirming or clarifying the association's privileges, including the display of these decisions in their local headquarters. Other local associations must have guarded their own copies of the imperial correspondence with Rome, as in Hermopolis, where one individual athlete was able to consult the archives when he wanted to demonstrate his entitlement to various individual privileges.<sup>90</sup> We may assume an even larger collection in the 'archives' in the *schola* at Rome that was established by Hadrian.<sup>91</sup> But, if we consider the number of festivals at which athletes and artists were active, together with the number of locally and regionally based associations, we can surmise the enormous administrative activity, as well as the continuous stream of information throughout the Roman empire, that this record-keeping must have generated.

<sup>88</sup> M.L. CALDELLI, "Curia athletarum, iera xystike synodos e organizzazione delle terme a Roma", in *ZPE* 93 (1992), 75-87.

<sup>89</sup> G. PETZL und E. SCHWERTHEIM, *op. cit.* (n. 79); see also C.P. JONES, "Three New Letters of the Emperor Hadrian", in *ZPE* 161 (2007), 145-156 and J.-Y. STRASSER, "Qu'on fouette les concurrents... A propos des lettres d'Hadrien retrouvées à Alexandrie de Troade", in *REG* 123 (2010), 585-622.

<sup>90</sup> *P.Agon*. 6.

<sup>91</sup> *IGR* I, 235.

In the imperial period the associations performed a crucial function in maintaining the athletic networks. They seem to have contracted the contestants, and it was their job to ensure that the competitors showed up at the individual contests.<sup>92</sup> They were held responsible by the emperors when they did not, as is shown by imperial letters on their failure to show up at the Roman-founded Panhellenia of Athens.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, emperors appointed special officials to exercise control over the associations through the institution of *xystarchia*. This title was bestowed upon prominent athletes who were put in charge of the activities of the associations in their hometown, or at a festival. The *xystarchs* were paid for their efforts, but the position was an individual honour, and it also created a permanent and very personal link between emperors, associations, and individual athletes. The rescripts of Hadrian to the association of Alexandria Troas, however, show that these associations were no mere puppets of imperial policy. The first letter of Hadrian contains a long list of imperial rescripts that all ruled in favour of the associations in conflicts with cities and festival organizers, which indicates their importance as cultural and political agents acting on behalf of the emperor.<sup>94</sup>

In this context we may also dwell briefly on the fact that these associations were all styled as *oikoumenikos*. The common opinion is that this qualification was used either to convey the idea that the associations were travelling around the entire inhabited world, or to indicate that members came from 'all over the inhabited world'. Both interpretations are possible and they are not mutually exclusive.<sup>95</sup> It may be noted, however, that the term also conjured up the close links that athletes and athletic festivals had with imperial power. While

<sup>92</sup> CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), no. 51.

<sup>93</sup> J.H. OLIVER, *Marcus Aurelius. Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East* (Princeton 1970), nos. 21-22 = *IG II(2)*, 1106.

<sup>94</sup> G. PETZL und E. SCHWERTHEIM, *op. cit.* (n. 79).

<sup>95</sup> H.W. PLEKET, "Some Aspects of the History of Athletic Guilds", in *ZPE* 10 (1973), 197-227.

terms like *oikoumene* and *oikoumenikos* were derived from Greek geographical discourse, they became much more popular once Roman rule made it feasible to see the entire *oikoumene* as united under its leadership.<sup>96</sup> One of the first authors to use these terms in this sense was, of course, Polybius, but they gained wide currency only when they became part of the self-representation of the magnates of the late republic and, of course, the emperors. The larger part of the epigraphic evidence for the term *oikoumenikos* shows that it is used to qualify emperors as the saviours, benefactors, and protectors of the *oikoumene*. But the second largest group of attestations derives from the world of games and contests. In these cases we are normally dealing with festivals that were held in the context of the imperial cult. In other words, they were clearly designed to represent Roman rule to the subject Greeks. Where the language of *oikoumene* is so closely associated with the representation of the emperor, its use by the associations of athletes and performers must also have linked them with this same representation. It seems likely that the use of this title was closely guarded by Rome; its frequent inclusion in the title of the associations may imply that these groups considered themselves, and were considered as, an integral ingredient in this process of representational politics. By assuming the title *oikoumenikos*, the associations were sending a clear political message that they were imperial agents whose job it was to represent an oikoumenical, or global, cultural policy of Roman dynasts and emperors.

Finally, while the role of the associations within the empire is beyond question, they were also active beyond the *fines imperii*, as is shown by a papyrus from Hermopolis containing two letters of Claudius.<sup>97</sup> In the first he thanks the association for their letter of congratulations on the emperor's victory

<sup>96</sup> C. NICOLET, *op. cit.* (n. 53); R. HINGLEY, *Globalizing Roman Culture. Unity, Diversity and Empire* (London 2005).

<sup>97</sup> *P.Agon.* 6.

over the Britons; the second shows that the associations had literally served as the emperor's agents when the client kings Gaius Iulius Antiochus of Commagene and Iulius Polemon of Pontus had celebrated games in honour of the emperor. On these occasions, the associations certainly lived up to their claim to operate on a truly worldwide oikoumenical scale.

### *Conclusion*

I have argued that the spectacular rise of Greek athletics under Rome was a political phenomenon: it was part of a representational turn in the political culture, in which local oligarchs were able to play the part of the successful athlete in an attempt to gain social and political capital. I have also argued that athletic contests were part and parcel of a politicization of local festivals, which may be usefully considered as rational rituals, designed to generate common knowledge about the role and place of Greek cities in the worldwide Roman Empire. I have argued that, under Roman rule, Greek athletic contests were increasingly organized in the context of a hierarchically-structured athletic network which was maintained by the mobility of network specialists: official observers and, most of all, athletes and performers who toured the *oikoumene* as the agents of imperial rule. Finally, it is worth considering here that the Romans translated *oikoumene* with the term *orbis terrarum*: 'circle of lands'. It would seem, then, that by adopting this oikoumenical terminology the Romans consciously turned the entire Mediterranean (to refer for a last time to Michael Chwe) into one giant 'inward-facing circle', a place where imperial identity was created as 'common knowledge' through the observance of traditional Greek festivals in a global network, in which everyone knew that everyone else knew that they were all playing political games.

## DISCUSSION

*K. Coleman:* Have you done any quantification about the types of people who would receive grants of citizenship? This would affect the importance that these grants held for the athletes.

*O. van Nijf:* I have not tried to collect all the evidence, but I have 75-100 texts in my database concerning both athletes and other performers. There are of course many more texts from the imperial period than from earlier periods, but it is quite clear from Pausanias and other literary sources that the procedure must have been in existence before. Moretti's list of *Olympionikai* would yield quite a few more examples (*Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* [Rome 1957]). It is interesting to note, however, that I researched this for a conference in Tours on multiple citizenship organized by Anna Heller and Anne-Valérie Pont, the proceedings of which have now been published (see *op. cit.* [n. 82]). The idea of the conference was that multiple citizenship was fairly common in the Roman period, but in fact it turned out to have been relatively rare outside the categories of athletes and artists that I discussed. Athletes were of course an exceptionally mobile group; but the discussion for the present *Entretiens* gives me the idea that we should reckon with the possibility that commemoration of citizenship was particularly important for the athletes and performers for the reasons that I suggested in my contribution.

*R. Webb:* You mention the importance of the original *patris* in many inscriptions mentioning multiple citizenship, but I want to point out that a pantomime like Apolaustos does not

have his original *patris* mentioned. How does this affect the notion that the cities mentioned were linked in some kind of network?

*O. van Nijf*: Yes, this is interesting, and I cannot really explain it; perhaps it has something to do with the relatively marginal status of a pantomime, or with the fact that he had a marginal status in his home town? My point is that the gift of additional citizenship is not necessarily a symptom of the weakening of the tie between an athlete and his original *patris*. This is clear from quite a few inscriptions (including consolation decrees by associations) that were sent to the original *patris* of a prematurely deceased athlete. The case of Aurelius Achilles shows how the award of citizenship could even lead to the strengthening of ties between two cities (although it is obvious that this was not applicable to every case, as Christopher Jones points out [see below]: there were pre-existing close ties between Aphrodisias and Ephesos). My point is that citizenship was certainly not meaningless for those who gave or received it, and citizenship titles might be used to remind people about the common identity of the cities concerned.

*C. Jones*: We would have to suppose that Same and Kephallonia felt themselves joined with Antinoopolis. *Theoroi* who trace a linear path through the cities they visit are not comparable. One might ask if cities granted citizenship to athletes in part because they aspired to be proclaimed as their *patris* at some prestigious *agôn*, as we see illustrated at Ephesos in a series of inscriptions elucidated by Louis Robert ("Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse: fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes", *Opera Minora Selecta*, V [Amsterdam 1989], 347-424). These long lists of citizenships and other privileges seem to reflect the self-presentation of the athlete himself, or of the city honoring him, rather than a network that he created by his peregrination.

*O. van Nijf.* I agree completely that the primary motivation for the mentioning of citizenship should be sought in the desire for self-representation of the athlete, and also that the interest of the city offering citizenship to a foreign born athlete was to raise its standing among other Greek cities at the moment of proclamation. This is in fact what I argue in the Tours paper, on which this section is based. My suggestion here was based on my application of the theory of Chwe on the rationality of rituals such as panhellenic contests. What happens at the panhellenic festivals where these proclamations were made is exactly that they create common knowledge in the form of Greek identity, and that they raise the status of the individual cities within what I suggest can best be seen as a network of Greek cities. At the panhellenic games all cities 'present' would know which other cities were present, and thus what the extent of the Greek world was. *Theoroi* made the individual links between the cities in this network visible, and permanent. The Hellenistic lists of *theorodokoi* at festival sites would have commemorated the extent of the network served by an individual festival. The enumeration of the cities (either as cities where victories were obtained, or where citizenship had been granted) in victory inscriptions of the Roman era may have had a similar effect: it was a visual reminder of the extent of the Greek world under Rome. I agree that we cannot say that the inscriptions for Demostratos Damas and his colleagues created such networks in themselves, but they certainly kept alive the knowledge of the extent of these networks, and thus contributed to the interconnectedness of these cities.

*M.L. Caldelli:* Le osservazioni fatte a proposito di *oikoumenikos* riferito alla *synhodos* degli artisti di Dioniso sono molto interessanti. Mi chiedo e ti chiedo come dovremmo intendere questo aggettivo quando è riferito ad un agone? Indica una qualità, una caratteristica dell'agone, come *hieros* o *eiselastikos*? Oppure serve a distinguere un livello, più elevato, dell'agone

(*oikoumenikos* opposto a “locale”)? Oppure indica l’adesione alla politica imperiale romana?

J. Nollé: Was die Frage der Bedeutung von *oikoumenikos* im Zusammenhang mit Spiele angeht, so glaube ich, dass *oikoumenikos* Spiele bezeichnete, an denen Athleten aus dem gesamten Imperium Romanum teilnehmen durften. Ein *agôn oikoumenikos* stand so im Gegensatz zu jenen Agonen, an denen die Teilnehmer nur aus einer bestimmten Region bzw. Provinz oder einer einzelnen Stadt kommen durften.

C. Jones: I agree with Herr Nollé that *oikoumenikos* as an epithet of *agônes* is not likely to be associated with the emperors and their rule over the Roman empire *qua* imagined *oikoumene*. We would have to imagine that *oikoumene* included very little of the West (Rome, Neapolis, Carthage, Nicopolis). It is a more attractive explanation that the *agôn* admits competitors from the whole ‘world’ as opposed to *agônes* with merely a city- or province-wide pool of competitors. We might compare the ‘ecumenical’ council of Christianity, of which the first is in Nicaea in 325.

O. van Nijf: It is clear that I did not make my own purposes here completely clear (though I have done so in my paper, “Global Players”, which I mentioned earlier). My discussion of the term *oikoumenikos* was meant as a comment on its use by the associations of athletes and performers. In their discussions of the title in this context, scholars have suggested that the term was used to indicate that the associations had *recruited their members from all over the oikoumene* or that they *were active all over the oikoumene*. It seems to me that there may not be much to choose between the two. Obviously the term *oikoumene* is of course used to denote the ‘inhabited world’. My aim was merely to suggest that *in this context* it has generally been overlooked that the term *oikoumenikos* developed particularly strong associations with imperial rule. Polybius may have been

the first to observe that Roman rule had become co-terminous with the *oikoumene*, but from Augustus onwards it was a standard epithet for Roman emperors. The use of this global image has been discussed by Nicolet in *L'inventaire du monde*. Looking through the epigraphic corpora, I noted that the term is found nearly exclusively

- 1) as a part of imperial titulature
- 2) as part of the title of festivals that mostly seem to have had a strong imperial connection and
- 3) as the title of the agonistic associations.

I suggest, therefore, that when the associations adopted this title, it was simply impossible for them (or anybody else referring to these associations by this title) to ignore the imperial associations or connotations of this term. This title framed their activities already in an imperial context, and may thus have signalled their adhesion to imperial ideology.

*C. Kokkinia:* I am sceptical about the changes that you observe in the nature of the festivals: was it not the case that festivals were always scripted? Think of the Panathenaia. Can the changes you name in the imperial period not simply be the effect of the auditoria becoming more permanent, and visible? And are you not making too much of the fact that there were seating inscriptions? We don't truly know what kind of regulations these inscriptions reflected. The persons and groups named could have bought the seats (as discussed in G. Chamberland, "A Gladiatorial Show Produced *in sordidam mercedem* (*Tacitus, Ann. 4.62*)", in *Phoenix* 61 [2007], 136-149) or acquired them by other means. There must have been changes in imperial times, but I am not sure they are securely identifiable — other than the fact, of course, that there was now an external arbiter: the emperor.

*O. van Nijf:* I agree that it must have been the case that festivals had always been 'scripted' or regulated. The point is that it became apparently more important to make these rules

explicit by epigraphic publicity. The practice of inscribing these rules *en détail* was to make knowledge of them common, and to give them a more permanent character. Secondly, it is striking that these rules, or scripts, have a more hierarchical character than in earlier periods. This does not apply only to the seating arrangements, but also to the regulations for processions, banquets and distributions. It is, for example, very clear that the instructions for handouts at festivals had a distinct set-up. Finally, the type of hierarchy that was communicated was not a functional hierarchy, but rather a hierarchy of groups and individuals with a particular social and political status in the community. In this way the festival acquired an explicitly political dimension. As to your comments on the seating inscriptions: you are right that we do not always know how the seats were allocated: especially not in the case of inscriptions which give only individual names. However, there is a marked difference between earlier Greek traditions, and those of the imperial age (which was underlined by architectural means). As we know that seating regulations were actively promoted in Rome by the emperors, I think that it is fair to describe the changes in the Greek auditoria as the result of cultural transfer, which is a term that I prefer to Romanization.

*J.-P. Thuillier:* En ce qui concerne la valeur athlétique vue comme élément-clé pour une carrière politique, croyez-vous que cela soit plus vrai à l'époque hellénistique ou impériale qu'à l'époque classique? Il me semble que plusieurs exemples en témoignent déjà pour les périodes plus anciennes.

*O. van Nijf:* This is an interesting question. I think that this is a matter of genre and of scale. Of course I agree that the élites were always present in the world of athletics. Athletic skills and athletic or agonistic success had always been claimed by the élites. As to skills, this is shown I think by the reputation of someone like Themistocles as a heavy athlete: a well-known bust from Ostia shows him with the 'cauliflower ears'

of a boxer. As to victory, we only need to think of the *Odes* of Pindar, as well as of the stories about Athenian 'aristocrats' like Cylon or Alcibiades who had been victorious at the Olympic Games (in horse racing). In fact, athletic competition had always been a quintessential element of Greek culture (*paideia*). And this is precisely where its attraction lay for Greek civic élites of the Roman period. They could use it to legitimate their élite status, in the same way that they used their literary and rhetorical education — or their euergetism, for that matter. (I have discussed this in my article, "Athletics and Paideia: Festivals and Physical Education in the World of the Second Sophistic", in *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*, edited by Barbara E. Borg [Berlin-New York 2003], 203-228, and so has Thomas Schmitz, in *Bildung und Macht* [München 1997].) What is new in this period is that athletic success has become an important part of the epigraphic self-representation of the individual elites. The number of monuments commemorating athletic success proliferates, not only at the sanctuary sites, but in the city centres, where athletic success becomes one of the most prominent themes that are addressed by (public) honorific inscriptions. So, what seems to change is the political function of athletic success; it is commemorated more frequently, and more directly in support of the political 'regime of the notables'.



### III

CHRISTINA KOKKINIA

## GAMES VS. BUILDINGS AS EUERGETIC CHOICES

A disproportionately large amount of the existing evidence for civic euergetism in the Roman Empire consists of honorary inscriptions for benefactors. As is to be expected, they present the donors' motives as purely selfless and their donations as essential, and they allow only rarely if ever a look behind the scenes of civic euergetism. These documents, our main sources for the role of euergetism, are biased in favour of euergetism's importance for the cities rather than for the benefactors. However, just as it benefited a city, the donor's generosity bought honour, and therefore a form of power, for the donor himself and his family, and this transaction could involve negotiations between benefactor and *polis*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deals struck between benefactors and cities could be challenged even many years later, as is demonstrated in the case of Iulius Piso, mentioned by Pliny the Younger as having been asked to return to the city of Amisos a sum he had received two decades earlier. Piso claimed that he received the money in thanks for his many donations: PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 110-111. Opinions in the cities could differ on the matter of how much should be spent on what. See Pliny's various complaints about buildings left unfinished and about others poorly executed: *Epist.* 10, 37-38 (aqueducts left unfinished); 39 (a theatre too expensive and poorly executed). On negotiations between city, donor, and sometimes third parties: G.M. ROGERS, "Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism", in *JRS* 81 (1991), 91-100 on Demosthenes' festival at Oinoanda (ed. Wörrle 1988). More generally on such negotiations: W. ECK, "Der Euergetismus im Funktionszusammenhang der kaiserzeitlichen Städte", in *Actes du Xe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992*, éd. par M. CHRISTOL et O. MASSON (Paris 1997), 305-331; ID., "Administrative Dokumente. Publikation und Mittel der Selbstdarstellung", in W. ECK, *Die*

If a donor was asked to give something more and did so, that detail may have been deemed suitable for inclusion in an honorary decree.<sup>2</sup> But, supposing a donor had been asked to give something other than what he had proposed, the fact that his initial offer had not been welcomed unconditionally was unlikely to find mention in an honorary document. The purpose of this paper is to investigate what may have contributed to a benefactor's preference for one form of euergetism over another, particularly between the alternatives of games and buildings.

It is a common perception, both ancient and modern, that the mounting of spectacles could mean the sponsor's financial ruin. To sponsor the construction of buildings, of course, could be financially ruinous as well, and, according to Plutarch, the triumvir and real estate magnate Licinius Crassus, who never built anything himself other than his own house, used to say that those who loved to build (*τοὺς φιλοικοδόμους*) brought financial ruin onto themselves even without help from their competitors.<sup>3</sup> Obviously either of the choices could involve considerable financial risk, and our evidence suggests that the cost of mounting spectacles and of financing building projects could be unpredictable. Whether donors chose one or the other form of euergetism is likely to have depended very much on local conditions and private circumstances, on practical considerations and strategies of commemoration. While we have no evidence that, on an official level, Roman state officials explicitly

*Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit* 2 (Basel 1998), 359–385, esp. 370. Honour as a form of power: J.E. LENDON, *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Opramoas of Rhodiapolis on one occasion promised the Lycian confederacy 5,000 denars but ended up donating 55,000 (TAM II, 905, doc. 18, ll. V E 5–9 = C. KOKKINIA, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis. Euergetismus und soziale Elite in Lykien* [Bonn 2000], doc. 19, ll. V E 5–9, p. 29; cf. p. 138). For Opramoas' building projects at Myra and Patara, see below (n. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Crass. 2, 6: τοσούτους δὲ κεκτημένους τεχνίτας, οὐδὲν ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτὸς ἢ τὴν ἴδιαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ’ ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοικοδόμους αὐτοὺς ὑφ’ ἐκατῶν καταλύεσθαι χωρὶς ἀνταγωνιστῶν. Cf. below.

recommended buildings as euergetic choices over athletic and musical events, these authorities, like other members of the Graeco-Roman elite, sometimes expressed disdain towards *munera*, and there are signs that official rhetoric implicitly favoured buildings. Public statements that reflected these ideas were likely to influence donors' decisions. However, as I hope to show, Antoninus Pius' letter to the Ephesians, containing the best-known example of such interference from above, is likely to have been a much more general statement than is usually assumed. And what we know to have been a clear and direct intervention on the part of the Roman state in the mounting of spectacles, the *s.c.* of 177 CE, seems intended to make their cost more predictable rather than to restrict their appeal.

### Long-range and immediate concerns

There can be no doubt that pursuit of honour played a role when donors chose among forms of euergetism. While games involved crowds and, ideally, enthusiastic ones cheering the benefactor, buildings were made to last, potentially preserving the donor's memory for generations.<sup>4</sup> But there were also ways of combining the momentary honour and pleasure generated by appreciative crowds with more permanent indicators of status. One who could afford to contribute significantly to the construction of a theatre or lecture hall could secure the applause of crowds on many occasions during his lifetime, as well as the most prominent locations for placing his statues in or near the building. Similarly, if a donor could sponsor the founding of a contest and festival, the periodic repetitions of the festival would preserve the memory of the donor's name and fame for posterity. Moreover, notable one-off events such

<sup>4</sup> Buildings named after their donor: L. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937), 542 with n. 2; ID., "Un édifice du sanctuaire de l'Isthme dans une inscription de Corinthe", in *Hellenica* I (Paris 1940), 43-53, esp. 51f.

as big gladiatorial shows could be recalled in the sculptural decoration of impressive funerary monuments, as in a number of relief friezes found at Aphrodisias and Kibyra.<sup>5</sup> Other media, too, could provide lasting visual representation of such an event: a mosaic in Africa, for example, that is preserved to the present day, depicts the crowd's acclamations of Magerius at a *venatio* that he had sponsored.<sup>6</sup>

Given such combinations, spectacles could have afforded their sponsor a distinction that was more than short-lived, and the decision to sponsor building projects could have depended on a variety of long-term and short-term considerations. What is more, it was difficult to predict a building's final cost, and buildings often required contributions from more than one donor.<sup>7</sup> Even when a building's construction was sponsored by one person alone, those who undertook subsequent additions

<sup>5</sup> Aphrodisias: A. HRYCHUK KONTOKOSTA, "Gladiatorial Reliefs and Élite Funerary Monuments", in *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments*, ed. by C. RATTÉ and R.R.R. SMITH (Portsmouth, RI 2008), 190-230; Kibyra: C. BERNS, forthcoming. In contrast to modern funerary practice, such monuments were often built during the tomb owner's lifetime: P. ZANKER, "Bürgerliche Selbstdarstellung am Grab im römischen Kaiserreich", in *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes. Kolloquium in Xanten vom 2. bis 4. Mai 1990*, hrsg. von H.J. SCHALLES et al. (Bonn 1992), 339-358; cf. C. KOKKINIA, "Junge Honoratioren in Lykien und eine neue Ehreninschrift aus Bubon", in *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischenbilanz. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums München, 24.-26. Februar 2005*, hrsg. von C. SCHULER (Wien 2007), 165-174, esp. 171.

<sup>6</sup> A. BESCHAOUCH, "La mosaïque de chasse à l'amphithéâtre découverte à Smirat en Tunisie", in *CRAI* 110 (1966), 134-157 (cf. *AE* 1967, 549); a recent discussion: D. BOMGARDNER, "The Magerius Mosaic Revisited", in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula. A 21st-Century Perspective. Papers from an International Conference held at Chester, 16th-18th February 2007*, ed. by T. WILMOTT (Oxford 2009), 165-177.

<sup>7</sup> The benefactions of Opramoas provide two examples of final costs exceeding the donor's initial offer: when he had promised the city of Myra help to repair buildings after an earthquake, he was subsequently asked to offer a larger sum and to supervise the works himself: C. KOKKINIA, *op. cit.* (n. 2), ll. XIII D 5-9 (= *TAM* II, 905, ll. XIII D 5-9); and when he had offered Patara a sum for a stoa, he was asked to pay for the entire building (ll. XVII E 14-XVII F 4). The phenomenon of multiple sponsors is represented in the construction of the aqueduct at Aphrodisias (on which, see below).

and embellishments could appropriate credit from the original donor, at least in the epigraphic record.<sup>8</sup> Even the expectation that a donated building would provide a permanent, highly visible public platform for sculptural representations of the donor and his family might go unfulfilled, since a donor's wishes were not always respected after his death. Heirs are sometimes depicted as unreliable in wills and in funerary inscriptions, both directly and indirectly, and civic politics could also influence the implementation of a donor's plans.

Some donors chose to involve the Roman authorities in carrying out their plans for the afterlife, not in all cases with those authorities' full consent: Pliny the Younger, for example, as governor of *Pontus et Bithynia* found himself in the position of executor of the will of a Pontic man whom he did not know, as he confessed to Trajan. Apart from a sum that he would be awarded if he accepted the job, the inheritance was to be divided between two Pontic *poleis* and the role of the governor would be to decide between the options of erecting buildings or founding contests there — in either event in the emperor's honour, as Pliny makes clear. Apparently apprehensive about the prospect of conducting lengthy negotiations with the two cities, Pliny tried to induce Trajan to make the choice between buildings and games. But, in a brief epistle, the emperor turned the decision back to his governor, remarking that the task had to do with memorializing the testator (more than with honouring the emperor, despite Pliny's claims).<sup>9</sup> While we do not know what Pliny finally chose to do, the episode indicates some potential complexities in donors' strategies of commemoration.

<sup>8</sup> *Dig.* 50, 10, 7, 1: *Si quis opus ab alio factum adornare marmoribus vel alio quo modo ex voluntate populi facturum se pollicitus sit, nominis proprii titulo scribendo: manentibus priorum titulis, qui ea opera fecissent, id fieri debere senatus censuit;* cf. E. THOMAS and C. WITSCHEL, "Constructing Reconstruction. Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions from the Latin West", in *PBSR* 60 (1992), 135-177.

<sup>9</sup> *Epist.* 10, 75-76.

Strategies of commemoration that directly invited the participation of the emperor, instead of his governor, were not guaranteed success either, a point illustrated in another of Pliny's letters to Trajan.<sup>10</sup> In this instance, Claudius Polyaenus had bequeathed a building in the centre of Prusa to the emperor Claudius on condition that a chapel for the deceased be included inside the building's peristyle.<sup>11</sup> The rest of the house was to be rented. Although at the time of Pliny, more than half a century later, the estate still belonged to the emperor, the donor's interests in the upkeep of the chapel had been disregarded. It appears that the building had been taken care of as long as the proceeds from the rent had generated income for the city of Prusa, but the property was thereafter partly plundered and partly neglected, and the building fell into ruin. When planning for the afterlife, putting your money into the construction of buildings was not always the safe choice it might at first have appeared to be.

Much as a donor might wish to secure himself a place in posterity, more immediate concerns could decisively influence his choice between buildings and spectacles. To carry out a building project would have required, for example, the acquisition of suitable land, which could be expected to involve cumbersome negotiations. Proposals to change the use of existing buildings or lots in a civic environment were likely to provoke reactions, as Dio Chrysostom found when he removed older structures to build new shops in Prusa: neither his money nor his immense rhetorical skill spared him from accusations.<sup>12</sup> It is not surprising that donors could be suspected of promoting their own interests when they offered to erect a new building instead of repairing an old one. But selfish motives, and any direct or indirect compensations that donors might receive for

<sup>10</sup> *Epist.* 10, 70.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. E. CHAMPLIN, *Final Judgments. Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills: 200 B.C. - A.D. 250* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1991), 26-27, 173 on an anonymous Gallo-Roman aristocrat's will containing detailed instructions for a chapel for himself (*testamentum Lingonis*, *CIL XIII* 5708).

<sup>12</sup> *Or.* 46, 9.

their outlay, were not likely to be widely broadcast, and particularly not in honorific documents.<sup>13</sup>

Though there can be little doubt that the building trade was an important branch of the economy in the cities,<sup>14</sup> connections between the building trade and the sponsors of buildings are difficult to confirm. Evidence is scarce on both the extent and nature of elite individuals' involvement in that trade.<sup>15</sup> While we know of some instances where members of the elite were accused of profiteering in connection with trade in foodstuffs, we hear of no similar instances in connection with buildings. Plutarch's report on the size of Crassus' construction business (and on his less than savoury tactics) has no parallel in imperial times, although it is possible that Plutarch indirectly alludes to such parallels.<sup>16</sup> The

<sup>13</sup> See C. KOKKINIA, "The Role of Individuals in Inscribing Roman State Documents. Governors' Letters and Edicts", in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation. Die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, hrsg. von R. HAENSCH (München 2009), 200–201, for Licinius Priscus Juventianus in Corinth, who proposed to use the lot and the building material of an old colonnade to construct new shops, which he would make available as lodgings for the athletes during the Isthmia. We are not told but can safely assume that, apart from the days when the Isthmia, and possibly other games, were held, the new shops would house the economic activities of their owner.

<sup>14</sup> P. BARRESI, "Architettura pubblica e munificenza in Asia Minore. Ricchezza, costruzioni e marmi nelle province anatoliche dell'Impero", in *MediterrAnt* 3 (2000), 309–368 on materials, labour, financing etc. of public buildings in Asia Minor; A. KOLB, "Das Bauhandwerk in den Städten der römischen Provinzen. Strukturen und Bedeutung", in *Tyche* 23 (2008), 101–115, discusses the building trade in the western provinces in more general terms.

<sup>15</sup> A. KOLB, *art. cit.* (n. 14), 110, with previous literature. The amount of evidence connecting elite individuals with associations of builders and related workers is insignificant: C. ZIMMERMANN, *Handwerkervereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum* (Mainz 2002); O.M. VAN NIJF, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam 1997).

<sup>16</sup> PLUT. *Crass.* 2, 5–6. W. AMELING, "Plutarch, *Perikles* 12–14", in *Historia* 34 (1985), 47–63, argues that Plutarch's account of the Athenian politician Perikles' building policy was anachronistic, intended to make a covert statement about his own time. From Pliny, we hear of charges brought against Dio Chrysostom for having made unauthorized changes to a public building constructed under his supervision. It appears, though, that the charges did not concern financial profits or underhanded dealings in relation to that building project, but had to do with his exploiting his position to secure a prominent spot for a family grave: PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 81–82.

sort of involvement with the building trade that Crassus had pursued may have been too obviously incompatible with the land-owner-gentleman ideal to be openly displayed by most prominent citizens.<sup>17</sup>

It is easier in the case of festivals to surmise how the donors' own economic interests might have played a role in their decisions: an owner of gladiators, for example, might have opted to stage gladiatorial games, and someone who engaged in the trade of goods normally connected with festivals might have opted for games (*munera* or other) in the hope of gaining greater profits through any immunities granted to those markets. Such markets would have intersected with the economic interests of large-scale traders, as well as those of some small merchants and peasants who sold their own produce. In many ways, the founder of a contest was indirectly a benefactor of all those who participated in the activities on any of the new market days.

Festivals and the contests connected with them must have been organizational nightmares, or Hadrian's list of problems needing to be solved in connection with them in the recently published documents from Alexandria Troas, to be discussed more fully below, would likely be shorter.<sup>18</sup> Among other prerequisites, festivals required permission from the Roman authorities and a means of attracting participants and visitors.

<sup>17</sup> Brickmaking, which was associated with agriculture, is an exception. Senators did not hesitate to record their names on bricks and tiles. See T. FRANK, *An Economic History of Rome* (Baltimore-London 1927; repr. Kitchener 2004), 123 and most recently A. KLINGENBERG, *Sozialer Abstieg in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Paderborn 2011), 52, with previous literature. Nonetheless, we would have known nothing of the concentration of the production of bricks and tiles in Rome in the hands of female members of Marcus Aurelius' family, for example, if it were not for our knowledge and study of the stamps on the bricks and tiles themselves; see A. BUONOPANE and F. CHAUSSON, "Una fonte della ricchezza delle *Augustae* - Le figlinae urbane", in *Augustae. Machtbewusste Frauen am römischen Kaiserhof*, hrsg. von A. KOLB (Berlin 2010), 91-110.

<sup>18</sup> G. PETZL und E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler. Drei in Alexandria Troas neugefundene Briefe des Kaisers an die Künstler-Vereinigung* (Bonn 2006) (SEG 56, 1359).

The constituting of new market days, alone, would have involved potentially difficult negotiations with the Roman authorities and with other communities.<sup>19</sup> An example of such negotiations is provided in a letter to the city of Sardis from the patron of a village in Sardis' territory, which reveals that the city had stopped participating in religious celebrations held at the village after the villagers had successfully petitioned the Roman authorities to allow them to add a market day to those celebrations without first securing Sardis' assent.<sup>20</sup> There are indications that even a large and powerful city might have anticipated some opposition to modifications of its games, as Ephesos did when it decided to expand its Artemisia.<sup>21</sup>

### Ideological considerations: provincial elites and Roman “precepts of statecraft”

In short, various factors, including financial and organizational concerns, influenced a donor's decision between being a sponsor of spectacles or of building projects. As we have seen above, the expectation of securing long-term or short-term fame by supporting one sort of benefaction rather than another was not clear-cut, and it remains uncertain how much that

<sup>19</sup> J. NOLLÉ, *Nundinas instituere et habere. Epigraphische Zeugnisse zur Einrichtung und Gestaltung von ländlichen Märkten in Afrika und in der Provinz Asia* (Hildesheim 1982), *passim*; ID., “Marktrechte außerhalb der Stadt. Lokale Autonomie zwischen Statthalter und Zentralort”, in *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von W. ECK und E. MÜLLER-LUCKNER (München 1999), 93–113.

<sup>20</sup> J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 19), 104. The Roman governor and soon-to-be emperor Boeonius Antoninus extended an invitation to anyone who objected to the adding of the new market day to step forward within a certain time limit (ll. b 10–14, d 12–16). The village's patron, Asinius Rufus, attempts to settle the matter amicably, but we do not know the outcome of his intervention; W. ECK and J. NOLLÉ, “Der Brief des Asinius Rufus an die Magistrate von Sardes. Zum Marktrechtsprivileg für die Gemeinde der Arillenoī”, in *Chiron* 26 (1996), 267–273, esp. 273; C. KOKKINIA, *art. cit.* (n. 13), 203–204.

<sup>21</sup> C. KOKKINIA, *art. cit.* (n. 13), 195–198.

concern might have influenced a donor. Of course, choices are often rationalized rather than rational. Both consciously and unconsciously, benefactors might have rejected an option that was more convenient, or one that was more likely to earn them the widest possible approval, in favour of what they or their peers thought was a better choice in moral and philosophical terms. It has been proposed that Greek-style festivals eventually replaced buildings as indicators of status within and between cities in the third century, and that this change took place because the festivals better reflected the highly stratified social and political structures in the Roman empire of the time.<sup>22</sup> It can be objected, however, that although a significant slowdown in building activity is attested in the archaeological record of the third century CE, neither highly stratified societies nor festivals are particular to that time. If indeed the flourishing of games in contrast to buildings is largely to be traced to a change in euergetic preferences,<sup>23</sup> the cause of this change still remains unexplained. The fluctuations in building activity could represent stages in a boom and bust cycle, a period of rapid growth in the second century having been followed by a contraction of building activity in the urban centres of the third century; over the course of that period, buildings as euergetic choices could for a variety of reasons have gone out of fashion. In other words, the contraction in building activity in the third century may represent a return to normal building activity after a period of excesses in the previous century.

We do gain some evidence from the literary tradition of contemporary intellectuals having expressed disdain for certain categories of spectacle, and the epigraphic record preserves evidence that representatives of the Roman state may at times

<sup>22</sup> G.M. ROGERS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 100.

<sup>23</sup> S. MITCHELL, "Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor", review article of M. WÖRRE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (München 1988), and R. ZIEGLER, *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik. Studien zum Festewesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Düsseldorf 1985), in *JRS* 80 (1990), 183-193, esp. 190.

have publicly endorsed one form of euergetism over the other. If, as it has commonly been interpreted, Antoninus Pius in a letter to Ephesos expressly favoured buildings over spectacles, his stated preference might have had a hand in the building boom of the second century. I will return to Antoninus' letter to Ephesos after discussing two other imperial letters, both issued by the emperor Hadrian, that have been eternalized in stone in the cities of the empire.

In a recently published and already widely discussed epigraphic dossier of imperial letters from Alexandria Troas, Hadrian issues an order to the cities: they are not to divert funds away from musical and athletic contests to other purposes, except for the purpose of alleviating a food shortage, and even then they need to first secure the emperor's consent.<sup>24</sup> Hadrian's order was conveyed in the opening lines of a letter to a group that stood to lose if funds were diverted away from games, the union of artists associated with Dionysus. The emperor's stern tone would presumably have been welcome to his immediate addressees, even as it was unpleasant for the cities concerned. The terms of the order might be taken as evidence

<sup>24</sup> Petzl and Schwertheim's text (*op. cit.* n. 18), ll. 8-13, except in l. 11, where I follow a reading suggested by C. Jones (C.P. JONES, "Three New Letters of the Emperor Hadrian", in *ZPE* 161 [2007], 145-156): τοὺς ἀγῶνας πάντας ἄγεσθαι κελεύων καὶ μὴ ἔξειναι πόλει πέροις ἀγῶνος κατὰ νόμον ἢ ψήφισμα ἢ διαθήκας ἀγομένους μετενεκεῖν εἰς ἄλλα δαπανήματα οὐδὲ εἰς ἕργου κατασκευὴν ἐφίημι |<sup>10</sup> χρήσασθαι ἀργυρίῳ, ἔξ οὖν ἀθλα τίθεται ἀγωνισταῖς ἢ συντάξεις δίδονται τοῖς νε[ι]κήσασιν· εἰ δέ ποτε ἐπείζω |<sup>11</sup> πόλιν οὐκ εἰς τρυφήν καὶ πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πυρὸν ἐν σειτοδείᾳ παρεσκευάσασαι πόρον τινὸν ἔξευρεν |<sup>12</sup> τότε μοι γραφέσθω. "Ανευ δέ ἐμῆς συνχωρήσεως μηδὲν πρός τὸ τοιοῦτό τι ἔξέστω λαμβάνειν τάδε |<sup>13</sup> εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀποτεταγμένα χρήματα. Jones' translation: "I order that all the contests be held, and that it not be permitted for a city to divert funds (destined for) a contest held according to law, | decree or will to other expenses, nor do I permit to be used on the construction of a building | money from which prizes are offered to contestants or (from which) contributions are given to victors. If it should ever be urgent | that a city find some source (of revenue), not for the purpose of luxury and extravagance, but in order to procure wheat in a (time of) shortage, then let me be written to. But without my permission let no one be permitted to take these funds earmarked for the contests for anything (i.e. any purpose) of this kind".

that one or more cities had previously reallocated such funds for various purposes. Only one such purpose is mentioned explicitly, however: that of constructing a building (l. 9; cf. l. 17), and it seems reasonable to deduce from the emperor's explicit disallowing of these funds for this specific purpose that he anticipated that they might be put to that use.

The text of another major epigraphic monument makes it clear that the repurposing of funds from games to other activities did take place in the empire, and it also suggests that construction projects were favoured to receive those reallocations. This monument, found in Aphrodisias, includes a letter in which Hadrian permits the Aphrodisians to accept cash, in lieu of gladiatorial games, from priests of the imperial cult. What is more, Hadrian emphatically praises the Aphrodisians' intention to do so. In a passage that comes next in the letter, a reference to curators of an aqueduct allows the inference that the Aphrodisians intended to use this money for some unspecified activity related to an aqueduct.<sup>25</sup> Given that the provincials would be certain to refer to the emperor any proposal to divert money from games in his honour to another purpose, there is nothing surprising about this part of the exchange between Hadrian and the Aphrodisians. But an explanation for Hadrian's response is less obvious, and it might be instructive to look more closely at what his decision might have entailed for the Roman state.

Considering his role as the leader of the empire's intellectual elite, whose members often condemned the arena, a Roman emperor would probably have surprised no one by publicly appearing indifferent to gladiatorial shows (the more so an Antonine emperor).<sup>26</sup> But, considering his role as the head of the Roman state and owner of the fiscus, it is not self-evident,

<sup>25</sup> J. REYNOLDS, "New Letters from Hadrian to Aphrodisias. Trials, Taxes, Gladiators and an Aqueduct", in *JRA* 13 (2000), 5-20; K.M. COLEMAN, "Exchanging Gladiators for an Aqueduct at Aphrodisias (*SEG* 50.1096)", in *AClass* 51 (2008), 31-46.

<sup>26</sup> T. WIEDEMANN, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London 1992), 142-144.

at least from our point of view, that the emperor would favour a reduction in spectacles. As an owner of gladiatorial schools all around the empire, a Roman emperor made money from the gladiatorial business,<sup>27</sup> and the fiscus probably collected a substantial tax on the sale and purchase of gladiators (a point to which I will return). Was Hadrian's decision to permit the diversion of money at Aphrodisias away from gladiatorial games, then, based entirely on moral considerations? We cannot be sure. It is possibly relevant, in this context, that Aphrodisians also paid the Romans a tax on nails.<sup>28</sup> Whatever the precise terms of this tax, the revenue that it generated for the state presumably increased with every project of construction or significant reconstruction that the Aphrodisians undertook. Since the precise circumstances that prompted the imperial letter escape us, we can only guess at the importance of such considerations for Hadrian's decision. What seems clear is that the Aphrodisians' exchange of "gladiators for an aqueduct"<sup>29</sup> had both ideological and fiscal implications that would have needed to be carefully balanced in their ambassadors' speeches. To have extracted from the emperor both permission and praise was probably an ideal outcome of a not so simple diplomatic endeavour. And this outcome was chosen to be recorded on stone, providing, for the purposes of our enquiry, an emperor's monumental endorsement of other projects, apparently construction works, over spectacles as euergetic choices. Hadrian's words, however, by no means constitute a statement against

<sup>27</sup> F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)* (Ithaca-London 1977), 195; B. MEISSNER, "Meris VI ad Ludum Neronianum. Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu einer Inschrift des Katasters von Orange", in *ZPE* 90 (1992), 167-191, esp. 174-176.

<sup>28</sup> Of which we are informed because the Aphrodisians asked Hadrian to exempt them from it. J. REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias and Rome. Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias Conducted by Professor Kenan T. Erim, Together with Some Related Texts* (London 1982), docs. 15, 51; cf. C. KOKKINIA, "Making Sense of an Odd Inscription: MAMA VIII, 430 and the 'nail tax'", in *ZPE* 151 (2005), 259-262.

<sup>29</sup> K.M. COLEMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 25).

games in general. The emperor speaks of gladiatorial shows in particular and, in this instance, praises a decision to have priests sponsor another activity instead.

This praise by an emperor of one type of civic euergetism over another immediately recalls Antoninus Pius' letter to the Ephesians (*IK-Ephesos* 1491), mentioned above, to which we will now return. The letter has often been cited and discussed, but I am not persuaded that its content and implications have been fully understood. It is one of three letters of that emperor concerning Vedius Antoninus (*IK-Ephesos* 1491-1493) that were inscribed on the marble paneling of the scene wall at Ephesus' town hall. Vedius had sponsored a new sculptural program for the *bouleuterion's* scene wall that included a portrait gallery of the Antonine dynasty, and the inscriptions of the imperial letters bear proof of his close relationship with the emperor.<sup>30</sup>

The letters of Antoninus in this dossier appear to be typical *martyriai*, that is to say, letters of recommendation containing praise of an individual by a higher authority.<sup>31</sup> In all known cases where the originator of such a letter is a representative of the Roman state, the letter conveys its author's positive response to an honorary act that had been made known to him by the party conferring the honour, usually the honorand's fellow citizens. So, too, in this case, the Ephesians had sent to Antoninus their own praise of Vedius (known to us from *IK-Ephesos* 1491, l. 9), presumably with the intention of eliciting a *martyria*. I have proposed elsewhere a restoration of l. 12 of this same document, to read οὗτος [v] instead of οὗτος [x], on the basis that Antoninus' response is unlikely to have contained a reproach of the Ephesians,<sup>32</sup> both because such a reproach would be highly

<sup>30</sup> For the building see L. BIER, *The Bouleuterion at Ephesos* (Wien 2011).

<sup>31</sup> *IK-Ephesos* 1491-1493; see C. KOKKINIA, "Letters of Roman Authorities on Local Dignitaries. The Case of Vedius Antoninus", in *ZPE* 142 (2003), 197-213.

<sup>32</sup> Interpretation of the text as a reproach is accepted by A. KALINOWSKI, "The Vedii Antonini. Aspects of Patronage and Benefaction in Second-Century Ephesus", in *Phoenix* 56 (2002), 109-149, among many others (cf. C. KOKKINIA, *art. cit.* [n. 31]).

unexpected in this category of document and because the emperor indicates his agreement with the Ephesians' actions by asserting, in the immediately subsequent clause, that he had joined the Ephesians in their approval of Vedius: *κάγω ... ἀπεδεξάμην* ("and I gave [or "so did I give"] my approval").<sup>33</sup>

Particularly relevant to the present investigation are ll. 13-18 of Antoninus' first letter (*IK-Ephesos* 1491), which clearly express support for one type of euergetic activity and disapproval of another.<sup>34</sup> An obstacle arises in identifying exactly which group of *euergetai* and which types of donations the emperor disapproves of. I hope to show that there are convincing alternatives to some of the traditional restorations of these lines. On the basis of photographs of the fragments and details of the Vienna squeezes of the texts, and on a close study of the other two imperial letters of the dossier, I propose the following new readings.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Nor is there convincing evidence that the Ephesians, or a faction among them, had been engaged in a quarrel with Vedius. The emperor's statement in *IK-Ephesos* 1491, ll. 7-9 does not constitute such evidence. In those lines, by saying that Vedius' activities were known to him more from his own correspondence with Vedius than from the Ephesians' letters, the emperor was repeating a theme known from other *martyria* and was honouring Vedius by acknowledging the directness of his ties with the imperial centre. To be sure, quarrels between individual citizens and between factions are well known from imperial Greek *poleis*. Were the traditional restorations of this letter correct, however, we would see the emperor taking sides with an individual against the entire citizenry of a *polis*, and making insulting remarks about the *polis*, in a letter cut in stone on a public monument displayed in the *polis* itself. Such behaviour seems very unlikely. (Cf. M. STESKAL und M. LA TORRE, *Das Vediusgymnasium in Ephesos. Archäologie und Baubefund. Textband* [Wien 2008], 306-308.) While the wording of the first letter (*IK-Ephesos* 1491) could conceivably have been interpreted as an acknowledgment that the Ephesians were tardy in endorsing Vedius the *euergetēs* and in sending proof of their recognition to the emperor, even this interpretation was more likely to be viewed as honorific rhetoric rather than substantive criticism of the city.

<sup>34</sup> On this same evidence, S. Cramme has recently proposed that Vedius' alleged conflict with his fellow Ephesians was prompted by his wish to replace games with buildings in the expenditures normally connected with certain offices (S. CRAMME, *Die Bedeutung des Euergetismus für die Finanzierung städtischer Aufgaben in der Provinz Asia* [Köln 2001], 192).

<sup>35</sup> I thank Prof. Hans Täuber of the University of Vienna and the staff of the British Museum for generously providing photographs of the fragments, and Prof. Täuber for kindly checking details on the Vienna squeezes.

In l. 13 the reading συ[νέπραξα? α]ύτῳ [εἰ]ς is preferable to the *IK* reading συ[νεχώρησα α]ύτῳ Π[ι]ς. While συ[νεχώρησα] leaves the sigma at the end of the line unexplained, συνέπραξα is compatible with [εἰ]ς, which in turn is compatible with the accusative ἡ at the beginning of l. 14. Συνέπραξα also mirrors what Antoninus writes about Vedius to the Hellenes of Asia in the third letter of the same dossier (*IK-Ephesos* 1493, ll. 14-15).<sup>36</sup> In that letter, the emperor does Vedius the great honour of stating his endorsement of Vedius' activities in terms of partnership; more than merely sanctioning Vedius' building projects, the emperor claimed that he "worked in partnership" with Vedius in those projects. This claim of Antoninus is possibly corroborated by a statement of his in the second letter of the dossier (*IK-Ephesos* 1492, ll. 13-15): that Vedius had received imperial grants and had spent them on embellishment of the city.<sup>37</sup> At least in a financial sense, then, Antoninus had in fact joined forces with Vedius.

In *IK-Ephesos* 1491, l. 14, according to the traditional restoration, the emperor censures the ways of "the many", a reference to the multitude (or the majority) of office

<sup>36</sup> In the beginning of l. 15 of *IK-Ephesos* 1493, after approximately 3 lost characters, a fragment contains the letters ΕΠΙΡΑΞ and, following that, part of the oblique stroke of the letter Α or Λ. Another fragment contains the letters ΑΥΤ and, after a lacuna of ca. 5-6 letters, a third fragment preserves the upper right oblique stroke of Υ and the letters ΝΕΑΑ. The position of all three fragments in the text appear to be secure, and the traditional restoration [καὶ] εἰ[γὼ | συν]έπραξα αὐτῷ καὶ συνέλα[θον] is hence very compelling. Cf. the photograph in L. BIER, *op. cit.* (n. 30), pl. 65.1.

<sup>37</sup> *IK-Ephesos* 1492, ll. 13-15: δ[ι] γε καὶ τὰ]ς παρ' ἐμοῦ χάριτας εἰς τὸν [κόσμον αἱ[τῆς] τῆς πόλεως [καὶ] τέθετο. Οι χάρις in the sense of (imperial) grant see *LSJ*, s.v. χάρις A.III.b. In the first letter of the dossier (*IK-Ephesos* 1491, ll. 9-11), Antoninus' statement that Vedius had asked for his help with the embellishment of the works that Vedius had promised (βουλόμενος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθίας [εἰς τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἔργων δὲ] διεπηγείλατο...) might provide additional evidence that Vedius had requested and received a financial contribution from Antoninus. The emperor's wording in all three of the cited passages implies — perhaps not entirely truthfully — that Vedius was free to use the money as he pleased. Vedius presumably used the funds from the imperial grants for the new portraits of the Antonine dynasty in the *bouleuterion* and perhaps for other embellishments as well.

holders:<sup>38</sup> [οὐ] τὸν π[ολλῶν τῶν]ν πολειτευομένων τρόπον. But the restoration τὸν π[ολλῶν τῶν]ν produces a syntactically awkward phrase, containing an article in the accusative singular followed immediately by an adjective in the genitive plural (τὸν πολλῶν). The restoration proposed by Dittenberger in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 850, [οὐ] τὸν σ[υνήθη τῶν]ν πολειτευομένων τρόπον, which is far better Greek, unfortunately does not appear to agree with what is on the stone.<sup>39</sup> It is worth considering, instead, that the missing word might be εἰθισμένον, a synonym of συνήθης and an adjective attested in accompaniment with τρόπος: [οὐ] τὸν εἰθισμένον τῶν]ν πολειτευομένων τρόπον. In the absence of a secure restoration, it remains far from certain whether Antoninus addresses his criticism towards “many” (πολλοί) men in public life, as is commonly assumed, towards an “accustomed” (εἰθισμένος) mode of conduct, or towards another object. In short, it is not certain that he expresses disapproval of the way most dignitaries behaved, and therefore of the ways of most *poleis* and of Ephesos in particular.

A common theme in moral essays contrasts men whose actions aim merely to please the multitude with those who base

<sup>38</sup> Or, more generally, those who perform public services without holding office; πολιτευόμενος had a wide meaning (C. KOKKINIA, “Opramoas’ Citizenships. The Lycian *politeuomenos-formula*”, in *Patrie d’origine et patries électives. Les citoyennetés multiples dans le monde grec d’époque romaine*, éd. par A. HELLER et A.-V. PONT [Bordeaux 2012], 327–340). S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 190 translates πολιτευόμενοι here with “men in public life”. S. CRAMME, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 192: “those who are active in the community” (*die im Gemeinwesen Tätigen*).

<sup>39</sup> A sigma before the lacuna does not seem possible. On a squeeze in Vienna, H. Täuber reads here the lower part of a vertical stroke without a horizontal extension. However, a squeeze might not document a horizontal extension when the stone is damaged, as it is here, so close to the vertical stroke. To judge by the photographs, in which the vertical stroke is also recognizable, an epsilon may be possible. If pi is possible before the lacuna, one might consider π[ρὸς χάριν]ν or π[ρὸς δόξαν]ν or maybe π[ρὸς ὄχλον]ν. The occurrence of the word χάριν in ll. 15–16 does not speak against the restoration of πρὸς χάριν in l. 14, since repetition was clearly not avoided in this letter: cf. φιλοτιμίαν ἦν φιλοτιμεῖται in l. 7.

their politics on high moral principles and pursue worthier goals.<sup>40</sup> A statement of Antoninus in *IK-Ephesos* 1491, l. 15, which contains a reference to instant success ([παρ]αχρῆμ[α εὐδοκιμ]εῖν; we might say “instant gratification”), is possibly a variation on that theme. Supposing an Ephesian nobleman had recently spent money on public spectacles, he would no doubt have been made uncomfortable by an imperial, and therefore “divine”, precept of statecraft that said that he should not have done so. But the text does not support the usual assumption that Antoninus is here expressing specific points of criticism rather than a general philosophical and political principle, nor that he has aimed his censure at the Ephesians or a smaller group among them.<sup>41</sup>

The types of euergetic activities that the emperor contrasts with building projects in this document are not entirely clear. In l. 16 he clearly speaks of “shows” and “distributions”. But “shows” (*θέατ*) could designate any sort of spectacle or performance, either Greek or Roman. Given that they appear to be named in this context as one of several objectionable targets of donations, *θέατ* might here have the narrower sense of theatrical shows and, more precisely, perhaps the wildly popular pantomimes that were scorned by traditionalists.<sup>42</sup> “Distributions”

<sup>40</sup> Plutarch discourses on this moral obligation for politicians in his *Precepts of Statecraft*, and the theme is also present in his *Lives: Them.* 3, 3 γάρ ὁν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρόπον δὲ Ἀριστείδης, καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χρήματα πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετ’ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ...; cf. *Agis et Cleom.* 1, 3-4: τοῦτον δὲ γῆθιῶς οἱ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ὅχλων καὶ ὄρμάς πολιτεύομενοι πάσχουσι, δουλεύοντες καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἵνα δημαγγωγοὶ καὶ ςχροντες δύνομάζωνται. καθάπερ γάρ οἱ πρωρεῖς, τὰ ἔμπροσθεν προσφέρμενοι τῶν κυβερνητῶν, ἀφορῶσι πρὸς ἑκείνους καὶ τὸ προστασόμενον ὑπὲρ ἑκείνων ποιοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ πολιτευόμενοι καὶ πρὸς δόξαν δρῶντες ὑπηρέται μὲν τῶν πολλῶν εἰσιν, δύνομα δὲ ἀρχόντων ἔχουσιν.

<sup>41</sup> A group among them: M.D. CAMPANILE, “Contese civiche ad Efeso in età imperiale”, in *SCO* 42 (1992), 215-223.

<sup>42</sup> Traditionalists as, for example, Kraton in Lucian’s defence of the genre (*Περὶ Ὀρχήσεως*). On the innovations introduced in pantomimes and their transformation of traditional themes see *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. by P. EASTERLING and E. HALL (Cambridge 2002), 27-30. Pantomimes did not become part of thymelic competitions in the eastern part of

(διανομαῖ), mentioned next in l. 16, had in other instances aroused suspicion among Roman authorities, as is clearly implied in one of Trajan's letters to Pliny the Younger, and particularly when the distributions were extended to the entire membership of a club.<sup>43</sup>

A third category of donation appears to have been mentioned at the end of l. 16, but this is now lost. The traditional restoration of ll. 16-17, τὰ τῶ[ν ἀγώνων θέματα? δαπάν]ῶ[σιν?] | [τὴ]ν φι[λοτιμ]ίαν is only tentative. “Contests” (ἀγῶνες) included athletic and musical events, and it would be surprising to hear an Antonine emperor express criticism of those. Gladiatorial games, on the other hand, if they were not already included in the term θέσι, can be expected to have been included in this third category of donations, having been the target of criticism and imperial regulations since the time of Augustus. I will return to the subject of imperial intervention in the organization of *munera* after proposing one further change to the traditional readings of this document: in l. 12, the conjunction ὡς fits in the small lacuna after πόλι[ει] and before [ὑμ]εῖς, and makes sense in the light of other *martyriai* of Roman functionaries who say that “they too” congratulate the honorand, etc.

Allowing for these several suggested restorations, I propose the following translation of *IK-Ephesos* 1491, ll. 7-18, adapted from that of S. Mitchell (1990):

“I have been informed about Vedius Antoninus’ generosity towards you not so much from your letters as from his; for, wishing to receive help from me [for] the embellishment of the works that he has promised you, he has declared to me [the number] and the size of the buildings he adds to the city. [As] you therefore rightly congratulate him, I too cooperated with

the Roman empire until early in the reign of Commodus (L. ROBERT, “Pantomimen im griechischen Orient”, in *Hermes* 65 [1930], 106-122, esp. 121) or possibly in the last years of Marcus Aurelius (G.W. BOWERSOCK, “Aristides and the Pantomimes”, in *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, ed. by W.V. HARRIS and B. HOLMES [Leiden 2008], 69-77).

<sup>43</sup> PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 117.

him in the things he asked and congratulated him because he did [not] choose the [usual?] way of men in public life who in order to be instantly successful spend (or: waste) their generosity on shows and distributions and [.....], but (he chose instead the way) by which he [hopes?] to make the city more distinguished [in the future?].”

The emperor praises Vedius and, with him, those who spend their money on embellishing their cities instead of pursuing instant popularity ([παρ]αχρήμ[α εύδοξιμ]εῖν) for themselves by offering cash distributions, performances of some types (other than traditional ones, most likely), and a third type of euergetic donation, now lost from the text.

Do these passages constitute reliable evidence that Antoninus Pius generally supported buildings vs. spectacles? Not necessarily. Documents that justify the use of funds for a building had a relatively high chance of being chosen for epigraphic display on or near that building, and they had a relatively high chance of surviving as long as the building remained in use. Given those circumstances, documents preserved on stone that directly concern reallocation of funds to construction projects, such as the letter from Aphrodisias discussed above, or that praise the decision to erect or embellish a building, such as the letter of Antoninus to Ephesos, might lead us to overstate the preference of cities or emperors for buildings over other forms of euergetism. We must bear in mind that, although spectacles provided the occasion for some inscriptions and apparently many more reliefs and mosaics, buildings were more likely than spectacles to be the cause for the inscribing and preservation of monumental inscriptions.<sup>44</sup>

Antoninus' letter to Ephesos, then, is neither as remarkable as it is often thought to be nor does it provide independent proof that emperors prompted cities and *euergetai* to prefer buildings to spectacles in any particular instance. Combined

<sup>44</sup> For inscriptions related to spectacles, see L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris 1940), esp. 53f. and 283f., and above (reliefs).

with other evidence from the first and second centuries, however, it does seem to document a certain tendency towards favouring buildings. As mentioned above, a passing reference to construction projects in the epigraphic dossier from Alexandria Troas suggests that the construction of buildings was a preferred use of redirected funds. And from Lycia there is evidence of Rome showing appreciation for such redirecting of funds. The Lycian league, after repeatedly sending to Antoninus Pius decrees in honour of Opramoas of Rhodiapolis, apparently did not receive the imperial *martyriai*, the letters of recommendation that it hoped for, until after 141 CE, when Opramoas first began to extend donations to the cities for the purpose of rebuilding after an earthquake. There is no evidence that his earlier donations, which were for games and distributions, had earned him recognition at Rome.

### **Buildings vs. *munera***

Under normal circumstances, that is without an earthquake making construction projects a priority, there is evidence of the central government favouring buildings vs. *munera*, if not favouring buildings vs. games in general. As mentioned above, when Trajan was asked to help Pliny in his decision to put a testator's money into buildings or into penteteric games, the emperor remained neutral.<sup>45</sup> The word that Pliny uses to refer to the games in that instance is the Greek *agônes*, hence Greek-style games, either athletic or musical. Trajan does not express a preference for buildings over those games. In contrast, there had been a long tradition in the Roman Empire, starting with Augustus and Tiberius, of setting limits on expenses for gladiatorial games, in particular.<sup>46</sup> According to Tacitus, the emperor Nero

<sup>45</sup> PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 75; see above.

<sup>46</sup> DIO CASS. 54, 2, 4 (Augustus) and SUET. *Tib.* 34 (Tiberius); J.H. OLIVER and R.E.A. PALMER, "Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate", in *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 320-349, esp. 322-323.

“issued an edict that no magistrate or procurator should, in the province for which he was responsible, exhibit a gladiatorial spectacle, a display of wild beasts, or any other entertainment. Previously, a subject community suffered as much from the spurious liberality as from the rapacity of its governors, screening as they did by corruption the offences they had committed in wantonness (Trans. J. Jackson, *LCL* [London 1969]).”<sup>47</sup> On the evidence of Tacitus, then, rogue provincial governors and procurators had offered gladiatorial games and spectacles in their provinces for corrupt purposes. By forbidding Roman officials to continue these practices, this measure aimed at protecting the subjects, or at least it is so presented by Tacitus.

Under either Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, the Senate issued a ruling explicitly directed against the staging of *venationes* and *spectacula*: when testamentary funds were bequeathed for such events, the cities were ordered to disregard the testator’s intent. The money was to be channeled instead to what the cities deemed to be their most urgent needs.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> TAC. *Ann.* 13, 31: *et edixit Caesar, ne quis magistratus aut procurator in provincia, quam obtineret, spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum aut quod aliud ludicrum ederet. Nam ante non minus tali largitione quam corripiendis pecuniis subiectos adfligebant, dum, quae libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnant.*

<sup>48</sup> *Dig.* 50, 8, 6: *sed municipio pecuniam legatam, ut ex redditu eius venatio aut spectacula edantur, senatus in eas causas erogare vetuit: et pecuniam eo legatam in id, quod maxime necessarium municipibus videatur, conferre permittitur, ut in eo munificentia eius qui legavit inscriptione notetur* “Where, however, money was bequeathed in order that its income may be used for hunting, or for exhibitions, the Senate forbade it to be used for such purposes, and permitted the legacy to be expended upon what was most needed by the city, and to recognize the munificence of the person who made the bequest, authorized that the fact should be commemorated by an inscription” (trans. S.P. SCOTT, *The Civil Law*, XI [Cincinnati 1932]). The ruling was included in Valens’ *Fideicommissa*. L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens is attested from Hadrian to Antoninus Pius (*RE*, I A, 1894, 127, s.v. Aburnius 2). See P.M. NIGDELIS and G.A. SOURIS, *Ανθόπατος λέγει. Έρα διάταγμα των αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων για το γυμνάσιο της Βέροιας* (Thessalonike 2005) (cf. K.M. COLEMAN, *art. cit.* [n. 25], 35) for the edict of a provincial governor who assumes a proactive role in reallocating funds for the upkeep of the city’s gymnasium at Beroia (the provincial governor L. Memmius Rufus, governor of Macedonia in the first to second centuries CE; P.M. NIGDELIS and G.A. SOURIS, *op. cit.*, 106-108).

Among the most informative attestations of state intervention in connection with the staging of *munera* is the *s.c. de sumptibus ludorum gladiatorum minuendis* of 177 CE.<sup>49</sup> Details of the text are known primarily from the famous bronze tablet found at Italica in Baetica (thus *Aes Italicense*) that contains part of a speech, its original length unknown.<sup>50</sup> Enough of the speech survives to enable its identification as a piece of public rhetoric of some ambition, presenting two main purposes in the surviving, middle part of the speech: first, to thank the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus for having issued regulations aimed at controlling the costs of gladiators, and, second, to propose some amendments and additions to the new imperial legislation. Making allowances for the rhetoric of the speaker, it seems that the new legislation was welcomed by the priests of the imperial cult, while it resulted in the loss of a source of state revenue for Rome.

The cause of this loss of revenue appears to have been the abolition of a tax paid by the *lanistae*, the professionals involved with the trade in gladiators and with their training.<sup>51</sup> Some

<sup>49</sup> CIL II 6278 = ILS 5163 = *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* VII 3.

<sup>50</sup> That notable was most likely the senator delivering the *sententia prima* after the oration of the emperors had been read, as was assumed by TH. MOMMSEN, "Senatus consultum de sumptibus ludorum gladiatoriorum minuendis factum a. p. C. 176/7", in *Gesammelte Schriften* 8 (Berlin 1913), 499-531, esp. 506, among others (i.e. J.H. OLIVER and R.E.A. PALMER, *art. cit.* [n. 46], 327); cf. J.L. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA, *EAOR* VII (Roma 2009), 52-53, who suggests that the speaker may have been one of the consuls of the years 176-178 CE. A different interpretation was proposed by T. WIEDEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 134-135, who thought that the text formed part of the minutes of "a debate apparently held at Lyon, the centre of the imperial cult for the three Gallic provinces".

<sup>51</sup> Mommsen's proposal that a tax was abolished has been generally accepted but was challenged by F. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 195, who argued that the establishment of fixed prices for gladiators in itself would have caused loss of revenue for the state, since the state supplied gladiators from imperial schools of gladiators (called *ludi*). Procurators of imperial *ludi* are attested in the provinces, East and West, though there is less evidence for their existence in the East; L. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 267-268 n. 1. B. MEISSNER, *art. cit.* (n. 27), 174 n. 26 challenges Robert on the attestation of *procuratores ludi* in Ankyra and Thessalonike, but Meissner seems to misunderstand the point made by Robert, who merely suggests that, if it is connected to *munera*, λούδων (ἐπίτροπος λούδων)

criticism of the Roman administration of the past can be detected in the speech, as when the speaker says that the fiscus would abstain in future from a source of dirty money, but the role of the villain is clearly reserved for the *lanistae*. As presented by the speaker, an important consequence of the senatorial edict was a limiting of the *lanistae*'s freedom of action. From the viewpoint of the provincial aristocracy, the speaker seems to imply, the *lanistae* had received state support for their activities because they had functioned as tax-collectors for the state, a position that would have given them room for profiteering. By the terms of the *s.c.*, the Roman state withdrew that support.<sup>52</sup>

It is apparent from a passage in which the *lanistae* are described as “the wicked who have made themselves actually indispensable” that the *lanistae* performed a crucial role in the mounting of *munera*.<sup>53</sup> It looks very much as if profiteering by

must be understood as the Greek rendering of Latin *ludus* in the sense of gladiatorial barracks, not in the sense of scenic and circus games.

<sup>52</sup> And gave the *lanistae* a compensatory gift of cancelling their debts. In ll. 56-58, the text has been thought to provide information about a new source of revenue for the state, the selling of convicts for games in Gaul, but J.L. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 61-64, argues persuasively in favour of a reading of l. 56 that does not support this conclusion; cf. review by J. EDMONDSON, in *JRA* 24 (2011), 738-744: 744.

<sup>53</sup> *CIL II* 6278, l. 12: *malis consulunt qui se etiam necessarios fecerint*. Ll. 9-12, text and translation Oliver and Palmer, *art. cit.* (n. 46), 330-331 and 340: *Quin etiam, ex reliquis lanistarum quae HS quingenties supra sunt, pars lanistis condonetur. Ob quae, oro vos, merita? Nulla sane, inquiunt, merita, s[et] probibiti talibus grassaturis solacium ferant et in posterum tanto pretio invitentur ad opsequium humanitatis. (vacat) O magni imp(eratores), qui scitis altius fundari remedia quae etiam malis consulunt qui se etiam necessarios fecerint!* “Let even a part be cut from the back debts owed by *lanistae*, which come to more than five million sestertes, as a free gift to the *lanistae*.” “For what deserts, I respectfully ask you?” “Of course,” the emperors say, “for no deserts, but since they have been forbidden to engage in the disorderly conduct of their old life, let them have this consolation, and in the future let them be invited to serve the public at a fixed rate.” “Oh, great Emperors, who know that remedies which allow for the interests even of the wicked who have made themselves actually indispensable are set on deeper foundations, the harvest of your foresight will indeed come forth.”

One wonders whether the central role of the *lanistae* in mounting *munera* might account for the occasional confusion between the words *lanista* and *munerarius* in Latin texts. Attestations in *RE*, XVI. 1, 1933, 564-565, s.v. *munerarius*.

*lanistae* drove up the costs or made them unpredictable or, more likely, both, to the disadvantage of the imperial priests. It must have been common for the *lanistae* to manipulate gladiators' prices, since their price must have been largely a matter of negotiation prior to the legislation of 177 CE. Gladiators of course lost value by wear and tear, but they could also gain value by distinguishing themselves, and ll. 62-63 of the *Aes Italicense* provides evidence that they may have actively pursued strategies of increasing their own valuation. One effect of setting price limits on gladiators would have been to lessen the financial risk for the *munerarius*.

The regulations of the *s.c. de sumptibus ludorum* were explicitly to be applied not only in the public provinces but also in the imperial provinces and thus throughout the empire.<sup>54</sup> We might conjecture that the role of *lanistae* was less crucial in the East, where we have evidence of city-owned troupes being passed down from priests to their successors.<sup>55</sup> Assuming that priests bought gladiators to enhance a city-owned troupe and then re-sold those gladiators to their successors, such transactions would also have been affected by the new legislation.<sup>56</sup> There is no evidence, however, that the edict fixed the prices of gladiators at rates significantly lower than what was customary at the time of its promulgation. On the contrary, the speaker in the *Aes Italicense* notes that the fixed prices might have been too high for the less prosperous parts of the empire.<sup>57</sup> What was welcome to some or all of the imperial priests, then, was

<sup>54</sup> Though our other evidence for the *s.c. de sumptibus ludorum*, the fragmentary *Marmor Sardianum* (*CIL III* 7106 = *ILS* 9340), also originates from a place in a public province, Sardis in the Roman province of Asia. In the *tabula* from Italica in Baetica, ll. 53-55 read: *sciantque v.c. qui proconsules... [e]t ii etiam qui non sortito provincias regunt.*

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *CIL II* 6278 ll. 59-61 and L. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 284-285.

<sup>56</sup> On the reselling of gladiators at Rome, DIO CASS. (59, 14, 1-4) says that at the end of a series of games Caligula would sell his remaining gladiators by public auction, forcing senators and knights to buy them at high prices. See also SUET. *Calig.* 38, 4: on one occasion, a certain Saturninus dozed at an auction, nodding his head, and "bought" thirteen gladiators for 9 million HS.

<sup>57</sup> *CIL II* 6278 ll. 46-55.

probably the possibility of calculating costs in advance in an effort to meet those costs with adequate revenues.

The possibility of calculating these costs in advance could have provided another advantage. Civic decrees of imperial date often speak of imperial priests as having financed out of their own pockets (*ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*) the games traditionally connected with the worship of the emperor. These references imply the existence of alternative modes of financing those games, modes that presumably involved public money to some degree. According to the *lex Ursonensis* of 47-44 BCE, a magistrate might receive from the city some part of the money needed to stage *ludi*.<sup>58</sup> While there is no evidence that, under the empire, regulations similar to those in the *lex Ursonensis* were in effect, it is possible that gladiatorial games staged in connection with important celebrations received public funds in some cases — not a detail that we should expect to find mentioned explicitly in honorific decrees. The more precisely the cost of gladiators could be determined in advance, the easier it must have been to plan such mixed financing.

## Conclusions

Each of the two euergetic choices, games and buildings, clearly presented its own financial risks, the mounting of games

<sup>58</sup> A.C. JOHNSON *et al.*, *Ancient Roman Statutes. A Translation with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary and Index* (Austin 1961), 97-104, esp. n. 114: "(71) All aediles during their magistracy shall celebrate a gladiatorial show or dramatic spectacles to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, or whatever portion of the said shows shall be possible, during three days, for the greater part of each day, and during one day games in the circus or the forum to Venus, and on the said spectacles and the said show each of the said persons shall expend from his own money not less than 2000 sesterces, and from the public fund it shall be lawful for each several aedile to expend 1000 sesterces, and a duumvir or a prefect shall provide that the money shall be given and assigned, and it shall be lawful for the aediles to receive the same without prejudice to themselves." On the combination of public funding and private munificence in the financing of festivals in the cities of mainland Greece in Roman times, see F. CAMIA, "The Financing of Festivals in the Cities of Roman Greece", in *Tyche* 26 (2011), 41-76.

(whether Greek- or Roman-style) being likely to cause quick and spectacular damage to donors' fortunes, while the sponsoring of building projects might eat away at them slowly but surely. The donors' decisions were shaped at the same time by strategies of commemoration and by immediate concerns, such as finding land for a new building or negotiating the details of a new festival with local and provincial authorities. Moral perceptions may well have played a role in a donor's choice between buildings and spectacles. It has been argued that the reason why we have less evidence for gladiatorial shows from mainland Greece than from Asia Minor, and very little from Athens, is that Greece was poor in imperial times.<sup>59</sup> But it is doubtful that any of the conventional euergetic choices would have been too expensive for the Athenian-Roman magnate and intellectual Herodes Atticus. And this exceptionally rich and influential man of imperial Greece chose to donate buildings.<sup>60</sup>

Though Herodes was undoubtedly an *euergetes sui generis*, his passion for buildings was in accordance with the Hadrianic model of euergetism. During Hadrian's reign, Rome supported building projects in the provinces, and also intervened extensively when asked to resolve conflicts connected with Greek-style games, as is shown in the Hadrianic regulations inscribed at Alexandria Troas. There is no evidence that the Roman state at any time favoured buildings over Greek-style games. The Hadrianic regulations mentioned here were clearly intended to ensure that *agônes* that had been announced took place. In the case of *munera*, on the other hand, Roman authorities took action to control and even restrict them on more than one occasion, though the motives behind their legislation are not always discernible. In the senatorial edict *de sumptibus ludorum* in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, an obvious,

<sup>59</sup> And, as stated by L. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 247: "Les *munera* sont coûteux."

<sup>60</sup> On Herodes' very distinct cultural identity see now M. GLEASON, "Making Space for Bicultural Identity. Herodes Atticus Commemorates Regilla", in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. by T. WHITMARSH (New York-Cambridge 2010), 125-162.

though not necessarily the sole, purpose was to enable sponsors of *munera* to estimate their costs.

This is not to say that the Roman emperors directly intervened to dictate to cities and individuals where to put their money. At least, the honorary documents that were selected for perpetuation in stone do not provide that information. The imperial subjects preferred instead an official rhetoric that drew upon ideals derived from the common Graeco-Roman *paideia* that they shared with their rulers. And rhetoric that pleased the subjects enough to be found worthy of monumental presentation was likely to influence the donors' choices. Therefore, if gladiatorial games were indeed more common in some provinces than in others, there is every justification to look for the causes of this circumstance in both the economy of those provinces and the history of morals.<sup>61</sup> As for athletic and musical contests, one of the reasons for the growth in their popularity throughout the first three centuries CE might be that traditionalists among the members of the Graeco-Roman elite included not only such prominent wise men as Apollonius of Tyana, Plutarch, and Dio Chrysostom, but also such powerful individuals as the Antonine emperors and their in-group. Since those at the top of the social and political scale can be proven to have occasionally stressed the Greek elements of a developing empire-wide cultural *koine*, we should not be surprised to see the *imitatio imperatoris* lead to more buildings, more musical and athletic contests and, eventually, to the cessation of gladiatorial combat.

<sup>61</sup> Against L. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 248: "la rareté relative des monuments de gladiateurs dans la Grèce propre est un phénomène qui ne touche guère l'histoire des moeurs et de la sensibilité, mais l'histoire économique; c'est du même ordre que la grande rareté des sénateurs romains issus de la Vieille Grèce". He concedes, however, that Rhodes was a place where games were simply not liked.

## DISCUSSION

*J. Nolle:* Ich halte es für sehr hilfreich, dass Sie sich an eine Verbesserung der Lesungen des Vediūs-Briefes gewagt haben. Meine volle Zustimmung findet es, dass Sie die Ergänzung ἀγώνων θέματα suspendiert haben: nach θέαται und διανομαῖ κönnen kaum Agone erwähnt werden, eine Kategorie, die θέαται-ähnlich ist. Schwieriger erscheint mir ε[θισμένον τῶν?] πολιτευομένων τρόπον. Ich erwarte nach εθισμένον den Dativ, also τοῖς πολιτευομένοις, so dass ich εθισμένον nicht für sehr wahrscheinlich halte. Auch [δαπαν]ῶ[σι τῷ]ν φιλοτιμίαν halte ich für unwahrscheinlich.

*C. Kokkinia:* [δαπαν]ῶ[σι] übernehme ich etwas zögernd aus den früheren Ausgaben. Was die Ergänzung ε[θισμένον] betrifft, wäre diese natürlich überzeugender, stünde in Z. 15 πολιτευομένοις statt πολιτευομένων. Mir scheint jedoch die Satzstellung τὸν ε[θισμένον τῶν?] πολιτευομένων τρόπον auch möglich. Ich halte, wie gesagt, die Frage für nicht abschließend geklärt, wer genau vom Kaiser kritisiert wird. Solche Briefe enthalten oft stilistisch ungewöhnliche Wendungen, weshalb sie schwierig zu rekonstruieren sind. Zum Beispiel ist φιλοτιμοῦμαι φιλοτιμίαν (Z. 7: [τ]ὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἥν φιλοτιμεῖται) eine denkbar bizarre Konstruktion und meines Wissens nur hier bezeugt. Trotzdem kommt man auf keinen Fall umhin, die Ergänzungen zu revidieren, wenn man Sinn und Ton des Briefes zumindest annähernd verstehen will.

*C. Jones:* I find particularly συνέπραξα to be an excellent improvement. I would see a continuity in the policy of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius between SEG 50, 1096 (Aphrodisias) and IK-Ephesos 1491. The Aphrodisias letter permits ἀρχιερεῖς not to honor the emperor by gladiatorial games but instead to

spend their money on an aqueduct. Pius supports Vadius Antoninus in using his own and the emperor's funds for long-lasting benefactions and not temporary entertainments. Both letters exhibit the same attitude of the πεπαιδευμένοι deplored the instant gratification of applause (especially for gladiatorial displays) in favor of useful gifts, especially buildings (cf. Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom). We might also consider the Demosthenes of Oinoanda as evidence for Hadrianic preference for educated, in this case artistic, uses of benefaction. Demosthenes conforms in his choice of program to the expectations of a cultivated class that valued literary culture above athletics, still more above crowd-pleasing events such as boxers, pancratists, and the like. Finally, the Alexandria Troas letter seems to me to aim above all at preserving the continuity of ἀγῶνες, and to that extent protecting the intention of benefactors. I believe that νόμος in l. 8 of that letter may include imperial constitutions: cf. the speech of Marcus Aurelius on the *certamen* of Miletus (*SEG* 38, 1212).

*K. Coleman:* The awkward tautological expressions that seem to crop up even in letters from emperors are possibly not a signal of any ineptitude on the part of the original scribe or the mason, but perhaps a reflex of the tendency in bureaucratic language to hammer home the same point in the same words without regard to stylistic considerations.

*C. Kokkinia:* I agree, and I think it would be possible to collect evidence supportive of this view. It is one among a number of reasons why such texts can be particularly elusive.

*K. Coleman:* Is there any evidence earlier than the *Aes Italicense* for collecting a tax on gladiators?

*C. Kokkinia:* Not to my knowledge. But the speaker at any rate makes it sound as if this tax had been collected for some time, as opposed to being a recent measure.

*J.-P. Thuillier:* Ce que vous dites à propos de la multiplicité des évergètes pour la construction de certains édifices est encore plus vrai pour un très grand et très coûteux édifice comme le *circus*, où l'on finance en général une partie du podium ou de la *cavea*. Mais apparemment cela n'empêchait pas les évergètes de se lancer dans cette opération et d'adopter cette stratégie pour séduire le peuple?

*C. Kokkinia:* Obviously not. Possibly, being commemorated in a theatre or circus was attractive even if one's name were to be inscribed as one among many. One might also consider the possibility that donors were then allowed, at least for a certain period, to sell a number of tickets equivalent to the number of seats that they had financed, on which see G. Chamberland, "A Gladiatorial Show Produced *in sordidam mercedem* (Tacitus Ann. 4.62)", in *Phoenix* 61 (2007), 136-149, at 144-145.

*R. Webb:* In thinking about these inscriptions, should we make a distinction between different kinds of building projects? At Aphrodisias, for example, it is an aqueduct that is paid for out of funds reserved for the shows. Arguably, the provision of water is a necessity comparable to the provision of wheat in times of famine allowed in Hadrian's letter.

*C. Kokkinia:* I am not sure that building an aqueduct can be compared to providing wheat. Aqueducts brought the water into a city and therefore made life easier. They provided comfort as opposed to something as essential as food. On the contrary, it may be that contributing to an aqueduct was attractive for the *euergetai* themselves, because a *euergetes* might then himself be elected, or have one of his friends or relatives elected, among the curators of the aqueduct (ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ὑδραγωγίου), and could therefore control the distribution of water: see R. Taylor, "Publici usus, Privatae voluptates: Water and Demographics in the Ancient Metropolis", in M.R. DeMaine and R. Taylor (eds.), *Life of the Average*

*Roman. A Symposium* (White Bear Lake, MN 1999), 67–83; and M. Peachin, *Frontinus and the Curae of the Curator Aquarum* (Stuttgart 2004).

*G. Chamberland:* I believe it is important to make a distinction between “public” spectacles (including ἀγῶνες set up thanks to a private foundation, since the funds were managed by the city) on the one hand, and privately sponsored events on the other. The main common denominator of public spectacles was periodicity, while the privately-sponsored spectacles were usually one-time events. The spectacles mentioned in the inscriptions from Alexandria Troas (*SEG* 56, 1359) and Aphrodisias (*SEG* 50, 1096) belong to the first category. If I am not mistaken, Vadius’ building activity (which could have been spectacles instead) falls into the category of real *euergesiai*, i.e. private outbursts of generosity (*IK-Ephesos* 1491). It seems to me that this distinction between “public” and “private” needs to be taken into consideration to understand the imperial rulings. Note expressions such as “κατὰ νόμον” in the text from Alexandria Troas. One is reminded, in this context, of Cicero’s *De officiis* 2, 55, which obviously inspired Pliny, *Epist.* 1, 8, 10. In addition, and I am aware that this is not directly relevant to your argument, I find it very interesting that the Aphrodisians, by coming up with the proposal of taking money from certain high priests instead of gladiatorial shows (ἀντὶ μονομάχιῶν), basically asked Hadrian to agree that the annual gladiatorial show should in some years be cancelled in order instead to finance the restoration of the “water channels” (*SEG* 50, 1096, ll. 36–41). This is at odds with the view that such spectacles were an expression of the imperial cult. This inscription, therefore, lends support to Georges Ville’s view that “les aristocrates, parvenus, à travers le sacerdoce impérial, au point le plus haut de la hiérarchie municipale, offraient ce qui était le plus haut dans la hiérarchie des spectacles: les combats de gladiateurs” (see *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* [Rome 1981], 208).

*C. Kokkinia:* I doubt that a clear distinction between “public” and “private” is possible or even useful in discussing ancient euergetism. The blurring of these categories lies at the heart of this phenomenon. I also disagree with your view that the Aphrodisians’ proposal of taking money from some high priests instead of gladiatorial shows, and their asking Hadrian’s permission to do so, uncouples these shows from the imperial cult. Georges Ville may be right, but proof for his view is lacking. I think that there is little chance that the Aphrodisians would fail to ask the emperor for his assent when they planned to make a major change in the role played by the imperial cult in the public life of their city, regardless of whether the games were thought of as directly belonging to the imperial cult or as having the highest possible standing in the hierarchy of spectacles.

*J. Nelis-Clément:* Votre présentation montre bien les diverses facettes des enjeux et mobiles qui pouvaient se poser à l'évergète dans son choix (attentes de la communauté locale, éventuelles retombées économiques, si difficiles à évaluer, et surtout recherche d'une reconnaissance de la part de l'empereur). Est-ce que ce dernier objectif aurait pu, selon vous, décider l'évergète à choisir d'organiser certains types de spectacles ou de jeux susceptibles d'attirer l'attention ou la faveur impériale de préférence à d'autres? Je pense par exemple aux *certamina sacra* ou à certains *ludi* dont le caractère était jugé acceptable au point que même des membres des élites romaines pouvaient être appelés à y participer sans pour autant être chargés de l'infamie qui frappait habituellement les protagonistes, comme l'a montré récemment G. Horsmann (“Public Performances by Senators and Knights and the Moral Legislation of Augustus”, in *Le cirque romain et son image*, éd. par J. Nelis-Clément et J.-M. Roddaz [Bordeaux 2008], 475-480). C'est le cas tout au moins à Rome et à l'époque julio-claudienne, mais que sait-on sur ces questions pour la partie orientale du monde romain? L'inscription de Gytheion de 15 p.C., qui concerne l'organisation des *thymelikoi agônes*, en relation avec le culte impérial (*AE* 1929, 99 et

100; *SEG* 11, 923 et 922), et qui a conservé la réponse de Tibère, pourrait se révéler assez éclairante à ce titre, même si elle illustre il est vrai le rôle de l'agoranome et des épophores, plutôt que celui d'un évergète sans obligation fonctionnelle.

*C. Kokkinia:* C. Jones mentioned the Demostheneia at Oinoanda as possible evidence that *euergetai* might choose to support the type of games preferred by the emperors, and I think this is a distinct possibility. The inscription from Gytheion shows a city anxious to secure by law the holding of an imperial festival in the future. The details of those provisions are revealing about what could, and obviously sometimes did, go wrong. If I understand your point correctly, a festival that was tailored to fit the preferences of the current imperial ruler ran the risk of neglect or alienation from the founder's intentions, when that ruler or dynasty became a thing of the past.

## IV

MARIA LETIZIA CALDELLI

### ASSOCIAZIONI DI ARTISTI A ROMA: UNA MESSA A PUNTO

Per chiunque voglia occuparsi di associazioni di artisti a Roma punto di partenza obbligato è l'articolo di E.J. Jory, *Associations of Actors in Rome*, comparso in *Hermes* nel 1970.<sup>1</sup> Il contributo si proponeva di delineare lo *status quaestionis* sulla presenza nella Capitale di associazioni di artisti a qualunque titolo e da qualsivoglia tipo di fonte attestati, discutendo alcune situazioni assai problematiche, come ad esempio quella relativa al *collegium poetarum*.

Da quell'articolo intendo prendere le mosse, concentrandomi però sulle sole associazioni presenti a Roma legate al mondo del teatro<sup>2</sup>, riconsiderandole alla luce delle nuove acquisizioni documentarie e agli sviluppi degli studi in questo settore specifico e più in generale in quello del mondo associativo, a quaranta anni di distanza dal lavoro di Jory.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.J. JORY, "Associations of Actors in Rome", in *Hermes* 98 (1970), 224-253; il testo, tradotto in italiano, semplificato, privato dell'utile appendice e senza aggiornamento della bibliografia, è stato ripreso con il titolo, "Associazioni di attori a Roma", in *Teatri romani. Gli spettacoli nell'antica Roma* (Bologna 1996), 167-189.

<sup>2</sup> Sulle associazioni di musicisti al servizio della città esiste ora la tesi di dottorato di A. VINCENT, *Les musiciens professionnels au service de l'État romain (fin de la République – époque impériale)*, discussa presso l'Université d'Aix-Marseille e, si auspica, di prossima pubblicazione.

<sup>3</sup> Oltre a rimandare *infra* n. 9, mi limito a segnalare tra i lavori più significativi A.A. SEMIOLI, "Associazioni dionisiache e associazioni di attori a Roma", in *SMSR* n.s. 27 (2003), 95-128, dove viene privilegiata la lettura storico-religiosa;

### *La synodos dionisiaca*

Quando Domiziano progettò di istituire i *Capitolia* esistevano già a Roma tre teatri lapidei<sup>4</sup> per ospitare parte dell'*agon musicus* (gli *agones skenikoi*) (Fig. 4.1 Campo Marzio). Dei tre teatri, tutti e tre nel Campo Marzio, il teatro di Balbo e quello di Pompeo erano stati, sia pur in misura diversa, comunque distrutti dall'incendio dell'anno 80.<sup>5</sup> Domiziano dovette curarne il restauro. Le fonti non ci dicono quale dei tre venne usato per gli *agones skenikoi* (probabilmente il teatro di Pompeo<sup>6</sup>, il cui orientamento viene ripreso dall'Odeion, in un quadro di contiguità funzionale e di unitarietà monumentale) e purtroppo non possiamo usare come argomento la sede scelta per i due agoni che, a Roma, in ordine di tempo, precedettero i *Capitolia*: non sappiamo se gli augustei *ludi pro valetudine* (o *salute*) *Caesaris* prevedessero anche una sezione musicale<sup>7</sup>, mentre dell'*agon musicus*, che è noto essere esistito

sulle associazioni in generale N. TRAN, *Les membres des associations romaines. Le rang social des "collegiati" en Italie et en Gaules, sous le Haut-Empire* (Rome 2006); N. LAUBRY e F. ZEVI, “Une inscription d’Ostie et la législation impériale sur les collèges”, in *Le tribù romane. Atti della XVIe rencontre sur l'épigraphie*, Bari 8-10 ottobre 2009 (Bari 2010), 457-467.

<sup>4</sup> P. GROS, in *LTUR*, V, 1999, 35-38, s.v. *theatrum Pompei* (inaugurato nel 55 a.C.), su cui vd. anche A. MONTERROSO CHECA, “Theatrum Pompei. Forma y arquitectura”, in *Romula* 5 (2006), 27-58; D. MANACORDA, in *LTUR*, V, 1999, 30 s., s.v. *theatrum Balbi* (inaugurato nel 13 a.C.); P. CIANCIO ROSSETTO, *ibid.*, 31-35, s.v. *theatrum Marcelli* (usato forse per i *ludi saeculares* del 17 a.C., venne inaugurato nel 13 - DIO CASS. 54, 26, 1 - o 11 a.C. - PLIN. *Nat.* 8, 65: vd. in merito le considerazioni di K.M. COLEMAN, “Entertaining Rome”, in *Ancient Rome. The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, ed. by J. COULSTON and H. DODGE [Oxford 2000], 224 s.).

<sup>5</sup> DIO CASS. 66, 24, 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Sul significato politico del teatro di Pompeo vd. le illuminanti considerazioni di P. GROS, “La fonction symbolique des édifices théâtraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome augustéenne”, in *L’Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire, Ier s. av. J.-C. – IIIe s. ap. J.-C.* (Rome 1987), 319-346, part. 343.

<sup>7</sup> M.L. CALDELLI, *L’agon Capitolinus. Storia e protagonisti dall’istituzione domiziana al IV secolo* (Roma 1993), 21-24. Critiche al fatto che si sia trattato di un vero e proprio agone da parte di J.-P. THUILLIER, rec. a M.L. CALDELLI, *L’agon, op. cit.*, in *Nikephoros* 9 (1996), 267 e di J.-L. FERRARY, “Rome, Athènes et le philhellénisme dans l’Empire romain, d’Auguste aux Antonins”, in

per i *Neronia*, ignoriamo la sede.<sup>8</sup> È comunque assai probabile che, se non per i *ludi* in onore di Ottaviano, già per i *Neronia* si sia posto il problema del trasferimento e dell'ospitalità a Roma degli artisti che venivano da fuori, soprattutto dal mondo greco-orientale, dove questi erano riuniti in un'associazione, *synhodos*, raccolta intorno al culto di *Dionysos*.<sup>9</sup>

Va ricordato che *artifices* provenienti dalla Grecia sono attestati con certezza per la prima volta a Roma nei *ludi* organizzati da *M. Fulvius Nobilior* nel 186 a.C. per adempiere ai *vota* fatti per il buon esito delle azioni della guerra etolica<sup>10</sup>: si tratta delle prime manifestazioni agonistiche di stampo greco a noi note nell'Urbe, sulle quali si tornerà. Non si parla tuttavia in questo caso di una associazione. Non di una associazione, ma solo di *artifices*, raccolti *per Asiam*, si parla peraltro

*Filellenismo e tradizionalismo a Roma nei primi due secoli dell'Impero* (Roma 1996), 196 n. 30: personalmente trovo decisivo, come prova, il fatto che nell'iscrizione agonistica di *Philippos Glycon*, databile intorno al 25 a.C., l'Italia con il suo agone (scil. i *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*) possa essere appaiata alla Grecia e all'Asia, sempre che l'integrazione sia corretta. Vd. *I.Pergamon* 535 = *IGR* IV, 497 = L. MORETTI, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Roma 1953), nr. 58 = L. POLVERINI, "La prima manifestazione agonistica di carattere periodico a Roma", in *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli*, a cura di L. GASPERINI (Roma 1978), 331; per l'integrazione dell'ultima riga cfr. *Anth. Pal.* VII, 692, in relazione al medesimo personaggio.

<sup>8</sup> M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 38 s.

<sup>9</sup> F. POLAND, in *RE*, V A. 2, 1934, 2473-2558, part. 2482 s., 2486 s., 2488-2496, 2514-2521, s.v. *technitai*; per epoca anteriore a quella qui considerata A. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1968), 279-305; I.E. STEPHANES, *Διονυσιακοί τεχνίται. Συμβολές στην προσωπογραφία των θεάτρων και της μουσικής των αρχαίων Ελλήνων* (Heraklion 1988); B. LE GUEN, *Les associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, I-II (Paris 2001); J.L. LIGHTFOOT, "Nothing to do with the *technitai* of Dionysus?", in *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. by P. EASTERLING and E. HALL (Cambridge 2002), 209-224; S. ANEZIRI, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart 2003) e rec. di B. LE GUEN, in *Nikephoros* 17 (2004), 279-299.

<sup>10</sup> LIV. 39, 22, 1-2: *adparatos deinde ludos M. Fulvius, quos voverat Aetolico bello, fecit; multi artifices ex Graecia venerunt honoris eius causa. athletarum quoque certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit, et venatio data leonum et pantherarum, et prope huius saeculi copia ac varietate ludicrum celebratum est.*

ancora nel 186 a.C. a proposito dei *ludi* per L. Cornelio Scipione.<sup>11</sup>

Nel contesto di cui ci stiamo occupando ritengo debba essere valorizzato il ritrovamento alla fine dell'800 nella zona di via Arenula di frammenti con iscrizioni in greco relative ai cataloghi dei vincitori negli agoni drammatici del teatro attico, sia autori sia attori tragici e comici.<sup>12</sup> Luigi Moretti, che datava i frammenti ad età augustea, aveva proposto di localizzare in quest'area del Campo Marzio la sede della “sezione romana della corporazione ecumenica dei *technitai* o *artifices scaenici*”.<sup>13</sup> Sulla conferma di tale cronologia interviene ora un nuovo documento di cui ho trattato in altra sede: a questa rimando anche per altre considerazioni.<sup>14</sup>

*Il collegium scribarum histrionumque, il collegium poetarum, il collegium scribarum poetarum (!)*

Esiste, come è noto, un problema aperto in merito alla definizione del *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, del *collegium poetarum*, del *collegium scribarum poetarum*, dei loro reciproci rapporti e delle loro sedi.

Un passo di Festo lascia intendere l'esistenza di un *collegium scribarum histrionumque* che avrebbe ottenuto ufficialmente una sede nella *aedes Minervae* sull'Aventino, in onore di Livio Andronico, per ringraziarlo del carme a *Iuno Regina* che egli

<sup>11</sup> Liv. 39, 22, 8-10. Per altri discutibili passaggi di *technitai* a Roma in età repubblicana vd. J.-L. FERRARY, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme. Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate* (Rome 1988), 519 s. n. 52.

<sup>12</sup> IGUR I 215 (*apud plateam Cenci*), 220-221 (*ubi quondam ecclesia S. Mariae de Cacabariis*), cfr. anche 216-219, 222.

<sup>13</sup> L. MORETTI, “Sulle didascalie del teatro attico rinvenute a Roma”, in *Athenaeum* 38 (1960), 263-282. Gli unici ad aver ripreso questa ipotesi mi risulta siano F. COARELLI, *Il Campo Marzio. Dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica* (Roma 1997), 471 s. e J.-L. FERRARY, *art. cit.* (n. 7), 202 (con qualche dubbio, tuttavia, su una istallazione così precoce).

<sup>14</sup> È stata oggetto della mia comunicazione al convegno *Attraverso l'epigrafia. Ricordando Luigi Moretti* (Roma 1-3 dicembre 2011).

aveva composto durante la seconda guerra punica.<sup>15</sup> Come risulta dallo stesso Festo, in questo caso per *scribae* si doveva intendere *poetae*, dal momento che “gli antichi” con lo stesso termine indicavano sia i *librarii* che i *poetae*, mentre ai suoi tempi (ma già ai tempi della sua fonte, Verrio Flacco) con *scribae* si sarebbero designati solo i *librarii*<sup>16</sup>; l’associazione con gli *histriones* sarebbe venuta dallo stesso Andronico, che, sempre secondo Festo, *scribebat fabulas et agebat*.<sup>17</sup>

Di un *collegium poetarum* parla espressamente Valerio Massimo<sup>18</sup>: presso di esso si sarebbe svolto l’incontro tra il poeta Accio e l’edile curule del 90 a.C., *C. Iulius Caesar Strabo*, noto anche come autore teatrale.<sup>19</sup>

Nulla autorizza a ipotizzare una identità o anche solo una continuità tra il *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, noto alla fine del III secolo a.C., ed il *collegium poetarum*, attestato all’inizio del I secolo a.C.<sup>20</sup>, stante soprattutto, come è stato osservato,

<sup>15</sup> FEST. p. 446 s. L: *Scribas proprio nomine antiqui et librarios et poetas vocabant; at nunc dicuntur scribae equidem librarii qui rationes publicas scribunt in tabulis. Itaque cum Livius Andronicus bello Punico secundo scripsisset carmen quod a virginibus est cantatum, quia prosperius res publica populi Romani geri coepta est, publice adtributa est ei in Aventino aedis Minervae, in qua liceret scribis histrionibusque consistere ac dona ponere; in honorem Livi quia is et scribebat fabulas et agebat.* Sul fatto che, nel passo di Festo, si tratti propriamente di un collegio e di una sede di collegio vd. A. ROMANO, *Il “collegium scribarum”. Aspetti sociali e giuridici della produzione letteraria tra III e II secolo a.C.* (Napoli 1990), 72; sul collegio vd. anche H. LEPPIN, *Histrionen* (Bonn 1992), 91-93. Sul tempio vd. L. VENDITELLI, in *LTUR*, III, 1996, 254, s.v. *Minerva, aedes (Aventinus)*.

<sup>16</sup> N. PURCELL, “The *Ordo Scribarum*. A Study in the Loss of Memory”, in *MEFRA* 113 (2001), 633-674: 641: secondo l’autore la distinzione sarebbe avvenuta nel corso del I secolo a.C.

<sup>17</sup> H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 126, 200-201.

<sup>18</sup> VAL. MAX. 3, 7, 11: ... *in collegium poetarum ...*

<sup>19</sup> Sul personaggio vd. E. DIEHL, in *RÉ*, X. 1, 1917, 428-431 nr. 135, s.v. *Iulius*; T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, II (New York 1960), 26.

<sup>20</sup> Negano l’identità o anche solo la continuità E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 233 s. (ripreso in E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* [n. 1], 177 s.); N. HORSFALL, “The Collegium Poetarum”, in *BICS* 23 (1976), 82; M. MARTINA, “Aedes Herculis Musarum”, in *DArch* 3 (1981), 68; A. ROMANO, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 88 s.; F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 464. Possibilisti E. BADIAN, “Ennius and His Friends”, in *Ennius. Sept exposés suivis de discussions* (Vandœuvres-Genève 1972), 189; N.B. CROWTHER,

la differenziazione che sarebbe venuta a determinarsi nel corso del II secolo tra *poetae e histriones*.<sup>21</sup>

Alcuni studiosi collocano la sede del *collegium poetarum* nella *aedes Herculis Musarum* a partire dall'accostamento del citato passo di Valerio Massimo con quello di Plinio in cui si racconta come il poeta Accio avrebbe fatto erigere *in Camenarum aede* una sua statua di straordinaria altezza, benché egli fosse piccolo di statura.<sup>22</sup> Naturalmente, tale accostamento implica la identificazione delle tradizionali *Camenae* con le *Musae* di importazione greca, soluzione questa non da tutti accolta.<sup>23</sup>

Accetto, senza qui discutere, che la costruzione della *aedes Herculis Musarum* sia da attribuire a *M. Fulvius Nobilior*<sup>24</sup>, console nel 189 e censore insieme con *M. Aemilius Lepidus* nel 179 a.C.

Fondamentali per il discorso che si viene facendo mi sembrano i seguenti passi:

1) EUMEN. *Paneg.* 5 (9), 7 = *Pro instaur. scholis* 7, 3 = *Panegyr. Lat.* 9 (4), 7, 3, ed. R.A.B. Mynors: *aedem Herculis Musarum in Circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia censoria fecit, non*

"The Collegium Poetarum at Rome. Fact and Conjecture", in *Latomus* 32 (1973), 576 s.

<sup>21</sup> T. FRANK, "The Status of Actors at Rome", in *CPh* 26 (1931), 11-20 = "Statuto sociale degli attori a Roma", in *Teatri romani. Gli spettacoli nell'antica Roma*, a cura di N. SAVARESE (Bologna 1996), 157-166; M. DUCOS, "La condition des acteurs à Rome", in *Theater und Gesellschaft im Imperium Romanum - Théâtre et société dans l'Empire romain*, hrsg. von J. BLÄNSDORF, J.-M. ANDRÉ und N. FICK (Tübingen 1990), 19-33; CH. HUGONIOT, "De l'infamie à la contrainte. Évolution de la condition sociale des comédiens sous l'Empire romain", in *Le statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine. Actes du colloque, Tours, 3-4 mai 2002*, éd. par CH. HUGONIOT, F. HURLET et S. MILANEZI (Tours 2004), 213-240: 213 ss.

<sup>22</sup> PLIN. *Nat.* 34, 19: *notatum ab auctoribus et L. Accium poetam in Camenarum aede maxima forma statuam sibi posuisse, cum brevis admodum fuisse*. Primo a proporre tale connessione fu R. BENTLEY, *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, II (Lipsiae 1826), 111 s. (commento a HOR. *Epist.* 2, 92), ripresa da E.G. SIHLER, "The Collegium Poetarum at Rome", in *AJPh* 26 (1905), 19-21; H. CANCIK, "Zur Geschichte der aedes (Herculis) Musarum auf dem Marsfeld", in *MDAI(R)* 76 (1969), 323-328; E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 233 s. = *art. cit.* (n. 1), 177 s.; B. TAMM, "Le temple des Muses à Rome", in *Opuscula Romana*, III (Lund 1961), 159; F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 464.

<sup>23</sup> Contrario M. MARTINA, *art. cit.* (n. 20), 52; ma vd. *infra* Eumenio.

<sup>24</sup> Sulla complessa questione vd. F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 452-484 con bibliografia precedente.

*id modo secutus quod ipse litteris et summae poetae amicitia duce-  
retur, sed quod in Graecia cum esset imperator acceperat Heraclen  
Musageten esse, id est comitem ducemque Musarum, idemque pri-  
mus novem signa, hoc est omnium, Camenarum ex Ambraciensi  
oppido translata sub tutela fortissimi numinis consecravit, ut res est,  
quia mutuis opibus et praemiis iuvari ornarique deberent, Musa-  
rum quies defensione Herculis et virtus Herculis [et] voce Musarum  
(discorso per la riapertura delle scuole di Autun, pronunciato nel  
298 d.C.).<sup>25</sup>*

2) CIC. Arch. 27: *Iam vero ille, qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite  
bellavit, Fulvius non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consacrare.*

3) SERV. Aen. 1, 8: *Sane Musas multi novem, multi septem  
dixerunt. His Numa aediculam aeneam brevem fecerat, quam  
postea de caelo tactam et in aede Honoris et Virtutis conlocatam,  
Fulvius Nobilior in aedem Herculis transtulit, unde aedes Hercu-  
lis et Musarum appellatur.*

4) MACR. Sat. 1, 12, 16: *Nam Fulvius Nobilior in fastis, quos  
in aede Herculis Musarum posuit...* (il sottolineato è mio).

Accantonando per il momento il problema della fonte del finanziamento (*manubiae* per Cicerone, *pecunia censoria* per Eumenio) e quello, collegato, di una più esatta cronologia del tempio (costruito, *ob victoriam*, nel 187/6 al momento del trionfo oppure nel 179, durante la censura), resta il fatto, a mio avviso difficilmente contestabile, che Nobiliore ne sarebbe stato il committente.<sup>26</sup> A ridurre, in tale operazione, il ruolo di Nobiliore non ritengo che possa essere invocata la mancata menzione del tempio in Livio<sup>27</sup>. Senza poter scartare del tutto l'ipotesi di

<sup>25</sup> M. MARTINA, *art. cit.* (n. 20), 52-54 difende la bontà di questa fonte.

<sup>26</sup> Cauto F. CASTAGNOLI, "Porticus Philippi", in *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale* (Odense 1983), 93, poiché solo Eumenio lo affermerebbe in modo esplicito; contrari N. HORSFALL, *art. cit.* (n. 20), 84 s.; M. ABERSON, *Temples votifs et butin de guerre dans la Rome républicaine* (Rome 1994), 199-216. Per chi accetta l'attribuzione a Nobiliore, la cronologia è dibattuta nel quadro del contestato trionfo del generale romano: sul tema vd. M.R.P. PITTINGER, *Contested Triumphs. Politics, Pageantry and Performance in Livy's Republican Rome* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 2008), 196-212, part. 211-212.

<sup>27</sup> M. ABERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 199-200, 205 s.

una lacuna nel testo dello storico latino<sup>28</sup>, l'idea di un colpevole silenzio credo debba essere preferita. Già Coarelli, nel prospettare tale soluzione, osservava come anche un altro augusteo, Ovidio, avrebbe taciuto il nome di Nobiliore in relazione al tempio<sup>29</sup>, ricordando solo il restauratore, *L. Marcius Philippus*<sup>30</sup>, da identificarsi con il *consul suffectus* del 38 a.C., fratellastro di Augusto, in quanto figliastro di sua madre *Atia*, della quale aveva poi sposato una sorella minore omonima.<sup>31</sup> In tale silenzio degli augustei credo si debba vedere l'ambivalente atteggiamento del *princeps* nei confronti della ellenizzazione della cultura romana. È la stessa linea di comportamento che Augusto mostra di seguire quando nelle *Res Gestae* parla degli spettacoli da lui organizzati e offerti (capp. 22-23), ma tace del tutto (qui e altrove) degli *Aktia* di *Nikopolis*, che pure furono da lui voluti.<sup>32</sup>

È superfluo insistere sulla centralità della figura di Nobiliore nella ellenizzazione della cultura a Roma, simbolicamente espressa nella sostituzione delle Muse alle Camene<sup>33</sup>, ma anche, come si è visto sopra, nella organizzazione di una manifestazione agonistica di stampo greco, con tanto di *artifices* fatti venire dalla Grecia. Nobiliore stesso, del resto, si era comportato come un principe ellenistico facendosi accompagnare nella

<sup>28</sup> Come è noto, il libro XL di Livio da 37, 3 sino alla fine riposa su un unico manoscritto, perduto, il *Maguntinus*, utilizzato da Nicolaus Carbachius nella sua edizione del 1518, la quale presenta molte difficoltà di lettura da parte dell'editore: sulla cronologia del manoscritto vd. A. MERCATI, "La data di pubblicazione del Livio Maguntino", in *RPAA* 9 (1933), 53-57.

<sup>29</sup> OV. *Fast.* 6, 797-812; F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 456 s.

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. SUET. *Aug.* 29, 8: *multaque a multis tunc extructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum ...* Per lo storico sarebbe dunque il costruttore, non il restauratore.

<sup>31</sup> R. SYME, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford 1986), 403 s.

<sup>32</sup> SUET. *Aug.* 18, 2; DIO CASS. 51, 1, 1-3. Sulla questione H. LANGENFELD, "Die Politik des Augustus und die griechische Agonistik", in *Monumentum Chiloniense. Kieler Festschrift für Erich Burck*, hrsg. von E. LEFEVRE (Amsterdam 1975), 231 s.; J.-L. FERRARY, *art. cit.* (n. 7), 195.

<sup>33</sup> Sul rapporto tra Ennio e Nobiliore vd. O. SKUTSCH, "Enniiana, I", in *CQ* (1944), 79-86 = *Studia Enniana* (London 1968), 18-29; "Enniiana V/1", in *CQ* 13 (1963), 89-91 = *Studia Enniana*, 86-88; E. BADIAN, *art. cit.* (n. 20), 183-195.

spedizione etolica da Ennio<sup>34</sup>, il quale in ricordo di essa aveva composto l'*Ambracia*.

In questo quadro un aspetto andrebbe approfondito. Macrobio, come si è visto (*supra*), ricorda che Nobiliore fece collocare dei *Fasti* nella *aedes Herculis Musarum*. Ignoriamo quale aspetto avessero tali *Fasti*, se si trattasse cioè di una versione destinata ad essere conservata negli archivi del tempio o se invece si trattasse di una versione destinata all'esposizione.<sup>35</sup> Quello che sembra certo è che tali *Fasti* dovessero essere del tipo *kalendarii* ed ampiamente annotati, come saranno poi i *Fasti Praenestini*.<sup>36</sup> La presenza di questi *Fasti* si carica di numerosi significati: da una parte, è stato sottolineato lo stretto legame tra *Hercules* ed il tempo, la sua misurazione (quindi il calendario) e l'organizzazione agonale<sup>37</sup>, di cui i ludi del 186 a.C. potrebbero essere una conseguenza<sup>38</sup>;

<sup>34</sup> Catone avrebbe rimproverato Fulvio di essersi comportato come uno dei diadochi, avendo condotto con sé *in provinciam poetas*, secondo Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Così A. DEGRASSI, *Inscriptiones Italiæ*, XIII 2 (Roma 1963), XX (“tabula”), seguito da F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 482 e E. BADIAN, *art. cit.* (n. 20), 189 s. n. 2. Contra P. BOYANCE, “Fulvius Nobilior et le Dieu ineffable”, in *RPh* 29 (1955), 173 = *Études sur la religion romaine* (Rome 1972), 229.

<sup>36</sup> Orientano in questo senso MACR. *Sat.* 1, 12, 16; 1, 13, 21; CENS. 20, 2 e 4; 22, 9. Vd. anche VARRO *Ling.* 6, 33. Su queste fonti vd. P. BOYANCE, *art. cit.* (n. 35), 173-178 = *op. cit.* (n. 35), 228-235; A.K. MICHELS, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967), 123-125.

<sup>37</sup> F. FONTANA, “Manipolazioni del mito e tradizione. Il caso di Ercole Musico”, in *ArchClass* 55 (2004), 314 s.; EAD., “Hercules Musarum da M. Fulvius Nobilior a Q. Pomponius Musa”, in *Δύνασθαι διδάσκειν. Studi in onore di Filippo Casola per il suo ottantesimo compleanno* (Trieste 2006), 241. L'autrice ricorda come *Heracles* fosse considerato il fondatore del calendario dei giochi olimpici e rimanda a P. ANGELI BERNARDINI, “Mythe et agon. Héraclès fondateur des jeux olympiques”, in *The Olympic Games through the Ages. Greek Antiquity and Its Impact on Modern Sport*, ed. R. RENSON (Athens 1991), 13-22 (*non vidi*).

<sup>38</sup> A far preferire la data del 187/6 per la fondazione del tempio potrebbe essere la base trovata nel 1867 nella parte settentrionale della *porticus Philippi* con il ricordo del consolato (e non della censura) di Nobiliore: *M. Folvius M. f. / Ser. n. Nobilior / co(n)s(ul) Ambracia / cepit.* Su di essa vd. *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 615, cfr. pp. 833, 919 = VI 1307, cfr. pp. 3799, 4677 = *ILS* 16 = *ILLRP* 124; M.T. MARABINI MOEVS, “Le Muse di Ambracia”, in *BA* 66, 12 (1981), 1-58. Avanza l'ipotesi che possa essere una copia di età augustea H. SOLIN, “Analecta epigraphica”, in *Arctos* 15 (1981), 112 n. 13 = *Analecta epigraphica* 1970-1997 (Roma 1998), 121 n. 13.

dall'altra, si è osservato il parallelismo con il *Mouseion* di Alessandria<sup>39</sup>, dove nacquero le *Chronographiai* di Eratostene di Cirene, basi della cronologia greca, più tardi riprese da Apollodoro di Atene. Ciò che non è stato ancora evidenziato è il più tardo parallelismo con la sede romana dei *technitai*, che ospitava i libri di Flegonte di Tralles, se in questi sono da identificare i *thaumasta biblia* di una iscrizione di Nysa.<sup>40</sup>

Per la localizzazione della *aedes Herculis Musarum* vengono in nostro aiuto alcuni frammenti della *FUR* di età severiana (che ci restituisce peraltro anche l'aspetto della struttura (Fig. 4.2), benché sia incerto in riferimento a quale fase)<sup>41</sup> e un epigramma di Marziale, in cui il protagonista, *Canius Rufus*, uscendo dalla *schola poetarum*, vedrebbe la *porticus* degli Argonauti e di Europa e quindi si porterebbe alle terme di Agrippa.<sup>42</sup>

Resta infine il problema del *collegium scribarum poetar(um)*, attestato da una sola iscrizione urbana di carattere funerario, databile alla prima età augustea<sup>43</sup> (Fig. 4.3). Anche se la maggior parte degli studiosi intendono *scribae poetae* come un'unica espressione, di cui tuttavia danno spesso interpretazioni diverse, ve ne sono alcuni che ritengono *scribae* e *poetae* due espressioni distinte.<sup>44</sup> Mentre nel secondo caso l'associazione nulla avrebbe a che fare con il *collegium poetarum*, nel primo caso si potrebbe pensare ad una tarda attestazione di questo, sopravvissuto allo scioglimento

<sup>39</sup> B. TAMM, *art. cit.* (n. 22), 165-167; F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 484.

<sup>40</sup> *IK-Ephesos* 22 con bibliografia precedente.

<sup>41</sup> *FUR* lastra 31, framm. bb, cc, dd, hh.

<sup>42</sup> MART. 3, 20. In tal caso, *collegium poetarum* e *schola poetarum* andrebbero identificate, nel senso che la seconda avrebbe ospitato il primo: contra N.B. CROWTHER, *art. cit.* (n. 20), 577. Sulla questione vd. P. GROS, *Aurea templum. Recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste* (Roma 1976), 82 s.; A. VISCOGLIOSI, in *LTUR*, III, 1996, 17-19, s.v. *Hercules Musarum, aedes*; F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 452-484.

<sup>43</sup> Prima edizione *AE* 1959, 147; S. PANCIERA, "Ancora sull'iscrizione di Cornelius Surus magister scribarum poetarum", in *BCAR* 91 (1986), 35-44 (cfr. *AE* 1987, 67) = *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti (1956-2005) con note complementari e indici*, I (Roma 2006), 319-331.

<sup>44</sup> N. HORSFALL, *art. cit.* (n. 20), 89-91; N. PURCELL, "The *Apparitores*. A Study in Social Mobility", in *PBSR* 51 (1983), 142-146.

delle corporazioni operato prima da Cesare<sup>45</sup> e poi da Augusto.<sup>46</sup> Come giustamente sottolinea Panciera, la menzione, nella stessa iscrizione, del *theatrum lapideum*<sup>47</sup> dovrebbe orientare in questa direzione.<sup>48</sup> L'espressione è indubbiamente anomala, ma, come è stato osservato, potrebbe giustificarsi in un'epoca in cui l'uso del solo termine *scriba* sarebbe stato ambiguo.

### I parassiti Apollinis

Dei *parasiti Apollinis* ci parla Festo in un passo in cui riferisce l'opinione di Verrio Flacco sull'origine dell'espressione: *salva res est dum cantat senex*<sup>49</sup>, ripetuta continuamente dai parassiti sulla scena <*in scaena dictitent*>. È frutto di moderna

<sup>45</sup> SUET. *Jul.* 42: *cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit*, da ricollegare alla *lex Iulia de collegiis*, promulgata tra il 49 ed il 44 a.C., preceduta dal s.c. del 64 a.C. riferito da ASCON. *Pis.*, p. 7 C, che scioglie tutti i collegi *quae adversus rem publicam videbantur esse, praeter pauca atque certa quae utilitas civitatis desiderasset, sicut fabrorum et fectorum*.

<sup>46</sup> SUET. *Aug.* 32: *collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit*, che fa riferimento ai provvedimenti del 7 a.C.

<sup>47</sup> A. MONTERROSO CHECA, *Theatrum Pompei. Forma y arquitectura de la génesis del modelo teatral de Roma* (Madrid 2010), 275, 325, 331 (su *theatrum lapideum*). Il termine è in VITR. 3, 3, 2: ... *Fortunae Equestris ad theatrum lapideum...* Se si trattasse del teatro di Marcello dovrebbe essere un'allusione alla ripresa da parte di Augusto nel 30-20 a.C. dei lavori iniziati da Cesare. Questo non contrasta con la datazione dell'opera di Vitruvio, da porre tra il 35 ed il 25 a.C.: PH. FLEURY (éd.), *Vitruve. De l'architecture I* (Paris 1990), XVI-XXIV.

<sup>48</sup> S. PANCIERA, *art. cit.* (n. 43), 40 = *op. cit.* (n. 43), 329.

<sup>49</sup> FEST. 436-438 L: "Salva res <est dum cantat> senex", quare parassiti Apollinis in scaena dictitent, causam Verrius in lib. V, quorum prima est p littera, redditii, quod C. Sulpicio, C. Fulvio cos., M. Calpurnio Pisone praetore urb. faciente ludos, subito ad arma exierint, nuntiat[!] o adventu[s] hostium, victoresque in theatrum redierint solliciti, ne intermissi religionem adferrent, †instaurati qui† essent: inventum esse ibi C. Pomponium, libertinum mimum magno natu, qui ad tibicinem saltaret. Itaque gaudio non interruptae religioni editam vocem nunc quoque celebrari. At in hoc libro refert Sinni Capitonis verba, quibus eos ludos Apollinares Claudio et Fulvio cos. factos dicit ex libris Sibyllinis et vaticinio Marci vatis institutos, nec nominatur ullus Pomponius. Ridiculeque de ip<sa> appellatione par<a>sitorum Apollinis hic causam reddit, cum in eo praeterisset. Ait enim ita appellari, quod C. Volumnius, qui ad tibicinem saltarit, secundarum partium fuerit, qui fere omnibus mimi parasitus inducatur. Quam inconstantiam Ver<rii> nostri non sine rubore rettuli. Cfr. SERV. *Aen.* 8, 110 e 3, 279; MACR. 1, 17, 25; M. BONARIA (ed.), *Romani mimi* (Romae 1965), 35.

congettura il ricondurre l'origine dei *parasiti Apollinis* alla istituzione dei *ludi Apollinares* del 212 a.C.<sup>50</sup> Dal passo di Festo risulta piuttosto che già in antico doveva esistere una discussione sull'origine dell'espressione, se l'autore stesso riporta l'opinione discorda di Sinnio Capitone dell'età di Cicerone. Sembra in realtà che il lemma di Festo si componga di due sequenze: una prima volta a spiegare l'origine dell'espressione di cui si è detto; una seconda, originata dalla prima, volta a spiegare l'origine della "comica" denominazione dei *parasiti Apollinis*: *ridiculeque de ip<sa> appellatione par<a>sitorum Apollinis*. Si può ovviamente discutere se abbia poi ragione Sinnio Capitone nel dire che l'origine del nome sia da ricondurre a *C. Volumnius* poiché *fere omnibus mimis parasitus inducatur*.<sup>51</sup>

Mentre la discussione verte essenzialmente sulla data di istituzione e sull'origine della denominazione, non si insiste abbastanza, a mio avviso, su altri aspetti non meno importanti.

Come è noto, se si esclude il lemma di Festo (vd. *supra*) e un verso di Marziale<sup>52</sup>, conosciamo i *parasiti Apollinis* solo da iscrizioni latine<sup>53</sup>, provenienti da Roma<sup>54</sup>, dal *Latium Vetus*<sup>55</sup>, dalla

<sup>50</sup> A. MÜLLER, "Die Parasiti Apollinis", in *Philologus* 63 (1904), 342-361; F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 471.

<sup>51</sup> H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 311.

<sup>52</sup> MART. 9, 28, 9-10: *vos me laurigeri parasitum dicite Phoebi / Roma sui famulum dum sciat esse Iovis*.

<sup>53</sup> Non ho incluso nel dossier *CIL* V 1\*, da Pola, relativa ad un *Sergius Polensis parasitus histrio*, giudicata falsa da Mommsen, ma che L. HERRMANN, "L'épitaphe de Sergius", in *Latomus* 17 (1958), 97-101 (cfr. *AE* 1958, 125) ha tentato di riabilitare, e *CIL* IX 1578, da *Beneventum*, un'iscrizione onoraria posta da *parasiti* alla loro patrona, *Egnatia Certiana*, c. f., *C. Egnati Certi co(n)s(ul)is filiae*, su cui mi propongo di tornare.

<sup>54</sup> 1) *CIL* VI 10118, cfr. pp. 3492, 3906 = *ILS* 5201 = *CLE* 411; 2) *CIL* VI 37817; 3) *AE* 1945, 118, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 265 s.; 4) G.L. GREGORI, "Archimimi, mimi, e scaenici: tre nuove iscrizioni romane di attori", in *StudRom* 53 (2005), 3-6 nr. 1 = *Ludi e munera. 25 anni di ricerche sugli spettacoli d'età romana* (Milano 2011), 195-196 nr. 1, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 226.

<sup>55</sup> *Lanuvium*: *CIL* XIV 2113 = *ILS* 5193, relativa a *M. Aurelius Agilius Septentrio*, su cui vd. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 294 s. *Praeneste*: 1) *CIL* XIV 2977 = *ILS* 5194, vd. precedente; 2) *CIL* XIV 2988 = *ILS* 5209a, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 257 s. *Bovillae*: *CIL* XIV 2408 = *ILS* 5196, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 237 s. *Tibur*: *CIL* XIV 3683 = *InscrIt.* IV 1, 255. *Nemus Diana*:

Campania<sup>56</sup> e isolatamente dall'Etruria<sup>57</sup>, databili tra la prima metà del I secolo d.C.<sup>58</sup> e l'inizio del III secolo d.C.<sup>59</sup>

Dall'insieme di questa documentazione le uniche informazioni certe che si possono ricavare sono l'esistenza dei *parasiti Apollinis* dalla tarda età repubblicana (testimonianza di Sinnio Capitone) e la limitatezza, in senso geografico, delle attestazioni. Colpisce, tra l'altro, a dispetto dell'origine greca del nome (e, secondo alcuni, dell'archetipo<sup>60</sup>), l'assenza dell'espressione nella documentazione greca. Resta invece, a mio avviso, dubbio che cosa dobbiamo intendere esattamente con l'espressione *parasiti Apollinis*.

Dal passo di Festo sembra di evincere che si stia parlando di specialisti della scena: ... *parasiti Apollinis in scaena dictitent* (il sottolineato è mio). Anzi, più oltre, sembra si tratti dell'attore *qui ad tibicinem saltarit, secundarum partium fuerit*. Questa descrizione ben si adatta al personaggio dell'iscrizione urbana *CIL VI 37817*, che fu [--- *Apollinis?*] / [*p*]arasito, secund(arum) / [---] mane poetae.<sup>61</sup> In tal caso, [*Apollinis?*] *parasitus* e secund(arum) sarebbe una tautologia.<sup>62</sup> Altrove potremmo credere che la parte

1) *CIL XIV 4198*, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 239; 2) *CIL XIV 4273 = ILS 5275*, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 232.

<sup>56</sup> *Capua*: *CIL X 3716 = ILS 5189 = AE 2003, 338*, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 206; M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 46, 52 s. *Puteoli*: 1) *Eph. Ep.* VIII 369 = *ILS 5186*, relativa a *L. Aurelius Pylades*, su cui vd. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 286-287; 2) M.L. CALDELLI, “Eusebeia’ e dintorni. Su alcune nuove iscrizioni puteolane”, in *Epigraphica* 67 (2005), 63-71; *AE 2005*, 337, vd. precedente.

<sup>57</sup> *Capena*: *CIL XI 7767*, cfr. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 270.

<sup>58</sup> *CIL XIV 4198*, da *Nemus Diana*: vd. *supra* n. 55.

<sup>59</sup> *CIL XIV 2977*, da *Praeneste*: vd. *supra* n. 55.

<sup>60</sup> Secondo l'interpretazioni di E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 240-242 = *art. cit.* (n. 1), 182-184, i *parasiti Apollinis* avrebbero tratto il loro nome da quegli artisti, che, nell'isola di Délo, si guadagnavano da vivere con rappresentazioni in onore del dio.

<sup>61</sup> L'iscrizione, mutila del nome dell'attore, è di incerta datazione (attualmente si conserva nel Warwick Castle: non ne conosco la fotografia).

<sup>62</sup> M. BONARIA, *op. cit.* (n. 49), 4: “... il secundarum (scil. partium) ... seguiva il protagonista o si faceva battere da lui per far ridere il pubblico. Di solito, costui era il *parasitus*, che accoglieva e sviluppava le trovate buffonesche del mimo”.

di *Apollinis parasitus = secund(arum)* sia stata ricoperta da attori di mimi che giocarono sulla scena anche altri ruoli: così nel caso di un anonimo attore da Roma che fu *adlectus scaenae, parasitus Apollinis, quartarum in mimis*<sup>63</sup>; dell'attore da *Tibur* che fu *mimus, parasitus Apollinis, adlectus*<sup>64</sup>; dell'attore da *Nemus Diana* che fu *quartarum e parasitus Apollinis*<sup>65</sup>; di due attori, rispettivamente da Roma e da *Praeneste*, che furono *archimimi e parasiti Apollinis*<sup>66</sup>; infine dell'attore da *Bovillae* che fu *archimimus communis mimorum, adlectus, diurnus, parasitus Apollinis, tragicus e comicus.*<sup>67</sup>

In tutti questi casi, si tratta di *mimi*, come nel più volte citato passo di Festo, attivi tra la prima metà del I ed il terzo-quarto del II secolo<sup>68</sup>, e nulla autorizza a supporre che si trattì di membri di un collegio.

A questa documentazione vanno accostate, ma con questa non confuse le iscrizioni, in cui l'espressione *parasitus Apollinis* compare nella sequenza dei riconoscimenti e/o dei sacerdoti: così, in ordine cronologico, per *L. Aurelius Apolaustus*, che si definisce *hieronica coronatus, diapanton, parasitus et sacerdos Apollinis*; per *L. Aurelius Pylades* che fu *hieronica coronatus, patronus parasitorum Apollinis e sacerdos synhodi*; per

<sup>63</sup> *CIL VI* 10118, vd. *supra* n. 54.

<sup>64</sup> *CIL XIV* 3683, vd. *supra* n. 55.

<sup>65</sup> *CIL XIV* 4198, vd. *supra* n. 55. Unirei al dossier altre due iscrizioni, che condividono con la precedente la provenienza (dal sacello di *M. Servilius Quartus a Nemus Diana*): *CIL XIV* 4273 a-b, relativa a *C. Fundilius Doctus*, anche se in questo caso l'unica qualifica presente è quella di *Apollinis parasitus*; *AE* 1990, 125, relativa a *C. Norbanus Sorix* (già noto da *CIL X* 814, da Pompei, dove è definito *secundarum*), la più antica del gruppo proveniente da *Nemus Diana* (età tiberio-claudia), definito *secundarum, parasitus* (è una dedica a Diana Nemorense).

<sup>66</sup> G.L. GREGORI, *loc. cit.* (n. 54) e *CIL XIV* 2988, vd. *supra* n. 55.

<sup>67</sup> *CIL XIV* 2408, vd. *supra* n. 55.

<sup>68</sup> L'iscrizione più tarda, datata, è quella proveniente da *Bovillae*, *CIL XIV* 2408, vd. *supra* n. 55, del 169 d.C. Quanto all'iscrizione urbana, pubblicata da G.L. GREGORI, *loc. cit.* (n. 54), che la data al II/III secolo, sarei propensa a scegliere la datazione più alta, sulla base degli stessi argomenti, paleografia e onomastica (è vero che il gentilizio imperiale *Fl.* è abbreviato, ma è espresso anche il prenome).

*M. Aurelius Agilius Septentrio* che è detto *sacerdos synhodi* e *parasitus Apollinis* nell'iscrizione di *Lanuvium e hieronica coronatus, diapanton, parasitus Apollinis, archiereus synhodi* in quella di *Praeneste*.<sup>69</sup>

In tutti questi documenti, contemporanei ai più tardi dei precedenti o addirittura posteriori (terzo-quarto del II — primo-quarto del III secolo), abbiamo a che fare con *pantomimi*, peraltro molto famosi, e si ha l'impressione che l'espressione non indichi una specialità della scena, ma rimandi piuttosto ad un ruolo in una struttura divenuta ormai certamente collegiale, senza poter sapere peraltro se si tratti di un titolo onorifico o di una funzione sacerdotale.<sup>70</sup> La documentazione sembra quindi condurre all'ipotesi di uno slittamento semantico della giuntura *parasitus Apollinis* parallelo ad una trasformazione dell'organizzazione di una componente della scena, da collocarsi cronologicamente durante il breve regno di Lucio Vero, sovrano — come è noto — particolarmente vicino al mondo dello spettacolo.<sup>71</sup> È in questa fase di transizione che potremmo collocare la piccola base urbana dedicata *Deo Sancto Apollini*, genericamente datata al II secolo, in cui un *M. Plaetorius M. f. Nicon* si definisce *parasitus Apollinis e q(uin)q(uennalis) collegi cantorum*: nella prima espressione, come nella seconda, dovremmo dunque vedere non una specialità del mimo, ma

<sup>69</sup> Unirei al dossier anche *CIL XI* 7767, relativa a *Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Pardalas*, dove l'unica qualifica indicata è quella di *Apollinis parasitus*, perché, da quanto si evince dalla parte metrica, deve trattarsi di un pantomimo.

<sup>70</sup> Questa accezione non deve meravigliare, considerato il fatto che *parasitoi*, in funzione sacerdotale, sono noti nel culto di *Herakles*, dei *Dioskouroi*, di *Athena* e di *Apollon*: vd. M.H. JAMESON, "Theoxenia", in *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence. Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Athens, 22-24 nov. 1991*, ed. by R. HÄGG (Stockholm 1994), 47-49 (cfr. *SEG* 44, 1763). Si trattava, in origine, dei sacerdoti di un tempio che si occupavano delle vivande offerte in voto al dio dai fedeli e più tardi andò ad indicare i sacerdoti nutriti a spese pubbliche.

<sup>71</sup> È opportuno sottolineare, inoltre, come, mentre i mimi *parasiti Apollinis* siano prevalentemente liberi (così *M. Iunius M. f. Maior* di *Praeneste*, *L. Acilius L. f. Pompt. Eutychus* di *Bovillae*, probabilmente *T. Fl. Ch+---* di Roma e *L. Faenius Faustus* di *Nemus Diana*; libero è invece *-- lib. Threptus* da *Tibur*), i pantomimi *parasiti Apollinis* sono tutti liberti imperiali.

una funzione collegiale ricoperta da un personaggio legato, a qualche titolo, al mondo della scena.<sup>72</sup>

### *La societas cantorum graecorum*

La *societas cantorum Graecorum* è nota da un'iscrizione incisa su un grosso blocco di peperino (56 x 157 x 32 cm), ritrovato a Roma nel 1925 nel piazzale interno di Porta Maggiore, all'angolo tra via di Porta Maggiore e via Statilia<sup>73</sup> (Fig. 4.4). Vi si legge:

*Societatis cantor(um) Graeco[r]um et quei in / hac sunho[d]o sunt de pecunia commune. [-] Maecenas D. f. Ma[e]cena(cia), desilgnator, patronus sunhodi, probavit. M. Vac[- ca. 2/3 -]us M. l. Theophilus, / Q. Vibius Q. l. Simus, magistreis sunhodi d[ec]umanorum, locu(m) / sepulchri emendo aedificando cuu[r]averunt. / 'L. Aurelius L. l. Philo, magister septumo synhodi, / societatis cantorum Graecorum quiq[u]e in hac / societate sunt (scil. sepulchrum) de sua pecunia reficiun[d]um / coeravit'.*

La comprensione del testo è tutt'altro che semplice. L'unico punto su cui gli studiosi concordano è la duplice fase di redazione, la prima (rr. 1-5) attribuibile grosso modo ad età sillana<sup>74</sup>,

<sup>72</sup> Interpreta erroneamente il documento C. CARUSO, “La professione di cantante nel mondo romano. La terminologia specifica attraverso le fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche”, in *Epigrafia 2006. Atti della XIVe rencontre sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera con altri contributi di colleghi, allievi e collaboratori*, III, a cura di M.L. CALDELLI, G.L. GREGORI e S. ORLANDI (Roma 2008), 1412 attribuendo a *M. Plaetorius Nicon* la qualifica sia di *cantor* che di *pantomimus*, essendo richieste a questi due specialisti della scena abilità affatto diverse (il pantomimo, come è noto, è muto): la documentazione portata a sostegno (SUET. *Cal.* 54, in cui lo storico definisce Caligola *idem cantor atque saltator*) non prova nulla, non essendo Caligola uno specialista della scena. La documentazione utilizzata per il commento del documento è inesatta e incompleta.

<sup>73</sup> Ed. pr. R. PARIBENI, “Cantores Graeci nell’ultimo secolo della repubblica in Roma”, in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso 1844-1925*, a cura di A.E.R. BOAK (Milano 1925), 287-292 (cfr. *AE* 1925, 127); *CIL I<sup>2</sup>* 2519, cfr. pp. 737 = 844, 966; *ILLRP* 771.

<sup>74</sup> Materiale; onomastica — ma si veda già il prenome del liberto uguale a quello del patrono; paleografia; lingua — ancora *u* pro *y*, *ei* pro *i*, *q* pro *c*, *eis* pro *i*, *uu* pro *u*.

la seconda (rr. 6-9) di qualche decennio posteriore (ma cercherò di precisare questa data).

Per cercare di comprendere meglio l'iscrizione credo che occorra innanzitutto cercare di contestualizzarla. Il blocco con ogni evidenza doveva trovarsi sulla fronte del sepolcro della *societas cantorum Graecorum* e l'iscrizione doveva esplicitare, con orgoglio, le condizioni di realizzazione del medesimo.

Due le informazioni in primo piano: 1) l'indicazione dei proprietari (*societatis cantor(um) Graeco[r]um et quei in / hac sunho[d]o sunt*); 2) le fonti del finanziamento (*de pequinia commune*).<sup>75</sup> Il sepolcro quindi non era il risultato di un atto evergetico compiuto da un ricco finanziatore, ma il frutto della cassa comune dei componenti il collegio: che uno degli scopi delle associazioni, anche di quelle cosiddette professionali, fosse quello di garantire ai soci adeguata sepoltura non è del resto una novità.

Con l'ordine che sarà proprio più tardi degli albi dei collegi troviamo indicati prima il nome del *patronus sunhodi*, che ha eseguito il collaudo<sup>76</sup>, e poi dei due *magistreis sunhodi d[ec]umanorum*, che si erano occupati dell'acquisto dell'area per la costruzione del sepolcro e della costruzione stessa.

Credo che solo guardando alla gerarchia interna dei collegi e alla condizione giuridica dei protagonisti dell'operazione (il patrono è un ingenuo e non solo, come vedremo; i *magistri* sono liberti) si possa spiegare l'inversione cronologica nella menzione delle operazioni: ovviamente prima si compra il terreno e si fa costruire il sepolcro, poi si esegue il collaudo.

Il *patronus sunhodi*, [-] *Maecenas D. f. Mā-ē(cia)*, è un *designator*. Esclusa l'ipotesi che possa essere stato un organizzatore

<sup>75</sup> Così già intendevano il primo editore, R. PARIBENI, *art. cit.* (n. 73), 288: non lo dice espressamente, ma si ricava dal tipo di punteggiatura utilizzato; A. SOGLIANO, "Un antenato di Mecenate?", in *Atti del II congresso nazionale di studi romani*, I, a cura di C. GALASSI PALUZZI (Roma 1931), 485; A. DEGRASSI, ad *ILLRP* 771 e E.H. WARMINGTON (ed.), *Remains of Old Latin IV* (Cambridge, Mass. 1940), 46-49 nr. 103; contra A. CARAPELLUCCI e C. FERRO, "Roma. Gli scavi Mattioli in piazza di Porta Maggiore", in *NSA* 19-20 (2008-2009), 209-210.

<sup>76</sup> Contra A. CARAPELLUCCI e C. FERRO, *art. cit.* (n. 75), 209: "previa approvazione".

di cortei funebri, si può pensare all'incaricato di assegnare i posti a teatro.<sup>77</sup> Molto interessante il suo nome, [-] *Maecenas D. f. Maecena(cia)*. È stata sottolineata, a ragione, la rarità del gentilizio *Maecenas* e l'esistenza di un cavaliere romano *C. Maecenas*, ricordato da Cicerone per essere stato, nel 91 a.C., fomentatore di una protesta contro la riforma dei tribunali realizzata da Druso.<sup>78</sup> Costui viene comunemente considerato il nonno del più noto *C. Maecenas L. f. Pom(ptina)*, cavaliere e amico di Augusto, imparentato con l'illustre *gens Cilnia* di Arezzo per via materna.<sup>79</sup> A fronte della rarità del gentilizio e della vicinanza cronologica, Nicolet ha escluso che il *Maecenas* dell'iscrizione di Porta Maggiore possa essere stato il cavaliere romano menzionato da Cicerone e ciò non in ragione della funzione di *designator*, ricordata nell'iscrizione romana, funzione abbastanza onorevole all'inizio del I secolo a.C. e compatibile con il rango di cavaliere, quanto piuttosto in ragione della ascrizione alla tribù *Maecia*: se veramente Mecenate, l'amico e consigliere di Augusto, era suo nipote da parte di padre, mal si accorderebbero la tribù *Maecia* del nonno e la *Pomptina* del suo discendente.

A questo punto credo si possano formulare due ipotesi:

a) il [-] *Maecenas D. f. Maecena(cia)* dell'iscrizione di Porta Maggiore apparteneva ad un altro ramo della raramente attestata *gens* dei *Maecenates*;

b) [-] *Maecenas D. f. Maecena(cia)* si può identificare con il *C. Maecenas*, cavaliere, noto per il 91 a.C., nonno del più famoso Mecenate, a condizione che si possa trovare una spiegazione al problema delle diverse tribù di nonno e nipote.

Un tentativo in questa direzione va fatto, non solo in ragione degli argomenti già ricordati in favore dell'identificazione (rarità del gentilizio e contiguità cronologica), ma anche per un ulteriore

<sup>77</sup> Su *designator / dissignator* vd. *ThLL*, V, 1910, 714 e 1469; E. DE RUGGIERO, *Diz. Epigr.*, II. 3 (1900), 1924.

<sup>78</sup> Sul personaggio, citato in *Clu.* 153, vd. C. NICOLET, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312-43 av. J.-Ch.)*, II (Roma 1974), nr. 210.

<sup>79</sup> *PIR<sup>2</sup>* M 37 e C. NICOLET, *op. cit.* (n. 78), nr. 209, che valorizza l'importanza di *CIL VI* 21771, cfr. p. 3916 per la ricostruzione del nome di Mecenate.

argomento fin qui non abbastanza valorizzato, vale a dire l'interesse familiare per il teatro. Non si insiste infatti sul fatto che il famoso pantomimo *Bathyllus*, fautore, insieme con *Pylades*, dell'introduzione dell'arte pantomimica a Roma nel 22 a.C., era un liberto di Mecenate.<sup>80</sup> In questo caso dovremmo supporre che all'interno della famiglia dei *Maecenates* sia avvenuto un cambiamento di tribù, come altrimenti attestato nei casi in cui padre e figlio hanno differenti tribù.<sup>81</sup> Le cause del cambiamento sarebbero ignote. Tra quelle individuate da Forni non impossibile appare quella *per domicilii traslationem*<sup>82</sup>: i *Maecenates*, provenienti da uno dei centri in cui è attestata la tribù *Maecia*<sup>83</sup>, si sarebbero trasferiti ad *Arretium*, dove è diffusa la *Pomptina*<sup>84</sup> e dove da secoli primeggiava la *gens Cilnia*, cui apparteneva la madre di Mecenate.

Può non essere, invece, significativo il fatto che proprio sull'Esquilino, non lontano dal luogo di ritrovamento del blocco, sia stato identificato il sepolcro di Mecenate<sup>85</sup>: si tratta della cosiddetta “Casa Tonda”, situata *extremis Esquiliis*<sup>86</sup>, all'angolo tra Piazza Vittorio e via Principe Eugenio, all'interno di quelli che dovevano essere gli *horti* di Mecenate, ricavati per acquisizione tra il 38 ed il 35 a.C. in un'area precedentemente adibita a sepoltura dei poveri.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *Schol.* ad PERS. 5, 122 s.; SEN. *Contr. 10 praef. 8*; DIO CASS. 54, 17, 5: su di lui vd. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 217-219.

<sup>81</sup> G. FORNI, “Doppia tribù di cittadini e cambiamenti di tribù romane”, in *Tetraonima. Miscellanea graeco-romana* (Genova 1966), 139-155 = *Le tribù romane*, IV. *Scripta minora*, a cura di G.M. FORNI (Roma 2006), 71-85.

<sup>82</sup> G. FORNI, *art. cit.* (n. 81), 149 ss. = *op. cit.* (n. 81), 79 ss..

<sup>83</sup> La *Maecia* è attestata nel *Latium Vetus* a *Lanuvium*, in Campania a *Neapolis*, in *Apulia* a *Brundisium*, nel *Brutium* a *Paestum* e a *Rhegium*, nel *Picenum* a *Hatria* e nella Liguria a *Libarna*: vd. L. ROSS TAYLOR, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome 1960), 273.

<sup>84</sup> Sulla diffusione della *Pomptina* ad *Arretium* vd. ora la messa a punto di A. ARNALDI e †L. GASPERINI, “Regio VII (Etruria)”, in *Le tribù romane. Atti della XVI Rencontre sur l'épigraphie*, Bari, 8-10 ottobre 2009 (Bari 2010), 225.

<sup>85</sup> F. COARELLI, in *LTUR*, IV, 1999, 292, s.v. *sepulcrum: Maecenas (tumulus)*.

<sup>86</sup> SUET. *Vita Hor.* 20, p. 48 Reifferscheid.

<sup>87</sup> CH. HÄUBER, in *LTUR*, III, 1996, 70-74, s.v.; M. BELL III, “Le stele greche dell'Esquilino e il cimitero di Mecenate”, in *Horti Romani. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 4-6 maggio 1995* (Roma 1998), 295-314.

L'operazione di acquisto del terreno e di costruzione del sepolcro spetta a due liberti, *M. Vac[- ca. 2/3 -]us M. l. Theophilus* e *Q. Vibius Q. l. Simus*<sup>88</sup>, che si definiscono *magistreis sunhodi d[ec]umanorum*.<sup>89</sup> Ritengo che sia poco convincente l'idea secondo cui *d[ec]umanorum* sarebbe una formazione effettuata a partire dal prenome *Decumus/Decimus*, da riferirsi o ad un partigiano di Clodio, come supposto da Sogliano, Degrassi e Fabre<sup>90</sup>, oppure al padre di *Maecenas*, patrono della *synhodos*, o ancora al mimografo Laberio.<sup>91</sup> Penso piuttosto che vada esperita la strada che riporta a *decumanus/decimanus*.

È evidente che in questo contesto il termine non può fare riferimento alle sue accezioni più comuni<sup>92</sup>: dovremo quindi orientarci verso le associazioni professionali legate al teatro o verso le associazioni funerarie, comunque in direzione di strutture associative, tenendo conto che le cosiddette associazioni professionali avevano anche finalità funerarie.

In questo senso, l'uso epigrafico del termine è raro<sup>93</sup> e il documento più significativo per cercare di comprenderne il

<sup>88</sup> Ignoriamo chi siano i loro patroni.

<sup>89</sup> *Decumanorum* è lettura da preferire a *decum i'anorum*: il segno interpretato come una *I* nana aggiunta è piuttosto un segno accidentale della pietra.

<sup>90</sup> Per primo A. SOGLIANO, *art. cit.* (n. 75), 485 ha pensato al *Decimus dissignator*, citato in CIC. *Att.* 4, 3, 2 (del 23 novembre 57 a.C.), forse lo stesso di CIC. *Dom.* 19, 50; lo seguono A. DEGRASSI, ad ILLRP 771; G. FABRE, *Libertus. Recherches sur les rapports patron - affranchi à la fin de la république romaine* (Rome 1981), 160. Come fa osservare D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *M. Tulli Ciceronis epistulae ad Atticum*, II (Stutgardiae 1987), 174 *Decimum* appare in un punto corrotto del testo.

<sup>91</sup> A. CARAPELLUCCI e C. FERRO, *art. cit.* (n. 75), 213 e n. 122 pensano al modello degli *Actiani Anicetiani* (da *Actius Anicetus*) o *Asiaticiani* (da *Asiaticus*), sia pur consapevoli che in questi casi si tratta di formazioni a partire dai cognomi.

<sup>92</sup> P. SCHULTEN, in *RÉ*, IV, 2, 1901, 2314-2316; *ThLL*, V, 1910, 168-170 s.v. *decimanus*; E. DE RUGGIERO, *Diz. Epigr.*, II, 2 (1910), 1503.

<sup>93</sup> Gli esempi sono stati recentemente riuniti da M. GIOVAGNOLI, "Il 'monumentum Q. Coponi Q. l. Fausti et sociorum' sull'antica via Labicana", in *ArchClas.* 60 (2009), 383, in occasione dello studio di una tabellina di colombario dalla via Labicana, dove compare un *decumanus*, già edita da G. BENDINELLI, "Roma. Nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio", in *NSA* (1923), 362. Correttamente l'autore riconduce in questo ambito due iscrizioni di Roma, *CIL VI* 8585 e 8586, erroneamente registrate nella sezione *administrationis provinciarum vectigalium officialium*.

significato è la *lex familiae Silvani* di *Trebula Mutuesca*, del 60 d.C., in cui il termine compare alle rr. 11 e 21 (tab. D)<sup>94</sup>. Due interpretazioni si contrappongono: da una parte quella di Paribeni, secondo cui i *decumani* sarebbero i componenti delle *decuriae* in cui era articolato il collegio<sup>95</sup>; dall'altra, quella di de Robertis, secondo cui *singuli* e *decumani* sarebbero in contrapposizione e questi ultimi indicherebbero “i collettori forse delle singole decurie, incaricati di esigere le somme ... esercitando insieme la funzione di capi delle singole decurie”<sup>96</sup>.

Se proviamo ad applicare queste due interpretazioni alla espressione *magistri sunhodi d[ec]umanorum* avremmo a che fare, nel primo caso, con i funzionari della associazione dei *decuriales* o *corporati* — apparentemente una tautologia, nel secondo caso, con i funzionari della associazione degli esattori del collegio — un'ipotesi francamente insostenibile.

L'interpretazione di Paribeni va quindi recuperata e approfondita, anche perché, di nuovo apparentemente, in questa iscrizione sembra essere presente un'altra tautologia.

Alle rr. 1-2 si dice *societatis cantor(um) Graeco[r]um et quei in / hac sunho[d]o sunt*, che alle rr. 7-8, aggiunte successivamente, diventa *societatis cantorum Graecorum quique in hac / societate sunt*. Ammettendo, come credo sia corretto, che, in questo caso, il termine *sunhodos*, raramente traslitterato dal greco<sup>97</sup>, equivalga

<sup>94</sup> Ed. pr. R. PARIBENI, in *NSA* (1928), 387, 392-396, seguita da F.M. DE ROBERTIS, “Contributi alla storia delle corporazioni a Roma”, in *Annali del Seminario Giuridico Economico della R. Università di Bari*, anno VI, fasc. I — anno VII, fasc. I-II (Bari 1934), 3-34 e recentemente ripresa e commentata da M. BUONOCORE e O. DILIBERTO, “L'album e la lex della familia Silvani di Trebula Mutuesca. Nuove considerazioni”, in *RPAA* 75 (2002-2003), 325-393.

<sup>95</sup> R. PARIBENI, *art. cit.* (n. 94), 395.

<sup>96</sup> F.M. DE ROBERTIS, *art. cit.* (n. 94), 11.

<sup>97</sup> Esclusi i pochi casi in cui *synhodos* ha valore di cognome, le rare attestazioni del termine traslitterato dal greco si trovano a Roma, a *Puteoli*, a *Nemausus*, oltre che in due centri del *Latium Vetus*, dove ha lasciato testimonianze un famoso pantomimo che ha operato sulla scena internazionale. Per quanto riguarda Roma, oltre al caso in esame, il vocabolo è usato per la *synhodos m(agna) psaltum* (vd. *infra*); per il *theophorus T. Ratumenna Fortunatus* di *AE* 1948, 67; per il pantomimo e *archiereus synodi et Augustorum L. Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius* (*CIL* VI 10117, su cui vd. M.L. CALDELLI, “Ancora su L. Aurelius Augg.

al latino *societas*<sup>98</sup>, viene fatta comunque una distinzione tra *societatis cantor(um) Graeco[r]um e quei in hac sunho[d]o* (o *societate sunt*).

Analoga distinzione ricorre in un'iscrizione latina da Vienne, in Narbonese, databile alla prima metà del I secolo d.C., anch'essa relativa al mondo dello spettacolo, dove sono menzionati *scaenici Asiaticiani et qui in eodem corpore sunt*.<sup>99</sup>

Al dossier occorre unire — credo — un decreto degli Augustali di Miseno, datato ad età antonina, in cui a più riprese (A, rr. 8-9; B, rr. 30-31) viene fatta distinzione tra *Augustales corporati* e *qui in corpore non sunt*: secondo il primo editore, John D'Arms<sup>100</sup>, per il quale gli Augustali di Miseno costituirebbero un *corpus* a numero chiuso (100 persone), nei primi dovremmo vedere i membri effettivi di tale *corpus*, negli altri degli “associate members”, attivi nel culto, ma non pienamente partecipi alle attività della associazione.<sup>101</sup>

lib. Apolaustus Memphius Senior”, in *Epigraphica* 55 [1993], 45-57). A Puteoli il termine compare in connessione con il pantomimo e *sacerdos synhodi L. Aurelius Pylades* (vd. *infra* tra i *parasiti Apollinis*). Da Nemausus vengono quattro documenti relativi rispettivamente a *L. Sammius Maternus* (*CIL* XII 3183) e *Sex. Iccius Cosmicus* (*ILGN* 428), entrambi *archiereus synhodi*; ad un anonimo, [*xysta?rchus synodi*] (*CIL* XII 3132); al *numen synhodi*, citato nella famosa iscrizione di *T. Iulius Dolabella* (*CIL* XII 3183): per tutte si veda M.L. CALDELLI, “Gli agoni alla greca nelle regioni occidentali dell'impero. La Gallia Narbonensis”, in *MAL* 9 (1997), 413-417, 423-425. Infine dal *Latium Vetus* vengono due iscrizioni relative al pantomimo *M. Aurelius Agilius Septentrio*, che nella base di *Lanuvium* è detto *sacerdos synhodi*, in quella di *Praeneste archiereus synhodi* (vd. *infra* tra i *parasiti Apollinis*): l'associazione a cui si fa riferimento è però quella romana. Resta un complesso e dubbio documento da Cartagine, in cui in un contesto assai lacunoso si legge [--m?] *edicus syno/[dr?]*: *ILTun* 1123, ripresa da L. ENNABLI, *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage*, II. *La basilique de Mcidfa* (Rome 1982), nr. 292.

<sup>98</sup> Anche perché, nell'iscrizione più tarda, il funzionario continua a definirsi *magister synhodi*: contra A. SOGLIANO, *art. cit.* (n. 75), 485.

<sup>99</sup> *CIL* XII 1929 = *ILS* 5205 = *ILNV* 1, 117: si tratta di un'iscrizione sepolcrale.

<sup>100</sup> J.H. D'ARMS, “Memory, Money and Status at Misenum. Three New Inscriptions from the ‘Collegium’ of the Augustales”, in *JRS* 90 (2000), 126-144 (da cui *AE* 2000, 344) = *Romans on the Bay of Naples and Other Essays on Roman Campania*, ed. by F. ZEVI (Bari 2003), 439-473.

<sup>101</sup> J.H. D'ARMS, *art. cit.* (n. 100), 131 s. = *op. cit.* (n. 100), 451.

Alla luce di questi sia pur limitati e laconici confronti ritengo dunque che la *societas cantorum Graecorum*, al pari di più tarde associazioni artistiche e non, comprendesse membri con diverso statuto e che i due liberti, *Theophilus* e *Simus*, incaricati di acquistare, con il denaro comune, il terreno per la costruzione del sepolcro, volessero indicare, con precisione terminologica, di essere i *magistri* dei membri effettivi, cioè, come diceva Paribeni, dei *corporati*.<sup>102</sup>

Dopo alcuni anni dalla sua costruzione, l'edificio sepolcrale ebbe bisogno di interventi di restauro. Fu ancora una volta un libero, un *L. Aurelius L. l. Philo, magister synthodi*, ad intervenire, questa volta però pagando di tasca propria (la spesa dovette essere comunque minore, trattandosi di un restauro). Due le osservazioni: 1) nello specificare il proprio ruolo all'interno del collegio manca l'indicazione *d[ec]umanorum*; 2) *Philo* sottolinea di essere *magister septimo*. Come spiegare le due differenze?

Per quanto riguarda la prima, suppongo che la specificazione *d[ec]umanorum* possa essere stata omessa in quanto il *magister*, in questo caso, interveniva finanziariamente con il proprio denaro: non essendo stati impiegati fondi della cassa comune, alimentati sia da membri effettivi sia da associati, veniva meno l'esigenza di specificare che il *magister* era funzionario dei *corporati*.

Più problematica è l'interpretazione dell'avverbio *septimo*. A rigore dovremmo interpretare "per la settima volta"<sup>103</sup>, anche

<sup>102</sup> Già J.P. WALTZING, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident*, I (Louvain 1895), 357 parlava di una distinzione tra membri effettivi e membri onorari, che però riconduceva ai soli *honorati*: del resto il materiale disponibile alla sua riflessione si limitava ad una sola delle tre iscrizioni citate, quella di Vienne, che peraltro altrove (J.P. WALTZING, *op. cit.*, IV (1900), 267 s.) includeva nella lista delle attestazioni relative ad espressioni particolari indicanti l'appartenenza ad un collegio insieme con *CIL IX* 3337-3338, 4696; X 444, rr. 5 e 16; 1579, per la verità assai diverse. Il parallelo greco si può individuare nei *philotchnitai*, "membri onorari o benefattori", che partecipavano alle decisioni della associazione dionisiaca, pur avendo diverso statuto: E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 225 = *art. cit.* (n. 1), 168; B. LE GUEN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), II, 64.

<sup>103</sup> Cfr. *ThLL*, X, 2, 1995, 1370, s.v. *primo*; IX, 1968-1981, 423, s.v. *octavo*.

se il numero ne risulterebbe eccezionale, non conoscendo iterazioni superiori alla quarta.<sup>104</sup> Forzando il testo, potremmo ipotizzare che *septumo* sia per *septumus* e intendere, come propone Waltzing in altri casi analoghi, *anni septumi*, con la conseguenza di ammettere che i *magistri* della *synhodos cantorum Graecorum* fossero tra quelli in carica per un anno.<sup>105</sup> Con tutte le perplessità del caso, in mancanza di altre iscrizioni relative alla *synhodos cantorum Graecorum*<sup>106</sup> e di notizie circa la durata del mandato del *magister* di tale associazione opterei per la prima soluzione, considerando lo spazio temporale che sembra separare la redazione del primo testo dal secondo.

Resta ovviamente aperto il problema di chi siano i *cantores Graeci* menzionati nell'iscrizione. Non mi sembra che al momento esistano argomenti forti per ammettere, sulla base della distinzione, presente nel teatro latino, tra *canticum* e *diverbum*, e il mito eziologico riferito da Livio, 7, 2, 8-10 e Valerio Massimo 2, 2, 4<sup>107</sup>, una distinzione, in modo metastorico, tra *histrio* e *cantor*.<sup>108</sup> È parimenti rischioso azzardare interpretazioni in merito al significato dell'aggettivo *Graeci*, se da riferire alla lingua in cui i *cantores* si esprimevano o al tipo di testi che portavano in scena o addirittura alla loro origine geografica. Vero è che i *magistri* della *synhodos* sopra ricordati hanno tutti e tre nomi greci, ma questo può non essere significativo, data la loro condizione di ex schiavi. È proprio questa,

<sup>104</sup> CIL XII 733: elenco in J.-P. WALTZING, *op. cit.* (n. 102), IV (1900), 359, dove è da espungere CIL XIV 4134, da Ostia, che, in seguito a studi successivi, risulta ricordare la quinta iterazione del duovirato di Cartilio Poplicola: vd. ora F. ZEVI, in *Epigrafia latina. Ostia: cento iscrizioni in contesto* (Roma 2010), nr. 19.2.

<sup>105</sup> J.-P. WALTZING, *op. cit.* (n. 102), IV (1900), 283-285, 358 s.

<sup>106</sup> Non a questa si riferisce infatti AE 1945, 118 (vd. *supra* fra i *parasiti Apollinis*).

<sup>107</sup> Queste due fonti sono state ben valorizzate da B. ZUCCELLI, *Le denominazioni latine dell'attore* (Brescia 1963), 64.

<sup>108</sup> Ottime le riflessioni di M.-H. GARELLI, *Danser le mythe. La pantomime et sa réception dans la culture antique* (Louvain-Paris-Dudley, Mass. 2007), 68-71, che sconsiglia di riferire al passato situazioni che si determinarono sulla scena romana a partire dall'età di Augusto.

tuttavia, che ci deve portare almeno ad escludere che la *synhodos* cui si fa allusione sia quella dei *technitai* dionisiaci, dal momento che i suoi membri erano *ingenui*.

### *Il collegium scabillariorum*

Di un collegio di *scabillarii* a Roma abbiamo notizia da una serie di iscrizioni sepolcrali.<sup>109</sup> Il loro nome deriva dallo *scabel-lum*, uno strumento formato da due suole di legno, tenute insieme in modo da formare un soffietto, con una coppia di cimbali in bronzo ad una estremità. Veniva azionato con il piede da un musicista, stante o seduto, che contemporaneamente suonava la *tibia*. Era largamente usato nel mimo latino e soprattutto nel pantomimo.<sup>110</sup> Noto ai greci, che lo utilizzarono con grande parsimonia, fu nel mondo romano che lo *scabellum* conobbe massima diffusione. Sebbene lo citi già Cicerone<sup>111</sup>, le

<sup>109</sup> Il primo editore, G. GATTI, in *BCAR* (1888), 110-115, segnala il ritrovamento unitario di quelle che saranno poi *CIL* VI 33191-33202 non *in situ*, ma accumulate a parte “come materiale di rifiuto” e ipotizza che la loro decontestualizzazione sia forse da attribuire al Belardi, proprietario della vigna, nel corso degli scavi da lui condotti nel 1731, come riferisce F. FICORONI, *La bolla d'oro de' fanciulli nobili romani e quella de' libertini: ed altre singolarità spettanti a' mausolei nuovamente scopertisi: brevemente spiegate, e divise in II parti* (Roma 1732), 53 (G. GATTI, *art. cit. supra*, 110). Su questa base, Gatti accosta al gruppo le iscrizioni *CIL* VI 10146-10148, di provenienza ignota e pure relative al *collegium scabillariorum*, viste nel 1731-1733 presso Ficoroni (L.A. MURATORI, *Nodus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum in praecipuis earumdem collectionibus hactenus praetermissarum*, I [Mediolani 1739], DXXIX. 2), per affermarne la provenienza dalla stessa vigna Belardi (G. GATTI, *art. cit. supra*, 112). A queste occorre poi aggiungere *CIL* VI 37301, trovata in vigna Belardi nel 1887 ma pubblicata molto dopo da G. GATTI, “Notizie dei recenti trovamenti di antichità in Roma e nel suburbio”, in *BCAR* (1911), 277 e *CIL* VI 6660, trovata alla fine degli anni 70 del XIX secolo presso i sepolcri Q ed R di Porta Maggiore.

<sup>110</sup> G. WILLE, *Musica romana. Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer* (Amsterdam 1967), 178-187; A. BAUDOT, *Musiciens romains de l'Antiquité* (Montréal 1973), 60-61; A. BÉLIS, “Κρουπέζαι, scabellum”, in *BCH* 112 (1988), 323-339; V. PÉCHÉ et CH. VENDRIES, *Musique et spectacles à Rome et dans l'Occident romain sous la République et le Haut-Empire* (Paris 2001), 45-47, 98-100.

<sup>111</sup> CIC. *Cael.* 27, 65.

prime testimonianze epigrafiche urbane non sono anteriori alla prima età imperiale.

Si tratta, come ho detto, di iscrizioni sepolcrali, trovate per lo più nel 1887/1888 in vigna Belardi, presso Porta Maggiore, tra le mura e via Principe Eugenio. Sono più precisamente piccole lastre di marmo, semplici o pseudo-ansate, del tipo destinato ad essere affisso o murato nelle pareti dei columbari (Figg. 4.5-7). In esse si fa esplicitamente menzione di un *collegium scabillariorum*<sup>112</sup>, delle *decuriae* che lo componevano<sup>113</sup>, dell'esistenza di *curatores*<sup>114</sup>, cui spettava la decisione di ammettere estranei alla sepoltura, di un *quinquennalis perpetuus*.<sup>115</sup>

A differenza di quanto accade per la *societas cantorum graecorum*, non abbiamo l'iscrizione principale del sepolcro, ma solo le epigrafi che dovevano indicare la sepoltura del singolo nel complesso. È dunque difficile esprimersi in modo circostanziato sulla genesi e sulla composizione del monumento. Per quanto riguarda la cronologia, la tipologia delle lastre e l'assenza di *cognomen* per almeno uno degli ammessi al sepolcro<sup>116</sup> ci fa comunque dire che l'installazione primitiva non doveva essere posteriore alla metà del I secolo d.C., anche se affiliati al collegio dovettero continuare ad esservi sepolti anche in seguito.<sup>117</sup>

Inoltre, come accade per il *collegium symphoniacorum*, proprietario principale, ma non unico del secondo columbario Codini<sup>118</sup>, anche in questo caso il *collegium scabillariorum*

<sup>112</sup> CIL VI 10145-10148, 32294, 33194, 33971, 37301.

<sup>113</sup> CIL VI 33191 (la II) (Fig. 4.5), 33192 (la V), 33194 (Fig. 4.7) e 37301 (la VI), 10148 (la X), 10145 (la X[–]), 10146 (la XII), 10147 (la XVI).

<sup>114</sup> CIL VI 6660 (?), 33191, 33193 (Fig. 4.6).

<sup>115</sup> CIL VI 32294.

<sup>116</sup> CIL VI 33191: si tratta di un *L. Salvidienus*, figlio di *L. Salvidienus Secundus*. L'iscrizione è integra.

<sup>117</sup> CIL VI 33194: *Ti. Claudius* [–], liberto imperiale, in teoria sia di Claudio che di Nerone; 33971: un altare databile per tipologia al II secolo d.C.

<sup>118</sup> D. MANACORDA, "Per l'edizione del secondo columbario Codini. Il problema epigrafico nel contesto archeologico", in *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18-24 settembre 1997. Atti*, II, a cura di S. EVANGELISTI e L. GALLI (Roma 1999), 249-261, part. 253-256.

poteva essere coproprietario del sepolcro con altri non meglio qualificabili individui presenti nello stesso monumento, ma non membri del collegio e non necessariamente legati al mondo del teatro.<sup>119</sup>

Come nel caso della *societas cantorum Graecorum*, conosciamo il luogo in cui venivano sepolti gli associati, ma non conosciamo la sede della *schola*. Se, però, guardiamo a quanto accade più tardi nella non lontana *Puteoli*, dove il collegio degli *scabillarii* aveva la sede nel pressi dell'attuale via Marconi, cioè alle pendici del Rione Terra, in pieno centro cittadino<sup>120</sup>, ed un *sacellum* in un'arcata dell'anfiteatro<sup>121</sup>, potremmo immaginare per Roma una situazione paragonabile.

Infine vale la pena sottolineare le dimensione del collegio che contava almeno 16 decurie. Anche se non conosciamo il numero dei componenti la decuria (non necessariamente 10), sembra trattarsi di un collegio assai numeroso. Per avere un'idea sulla base di un confronto, si può ricordare come ad Ostia, in età severiana, in 16 decurie si articolava il collegio dei *fabri tignuarii*, contando per ciascuna decuria un numero diverso di iscritti, ma comunque superiore a 10. Ma stiamo parlando dei *fabri tignuarii* di Ostia, la cui importanza per la vita locale era vitale!

### *La synodos m(agna) psaltum*

La *synhodos psaltum* è conosciuta da un solo documento urbano<sup>122</sup>: l'iscrizione affissa sulla fronte dell'edificio sepolcrale che la ospitava, situato presso villa Wolkonsky – Campanari, lungo il lato destro (sud) dell'antica via Labicana, al

<sup>119</sup> CIL VI 33195-33201.

<sup>120</sup> *Puteoli. La carta archeologica*, a cura di F. ZEVI (Napoli 1993), foglio XIII nr. 117.

<sup>121</sup> F. DEMMA, "Pavimenti e mosaici dagli edifici pubblici di Pozzuoli. Materiali e contesti", in *Atti del IX Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, Aosta, 20-22 febbraio 2003, a cura di C. ANGELELLI (Ravenna 2004), 330-334, 341-342.

<sup>122</sup> CIL VI 33968.

livello tardo-repubblicano<sup>123</sup> (Fig. 4.8). Il sepolcro, costruito con grandi blocchi parallelepipedi di tufo, aveva pianta quadrata e una piccola cella di forma rettangolare.<sup>124</sup> L’iscrizione principale era formata da due blocchi accostati di travertino (60 x 185 x 25; let. 7,5-3) (Figg. 4.9-10). Le prime tre righe, che correvano per tutta la larghezza del campo epigrafico, riportavano, al nominativo, il nome di *M. Licinius Mena*, libero di una *Licinia*, *curator iterum* della *synhodos*, il quale a proprie spese (*de sua pecunia*) curò il restauro dell’edificio (*reficiendum curavit*), previa autorizzazione dei decurioni ([*dec*]urionum sententia).

Seguivano, distribuiti su quattro colonne, i nomi dei 3 *magistri*, preceduti dalla loro qualifica (*MAG.*), *Q. Magulnius Eudox(us)*, *C. Clodius Synistor* e *D. Nonius Corcodilus*<sup>125</sup>, tutti e tre liberti, e i nomi dei 31 *decuriones*, anch’essi preceduti dalla loro qualifica (*DECVR.*), prevalentemente liberti, ma anche *ingenui*.<sup>126</sup> È da rimarcare la grande varietà dei gentilizii<sup>127</sup>, la presenza di *nomina* poco comuni a Roma<sup>128</sup>, la ripetizione, nell’elenco dei decurioni, sia del nome del *curator iterum* che finanziò il restauro, sia dei nomi dei tre magistri, che tornano in fondo alla lista con errori di trascrizione, la presenza di molti liberti di donne (8 casi su 31).

<sup>123</sup> G. GATTI, in *NSA* (1888), 624; ID., in *BCAR* (1888), 400 e 408-411.

<sup>124</sup> A.M. COLINI, *Storia e topografia del Celio nell’antichità* (Città del Vaticano 1944), 392.

<sup>125</sup> Per questa lettura del cognome vd. H. SOLIN, “Varia onomastica XII. Corcodilus”, in *ZPE* 105 (1995), 77-80 in luogo di *Corconius*, letto da Hülsen, ad *CIL*.

<sup>126</sup> Tali a r. II. 6 *M. Caleidius [-f.] Cor(nelia)* e alle rr. III. 7-8 *L. Aurelius L. f. Maec(ia)* e *L. Maelius L. f. Maec(ia)*.

<sup>127</sup> I pochi casi di personaggi che condividono lo stesso gentilizio hanno quasi tutti prenome diverso: così gli *Aemilius*, *A(ulus)* (r. II. 3) e *P(ublius)*; i *Clodi*, *L(ucius)* (r. III. 5) e *C(aius)* (r. IV. 7); i *Licinii*, *M(arcus)* (r. I. 5), *A(ulus)* (r. II. 2) e *L(ucius)* (r. III. 6); i *Memmii*, *M(arcus)* (r. III. 2) e *C(aius)* (r. IV. 3); i *Nonii*, *Sex(tus)* (r. III. 1) e *D(ecimus)* (r. IV. 8). Unica eccezione i *Popilii*, entrambi *C(aii)* (rr. III. 3 e 4).

<sup>128</sup> Tali i casi di *Magulnius*, *Obulcius*, *Titienus* con prenome *Sextus* e *Tremellius*: vd. *CIL VI, Index nominum*.

La datazione dell'iscrizione è discussa. Al I secolo a.C. pensano Waltzing, Wille e Jory<sup>129</sup>; all'età augustea pensa Solin, per ragioni paleografiche.<sup>130</sup> Ricordo che il sepolcro appartiene ad uno strato tardo-repubblicano e che la nostra iscrizione parla di un restauro. Sarei quindi propensa a collocare il documento nella primissima età augustea, epoca con la quale ben si accordano gli aspetti linguistici e paleografici, anche se destano qualche perplessità i nomi alle rr. II. 1, 2 (?) e 5 e IV. 2 per il fatto che i liberti hanno prenomi diversi da quelli dei loro patroni.

La definizione della cronologia mi sembra importante, anche perché coeva al *M. Licinius Mena* della nostra iscrizione è la *Eucharis*, morta a 14 anni, nota da un'iscrizione urbana, che, in bei senari giambici, dice di sé: *docta, erodita poene Musarum manu, / quae modo nobilium ludos decoravi choro / et Graeca in scaena prima populo apparui*.<sup>131</sup> Non si tratta di una schiava, ma di una liberta di una *Licinia* (*Eucharis Licinia l.*). Considerata la contiguità temporale e l'attività praticata, si può avanzare l'ipotesi che *Mena* ed *Eucharis* abbiano avuto una comune patrona, evidentemente interessata al mondo del teatro, in particolare ad aspetti vicini al mondo greco.

Resta il problema di cosa si debba intendere per *psaltae*. Vendries, riunendo le ipotesi già espresse da Waltzing e Baudot<sup>132</sup>, propone di vedere in questi musicisti dei "suonatori di *lyra* e *cithara*", escludendo dal novero i suonatori di arpa, come invece

<sup>129</sup> J.-P. WALTZING, *op. cit.* (n. 102), III (Louvain 1900), 319 s. nr. 1357 (fine dell'età repubblicana); G. WILLE, *op. cit.* (n. 110), 354; E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 251.

<sup>130</sup> H. SOLIN, *art. cit.* (n. 125), 77 n. 1: tuttavia nel suo onomasticon l'iscrizione riceve datazioni diverse.

<sup>131</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1214, cfr. p. 970 = VI 10096, cfr. pp. 3492, 3906 = *ILS* 5213 = *CLE* 55 = *ILLRP* 803, ripresa da S. FRASCATI, *La collezione epigrafica di Giovanni Battista De Rossi presso il Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana* (Città del Vaticano 1997), 68-71 nr. 18: l'iscrizione, purtroppo, è di provenienza sconosciuta. Per diversa, errata, datazione (fine I - inizio II secolo d.C.) vd. Z. POPOVA, "Pour dater les 'Carmina Latina Epigraphica Buecheler 990, 55 et 960'", in *Eirene* 7 (1968), 60-64.

<sup>132</sup> J.-P. WALTZING, *op. cit.* (n. 102), II (Louvain 1896), 134 e 431; A. BAUDOT, *op. cit.* (n. 110), 87.

volevano Fleischhauer e Bélis<sup>133</sup>, perché la loro cattiva fama difficilmente li avrebbe inclusi in una associazione cultuale, quale la *synhodos* sarebbe stata.<sup>134</sup> Non credo che l'impiego del termine *synhodos* sottintenda necessariamente un carattere religioso e penso che la più generica traduzione di "suonatore di strumento a corde con le dita" sia da preferire. Quanto all'aggettivo che, in forma di acronimo, segue il termine *synhodos*, vorrei osservare che il nostro sarebbe l'esempio più antico, se fosse corretto il suo scioglimento in *m(agna)* (non ho proposte migliori).<sup>135</sup>

### *Le sociae mimae*

Poco possiamo dire sulle *sociae mimae*, note da un'unica iscrizione urbana, incisa su un *terminus* di travertino, ritrovato sulla sinistra della via Latina, in vigna Tuccimei, non lontano dall'ingresso del cimitero di Aproniano.<sup>136</sup> L'iscrizione è perduta, nondimeno in base alla tipologia dell'oggetto, del materiale e alla struttura del testo possiamo datarla tra la fine dell'età repubblicana e la prima età imperiale.<sup>137</sup>

Il mimo, una rappresentazione mista di recitazione, canto e danza, è l'unico tipo di azione scenica a cui prendevano parte anche le donne. Nonostante ad esse, come agli uomini, si richiedessero abilità gestuali e facciali (gli attori lavoravano senza maschera), nonché la capacità di improvvisare su temi

<sup>133</sup> G. FLEISCHHAUER, *Etrurien und Rom* (Leipzig 1964), 100; A. BÉLIS, "Les termes grecs et latins désignant des spécialités musicales", in *RPh* 62 (1988), 246.

<sup>134</sup> CH. VENDRIES, *Instruments à cordes et musiciens dans l'empire romain. Étude historique et archéologique (IIe siècle av. J.-C. - Ve siècle ap. J.-C.)* (Paris 1999), 323.

<sup>135</sup> I confronti, quasi esclusivamente urbani, sono raccolti da H. PAVIS D'ESCRAC, "Dénominations des organisations artisanales dans l'Occident romain", in *Ktēma* 15 (1990), 114 e n. 60.

<sup>136</sup> CIL VI 10109, cfr. p. 3906 = ILS 5217: *Sociarum / mimarum. / In fr(onte) p(edes) XV, / in agr(o) p(edes) XII.* Su di essa vd. J.-P. WALTZING, *op. cit.* (n. 102), IV (Louvain 1900), 211, 240, cfr. 266; E. FERTL, *Von Musen, Miminnen und leichten Mädchen. Die Schauspielerin in der römischen Antike* (Wien 2005), 64-65.

<sup>137</sup> Cfr. E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 252: "undated".

mitologici e politici a partire da un canovaccio dato, il mestiere di *mima* era ritenuto infamante. Lo storico Valerio Massimo, per sottolineare i lascivi costumi delle *mimae*, arrivò a riferire l'uso, su basi infondate, secondo cui a queste veniva richiesta la *nudatio* durante le feste primaverili dei *Floralia*.<sup>138</sup> Se alcune di esse sono negativamente note dalla letteratura, in ragione della fortuna/sfortuna di essersi legate a uomini famosi e di essere passate attraverso la penna velenosa di scrittori che hanno contribuito a diffonderne la cattiva fama — valga per tutte il caso di *Volumnia Cytheris*<sup>139</sup> — molte altre, conosciute attraverso le iscrizioni, restituiscono un'immagine diversa di sé e della loro attività. Sappiamo così che alcune potevano emergere nel loro mestiere, divenendo *archimimae*, cioè capocomiche, o addirittura, *diurnae*, cioè, secondo una recente interpretazione, ospiti d'onore, che collaboravano saltuariamente con le compagnie che le richiedevano.<sup>140</sup> Tale il caso della liberta *Fabia Arete*, nota da un'iscrizione sepolcrale urbana<sup>141</sup>, in cui si dice *fec[it] / sibi et suis quibus legavit testa[mento] / ....* cui segue una lista incompleta di 14 nomi di liberti, verosimilmente della donna stessa, a cui il monumento sepolcrale era dedicato, a dimostrazione anche del livello di agiatezza raggiunto.

Tornando all'iscrizione da cui si è partiti, è da sottolineare che essa attesta l'esistenza di una associazione di mestiere di sole donne, anche se forse non l'unica<sup>142</sup>, e di un'area sepolcrale loro riservata.

<sup>138</sup> VAL. MAX. 2, 10, 8.

<sup>139</sup> G. TRAINA, "Licoride, la mima", in *Roma al femminile*, a cura di A. FRASCHETTI (Roma-Bari 1994), 95-122.

<sup>140</sup> H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 183-184.

<sup>141</sup> CIL VI 10107, cfr. p. 3906 = ILS 5212, H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 212.

<sup>142</sup> Altro caso potrebbe essere costituito dalle *ornatrices*, note da una *tabella defixionum* proveniente da una tomba ostiense della necropoli di Porta Romana: vd. CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3036 = XIV 5306, ripresa da F. ZEVI, in *Epigrafia latina, op. cit.* (n. 104), nr. 24. Sul tema A. KOLB e C. CAMPEDELLI, "Collegi di donne. L'esempio delle mulieres", in *Donna e vita cittadina nella documentazione epigrafica. Atti del II Seminario sulla condizione femminile nella documentazione epigrafica*, Verona 25-27 marzo 2004, a cura di A. BUONOPANE e F. CENERINI (Faenza 2005), 135-142, part. 136 s.

### *Conclusioni*

L'analisi, vasta ma temo non completa, consente di fissare alcuni punti fermi.

Prima di Livio Andronico non abbiamo prove della esistenza a Roma di associazioni di artisti: come si è visto è da respingere l'ipotesi che collega l'origine dei *parasiti Apollinis* all'istituzione dei *ludi Apollinares* del 212 a.C. Il *collegium scribarum histriorumque* sarebbe dunque il precursore delle successive associazioni artistiche, istituito in circostanze del tutto speciali e collocato in un'area della città — l'Aventino — all'epoca marginale e specificamente connotata. L'apertura del fronte orientale nella politica di Roma, tra la fine del III e l'inizio del II secolo a.C., porta grandi trasformazioni sul piano culturale, investendo ovviamente anche il mondo degli spettacoli teatrali nei suoi diversi aspetti. Tra i protagonisti vi è senza dubbio *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, che, come si è visto, per primo fa venire dalla Grecia *artifices* per i *ludi* da lui organizzati nel 186 a.C.<sup>143</sup> e che, nello stesso torno di tempo o qualche anno più tardi, fa costruire la *aedes Herculis Musarum* nel Campo Marzio, avendo come probabile modello il *Mouseion* di Alessandria. Si apre una nuova era. Nel 179 a.C. M. Emilio Lepido, collega di Nobiliore nella censura, dedica nel Circo Flaminio il teatro e il proscenio dinanzi al tempio di Apollo.<sup>144</sup> È in questa parte della città che si disloca il mondo del teatro. È assai probabile che all'inizio del I secolo a.C. la *aedes Herculis Musarum* fosse la sede del *collegium poetarum*, una associazione diversa dall'antico *collegium scribarum histriorumque* ma forse identica

<sup>143</sup> J.-L. FERRARY, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 519 n. 51 fa rimarcare come il *tum primum* sia riferito solo agli atleti, con la conseguenza che i *technitai* possono essersi affacciati a Roma anche prima, forse — dice — in occasione di un trionfo. Ma è argomento *ex silentio*.

<sup>144</sup> LIV. 40, 51, 3. Lo stesso collocava le Muse di *Philiskos* nel tempio di Apollo Medico. Suo padre era stato il promotore dei *Ludi Apollinares*: vd. E. LA ROCCA, "Dalle Camene alle Muse. Il canto come strumento di trionfo", in *Musa pensosa. L'immagine dell'intellettuale nell'antichità*, a cura di A. BOTTINI (Milano 2006), 99-133.

al *collegium scr(ibarum) poetar(um)* noto per la prima età augustea, epoca a cui risale il restauro della *aedes* per mano del fratelloastro di Augusto, Filippo. La svolta del secolo, del resto, porta ad un intensificarsi dei rapporti con il mondo greco e con la Magna Grecia, dove nel frattempo si erano stabiliti i *technitai*: non sappiamo da quando, ma i primi documenti noti sono proprio della fine del II — inizio del I secolo a.C.<sup>145</sup> Negli stessi anni in cui è attivo il *collegium poetarum* opera la *societas* o *synhodos cantorum Graecorum*: non sappiamo se avesse una *schola* e dove eventualmente, ma conosciamo il luogo di sepoltura dei suoi adepti, costruito nella zona del Piazzale di Porta Maggiore con i soldi dei consociati. A curarne il collaudo è il patrono della associazione, un personaggio dal gentilizio evocativo: un [-] *Maecenas D. f. Maē-ē(cia)*, forse, come si è cercato di dimostrare, il nonno del più famoso Meenate, cavaliere ed amico di Augusto, patrono del famoso pantomimo *Bathyllus*. Poco dopo, in età tardo repubblicana e non lontano dalla zona del Piazzale di Porta Maggiore, più precisamente nell'area della villa Wolkonsky, un'altra associazione legata al teatro, la *synodos m(agna) psaltum*, fa costruire la propria camera sepolcrale, non sappiamo se anche in questo caso con il denaro degli affiliati o per intervento di un generoso evergete: di fatto conosciamo solo il nome di chi finanziò il restauro nella primissima età augustea, un *M. Licinius Mena*, libero di una *Licinia*, in cui si è ipotizzato di vedere anche la patrona di quella *Eucharis*, che dice di sé *Graeca in scaena prima populo apparui*. Come nel caso dei *cantores Graeci*, anche per questi *psaltai* non sappiamo se avessero una *schola* e dove eventualmente. Quello che sembra certo è che queste *synhodoi*, a dispetto del loro nome, non sono da identificarsi con “la *synhodos*” per eccellenza, quella cioè dei *technitai* dionisiaci,

<sup>145</sup> Vd. B. LE GUEN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, TE 72, da Rhegion (fine II - inizio I secolo a.C.); 75, da Siracusa (ca. 100 a.C.): si parla di *to koinon*. Anche se i primi documenti della *synhodos* risalgono alla fine del II secolo a.C., è già dal IV secolo che in Magna Grecia doveva esistere una intensa attività teatrale e musicale: B. LE GUEN, *ibid.*, II, 36-38.

che non ha bisogno di specificare la specialità scenica di coloro che ne fanno parte, visto che differenti specialisti ne sono membri, e che riunisce solo ingenui, mentre i partecipanti alle associazioni ricordate sono quasi esclusivamente liberti.

La *aedes Herculis Musarum*, probabile sede, almeno dall'inizio del I secolo a.C., del *collegium poetarum*, il sepolcro della *synhodos cantorum Graecorum* e quello della *synodos m(agna) psalturn* conoscono, come si è visto, un restauro nella primissima età augustea, a dimostrazione del fatto che le attività praticate da chi faceva parte di tali associazioni dovessero essere ancora in voga in quest'epoca e che intendessero distinguersi le une dalle altre. Dall'età di Cicerone abbiamo notizia di altri due collegi che animano la scena romana sul finire della Repubblica: si tratta dei già ricordati *parasiti Apollinis*, noti con certezza solo da questo momento, e degli *scabillarii*, che grande fortuna avranno con l'introduzione del pantomimo a Roma. Per i primi, pur scartata l'ipotesi di un collegamento con l'introduzione dei *ludi Apollinares*, non viene meno l'idea di Coarelli di una sede nel tempio di Apollo *in campo Martio*<sup>146</sup>, a cui potrebbe ricondurre la basetta con dedica *deo sancto Apollini* posta da un *parasitus Apollinis*, rinvenuta nello sterro del tempio rotondo di Largo Argentina.<sup>147</sup> Quanto agli *scabillarii*, è stato identificato il colombario che, dalla prima età imperiale, ospitava le sepulture degli adepti, anch'esso nella zona di Porta Maggiore: si è sottolineato il conspicuo numero degli associati. Ancora una volta ignoriamo se ed eventualmente dove avessero una *schola*, anche se il confronto con *Puteoli*, qualora essa esista, ci spinge a cercarla in pieno centro cittadino: già la Bollmann, del resto, ha sottolineato la stretta relazione tra sede della *schola* e luogo della attività dei suoi membri.<sup>148</sup> Infine, ancora

<sup>146</sup> F. COARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 470 s.

<sup>147</sup> AE 1945, 118: 44 x 24 x 26,5, datata al II secolo d.C.

<sup>148</sup> B. BOLLMANN, "La distribuzione delle 'scholae' delle corporazioni a Roma", in *La Rome impériale. Démographie et logistique. Actes de la table ronde, Rome, 25 mars 1994* (Rome 1997), 212 s. (l'articolo, peraltro, trascura le associazioni di artisti, tranne per un breve cenno agli atleti e agli *scribæ et histriones*).

nel passaggio tra tarda Repubblica e Impero va ricordata l'esistenza di una comune sepoltura per le *sociae mimae* in un tratto periurbano della via Latina: se da una parte ciò conferma la fortuna del mimo in questa epoca, apre interrogativi sul carattere esclusivamente femminile della associazione e sulla natura stessa della associazione.

Fin qui non può non colpire la consistenza del fenomeno associativo in relazione al mondo del teatro: gli artisti, come gli artigiani a cui vengono spesso equiparati, dovevano probabilmente trovare in tale struttura di socialità quella considerazione e quella rispettabilità che altrimenti non avrebbero avuto.<sup>149</sup> D'altra parte, il fatto che troviamo alcune categorie di artisti riunite in collegio autorizza a ritenere almeno per queste che la condizione economica degli affiliati dovesse essere non infima e che, al contrario, i membri di tali associazioni facessero parte di quella *plebs media* su cui si concentra la ricerca degli ultimi anni.

È solo con l'età augustea che a Roma troviamo tracce della *synhodos* dionisiaca in modo meno effimero rispetto al passato: Nobiliore deve forse aver aperto la strada al passaggio per Roma dei *technitai* dalla Grecia e dalla Magna Grecia, ma è solo con Augusto, nonostante i dubbi di Ferrary in merito ad una installazione così precoce<sup>150</sup>, che essi devono aver avuto un luogo in cui riunirsi. Questo luogo è da cercarsi in Campo Marzio, nell'area di via Arenula, cioè ancora una volta in quella parte della città che da Nobiliore in poi era stata individuata come il quartiere degli spettacoli teatrali.

Da questo momento viene meno la varietà riscontrata per il periodo precedente nel mondo delle associazioni: solo la *synhodos* dionisiaca, i *parasiti Apollinis* e gli *scabillarii* sopravviveranno in età imperiale. Come interpretare questo dato? Lacuna nella nostra documentazione? Venir meno della notazione epigrafica? Conseguenza del riordinamento augusto della vita

<sup>149</sup> H. PAVIS D'ESCURAC, *art. cit.* (n. 135), 117.

<sup>150</sup> J.-L. FERRARY, *art. cit.* (n. 7), 202.

associativa? Potere di attrazione della *synhodos*? Difficile dare una risposta.<sup>151</sup>

Tornando, per concludere, a quanto detto all'inizio, quando Domiziano, molti anni dopo, decide di dotare anche Roma di un agone alla greca permanente, sceglie — non a caso — di far costruire l'Odeion, di cui la città era priva, nella zona del Campo Marzio, nello spazio dei teatri, sfruttando per la messa in scena degli spettacoli infrastrutture già collaudate, restaurando dove necessario, concedendo luoghi di riunione preesistenti ad organizzazioni, per Roma, nuove.

<sup>151</sup> Sulla questione vd. O.M. VAN NIJF, "Global Players. Athletes and Performers in the Hellenistic and Roman World", in *Hephaistos* 24 (2006), 225-235.

## DISCUSSION

P. Ducrey: La graphie *sunhodos* est intéressante; on y reconnaît l'influence du grec. Peut-on rapprocher *sunhodos* de *koinon*? Quelle est la différence entre les deux notions?

M.L. Caldelli: Effettivamente si tratta di una traslitterazione dal greco che troviamo nella forma *sunhodos/synhodos* e in un solo caso (da Nîmes) senza aspirazione. Le attestazioni sono molto rare e quasi tutte relative alla associazione degli artisti di Dioniso. Nei documenti più antichi di questa associazione troviamo l'espressione *to koinon*, poi sostituita da *synhodos*. Più difficile è stabilire se il cambiamento lessicale nasconde una trasformazione nell'organizzazione. È un problema analogo a quello che in latino troviamo in rapporto a *collegium* e *corpus*, con la differenza che nel caso specifico non abbiamo sufficienti notizie sulla storia più antica dell'associazione.

J.-P. Thuillier: Peut-on considérer que les *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris* étaient un *agôn*? N'y a-t-il pas là un problème de terminologie?

M.L. Caldelli: È certamente un problema, ma personalmente trovo decisivo il fatto che nell'iscrizione agonistica di Philippos Glycon, databile intorno al 25 a.C., l'Italia con il suo agone possa essere appaiata alla Grecia e all'Asia, sempre che l'integrazione (fatta su un passo dell'*Antologia Palatina*, relativo allo stesso personaggio) sia corretta.

O. van Nijf: Can we say anything about the activities of these artistic associations and the way in which they differ from one another? Is there a functional difference? How do

they differ from other associations? It would seem from this evidence that they are very similar to each other and to other Roman *collegia* in focusing on burial activities, and unspecified meetings (for banquets?) in their *scholae*. There seems to be quite a difference, however, between their activities and those of the artists in the Hellenistic world who have a broad range of activities connected with the festivals as well as with the interaction with Hellenistic rulers. The evidence presents Roman associations as fairly inward looking. Is there anything that we can say about their function in the contests in this early period?

*M.L. Caldelli:* Il *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, il *collegium poetarum*, il *collegium scribarum poetarum* sembrano essere associazioni di tipo professionale e religioso; la *societas cantorum Graecorum*, il *collegium scabillariorum*, la *synodos m(agna) psaltum* sono associazioni funerarie che riuniscono persone che praticano lo stesso mestiere, come le *sociae mimae*, del resto, anche se verosimilmente queste hanno un diverso statuto. Che i *parasiti Apollinis* siano un collegio prima della seconda metà del II secolo d.C. credo sia da dimostrare. È vero che differiscono per peso politico dalla *synodos* dionisiaca e per raggio di azione: sembra infatti che si limitino a servire la scena romana. Le cose cambiano con l'età augustea, quando Roma comincia ad ospitare agoni di tipo greco e con questi la *synodos* dionisiaca stessa. Delle associazioni precedenti (o comunque di molte di esse) non resta più traccia. La ragione è da indagare. Il riordinamento augusteo dei collegi potrebbe esserne una causa. Forse per il potere centrale potrebbe essere stato preferibile avere un unico interlocutore piuttosto che una moltitudine di voci.

*C. Jones:* I wonder if what you have shown us about the activities of Augustus in promoting agonistic life at Rome, Naples (Sebasta) and Nikopolis (Aktia) can be brought into connection with our discussion of the 'explosion agonistique'? Even if these initiatives in the West are comparatively modest,

they seem to indicate that a new era begins with Augustus' reign and under his influence.

*M.L. Caldelli:* Se non si tratta di una deformazione delle nostre fonti, mi sembra che la documentazione presa in esame vada in questa direzione. L'impressione è di vedere, in questo settore, l'esito di un fenomeno di lunga durata che schiude le porte a qualcosa di nuovo.

*K. Coleman:* We have, of course, always known about the theatrical buildings on the Campus Martius, but you have shown that the concept of a "theatre district" must have been even more striking than was previously thought, if the premises of the various theatrical communities clustered there as well, doubtless bringing identifiable "theatrical types" into the local streets and shops, speaking and looking Greek. I therefore wonder whether this shows an even stronger ideological statement in Vespasian's choice of the valley between the Oppian, the Caelian, and the Palatine for building the Colosseum than we have realized until now. Of course, he was taking over part of the grounds of Nero's Domus Aurea, and Flavian propaganda made much of that fact, but he was also eliminating the amphitheatre from the cityscape of the Campus Martius, where the amphitheatres of Statilius Taurus, Caligula, and Nero had been, and putting it in a new place by itself, where it would be joined by the large number of support buildings that were needed to keep it going (*ludi, armamentaria, etc.*). This would surely chime with his program of advertising a return to "good old Republican morals". Significantly, Domitian then built his hellenizing stadium and odeion precisely in the "theatre district" on the Campus Martius.

*M.L. Caldelli:* Sono convinta che la scelta del Campo Marzio da parte di Domiziano per la costruzione dello stadio e dell'odeion sia legata a diverse e profonde motivazioni (non solo alla disponibilità di spazio libero per costruire). Come ho

cercato di dimostrare, nel Campo Marzio esiste una tradizione repubblicana ellenizzante molto forte, ripresa e anzi potenziata da Augusto, a cui Domiziano si richiama. Strabone descrive il Campo Marzio come un grande ginnasio all'aperto. È qui, come abbiamo visto, che Nobile fa costruire il tempio di Hercules Musarum, è qui che viene costruito il primo teatro in pietra, è qui che vengono costruiti gli stadi in legno per gli spettacoli organizzati da Cesare prima e da Augusto poi, è qui che Agrippa fa costruire le prime terme pubbliche. Mi sembra quindi che Domiziano voglia inserirsi prepotentemente in questa tradizione, concentrando proprio nel Campo Marzio la propria azione evergetica.

*G. Chamberland:* Vous parlez d'ambivalence quant à l'attitude d'Auguste par rapport à l'hellénisation de la culture romaine. Le silence des *Res gestae* sur les Aktia de Nikopolis en est, selon vous, une corroboration. Toutefois, les *Res gestae* ont été écrites pour être lues à Rome par un public romain (que nos copies proviennent d'Asie Mineure ne change rien aux intentions originales d'Auguste). En outre, les sections 22 et 23 des *Res gestae* présentent les spectacles comme des évergésies offertes aux Romains de Rome. Les omissions d'événements importants, mais qui ne touchaient pas les Romains directement, y sont nombreuses. Je ne crois donc pas que le silence des *Res gestae* corrobore votre hypothèse, mais celle-ci n'en est évidemment pas pour autant disqualifiée.

*M.L. Caldelli:* È vero che le *Res gestae* erano prima di tutto destinate ad essere conservate a Roma, nel Mausoleo del Campo Marzio, e dirette al pubblico romano, ma le copie trovate in Oriente mostrano una precisa volontà di diffusione del messaggio, anche se ad un destinatario meno informato e per il quale erano soprattutto un'immagine del potere romano. È parimenti vero che nei capitoli 22 e 23 sono elencati solo spettacoli dati a Roma. Tuttavia il silenzio su una manifestazione dal nome così evocativo per la costruzione del "sistema" augusteo (non

dimentichiamo che si tratta di una manifestazione su cui si fonda la creazione di un'era, l'era aziaca, di cui si seguono le tracce fino al III secolo d.C.) mi sembra quanto meno un po' sospetto.

*J. Nélis-Clément:* Parmi les nombreux intérêts que présente votre communication, je voudrais relever le fait que le matériel sur lequel vous nous appuyez nous permet de mieux cerner la situation qui précède les changements mis en place durant la période augustéenne; par ailleurs, on voit se dessiner l'importance d'un secteur particulier dans la topographie de Rome. À ce sujet, que sait-on du rôle joué par les grandes familles romaines que vous mentionnez et dont les affranchis semblent avoir été impliqués dans les spectacles? N'est-il pas envisageable qu'elles aient aussi participé à la mise en place à Rome d'autres types des spectacles? Je pense par exemple à la famille d'Ateius Capito ou encore aux affranchis d'Agrippa, les M. Vipsanii, qui semblent avoir constitué une partie importante des factions du cirque (*CIL VI* 10046).

*M.L. Caldelli:* Mi sembra evidente un coinvolgimento delle grandi famiglie per l'allestimento degli spettacoli teatrali. A parte quanto già scritto da Frank (cit. n. 21), penso di averlo dimostrato nel caso dei Maecenates, per ciò che riguarda la *synhodos cantorum Graecorum*. Mi sembra ipotizzabile anche nel caso dei Licinii, in relazione alla *synhodos m(agna) psaltum*, anche se è più difficile individuare lo specifico personaggio coinvolto. I *liberti* delle grandi famiglie potevano *praestare operam* per spettacoli tanto privati quanto pubblici. Un'indagine prosopografica sui singoli membri delle associazioni legate al teatro potrebbe dare risultati interessanti.



JEAN-PAUL THUILLIER

## L'ORGANISATION DES *LUDI CIRCENSES*: LES QUATRE FACTIONS (RÉPUBLIQUE, HAUT-EMPIRE)

### 1. Préambule: une clé d'interprétation

Les courses de chars de la Rome antique sont l'équivalent de notre football contemporain. Cette affirmation peut encore paraître quelque peu provocatrice aux yeux de certains, elle est cependant de plus en plus souvent admise: d'ailleurs elle se situe dans la 'lecture sportive' des factions du cirque qu'avait présentée A. Cameron dès 1976, et de fait elle correspond incontestablement à la réalité que nous pouvons cerner.<sup>1</sup> S'agissant de l'organisation des *ludi circenses*, si l'on dépasse bien sûr les différences sportives évidentes (on sait que les sports collectifs de ballon n'ont jamais connu un grand succès dans l'Antiquité, en tout cas pour les compétitions officielles), force est bien de constater que les factions du cirque présentent de tels parallèles, de telles analogies avec les grands clubs de football professionnel (mais on pourrait aussi citer le basket ou le football aux États-Unis) qu'il ne saurait être question d'anachronisme.

On peut en effet relever un nombre de critères impressionnant qui rapprochent les deux spectacles sportifs et qui font qu'il ne s'agit aucunement de simples coïncidences. On notera

<sup>1</sup> A. CAMERON, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976). Cf. aussi J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ, "The Circus Factions", in *Convegno per Santo Mazzarino, Roma 1991* (Roma 1998), 163-185.

d'abord que ce sont des passions planétaires dans les deux cas, antique et moderne: la dernière Coupe du monde de football en 2010 l'a même confirmé de façon éclatante pour ce sport puisque la fameuse exception nord-américaine est en train, sinon de disparaître, du moins de s'affaiblir; le soccer connaît désormais un certain succès aux États-Unis, même s'il est loin d'avoir supplanté le base-ball, le basket ou le football dans le cœur des populations. Or, les courses de chars suscitaient un même engouement dans tout l'Empire romain, c'est-à-dire dans une grande partie du monde habité, depuis la Lusitanie jusqu'à Constantinople, depuis la Bretagne — on vient de découvrir un cirque à Colchester<sup>2</sup> — jusqu'à l'Afrique. Selon les époques, les habitants de Tarragone, Lyon, Arles, Carthage, Rome, Alexandrie, Antioche, ne parlaient que de ces courses de chars, en tout cas aux dires de nombreux écrivains, et tout cela avait pour conséquence d'exaspérer bien des intellectuels, comme aujourd'hui.<sup>3</sup> Sport-spectacle ensuite, réunissant les masses populaires dans des édifices démesurés: le Circus Maximus n'accueillait-il pas autour de 150 000 spectateurs?<sup>4</sup> Et, si l'on peut discuter ces chiffres, mais en rappelant que le Stade de France n'a qu'une capacité de 80 000 spectateurs, on se doit de constater que ce fut pendant longtemps le plus grand édifice de spectacle sportif du monde, en fait jusqu'à nos jours, jusqu'à ce que certains stades d'Amérique du Sud flirtent avec les 200 000 spectateurs comme le Maracana de Rio (et aujourd'hui la tendance est à réduire ces capacités pour des raisons de sécurité et de rentabilité). Les paris allaient bon train sur les gradins et autour du Cirque (bien d'autres échanges de nature diverse avaient

<sup>2</sup> PH. CRUMMY, "A Roman Circus at Colchester", in *Le cirque romain et son image*, éd. par J. NELIS-CLÉMENT et J.-M. RODDAZ (Bordeaux 2008), 213-231.

<sup>3</sup> J.-P. THUILLIER, *Le sport dans la Rome antique* (Paris 1996), 165-168, 181-184.

<sup>4</sup> J.H. HUMPHREY, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1986), 126. Certaines études, qui demandent à être confirmées, tendraient aujourd'hui à réduire cette capacité: R. VERGNIEUX, "Origine de l'usage de la Réalité Virtuelle à l'Institut Ausionius et les premiers travaux sur le Circus Maximus", in *Le cirque romain et son image, op. cit.* (n. 2), 240.

d'ailleurs lieu là aussi...): rappelons cette question des paris au moment où ceux-ci connaissent aujourd'hui en Europe une véritable explosion, en particulier sur les matches de football.

En troisième lieu, une même structure organisationnelle avec ces factions qui étaient donc des entreprises de spectacle aussi puissantes et aussi complexes que nos grands clubs professionnels de football: un personnel nombreux et diversifié, qui pouvait atteindre plusieurs décuries et qui comprenait non seulement les acteurs du spectacle sportif proprement dits, à commencer par les cochers, mais aussi tous les employés, artisans, techniciens qui gravitaient autour du cirque lui-même, autour des lieux d'entraînement, autour des locaux du club, autour des chevaux (médecins, vétérinaires, bourreliers, soigneurs, concierges, comptables, scribes, messagers, etc.). Des sommes d'argent colossales étaient en jeu, qui pouvaient conduire à une confrontation entre les présidents de ces clubs et les pouvoirs publics; des associations de supporters soutenaient chacune des factions et devaient contribuer à leur richesse en achetant les produits "dérivés" qu'elles leur proposaient.

Enfin, et pour se limiter à ces seuls quatre points, le culte de la vedette, la starisation des grands cochers du cirque qui fait écho à celle de nos plus célèbres joueurs: des gains incroyables, une popularité immense qui conduisait à diffuser partout leur nom et leur image, et même à leur accorder l'honneur de statues de marbre. Des transferts d'une faction à une autre au cours d'une carrière dont nous saisissons aujourd'hui les étapes réglées d'une façon minutieuse, sans doute sous le contrôle des entraîneurs (*doctores*) et des présidents (*domini*). Et les *doctores* eux-mêmes peuvent aussi passer, comme aujourd'hui les entraîneurs de football, d'une faction à une autre: c'est le cas d'Aurelius Héraclidès (*CIL VI* 10057 = *ILS* 5298), *doctor* des factions bleue puis verte.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Comme ce personnage a d'abord été *agitator* de la *factio veneta*, il semble avoir été surtout attaché aux Bleus: est-ce l'insuffisance de ses résultats ou un salaire plus attrayant qui l'a poussé (ou contraint) à passer chez les Verts?

Avec les courses hippiques romaines, nous sommes bien dans l' "univers contemporain du sport professionnel", comme le rappelait R. Sablayrolles, qui a tenté d'expliquer cette similitude entre deux sociétés que tout sépare à priori.<sup>6</sup> Or, ce point, que j'ai aussi souligné depuis longtemps, est fondamental, et c'est pourquoi j'ai tenu à le rappeler d'emblée: avec la connaissance que nous avons de ce phénomène social qu'est le sport-spectacle d'aujourd'hui, nous sommes en effet à même de comprendre un grand nombre de faits et de comportements des différents acteurs du spectacle romain, quand bien même la documentation est lacunaire ou absente.<sup>7</sup> Si l'on accepte le modèle que nous fournit le sport professionnel contemporain, où l'argent est roi et coule à flots comme dans la Rome antique, on a au moins la possibilité de mettre en avant des hypothèses qui ont quelque chance de correspondre à la réalité antique, et qui ne sont pas forcément anachroniques. Le devoir de l'historien est de mettre en lumière la différence des temps, mais il ne s'agit pas non plus d'occulter la concordance des temps lorsqu'elle est éclatante et éclairante.

C'est peut-être sur ce point que notre génération peut apporter une pierre à l'édifice construit par nos prédécesseurs. Au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le comportement de la foule romaine fait surtout l'objet de jugements moralisateurs qui empêchent de pousser l'analyse plus avant (état anormal, misère, décadence): cette remarque, comme l'a bien vu K. Welch, ne se limite pas à l'univers du cirque mais elle concerne aussi bien sûr l'amphithéâtre et les *munera*.<sup>8</sup> Après tout, le point de vue de savants comme L. Friedländer — et il faut redire la qualité de leurs ouvrages — est parallèle à celui de Pline le Jeune dans une lettre célèbre (9, 6): pour ces intellectuels, et ces opinions

<sup>6</sup> Voir n. 17. Cf. déjà Id., "La passion du cirque sous le Haut Empire", in *Le cirque et les courses de chars, Rome-Byzance*, éd. par CH. LANDES (Lattes 1990), 127-133.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. déjà sur ce point J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *art. cit.* (n. 1).

<sup>8</sup> K. WELCH, *The Roman Amphitheatre. From Its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge 2007), 1.

fleurissent encore aujourd’hui chez certains, c’est le talent des cochers et la vitesse des chevaux qui devraient primer et on ne comprend pas que la couleur soit tout aux yeux du public. Aujourd’hui, de la même façon, le supporter suit son club, et les couleurs de celui-ci, et lorsqu’un joueur, même important, est transféré dans un autre club, il est aussitôt en partie tout au moins oublié: bien sûr, l’existence des équipes nationales de football vient un peu perturber le “jeu” ainsi décrit, et Zidane restait une idole pour le public français, lorsqu’il jouait dans un club étranger.

## 2. Les professionnels du cirque

La fonction et le rôle exacts de divers employés des factions nous sont désormais mieux connus, et le riche vocabulaire offert par les sources littéraires et surtout épigraphiques peut être appréhendé avec plus de confiance. Ayant publié plusieurs articles sur la question, je ne reviens pas ici sur tous les aspects dont beaucoup ont déjà été regroupés et bien analysés dans un article que J. Nelis-Clément a rédigé pour les Cahiers du Centre Glotz, et je me contenterai de mettre l’accent sur le seul cocher et sur des documents récents ou sur des réalités un peu négligées jusqu’ici.<sup>9</sup>

Dans un article qui remonte à presque un quart de siècle, j’avais montré, en m’appuyant sur la littérature et l’épigraphie, que l’*agitator* était la vraie vedette du cirque, celui qui, après avoir fait ses preuves, avait l’honneur de conduire les quadriges, cependant que l’*auriga* était le cocher qui n’avait encore accès qu’aux courses de biges, évidemment inférieures sur tous les plans, qu’il s’agisse de l’argent des prix ou de la popularité de la star.<sup>10</sup> Cette analyse semble avoir été unanimement acceptée, et

<sup>9</sup> J. NELIS-CLÉMENT, “Les métiers du cirque, de Rome à Byzance: entre texte et image”, in *CCG* 13 (2002), 265-309.

<sup>10</sup> J.-P. THUILLIER, “*AurigalAgitator*, de simples synonymes?” in *RPh* 61 (1987), 233-237.

il faut seulement préciser que, à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le terme *auriga* finit par s'imposer peu à peu aux dépens d'*agitator*.<sup>11</sup> L'évolution n'a sans doute pas été linéaire mais on sait que lorsque deux mots latins appartiennent à la même sphère sémantique, l'un d'entre eux disparaît progressivement à la fin de l'Antiquité — on le voit bien par exemple pour le couple *homo/vir* ou pour le couple *ludus/iocus* — et, dans le cas qui nous intéresse, ce ne sont peut-être pas des raisons linguistiques qui ont prévalu: les courses de quadriges ont pu être remplacées petit à petit par des courses de biges moins onéreuses, et ce pourrait être des raisons économiques qui ont entraîné ce changement dans le lexique.

Une inscription récemment publiée permet de conforter cette distinction entre les termes latins et surtout d'entrer plus avant dans les débuts d'une jeune carrière.<sup>12</sup> Une épitaphe métrique du début de notre ère nous apprend que le *florens puer* Sextus Vistilius Helenus, désigné par deux fois comme *auriga*, est mort alors qu'il avait moins de quatorze ans: ce jeune âge ne l'a pas empêché d'avoir appartenu à deux factions, la verte, où il avait Orpheus comme entraîneur, et la bleue où sa formation a été perfectionnée (*perdocere*) par Datileus.<sup>13</sup> Ainsi, alors qu'il ne conduisait encore que des biges, il avait déjà fait l'objet d'un transfert, pour reprendre le terme utilisé dans le sport professionnel contemporain. Une telle opération en dit long sur le degré de sophistication atteint par le fonctionnement de ces factions du cirque, et cela dès la première

<sup>11</sup> Par exemple, AUG. *In Psalm. 39*, XI, CC, 38. On peut renvoyer à la thèse de CH. HUGONIOT, *Les spectacles de l'Afrique romaine. Une culture officielle municipale sous l'Empire romain* (Lille-ANRT 2007), et à celle de V. FAUVINET-RANSON, *Decor civitatis, decor Italiae. Monuments, travaux publics et spectacles au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les Variae de Cassiodore* (Bari 2006). Cassiodore emploie encore, dans des contextes particuliers, le mot *agitator* (*Variae* 3, 51, 2; 9, 35, 1) mais le terme *auriga* est nettement plus fréquent (*Variae* 2, 9; 3, 39, 2 et 51, 1; *Expositio Psalmorum*, 39, 6).

<sup>12</sup> L'inscription est étudiée par S. EVANGELISTI dans *La collezione epigrafica dell'Antiquarium Comunale del Celio*, a cura di G.L. GREGORI (Roma 2001), n° 52, 147-150 = AE 2001, 268.

<sup>13</sup> J.-P. THUILLIER, "Du cocher à l'âne", in *RPh* 78 (2004), 311-314.

moitié du I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère.<sup>14</sup> (Au passage, s'agissant de complexité et de sophistication, on peut aussi s'interroger sur le fait que les Romains n'ont pas intégré dans le programme de leurs *ludi* la course hippique la plus simple, c'est-à-dire la course montée avec des jockeys: cette épreuve existe en Grèce sous le nom de kèles, et est évidemment disputée encore aujourd'hui. Comme les Étrusques depuis l'époque archaïque, les Romains ont préféré les épreuves de cavaliers-voltigeurs plus complexes, mais plus spectaculaires et plus animées: on tient là une autre preuve de l'influence décisive des Étrusques sur le sport romain.) Pour en revenir à notre inscription, il fallait en effet que le jeune *bigarius* eût été repéré très tôt par les dirigeants de la faction bleue qui lui trouvèrent un talent prometteur alors que manifestement il n'avait pas encore remporté beaucoup de victoires: on imagine mal en effet que ces succès n'aient pas été signalés dans l'épitaphe. Malgré cela, la faction bleue a jugé que le jeune Sextus méritait qu'on dépensât de l'argent pour parfaire sa formation avec un nouvel entraîneur et sans doute déjà pour le racheter, même si nous ne savons rien sur le mode de ces transferts: on aura l'occasion de redire que les questions de finances dans ce domaine restent pour nous assez opaques, bien que nous disposions de beaucoup de chiffres pour les prix remportés.

Même si la situation n'est plus exactement la même au début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, une lettre de Symmaque, qui attendait impatiemment des auriges (et des acteurs) venus de Sicile, pourrait résumer les choses: "En effet, bien avant les jeux, nous avons, d'une part, à les former eux-mêmes à l'attelage des chevaux, de l'autre, à gagner les faveurs de la plèbe aux inconnus qu'ils sont encore."<sup>15</sup> Ainsi il y avait non seulement un travail technique

<sup>14</sup> Cette datation de S. Evangelisti repose sur la typologie du support, le formulaire épigraphique et des considérations prosopographiques: de toute façon, c'est une des attestations les plus anciennes de l'existence des factions.

<sup>15</sup> SYMM. *Epist.* 6, 42: *quia longe ante ludos et ipsos iungendis equis erudire debemus et novitati eorum favorem plebis adlicere.*" Il aurait pu être intéressant de constater que c'est le terme *auriga* qui est utilisé au début de cette lettre: mais il

mais aussi une véritable opération de communication pour amener ces jeunes auriges au premier plan. Il reste que les factions romaines se comportaient déjà au début de notre ère comme les clubs professionnels qui envoient leurs "espions" sur les stades et viennent parfois débaucher les jeunes talents jusque dans les centres de formations des clubs rivaux. Le choix des cochers romains devait se faire de deux façons surtout: soit en puisant les meilleurs éléments parmi les lads travaillant dans les écuries, soit, comme on l'a vu plus haut, en faisant venir des auriges qui avaient fait leurs preuves dans des courses locales, en Italie mais aussi en Espagne ou en Afrique. Les grands clubs de football européens ne recrutent-ils pas des adolescents dans divers pays africains, avec parfois des conséquences désastreuses pour ces jeunes sportifs privés de leur environnement familial?

Ce que nous disons des cochers vaut aussi pour les chevaux. Et là encore, c'est peut-être l'activité personnelle déployée par Symmaque dans les années autour de 400 qui nous renseigne le mieux. Pour célébrer dignement la préture de son fils, l'ancien préfet de la Ville veut organiser des jeux fastueux: et nous suivons, par sa correspondance, tous ses efforts pour obtenir les meilleurs coursiers d'Espagne, mais aussi de Gaule et d'Italie. Il lui faut faire appel à tout un réseau d'intermédiaires pour contacter les haras les plus performants, il faut prévoir un voyage fatigant pour ces montures de luxe, et donc des écuries placées sur le long parcours — les mêmes soucis s'exercent aussi pour le recrutement des cochers. Si l'on peut s'interroger sur le fait que Symmaque se substitue ici au rôle normal des factions, on peut aussi en tirer des conclusions sur le fonctionnement des factions lorsque celles-ci étaient à leur apogée.<sup>16</sup> Si un individu comme Symmaque, aussi puissant fût-il, pouvait mettre en place à lui seul un tel réseau, on peut supposer que

est vrai que dans l'Antiquité tardive, ce mot est presque le seul utilisé pour désigner les cochers du cirque. Symmaque de fait n'emploie jamais *agitator* et d'ailleurs seulement deux fois *auriga*: *Concordantiae in Q. Aureli Symmachi Opera*, V. LOMANTO (ed.) (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1983).

<sup>16</sup> SYMM. *Epist.* 4, 60 sq. Cf. J.-P. THUILLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 163.

de grandes entreprises, disposant de ressources financières et d'un personnel nombreux et qualifié, étaient à même de capter à leur profit, et pour la plus grande satisfaction des empereurs, des magistrats et du public, les meilleurs chevaux comme les cochers les plus doués. L'existence de succursales dans divers pays du bassin méditerranéen était un élément-clé dans ce dispositif: en ratissant très large, les factions pouvaient attirer dans l'*Urbs* les meilleurs talents et le lusitanien Dioclès est bien sûr emblématique de ce point de vue.<sup>17</sup>

Ainsi la carrière des cochers commençait-elle au sein des factions très tôt, et selon les règles normales du professionnalisme, chaque club essayant de capter les "espoirs" de la piste à son profit. Le *puer* Sextus Vistilius était jeune, mais il est loin d'établir un record: l'Africain Crescens était déjà victorieux sur des quadriges à l'âge de treize ans (*ILS* 5285), et on peut se demander à quel âge cet *infans* a pu commencer comme *bigarius*, pour reprendre les mots utilisés à propos de l'*alumnus Florus* (*CIL* VI 10078)! Mais, aux yeux du public, la grande carrière ne commençait que lorsqu'on devenait *agitator* aux guides d'un quadrigue: cette promotion se faisait sous l'œil attentif et avec l'accord des *doctores*, des entraîneurs de la faction, comme aujourd'hui la titularisation en équipe première d'un jeune joueur de football dont le talent s'est fait connaître dans l'équipe du même club disputant un championnat inférieur. Les courses de triges devaient sans doute marquer une phase de transition. Un des meilleurs exemples de ce changement fondamental dans une carrière est celui de l'aurige tarragonais Eutychès que la maladie a empêché de devenir conducteur de quadriges officiel alors qu'il avait montré toutes les dispositions pour cela: l'injustice ressentie éclate dans son épitaphe.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Sur la carrière de ce cocher, on ne peut que renvoyer à l'article de R. SABLAYROLLES, "Un "pro" chez les Rouges: le fabuleux destin du cocher Dioclès", in *D'Orient et d'Occident. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Aupert*, éd. par A. BOUET (Bordeaux 2008), 295-304 (= *AE* 2008, 176).

<sup>18</sup> *ILS* 5299. Voir W. DECKER et J.-P. THUILLIER, *Le sport dans l'Antiquité. Égypte, Grèce, Rome* (Paris 2004), 183-185.

Que la vraie carrière, avortée dans le cas précédent, ne débute qu'à ce moment crucial apparaît avec clarté dans les palmarès des vedettes: ces inscriptions ne prennent souvent en compte que les victoires sur le quadrigé (et à fortiori sur les chars qui étaient attelés à plus de quatre chevaux). C'est le cas sur une épitaphe de cocher mise au jour dans ces dernières décennies, et provenant de la nécropole de la via Triumphalis sous le Vatican:<sup>19</sup> l'*agitator* Theseus, qui appartenait à la faction verte, est crédité de vingt-cinq victoires; l'absence de précision et le titre du cocher indiquent qu'il s'agit bien de victoires en quadriges. Avec ses vingt-cinq victoires, l'*agitator* Theseus n'était pas entré dans le cercle des superstars, et pourtant sa concubine Praxitelia n'a pas jugé utile de détailler ses courses en biges. Encore plus emblématique est, dans la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, le cas de Dioclès, sur lequel nous revenons toujours puisque c'est la plus longue et la plus détaillée de toutes nos inscriptions du cirque (*CIL VI* 10048 = *ILS* 5287 = *AE* 2008, 176). Alors qu'on pourrait imaginer que toute sa carrière serait décrite avec une précision rigoureuse, son palmarès ne retient que trois victoires en bige (contre 1462 en quadrigé!): il est évident qu'il en a remporté beaucoup plus sur ce char — sinon il ne serait même pas monté dans la catégorie supérieure — mais ces trois courses sont signalées spécialement pour la seule raison qu'elles étaient dotées de prix de mille sesterces. Une somme d'ailleurs dérisoire par rapport aux prix affichés pour des courses de quadriges ou même de triges. Un rapide calcul à propos de Dioclès montre, si l'on tient compte de ses deuxièmes et troisièmes places, qu'il a remporté en moyenne un peu moins de 12 000 sesterces par course ayant abouti à une récompense. On a l'impression que les victoires en biges ne sont signalées pour les *agitatores* que lorsqu'ils ont remporté peu de victoires en quadriges, et qu'il leur fallait alors étoffer à tout prix — si l'on ose dire — leur palmarès aux yeux de la

<sup>19</sup> *Le iscrizioni della necropoli dell'autoparco vaticano*, a cura di P. CASTREN, M. STEINBY e V. VÄÄNÄNEN (Roma 1973), n. 81, p. 69.

postérité. En tout cas, le lexique utilisé dans le palmarès de Dioclès est tout à fait explicite: son titre est celui d'*agitator*, le verbe qui caractérise son action est *agitare*, et la liste de ses exploits accomplis en 24 ans de carrière commence par les mots *quadriga agitavit*. Le mot *quadriga* revient encore plus loin: le cocher vedette est celui qui conduit des chars attelés à quatre chevaux.

Cependant, certaines stars du Circus Maximus n'oublaient peut-être pas leurs modestes débuts. C'est ce que pourrait révéler, non pas un texte, mais une image, sur un relief de marbre blanc, fragmentaire, conservé à Rome. En dépit des mutilations subies, ce relief daté de la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle nous montre un *agitator* vainqueur qui est ici aux guides d'un char exceptionnel tiré par huit chevaux, autrement dit un *octoiuges*:<sup>20</sup> un tel char, que signalent certaines inscriptions, ne pouvait être conduit que par une grande vedette (et Dioclès lui-même n'a jamais été au-delà d'un char attelé à sept chevaux). Or, sur la gauche du relief, on voit un aurige juché sur son bige: il pourrait s'agir, selon L. Musso, d'un groupe statuaire placé sur la *spina* du cirque (en raison d'un piédestal qui apparaîtrait sous le ventre des chevaux). Mais le choix de ce qui serait alors une statue pose un problème: ne serait-il pas curieux en effet que l'on ait mis en évidence sur ce relief destiné à célébrer une star de la piste un simple bige qui était donc un char des courses secondaires? (Au demeurant le cocher de ce bige, ce *bigarius*, est représenté de façon très réaliste puisque c'est un des rares cas, avec la statue du Vatican,<sup>21</sup> où l'on distingue bien le couteau indispensable que les cochers glissaient dans leur corset de cuir — et le cocher de l'*octoiuges* semble lui-même arborer un pareil couteau.) Sauf à imaginer, de la part de cet *agitator* resté anonyme pour nous, une vanité d'une grande mesquinerie qui

<sup>20</sup> L. MUSSO, in *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le sculture*, I, 8, 1, a cura di A. GIULIANO (Roma 1985), VI, 13 (inv. n. 2001757), 294-297.

<sup>21</sup> Exposée dans la Sala della Biga — triste destin pour une star des courses! G. SPINOLA, *Il Museo Pio-Clementino*, 3 (Città del Vaticano 2004), n° 22, fig. 12, p. 68-69. Cf. W. DECKER et J.-P. THUILLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 18), fig. 105 et 111.

consisterait à mettre de la sorte en lumière son éclatante réussite, en la comparant à la médiocre carrière d'un cocher de bige, ne faudrait-il pas voir plutôt dans ce relief l'illustration des débuts et du couronnement de la carrière de ce grand cocher: le bige, à gauche, évoquant ses succès en tant que (simple) aurige dans sa prime jeunesse, et le char à huit chevaux, à droite, révélant, avec cette fois un orgueil tout à fait légitime, qu'il était devenu un des rares *agitatores* à disputer ces courses exceptionnelles. Les épreuves de triges, de quadriges et même de chars attelés à six ou sept chevaux étaient implicitement comprises dans ce raccourci iconographique. Ainsi, l'image peut-elle parfois compléter le texte épigraphique, forcément plus détaillé, même si tous les palmarès ne ressemblent pas à celui de Dioclès, l'idéal restant les rares cas où nous pouvons disposer de l'image et du texte en même temps.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Les factions

#### 3.1. *Un Greek pattern?*

Si la question des métiers du cirque a donc largement évolué et si nous pouvons présenter en 2011 un tableau aux contours plus assurés du personnel des factions, on ne peut pas dire en revanche que des progrès décisifs aient été faits sur une autre question, très importante pourtant pour l'histoire des *ludi circenses*, et qui concerne la date d'apparition de ces entreprises de spectacle. Il n'empêche que, au moins de façon négative, on peut peut-être éliminer certaines hypothèses très souvent reprises aujourd'hui lorsqu'on fait l'histoire des jeux du cirque et qui tendent donc à devenir, à tort selon moi, des certitudes. Je pense en particulier à la thèse que j'appellerais du "Greek

<sup>22</sup> Des découvertes épigraphiques concernant le cirque apparaissent régulièrement: cf. l'épitaphe d'un *hortator* de la *factio veneta* dans F. BURANELLI, P. LIVERANI, G. SPINOLA, "I nuovi scavi della necropoli della Via Trionfale in Vaticano", in *RPAA* 78 (2005-2006), 451-472: 467.

pattern” et qui est souvent attribuée aujourd’hui à E. Rawson (par exemple par J. Humphrey,<sup>23</sup> qui avoue même que celle-ci lui a soufflé ses propres idées sur ce point, ou par J. Nelis-Clément<sup>24</sup>): les courses de chars romaines auraient été disputées à l’origine selon un modèle grec pour leur financement et leur organisation. Autrement dit, c’était, comme sur l’hippodrome d’Olympie, des propriétaires privés, de riches citoyens évidemment, qui engageaient sur la piste leurs chevaux et leurs chars, qui soit louaient les services de cochers, parfois les domestiques de la maison, soit pouvaient exceptionnellement tenir eux-mêmes les guides, et qui, en tout état de cause, étaient les éventuels vainqueurs: c’est à eux seuls que revenaient la couronne et la palme — alors que plus tard, sous l’Empire, on voit bien les cochers brandir eux-mêmes les symboles de la victoire et cette image résume tout de la différence entre les deux systèmes.

En réalité, cette thèse du Greek pattern, qu’E. Rawson a certes très bien développée dans son article de 1981 repris dans un livre de 1991,<sup>25</sup> se trouve déjà dans la plupart des grandes études qui portaient sur le cirque romain, et en particulier dans les articles du *Dictionnaire de Daremburg et Saglio*. Cette même thèse était aussi émise par L. Friedländer et H.A. Harris, et on la retrouve encore dans le livre de G. Ville sur la gladiature publié en 1981, la même année que l’article d’E. Rawson (mais le passage est en réalité l’œuvre de P. Veyne).<sup>26</sup>

Il n’y a rien d’étonnant à cette quasi-unanimité, puisque cette analyse repose sur une seule source littéraire, un texte de Pline l’Ancien se fondant lui-même sur une loi des XII Tables.<sup>27</sup> Mais je suis bien sûr que la thèse a été d’autant mieux acceptée

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 4), 11 et n. 19, et 137.

<sup>24</sup> *Art. cit.* (n. 9), 267, n. 7.

<sup>25</sup> E. RAWSON, “Chariot-Racing in the Roman Republic”, in *PBSR* 49 (1981), 1-16, repris dans *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford 1991), 389-407.

<sup>26</sup> On trouvera toutes les références dans J.-P. THUILLIER, “L’organisation et le financement des *ludi circenses* au début de la République: modèle grec ou modèle étrusque?”, in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaiques de l’Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.* (Rome 1990), 358-359 (n. 5-8).

<sup>27</sup> PLIN. *Nat.* 21, 7.

qu'elle confortait le grécocentrisme très présent lorsqu'il s'agit de sport antique. Peut-être faut-il voir là aussi un écho mineur des débats qui ont opposé, à propos du plus ancien *equitatus* romain, les tenants d'un modèle grec (W. Helbig, A. Momigliano) aux partisans d'un modèle étrusque (A. Alföldi) pour l'organisation des cavaliers romains.<sup>28</sup> En fait, si le texte de la loi dite 10, 7 des XII Tables est difficile à établir, c'est de toute façon le commentaire qu'en donne Pline l'Ancien qui est erroné. Le texte retenu par lui est le suivant: "Si quelqu'un gagne une couronne par lui-même ou par son argent, qu'elle lui soit donnée pour son mérite" (*qui coronam parit ipse pecunia ve eius, virtutis suae ergo duitor ei*); mais Pline est le seul à comprendre qu'il s'agit de couronnes obtenues lors de jeux ("En effet, lors des jeux, les citoyens non seulement descendaient en personne dans le cirque pour concourir mais encore y envoyoyaient leurs esclaves et leurs chevaux", *namque ad certamina in circum per ludos et ipsi descendebant et servos suos equosque mittebant*) et Cicéron qui fait allusion à la même loi somptuaire dans le *de Legibus* (2, 24, 60) n'en tire aucune conclusion à propos du déroulement des *ludi* archaïques. Une telle couronne a pu être obtenue plus légitimement à la suite d'exploits militaires ou d'actes d'évergétisme, et d'ailleurs il n'est même pas sûr que les Romains aient connu à cette époque les couronnes "sportives": à Rome, la victoire, c'est d'abord la palme.

Mon interprétation a été retenue par les éditeurs des *Roman Statutes* en 1996 et M. Crawford considère que le texte de la loi donné par Pline est corrompu (et que son commentaire est absurde): il pense en particulier que *pecunia* doit être probablement remplacé par *familia*. On aboutirait ainsi pour cette loi 10, 7, en s'appuyant sur Cicéron, à un texte et à une traduction du type suivant: "Si quelqu'un gagne une couronne, par lui-même ou par un membre de sa famille, qu'elle lui soit donnée

<sup>28</sup> Sur ce point, voir N. LUBTCHANSKY, *Le cavalier tyrrhénien. Représentations équestres dans l'Italie archaïque* (Paris-Rome 2005), 3-12.

pour son mérite, et elle peut être placée sans qu'il y ait faute sur sa dépouille ou sur celle de son père, s'il est mort” (*qui corona nam parit ipse (familia)ve eius virtutisve (suae) ergo duitur, (ast ei parentive eius mortuo imponitur, sine fraude esto)*).<sup>29</sup> Cette confirmation me permet de ne pas m'appesantir sur d'autres arguments que j'avais développés: il est incroyable que nous n'ayons pas recueilli un seul nom de citoyen romain vainqueur dans ces conditions, il est plus que surprenant que Denys d'Halicarnasse, qui défend la thèse de l'origine grecque des Romains et qui cite longuement les jeux dans son argumentation, n'ait pas utilisé à son profit cette coutume très hellénique! Enfin, comment et pourquoi serait-on passé un beau jour de ce système à celui qui est en vigueur après, avec des magistrats qui passent des contrats avec des éleveurs, et des *domini quadrigarum*: en bref, une organisation qui va devenir de plus en plus structurée pour aboutir à la mise en place des factions?

Il me semble enfin qu'on n'a pas assez tenu compte dans toute cette discussion de l'autre composante du programme des jeux, à savoir les épreuves athlétiques, qui sont surtout à Rome le pugilat, la lutte et la course à pied.<sup>30</sup> Dans les *agônes* grecs, ce sont des citoyens qui disputent aussi la couronne dans les compétitions gymniques, et même si les vainqueurs aux concours hippiques sont par force plus riches que les vainqueurs au pancrace, pour prendre ce seul exemple, il n'empêche que tout ce beau monde appartient au même groupe, celui des citoyens (le fait que les propriétaires de chars et de chevaux emploient souvent des techniciens professionnels comme cochers ne change rien à l'affaire puisque ces derniers ne sont pas les vrais vainqueurs). À Rome, il est clair que les citoyens et à fortiori les aristocrates, s'ils ne négligeaient pas leur condition physique, n'ont jamais participé à des compétitions officielles en tant qu'athlètes: la préface de Cornelius Nepos, dans son ouvrage

<sup>29</sup> *Roman Statutes*, II, ed. by M.H. CRAWFORD (London 1996), 708-710.

<sup>30</sup> J.-P. THUILLIER, “Le programme ‘athlétique’ des *ludi circenses* dans la Rome républicaine”, in *REL* 60 (1982), 105-122.

sur les grands généraux, est limpide à ce sujet, et il n'est nullement question chez lui d'un changement à cet égard dans les temps passés; c'est pour lui une différence fondamentale entre mœurs grecques et moeurs romaines.<sup>31</sup> On voit donc mal, selon le modèle plinien, comment des citoyens romains auraient remporté une couronne hippique pendant que des esclaves remportaient une couronne athlétique — l'idée que le *dominus* aurait été couronné à l'issue d'un pugilat disputé en réalité par son esclave paraît absurde. Ce parallèle entre les deux composantes des *ludi* me paraît renforcer l'idée que dans la Rome républicaine ce ne sont pas les citoyens qui tiraient bénéfice de ces *ludi*, à l'exception de l'édile, mais pour ce dernier c'était en tant qu'*editor* et non pas en tant que participant.

### *3.2. Les couleurs*

Cette hypothèque d'un modèle grec préalable étant levée, on doit en revenir à la position qui était d'ailleurs celle d'A. Cameron, à savoir qu'à l'origine des courses de chars, il pouvait difficilement y avoir les factions mais il y avait déjà les couleurs: "The colours themselves probably go back much further than the factions as we find them in the first century A.D."<sup>32</sup> Si, éliminant le Greek pattern, l'on restitue dès les premiers siècles de la République un système que l'on qualifiera par facilité d'"étatique", avec des magistrats, des édiles passant des contrats avec des éleveurs de chevaux qui fournissaient sans doute aussi les chars et leurs cochers (leurs propres lads au départ), cela ne suffisait pas à susciter les passions de la foule. On pouvait certes mettre sur pied une compétition hippique, mais, pour que celle-ci devienne véritablement piquante, haletante, pour que les rivalités puissent s'exacerber, pour que les paris prennent tout leur sens, il fallait que le *populus* de l'*Urbs* pût s'identifier à un groupe particulier, il

<sup>31</sup> W. DECKER et J.-P. THUILLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 162.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 60.

fallait un ancrage très clair qui lui permette de devenir supporteur de tel char plutôt que de tel autre, comme il sera plus tard partisan des Verts ou des Rouges: c'est ce rôle de catalyseur qu'ont dû jouer les couleurs pré-factionnelles, si l'on peut ainsi s'exprimer,<sup>33</sup> et on ne voit pas quel autre critère de répartition a pu intervenir dans l'attachement (et le rattachement) à ces quatre couleurs, si ce n'est le critère géographique, celui des quartiers, qu'on retrouvera en d'autres temps et d'autres lieux, par exemple avec les "contrade" pour le Palio de Sienne. À Rome, on pense évidemment aux quatre régions urbaines de l'époque républicaine, bases territoriales des tribus, trois au départ — que G. Dumézil voulait évidemment "fonctionnelles" — puis quatre selon la réforme attribuée à Servius Tullius, une évolution qui correspond d'ailleurs à certaines traditions littéraires sur les couleurs, comme A. Cameron l'a bien rappelé.<sup>34</sup> Rien n'empêche d'ailleurs de penser que ces couleurs ont été un des indicateurs, un des facteurs d'identité pour les habitants des régions primitives de Rome, et qu'elles pouvaient contribuer à renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance à tel ou tel quartier.<sup>35</sup> Sans aller jusqu'à imaginer que chaque région était littéralement 'coloriée', on peut penser que des fanions, des oriflammes, des *vexilla* tels que celui qui est tenu par ce *nuntius* dont nous allons reparler, étaient

<sup>33</sup> On peut retrouver en partie pour les débuts des courses de chars à Rome ce que dit CH. ROUECHÉ pour la période tardive, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London 1993), 155: "The weakening of the cities had deprived individuals of a source of their identity. When the cities were strong...his primary identity would still be as a citizen of his community... Affiliation to the colours, which were to be found empire-wide, must have seemed to provide a very clear and recognizable form of identity."

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 56-61. L'idée qu'il ait pu y avoir trois couleurs à l'origine (Joh. Lyd. *Mens.* 4, 25, 3-5) ne pouvait évidemment que séduire G. DUMÉZIL, cf. *Rituels indo-européens à Rome* (Paris 1954), 45 sq. (chap. 3: *Albatî, Russati, Virides*). On sait aussi que, selon TERT. *Spect.* 9, 5, il n'y aurait même eu que deux couleurs initiales, les Rouges et les Blancs.

<sup>35</sup> À propos de ces "tribal regions", cf. cette remarque de D. FAVRO, "Fluctuating Edge Conditions in Ancient Rome", in « *Rome des Quartiers* » : *Des vici aux rioni*, éd. par M. ROYO, E. HUBERT et A. BÉRENGER (Paris 2008), 291.

plantés en différents lieux de chaque district.<sup>36</sup> Ce système se prolongera jusqu'à la réorganisation augustéenne de l'*Urbs* en quatorze régions,<sup>37</sup> mais les quatre régions initiales étaient devenues progressivement des unités administratives auxquelles on était sans doute moins attaché affectivement: à la fin de la République, les vraies factions, telles que nous les connaissons par l'épigraphie en particulier, pouvaient prendre le relais.<sup>38</sup>

Quel qu'ait été le nombre initial des couleurs, deux, trois ou quatre, il est sûr en tout cas qu'elles existent à l'époque républicaine. Un passage d'Ennius à propos des courses de chars est révélateur, même si on s'interroge sur l'établissement du texte (*pictis* ou *pictos*)<sup>39</sup>: mais que ces couleurs soient celles des chars, interprétation qui ne convainc pas totalement, ou celles des stalles de départ, des *carceres*, ne change rien au fond, l'important restant l'existence des dites couleurs dans le monde du cirque dès l'époque de l'auteur au moins, c'est-à-dire à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle ou au début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle — on ne saurait penser en effet qu'elles avaient un but seulement décoratif. La présence du blanc et du rouge n'a rien d'étonnant puisque ce sont deux couleurs 'polaires' selon les anthropologues;<sup>40</sup> il est en revanche plus curieux que le bleu et le vert soient même devenus les couleurs des factions dominantes — il est vrai qu'ils sont souvent présentés, à partir du texte de Tertullien, comme

<sup>36</sup> On sait que dans diverses circonstances comme le *tumultus*, des drapeaux (*vexilla*) étaient déployés au Capitole: G. DUMÉZIL, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 53 sq. (chap. 4: *Vexillum caeruleum*).

<sup>37</sup> Sur ces questions, on se reportera, entre autres, à A. FRASCHETTI e D. PALOMBI, in *LTUR*, IV, 1999, 194 sq., s.v. *Regiones Quattuor* (ainsi qu'à divers articles de l'ouvrage cité n. 35).

<sup>38</sup> Pour un autre exemple du même type, voir R. SABLAYROLLES, *art. cit.* (n. 17), 300 (et sa n. 19, à propos d'une communication inédite à Lattes de M. Matter).

<sup>39</sup> ENN. *Ann.* 79-81 Skutsch: *expectant, veluti consul quom mittere signum / volt, omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras / quam mox emittat pictos (pictis?) e faucibus currus.* A. CAMERON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 57 (et surtout n. 3) et *contra* J. HUMPHREY, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 133.

<sup>40</sup> M. PASTOUREAU, *Couleurs, images, symboles* (Paris 1989).

introduits plus récemment — nous reviendrons ailleurs sur l'étymologie curieuse de l'adjectif *venetus*.

Un dernier point sur l'origine des couleurs et leur lien éventuel avec une division territoriale qui puisse conduire pour les spectateurs à un processus d'identification: on peut se demander si la petite stèle de marbre du *nuntius circi ampli* Sextus Vetulenus Lavicanus, publiée par S. Panciera, et datée par lui de la fin du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, ne garde pas un écho de cette répartition, à une époque où les factions avaient dépassé depuis longtemps ces distinctions entre quartiers.<sup>41</sup> L'inscription métrique permet de voir que Sextus Vetulenus, mort à quarante-quatre ans, et qui était donc devenu héraut (*praeco*) du Grand Cirque, avait été auparavant *delicium populi*, et seul un personnage ayant joué un rôle non pas exceptionnel peut-être, mais en tout cas de premier plan dans ce spectacle sportif, pouvait bénéficier d'une pareille popularité: un simple *nuntius* ne pouvait mériter une telle épithète, comme le remarque bien S. Panciera.<sup>42</sup> L'image du défunt, que nous voyons sur le bas-relief situé dans une niche au-dessous de l'inscription, confirme son appartenance au monde du cirque. Mais il me semble que son costume est plutôt celui d'un *sparsor* que celui d'un aurige, contrairement à ce que pense S. Panciera:<sup>43</sup> en effet, il n'arbore pas le typique corset de cuir qui permet d'identifier un cocher romain

<sup>41</sup> S. PANCIERA, "Tra epigrafia e topografia, 1", in *ArchClass.* 22 (1970) 151-163 (= *AE* 1971, 44). L'article est repris aujourd'hui dans S. PANCIERA, *Epigrafi, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti (1956-2005) con note complementari e indici* (Roma 2006), 173-182.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 155. Je ne vois pas pourquoi CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 136, écrit que "the cliché *delicium populi* strongly suggests that he had also a career on the stage" pour en conclure que la réunion des acteurs de la scène et du cirque était déjà en germe avant l'Antiquité tardive. Il suffit de lire MART. 10, 53, 1-2, pour voir que des cochers bénéficiaient aussi de ce "cliché": le célèbre Scorus, *gloria Circi*, est considéré comme les *deliciae breves* de Rome pour être mort prématurément.

<sup>43</sup> Suivi sur ce point par J. NELIS-CLÉMENT, *art. cit.* (n. 9), 288, n. 82, ainsi que par E. LO CASCIO, "Vici, *regiones* e forme di interazione sociale nella Roma imperiale", in « *Rome des quartiers* », *op. cit.* (n. 35), 74: "Lavicanus, un *nuntius*, e verosimilmente *auriga*, del Circo Massimo, cui manifestano la loro devozione le *regiones VI e VII*".

à tout coup, mais une large ceinture comme celle que porte par exemple la statue de marbre du *sparsor* de Carthage; le fait qu'il tienne un fouet va dans le même sens puisque c'est aussi le cas pour cette même statue par exemple et pour d'autres images de *sparsor* sur des mosaïques. Or, on doit se rappeler qu'un *sparsor* jouissait aussi d'un statut envié dans l'univers du cirque, et on doit admettre que ces personnages avaient eux aussi leurs supporters:<sup>44</sup> après tout, il n'y a pas que les très grands clubs de football qui aient leur troupe de supporters, mais c'est une réalité constante pour les clubs inférieurs aussi. On toucherait ainsi une nouvelle confirmation de cette sophistication très poussée du sport et du supportérisme romains. Ajoutons enfin que cette carrière à deux étapes, cocher ou plutôt *sparsor* d'abord, puis *nuntius*, rappelle celle de ces *agitatores* qui deviennent ensuite *doctor* ou *dominus* de leur faction:<sup>45</sup> c'est d'ailleurs encore le cas de beaucoup de footballeurs connus qui sont ensuite recrutés comme entraîneurs ou dirigeants de clubs, et nous donnons cette seule référence au football, mais bien d'autres comparaisons pourraient être faites avec le sport-spectacle contemporain.

Toujours est-il que Sextus Vetulenus est présenté dans cette même épitaphe métrique comme l'idole de la sixième et de la septième région (*septima quem regio sextaqu(e) amavit idem*). Qu'il ait exercé ses talents seulement dans des jeux de quartier (*vici*) liés à son collège de la *Iuventus* — plus loin sont évoqués ses *coniuvenes* et ses *sodales* — comme le pense S. Panciera, me paraît peu probable: la mention de ce collège n'intervient qu'après la mention du Grand Cirque et à propos de la seule mise en place de l'épitaphe; d'ailleurs, on ne pouvait

<sup>44</sup> Sur ces différents points, J.-P. THUILLIER, "Agitator ou *sparsor*? À propos d'une célèbre statue de Carthage", in *CRAI* 143 (1999), 1081-1106.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. ILS 5296 (M. Aurelius Liber *agitator* et *dominus* de la faction verte), ILS 5297 (Cl. Aurelius Polyphemus *agitator* et *dominus* de la faction rouge) et ILS 5298 (Aurelius Héraclides — que nous avons déjà cité — et qui a été successivement *agitator* de la faction bleue puis *doctor* de la même (*factionis s(upra)s(criptae)*)), et enfin *doctor* de la faction verte).

pas organiser de courses de chars dans n'importe quel quartier, comme on le faisait éventuellement pour des épreuves athlétiques. Je pense donc plutôt qu'il s'est fait connaître dans les *ludi* normaux et sur la piste du Grand Cirque (*circus amplus*), comme le montre bien cette dernière expression, avant d'obtenir cette charge de *nuntius*. Reste que la popularité de ces vedettes du cirque pouvait encore garder, de façon marquée, une empreinte locale. Cet attachement de deux quartiers, de deux régions, que nous découvrons encore à la fin du II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère pour une gloire sans doute mineure des jeux du cirque, nous donne en tout cas une idée de ce qui a pu exister des siècles plus tôt, quand les quatre couleurs se sont partagé les faveurs de la population de l'*Urbs*.

### *3.3. La mise en place des factions*

Reste donc la question de l'arrivée officielle des factions, pour laquelle nous avons indiqué d'emblée qu'il n'y avait pas de réponse assurée. Les premières attestations certaines de leur existence ne sont pas antérieures au début de notre ère: le cocher Scirtus de la faction blanche a commencé sa carrière avant l'année 13 de notre ère, date de sa première victoire en quadrigue (*CIL VI* 10064 = *ILS* 5283). On a souvent parlé de l'histoire du cocher Félix des Rouges comme témoignage d'une période plus ancienne, mais on estime plutôt aujourd'hui que cette anecdote nous renvoie à l'époque de Tibère.<sup>46</sup> Quant au chevalier volterrano Caecina, il est sans doute à placer à la fin de la République, comme on l'a vu plus haut, mais l'histoire transmise par Pline ne témoigne que de l'existence des couleurs, et non pas de celle de ces entreprises régulièrement constituées.

<sup>46</sup> G. HORSMANN, *Die Wagenlenker der römischen Kaiserzeit. Untersuchungen zu ihrer sozialen Stellung* (Stuttgart 1998), 218. Cf. E. RAWSON, *art. cit.* (n. 25), 8, n. 34. Si les *acta* dont il est question dans le texte de PLIN. *Nat.* 7, 186, sont les *Acta diurna* (ou *urbana* ou *publica*) créés par César en 59, et consacrés aux faits remarquables de la ville de Rome, la notice portant sur ces funérailles d'un cocher est révélatrice de l'importance sociale de ces personnages.

J. Humphrey avait supposé que la construction et surtout la rénovation des *carceres* en 174 avant notre ère pouvaient être liées au nouveau jeu des factions.<sup>47</sup> Comme il serait surprenant qu'aucune source littéraire ne vienne étayer leur existence pendant presque deux siècles, étant donné l'importance de ce sujet pour tous les Romains, et que la perte de l'œuvre de Tite-Live ne suffit pas à tout expliquer, il semble qu'il faille abaisser le plus possible la date de leur apparition: nous pensons après d'autres que le rôle d'Agrippa, en tant qu'édile en 33 avant notre ère, mais aussi dans les années suivantes, a dû être décisif dans la formation de ces entreprises de spectacle, devenues nécessaires avec le développement des *ludi circenses*. Sans parler de la réorganisation générale de l'*Urbs* et de son découpage en quatorze régions, Agrippa a aménagé le Grand Cirque, où il a ajouté les deux systèmes qui permettaient de mieux visualiser les tours de piste grâce aux œufs — même si ceux-ci semblaient déjà connus — et aux dauphins.<sup>48</sup> Il a aussi transformé le Champ-de-Mars où se trouvaient, pour le point qui nous intéresse, le Trigarium, ce champ de course destiné surtout à l'entraînement des chevaux, ainsi que les écuries, les *stabula*, à la construction desquelles il n'est peut-être pas étranger.<sup>49</sup> Enfin et surtout, trois inscriptions, dont deux, considérées autrefois comme ligoriennes, sont parfois reconnues aujourd'hui comme authentiques, révèlent la présence active de nombre de ses affranchis, des M. Vipsanii, au sein de deux factions, la rouge apparemment et la bleue.<sup>50</sup> On peut donc penser que l'action d'Agrippa ne s'est pas limitée, en matière de jeux du cirque, à des constructions comme celles des *stabula*, mais qu'elle a eu aussi des conséquences administratives avec la mise en place de

<sup>47</sup> J. HUMPHREY, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 138.

<sup>48</sup> DIO CASS. 49, 43, 2.

<sup>49</sup> J.-M. RODDAZ, *Marcus Agrippa* (Rome 1984), 288-290.

<sup>50</sup> G. FABRE et J.-M. RODDAZ, "Recherches sur la 'familia' de M. Agrippa", in *Athenaeum* 60 (1982), 84-112. Les inscriptions sont *CIL VI* 10046 (= *ILS* 5313), 3051\* et 3052\* (ces deux dernières étant conservées au musée de Naples). On notera au passage, pour prolonger ce qui a été dit plus haut, que dans cet article beaucoup de définitions de métiers du cirque sont erronées.

ces systèmes plus structurés qu'étaient les factions: celles-ci, dotées d'un *dominus*, ont alors intégré et même absorbé les *familiae quadrigariae*.<sup>51</sup>

Ce rôle d'Agrippa et de sa vaste *familia* d'esclaves et d'affranchis dans les jeux du cirque trouve d'ailleurs un intéressant correspondant avec celui de T. Statilius Taurus pour l'amphithéâtre. Comme l'a bien montré K. Welch, celui-ci construit en 30 avant notre ère, et toujours dans le Champ-de-Mars, le premier amphithéâtre de pierre de l'*Urbs*.<sup>52</sup> Or, l'épigraphie là encore montre que de nombreux esclaves et affranchis de Statilius Taurus ont dû intervenir dans la construction de cet édifice, et qu'ils ont ensuite été impliqués dans son fonctionnement. Agrippa et Statilius Taurus présentent bien des points communs: ce sont de grands militaires qui ont été parmi les principaux collaborateurs d'Auguste. Et, comme Suétone l'a bien noté, ils ont tous deux contribué à l'embellissement de Rome:<sup>53</sup> on peut préciser qu'ils ont fait porter leur action en particulier sur les spectacles, en érigeant des édifices et en favorisant le déroulement des jeux et des *munera* pour la plus grande satisfaction des habitants. Et si l'on ajoute à ces deux exemples la question des théâtres, on voit que cette période de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle est décisive pour tous les grands spectacles publics qui trouvent désormais un cadre architectural et certainement une organisation plus élaborés. Il serait au moins logique que le système pratique et efficace des factions ait été inauguré à ce moment.

La suite de l'histoire voit la montée en puissance de ces factions, sur les plans administratif et financier, et leur extension géographique, qui a pu être rapide dans certaines provinces,

<sup>51</sup> On notera qu'un des affranchis d'Agrippa, M. Vipsanius Eros, est qualifié dans une de ces inscriptions (*CIL VI* 3052\*) d'*aurigator*: un joli "mot-valise" télescopant les termes *auriga* et *agitator* commentés *supra*. Faut-il penser que ce cocher était "à cheval" entre les deux catégories, qu'il avait obtenu le droit de conduire des ...triges? Ou est-ce révélateur du faux?

<sup>52</sup> K. WELCH, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 114-119.

<sup>53</sup> SUET. *Aug.* 29, 4-5 (cf. la fin de ce texte: *a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro amphitheatum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia*).

l'apothéose étant atteinte au V<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand ces factions absorbent en leur sein la plupart des *histriones*, les professionnels de la scène et les synodes d'athlètes. On se contentera de relever ici la victoire aux Capitolia de deux *agitatores*, P. Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus, dont on sait qu'il appartenait à la faction bleue (*ILS* 5288) et, plus tard, M. Aurelius Liber, dont on sait qu'il appartenait à la faction verte (*ILS* 5296). Mais je pense pour ma part que cette mention de la faction ne devait pas figurer dans le texte officiel des résultats, étant donné le caractère particulier de ce *certamen Capitolinum* qui est à distinguer nettement des *ludi circenses*. Ce sont des inscriptions personnelles, propres aux cochers, des dédicaces ou des palmarès qui nous renseignent sur leur victoire à l'*agôn Capitolinus*, sur leur qualité de *kapitolionica*, comme il est dit pour le second de ces *agitatores* en tout cas.<sup>54</sup> On peut imaginer les deux solutions suivantes sur lesquelles je reviendrai ailleurs: ou bien ces cochers ont couru, en cette occasion, pour un riche propriétaire qui voulait mettre toutes les chances de son côté en faisant appel à une vedette du cirque, ou bien ils se sont inscrits eux-mêmes à titre individuel dans cette compétition sacrée.

#### 4. Les alliances

##### 4.1. *Les témoignages*

Une question qui n'a pas été suffisamment explorée est l'existence d'alliances entre les factions: or, là aussi, la reconnaissance de certains points permet d'éclairer le thème de

<sup>54</sup> Cette mention figure dans l'inscription de *Teanum Sidicinum*, *AE* 1979, 155 (un cippe de calcaire). Mais l'éditeur de cette notice a tort de restituer la séquence *agitatori fact(ionis) prasin(ae) kapitolioni(cae)* et de comprendre que c'est l'écurie des Verts qui a été "victorieuse" aux Capitolia (p. 45); c'est plutôt ...*prasin(ae), kapitolioni(cae)* qu'il importe de comprendre, ce dernier terme s'appliquant au cocher comme le dit bien M.L. CALDELLI, *L'agon Capitolinus. Storia e protagonisti dall'istituzione domiziana al IV secolo* (Roma 1993), 80-82, n° 62.

l'organisation. Bien sûr, ces alliances ont souvent été évoquées, et un savant comme A. Cameron ne pouvait les ignorer, étant donné la situation qui est celle de Constantinople pendant plusieurs siècles. Plus que les sources littéraires, ce sont les *defixionum tabellae* qui nous obligent à mettre en évidence cette réalité.<sup>55</sup> Lorsque, sur une même lamelle de plomb, les formules d'exécration visent les cochers et les chevaux de deux couleurs, et de deux couleurs seulement, il est difficile de ne pas conclure que celles-ci étaient unies contre les deux autres couleurs, dont l'une avait plus particulièrement les faveurs de l'auteur de cette malédiction. D'ailleurs, comme l'avait fait remarquer A. Cameron, une de ces *defixiones*, trouvée à Carthage, est très claire puisqu'elle indique à deux reprises que le cocher bleu Dionysios a pour collègue, pour allié (*sunzugos*) le cocher vert Protos — d'autres noms de cochers sont cités, qui doivent être dans la même situation.<sup>56</sup> C'est la situation en Afrique qui nous offre la meilleure documentation. Pour Hadrumète, nous avons pour les II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles dix exemples d'une équipe commune des Bleus et des Rouges, contre les Verts associés aux Blancs. D'autres *defixiones* ne portent que sur une seule couleur. Pour Carthage, et pour la même période, nous rencontrons deux fois cette même alliance des Bleus et des Rouges, et par trois fois l'alliance surprenante des Bleus et des Verts (c'est l'exemple

<sup>55</sup> Les cochers cherchaient bien sûr à se protéger contre ces malédictions. Un monument funéraire du II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, conservé à Princeton, montre un buste de cocher qui porte un collier avec une amulette ronde, laquelle doit sans doute éloigner le mauvais œil. Cf. E. D'AMBRA, "Racing with Death. Circus Sarcophagi and the Commemoration of Children in Roman Italy", in *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, ed. by A. COHEN and J.B. RUTTER (Princeton 2007), 339-351.

<sup>56</sup> A. CAMERON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 61. Cf. A. AUDOLLENT, *Defixionum tabellae* (Luteciae Parisiorum 1904), n° 234, l. 24-26, 53-55, et J. TREMEL, *Magica agonistica. Fluchtafeln im antiken Sport* (Hildesheim 2004), n° 53. Ces deux ouvrages, le second étant évidemment plus complet puisque des découvertes récentes ont été faites à Carthage, fournissent un corpus de *defixiones* qui permet d'établir des statistiques, et les deux auteurs n'ont pas manqué de souligner cette question des alliances.

cité plus haut). Les autres *defixiones* du cirque carthaginois ne mentionnent qu'une seule couleur.<sup>57</sup> Pour Rome, les deux lamelles qui mettent en évidence une alliance entre factions sont plus tardives et nous renvoient aux années 400: l'une décrit une équipe formée par les Verts et les Rouges, et l'autre une équipe formée par les Bleus et les Rouges. Ainsi, si cette dernière formation est de loin la plus attestée — et c'est elle que l'opinion commune a retenue — on voit qu'elle n'est pas unique, et qu'on découvre même, à Carthage en tout cas, une équipe inattendue associant Verts et Bleus, qui paraissent pourtant depuis le I<sup>er</sup> siècle à Rome jusqu'à Constantinople des adversaires irréductibles. Les *tabellae defixionum* suffiraient à établir que les alliances de factions étaient à géométrie variable.

Si l'on fait exception des sources byzantines, les témoignages littéraires sont discrets, mais Sidoine Apollinaire n'est pas à négliger: son poème 23 contient une des meilleures descriptions, une des plus précises que l'on puisse avoir d'une course de chars romaine, course qui est censée se dérouler un peu avant le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle. Lorsque le 'héros' du *carmen* 23 est monté sur son char pour prendre le départ, Sidoine Apollinaire ajoute: "Ton partenaire (*collega tuus*) fait de même et en même temps que vous, le camp opposé (*pars adversa*)" (v. 322-323). Les termes sont explicites — le *collega* latin évoque bien sûr le grec "*sunzugos*" que nous avons rencontré dans la *defixio* carthaginoise — et ils ne laissent aucun doute sur la répartition des chars en deux équipes.<sup>58</sup> Et pour ce qui est des couleurs, il n'y a guère d'ambiguïté non plus: "Les couleurs brillent, blanc et bleu, vert et rouge (*albus vel venetus, virens rubensque*)" (v. 324). Si on ne peut exclure l'idée d'une énumération dictée par un impératif qui serait seulement poétique, il semble plus satisfaisant de voir ici

<sup>57</sup> Est-ce la preuve de l'existence de *missus* opposant seulement deux factions (cf. *infra*)?

<sup>58</sup> On aurait pu supposer de façon théorique qu'il s'agissait de deux *collegae* d'une même couleur opposée à un camp adverse, lui-même réduit à une seule faction (dans une épreuve *binae*): mais les vers suivants font bien allusion à quatre couleurs.

une alliance des Verts et des Rouges contre les Blancs et les Bleus. Ce qui confirmerait, du point de vue chronologique en tout cas, ce que nous venons de dire à propos d'une *defixio* romaine.

Nous n'insisterons pas sur d'autres documents de nature variée qui ont été mis en avant par A. Cameron.<sup>59</sup> Outre les sources byzantines que nous laissons ici de côté, celui-ci s'est appuyé sur l'iconographie, en particulier sur le très bel *opus sectile* de la Basilique de Junius Bassus et sur la célèbre mosaïque aux chevaux de Carthage: sur ce dernier document, ce sont surtout les images des *sparsores* qui nous donnent des indications, et qui confirment en effet l'alliance des Bleus et des Rouges.<sup>60</sup> A. Cameron rappelle aussi l'anecdote concernant Caligula, fanatique des Verts: si cet empereur avait fait parsemer le cirque de vermillon et de malachite, n'est-ce pas parce qu'il associait dans son soutien de supporter les Rouges et les Verts?<sup>61</sup> On voit tout de suite l'intérêt d'une telle conclusion pour la chronologie, puisqu'on aurait alors là un témoignage très précoce de ces alliances de factions. En attendant de revenir sur cet aspect, nous nous contenterons d'ajouter quelques remarques tirées de documents iconographiques, lesquels ne permettent pas toujours de parvenir à des conclusions assurées: c'est ce qu'on doit dire par exemple de la mosaïque aux quatre cochers vainqueurs de Baccano, qui aurait pu être suggestive puisqu'elle nous montrait l'ensemble des factions (seul un petit détail plaiderait en faveur d'une équipe Rouges-Verts).<sup>62</sup> Mais enfin l'étude des trois mosaïques trouvées à Rome et conservées aujourd'hui à Madrid, et représentant des quadriges vainqueurs, offre un point de vue intéressant. Sur ces tableaux du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, le cocher bleu, accompagné de son *sparsor* bleu, est

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 61-70.

<sup>60</sup> J.-P. THUILLIER, "Les factions du cirque sur trois mosaïques de Madrid", in *MEFRA* 115 (2003), 309, n. 33.

<sup>61</sup> SUET. *Cal.* 18, 5: *Edidit et circenses... et quosdam praecipuos, minio et chrysocolla constrato circa...*

<sup>62</sup> G. BECATTI e M.P. TAMBELLA, *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione settima, Baccano: Villa romana* (Roma 1970), 71-79, pl. 22-25. Cf. J.-P. THUILLIER, *art. cit.* (n. 44), 1095, n. 29.

flanqué d'un employé des Rouges; le cocher rouge, accompagné d'un autre employé rouge, est salué par un *sparsor* bleu; enfin, l'*agitator* vert est flanqué d'un employé de la faction des Blancs. Le quatrième tableau manque à l'appel mais on peut bien supposer que le cocher blanc était escorté par exemple d'un *sparsor* vert. Il est clair qu'ici on a mis en lumière l'alliance des Bleus et de Rouges face aux Verts unis aux Blancs.<sup>63</sup> Ce sont encore ces mêmes équipes que met en évidence une mosaïque de Volubilis (II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> siècle) montrant des biges tirés par des volatiles.<sup>64</sup> En-dehors des mosaïques, des peintures de Mérida (Maison de la calle Suarez Somonte), datées du milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous montrent un cocher bleu aux manches rouges et un cocher blanc aux manches vertes, illustrant par là les mêmes équipes que sur les mosaïques précédentes.<sup>65</sup>

#### *4.2. Bataille autour d'un ad*

Reste enfin le fameux palmarès de Dioclès. A. Cameron avait, après d'autres, attiré l'attention sur un détail assez intrigant<sup>66</sup> dans l'énumération des victoires de ce cocher qui avait couru successivement pour les Blancs, pour les Verts et pour les Rouges, faction dont il était devenu l'*agitator primus*. Dioclès, victorieux 1462 fois, affirme en effet avoir remporté en quadriga 91 victoires *ad albatum*, et 10 *ad venetum* (donc aucune *ad prasinum*) — et il ajoute même qu'en grande (soit au début de sa carrière), il en a remporté une *ad albatum* et deux *ad prasinum*. Cette

<sup>63</sup> J.-P. THUILLIER, *art. cit.* (n. 60), 306-309; pour une représentation figurée en couleurs, voir le catalogue *Mosaico Romano del Mediterráneo* (Madrid 2001), 82-86.

<sup>64</sup> R. THOUVENOT, "Mosaïque de Volubilis représentant une course de chars", in *CRAI* 98 (1954), 344-348. ID., *Maisons de Volubilis. Le Palais dit de Gordien et la Maison à la mosaique de Vénus* (Rabat 1958), 66-69, pl. XVI, 1.

<sup>65</sup> Voir *Le cirque et les courses de chars, op. cit.* (n. 6), pl. VI et VII; T. NOGALES BASARRATE y J.M. ALVAREZ MARTINEZ, "Espectáculos circenses en Augusta Emerita. Documentos para su estudio", in *El circo en Hispania romana. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida 2001* (Madrid 2001), 224-226, fig. 5-6, parlent, à tort selon moi, de la faction verte.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 63-64.

expression avec *ad* pose un problème compliqué. Laissons de côté diverses interprétations anciennes, en particulier celle de L. Friedländer, qui se heurtent à de multiples objections: il est invraisemblable en effet qu'il ait pu y avoir plus de cent victoires ex æquo, plus de cent dead heat au cours de cette carrière. Aussi A. Cameron avait-il émis la suggestion intéressante que ce *ad* pouvait indiquer une alliance en quadrigé avec les factions blanche et bleue. On pourrait traduire en français ce *ad* par "pour": Dioclès, tout en courant sous et pour une autre couleur, la sienne, la rouge, aurait gagné en même temps 91 fois pour les Blancs et 10 fois pour les Bleus. Cette remarque venait corroborer la thèse d'A. Cameron qui voit une continuité dans le fonctionnement des factions depuis le Haut-Empire jusqu'aux temps byzantins. Mais il y a un curieux lapsus dans le raisonnement de ce savant: après être parti des bons chiffres, il note ensuite une prépondérance de telles victoires avec les Bleus, alors que les victoires *ad venetum* ne sont que de 10, contre 91 *ad albatum* ! Et de conclure à un "regular pairing in his day" des Rouges et des Bleus, ce que ne montre évidemment pas l'inscription.

Je me demande en fait si toutes les victoires *ad prasinum* (pour les Verts), remportées en tant que cocher rouge (1462-101 = 1361), ne sont pas sous-entendues dans ce palmarès parce qu'évidentes: c'est l'alliance des Verts et des Rouges qui aurait alors été la règle, en tout cas à partir de 132, date du transfert de Dioclès chez les Rouges. Mais il en aurait été autrement dans les années précédentes, quand il était lui-même blanc ou vert, ce qui explique que Dioclès ait aussi pu gagner "pour les Blancs" (alors qu'il existait une alliance Blancs-Verts?) et "pour les Bleus" (alors qu'il existait une alliance Bleus-Rouges à cette époque): ce qui expliquerait qu'il ait pu alors être transféré des Verts aux Rouges.<sup>67</sup> Il est une autre objection, formulée par R. Sablayrolles, qui doit être rejetée: "pourquoi," nous dit-il, "alors qu'il ne mentionne que trois victoires en beige, les seules primées, Dioclès

<sup>67</sup> La possibilité d'un transfert paraît en effet plus normale entre concurrents qu'entre alliés.

évoquerait-il justement celles où il était allié à d'autres écuries?"<sup>68</sup> Mais c'est que **toutes** les courses se faisaient sous cette forme d'alliance entre factions, et on ne voit pas pourquoi les courses de biges auraient échappé à cette règle: ces trois victoires sont signalées dans ce palmarès uniquement parce que dotées d'un prix de mille sesterces, les autres victoires en bige étant volontairement oubliées par ce grand champion qui ne se targuait que de ses succès sur des quadriges.

Mais R. Sablayrolles a présenté une nouvelle hypothèse des plus séduisantes pour expliquer à son tour ce fameux *ad*. Pour lui, comme l'avait déjà reconnu A. Cameron, le sens normal serait plutôt celui d'*adversus*: et l'accusatif singulier qui suit la préposition impliquerait — mais c'est là plus difficile à accepter en latin<sup>69</sup> — qu'on ait affaire à un (seul) cocher blanc ou bleu. Pour lui, "ces courses étaient des défis lancés de *factio* à *factio* avec seulement deux cochers dans l'arène, les meilleurs... Dioclès aurait remporté 3 défis en bige... et 101 en quadrigue".<sup>70</sup> On peut certes se demander comment de telles courses prenaient place dans le programme officiel des jeux, déjà très chargé, et comment les autres factions réagissaient à cette occasion, puisqu'elles se voyaient en quelque sorte mises à l'écart. Mais admettons que ces courses pouvaient être en sus, rajoutées au programme complet, et il faut reconnaître que cette hypothèse a quelque chose de très satisfaisant. D'autant que nous pouvons trouver une réponse à l'objection que R. Sablayrolles se fait à lui-même: "Étonnante, dans cette hypothèse, est l'absence de défi lancé aux Verts quand Dioclès était le *primus agitator* de la *factio russata*".<sup>71</sup> En effet, si les Verts et les Rouges étaient alliés quand Dioclès a conduit les quadriges pour ces derniers, il n'avait

<sup>68</sup> R. SABLAYROLLES, *art. cit.* (n. 17), 295-304 (la citation p. 296).

<sup>69</sup> On doit plutôt rétablir ici un *grecem* (*ad albatum grecem*) qui de fait est facile à sous-entendre dans ce type de palmarès que le public décrypte allègrement.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 296. Et c'est là qu'on pourrait tirer argument de ces *defixiones* ne mettant en cause qu'une seule couleur.

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 296.

aucune raison de lancer des défis aux premiers qui étaient ses partenaires, ses *collegae*, comme l'écrira Sidoine Apollinaire.

Quelle que soit la bonne explication pour comprendre l'expression *ad albatum* et les autres du même type, que ce soit celle d'A. Cameron ou celle de R. Sablayrolles, ces deux savants ont cependant sous-estimé l'importance du phénomène des alliances entre factions, et cela dès la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle: il ne s'agit pas de "courses exceptionnelles" mais c'était déjà, comme dans l'Antiquité tardive, la réalité normale, la règle des courses, et c'est cela qui éclaire ce texte épigraphique.<sup>72</sup> Si les défis imaginés avec perspicacité restaient eux exceptionnels — c'était finalement une simple variante des épreuves *singulae* — c'est encore l'alliance normale, l'association régulière et permanente des factions qui justifie le palmarès indiqué, et l'absence de la *prasina* dans ces défis. Seconde conséquence de notre analyse, c'était alors à Rome en tout cas l'alliance des Verts et des Rouges: quoi d'étonnant à cela, puisque nous avons déjà rencontré ce phénomène plus haut, pour des périodes diverses? Il est évident, encore une fois, que ces alliances n'étaient pas très stables, et que les *domini factionum* avaient sans doute une grande latitude en ce domaine: des raisons financières, politiques, sportives, et pourquoi pas personnelles pouvaient conduire à la désunion, à la dissolution d'une alliance existante et par suite à la création de nouvelles équipes, sans oublier que les succursales provinciales jouissaient sans doute sur ce point d'une certaine autonomie.

#### 4.3. Sur quelques ambiguïtés

S'il nous paraît important d'insister sur ce phénomène, il nous faut aussi reconnaître que subsistent des interrogations, des ambiguïtés, et qu'il est même une contradiction dans la hiérarchie

<sup>72</sup> En fait, sur ce point, A. Cameron n'a pas poussé assez loin sa propre théorie qui voit les factions du Haut-Empire présenter déjà des traits qu'on a longtemps cru réservés à la période tardive et même byzantine.

des factions généralement reconnue. Passons sur une question qui est un peu anecdotique. Sous Domitien, deux factions ont été ajoutées à la bande des quatre, la Pourpre et la Dorée, qui, du point de vue de la gamme des couleurs, venaient redoubler la rouge et la blanche:<sup>73</sup> ont-elles alors formé une troisième équipe, ou ont-elles été ajoutées aux deux existantes? C'est peut-être d'ailleurs la difficulté, la complexité engendrée par cette nouvelle situation, l'exaspération des rivalités et l'impossibilité de bien contrôler le comportement de chacun qui ont conduit à une disparition rapide de ces deux *greges* supplémentaires. En ce qui concerne les ambiguïtés de ce système, il faut partir de l'affaire bien connue de la grève des factions sous le règne de Néron — c'est encore un trait qui rapproche ce monde des *circenses* romains du sport professionnel contemporain, lequel a en effet connu de la même façon, aux États-Unis et en Europe, plusieurs bras-de-fer opposant, pour des raisons financières, joueurs, clubs et ligues nationales de football, de basket ou de base-ball. En 54 de notre ère, le préteur A. Fabricius Veiento doit affronter la fronde des *domini*, des directeurs de factions qui trouvent que le nombre des courses de chaque journée et donc les sommes d'argent proposées par le magistrat pour ces jeux sont insuffisants, et qui en conséquence n'engageront pas leurs chars, leurs chevaux et leurs cochers.<sup>74</sup> A. Fabricius menace alors de faire courir des chars attelés à des chiens (après tout, les mosaïques, comme à Piazza Armerina, ou des reliefs sur pierre montrent souvent des chars de fantaisie attelés à différents animaux, à des volatiles, etc.). Les Blancs et les Rouges rentrent dans le rang, cependant que les Verts et les Bleus étaient prêts à prolonger cette crise, finalement résolue sur intervention personnelle de Néron.

<sup>73</sup> SUET. *Dom.* 7, 1.

<sup>74</sup> DIO CASS. 61, 6, 2-3 et SUET. *Nero* 22, 3 (*ne dominis quidem iam factio-num dignantibus nisi ad totius diei cursum greges ducere*). R. SABLAYROLLES, *art. cit.* (n. 17), 299, confond manifestement cette affaire avec celle (SUET. *Nero* 5, 2) qui voit le père de Néron, Cn. Domitius, tenter de ne pas verser aux cochers le prix des courses — confusion qui vient du fait que dans les deux cas les chefs de factions protestent (*querentibus dominis factionum*).

Il y a là un problème pour ceux qui considèrent souvent que Bleus et Rouges étaient alliés comme l'étaient de leur côté Blancs et Verts. Deux solutions s'offrent à nous. La première est de conclure qu'il n'y avait pas encore d'alliance à cette époque — mais alors ce qui a été supposé plus haut pour le temps de Caligula ne tient pas non plus.<sup>75</sup> Si les factions n'existaient pas depuis très longtemps, on comprend que le système plus sophistiqué de deux équipes ait attendu un certain temps avant de se mettre en place: un tel système impliquait en effet des accords complexes, entre autres sportifs et financiers, et l'étude de tactiques nouvelles conduisant à la victoire du char d'une des couleurs unies dans la course. La seconde solution, au premier abord surprenante, serait d'admettre que Bleus et Verts étaient alors alliés: cela se passait au début du règne de Néron, et l'opposition quasi-irréductible entre ces deux couleurs aurait pu se développer seulement après ce milieu du I<sup>e</sup> siècle. D'ailleurs, nous avons rencontré un exemple de cette équipe "contre-nature" à Carthage.

Cette même affaire de Fabricius Veiento a aussi été utilisée, par exemple par A. Cameron, pour illustrer la question de la hiérarchie entre les factions.<sup>76</sup> Si les Bleus et les Verts peuvent résister plus longtemps à la politique du magistrat de 54, *editor* des *ludi circenses*, c'est parce qu'ils avaient déjà les reins plus solides, et on aurait vu dès cette époque les prémisses d'une domination qui devait les conduire à faire des Rouges et des Blancs, dans le cirque byzantin, des équipiers inférieurs. Ainsi s'expliquerait que les empereurs n'aient jamais été que partisans des Verts ou des Bleus, ou encore que sur les *defixiones* les Bleus ou les Verts soient toujours

<sup>75</sup> On a envisagé pour Caligula une alliance Verts-Rouges qui pose le même problème: pourquoi les Rouges se seraient-ils alors désolidarisés de leur partenaire? Ou faut-il imaginer à ce moment une phase de transition, de recomposition des alliances? On a bien l'impression que les choses ont été assez flottantes pendant longtemps.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 72.

cités en premier; d'autres arguments allant dans le même sens, et empruntés en particulier aux sources littéraires, peuvent être avancés.<sup>77</sup> Cette suprématie des deux factions bleue et verte est même un des lieux communs les plus souvent énoncés à propos des jeux du cirque, à côté de l'alliance Bleus-Rouges.<sup>78</sup>

L'examen de la carrière des cochers blancs semble confirmer ce fait. En premier lieu, si l'on s'appuie sur la prosopographie des cochers établie par G. Horsmann — et cette liste de 223 numéros est évidemment fiable en dépit de quelques oublis — on s'aperçoit que, pour plus de la moitié d'entre eux, l'appartenance à une couleur ne peut être établie, mais que pour les autres, une bonne centaine, le nombre des cochers blancs est nettement inférieur à celui des autres factions: moins d'une quinzaine de Blancs connus contre une trentaine de Rouges et de Bleus et une quarantaine de Verts. Et surtout, on ne trouve finalement aucune carrière exceptionnelle de cocher des Blancs: le cas de Scirtus (Horsmann n° 185) est révélateur, lui qui n'a gagné que sept fois sur des quadriges en l'espace de treize ans, de 13 à 25 de notre ère! De surcroît, ces sept victoires sont acquises au cours des cinq premières années de sa carrière: il ne gagne plus une seule fois pendant les huit dernières années, et on comprend bien que dans ces conditions il n'ait pas été

<sup>77</sup> A. CAMERON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 54 sq.; J. TREMEL, *op. cit.* (n. 56), 74. Dans les textes littéraires de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle (Martial, Juvénal, qui d'ailleurs sait aussi parler des Rouges) faut-il voir cette opposition des Bleus et des Verts comme une sorte de simple *topos*, lié au fait que leur antagonisme, devenu très marqué, était en quelque sorte proverbial?

<sup>78</sup> Du point de vue archéologique, force est de reconnaître aussi que sur certains "petits" documents comme les médaillons d'applique de la vallée du Rhône, les inscriptions acclamatoires ne se rapportent qu'aux Bleus et aux Verts: A. DESBAT, "Les représentations du cirque dans les céramiques", in *Le cirque et les courses de chars*, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 78, 226-227. Ces images, trouvées sur des produits "dérivés" ou non, révèlent bien au passage que la popularité était non seulement celle des cochers-vedettes, mais aussi celle des factions dans leur ensemble: cf. par exemple encore cette bague en bronze et or, trouvée à Pomméroeu, et sur laquelle on peut voir un quadriga accompagné de la légende *PRA(sina)* (*AE* 2008, 914).

transféré dans une autre faction.<sup>79</sup> Quant aux cochers qui sont passés par les quatre factions et qui illustrent bien cette pratique des transferts, ils ne terminent jamais chez les *Albati*, et ce n'est pas sous cette couleur qu'ils ont remporté la plupart de leurs succès: on le voit bien par les palmarès de M. Aurelius Mollicius Tatianus (Horsmann n° 134) et de M. Aurelius Polynices Macarius (Horsmann n° 162) qui, s'ils indiquent la faction blanche en dernier, montrent aussi que la plupart des victoires ont été remportés chez les Rouges. La *factio russata* a été leur dernière faction, et c'est évidemment un "cursus" inverse qui a été adopté dans ces deux inscriptions. Enfin, parmi ses concurrents, tous des vedettes incontestables du *Circus Maximus*, que Dioclès se vante d'avoir surpassé d'une façon ou d'une autre, on trouve des cochers de sa propre faction rouge (Térès, Thallus), des cochers de la *prasina* (Fortunatus, Pompeius Musclosus), des cochers de la *veneta* (Communis, Venustus, Epaphroditus), mais pas le moindre cocher courant pour la *factio albata*. Ce faisceau de remarques peut difficilement relever du seul hasard.

Soit pour les Blancs. Mais, d'après les exemples que nous venons de donner, on voit bien que les Rouges ne rentrent pas dans le même schéma d'infériorité. Et surtout, comment expliquer la carrière d'un Dioclès qui finit son parcours des plus glorieux chez les Rouges et y passe même quatorze ans? Nous citons une fois de plus Dioclès parce que son palmarès est le plus long et le plus détaillé, mais les exemples, déjà indiqués ou non, d'autres cochers rouges (Félix, à une époque haute, Polynicès, Musclosus l'Étrusque, Thallus, Térès — on pourrait aussi citer le Polydus de la mosaïque de Trèves) qui ont été aussi des stars ne manquent pas.<sup>80</sup> Bien mieux, Dioclès en 132,

<sup>79</sup> Le fait qu'il ait été *R(evocatus)* une fois en 19 et en 23 pourrait paraître curieux: faut-il comprendre qu'il a gagné (ou qu'il aurait gagné) l'épreuve annulée et recourue? Est-ce une façon de se mettre en avant en dépit de l'absence de victoire officielle?

<sup>80</sup> On se reportera à la prosopographie des cochers établie par G. HORSMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 46), 171-306.

alors qu'il a déjà dix ans d'expérience en quadrigé, quitte les Verts, autrement dit un des deux clubs dominants, pour les Rouges, un club "secondaire". Dans quel sport imagine-t-on qu'une vedette, au mieux de sa forme, abandonne les sommets pour poursuivre son parcours dans un club inférieur? C'est là une situation qui ne se produit qu'en fin de carrière, un peu avant la retraite définitive. Il faudrait supposer qu'il aurait connu un creux, une baisse de forme chez les Verts, mais sa réussite éclatante chez les Rouges aurait dû alors le propulser de nouveau quelque temps après, par exemple chez les Bleus, autre club de Ligue 1, si l'on ose ainsi s'exprimer! A. Cameron suppose que cette supériorité des Verts et des Bleus concerne surtout les clubs de supporters:<sup>81</sup> mais là encore comment accepter l'idée qu'une grande vedette ne porte pas les couleurs adulées par la foule, et les empereurs?<sup>82</sup> Et même s'il y a eu, dans ces années 132-146, une alliance Verts-Rouges, comme je l'ai supposé plus haut, il semble incompréhensible que Dioclès ait pu rester dans la branche mineure de cette équipe. En résumé, le succès et la gloire de plusieurs cochers appartenant à la faction rouge interdisent de penser qu'il y ait eu, au Haut-Empire en tout cas, une hiérarchie entre les couleurs qui aurait fait de la *russata* un club secondaire.<sup>83</sup> Autant sur la question des alliances entre factions, nous aurions tendance à aller au-delà des conclusions d'A. Cameron, en acceptant quant à nous l'idée d'une alliance régulière et normale dès le Haut-Empire, autant il nous semble que l'existence d'une hiérarchie entre les équipes doit être remise en question pour cette même époque. Tous les témoignages ne vont pas dans le même sens, et on ne saurait se satisfaire d'un schéma trop simpliste.

<sup>81</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), 55-56.

<sup>82</sup> Et le cas du cocher rouge Félix (PLIN. *Nat.* 7, 186) montre bien que les supporters de cette faction n'étaient pas moins passionnés que ceux des Bleus et des Verts.

<sup>83</sup> Et du coup, pour en revenir à une hypothèse soulevée plus haut, si les Rouges étaient aussi puissants à ce moment, une alliance Bleus-Verts n'a plus rien de choquant.

## 5. Conclusion

Nous pouvons donc aboutir à une assez bonne connaissance de certaines réalités du cirque romain, même si nous avons encore des lacunes importantes, comme l'a révélé notre interrogation finale sur la date d'apparition des factions en tant qu'entreprises solidement constituées, et cela en dépit d'une documentation assez étouffée sur les plans littéraire, épigraphique, archéologique et iconographique. Ces lacunes sont également fortes pour ce qui concerne les aspects financiers.<sup>84</sup> Certes, les palmarès comme celui de Dioclès nous apportent des renseignements précieux sur les sommes qui étaient en jeu lors des *ludi circenses*, mais ils ne nous livrent pas pour autant les détails du circuit de l'argent engagé dans ces affaires. “... toutes les sources sont muettes sur la formidable organisation financière et administrative des *factiones*, que l'on devine derrière les cochers”, note très justement R. Sablayrolles.<sup>85</sup> Nous voudrions terminer cet exposé par quelques réflexions à ce sujet. Et, comme nous avons commencé avec Dioclès, c'est encore avec lui que nous finirons.

Dioclès a donc gagné, en vingt-quatre années de carrière, en fait comme *agitator* aux guides d'un quadrigé, 35 863 120 sesterces: comment faut-il le comprendre? R. Sablayrolles semble penser que tout cet argent allait au cocher, et cela l'amène à faire des comparaisons sur la richesse fabuleuse de ce Lusitanien d'origine: “plus de 35 fois le cens minimum pour accéder à la condition sénatoriale”<sup>86</sup> Et si l'on compte annuellement, cela fait dans les bonnes années deux millions de sesterces soit

<sup>84</sup> Cette remarque ne vaut pas que pour les factions et il en est de même pour les sodalités chargées des spectacles de chasse en Afrique: voir la mise au point récente de C. VISMARA, “Amphitheatralia africana”, in *AntAfr* 43 (2007), 125-129.

<sup>85</sup> *Art. cit.* (n. 17), 298-299.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 298: la comparaison avec le personnage appelé Titus dans le *Satyricon*, 45, est formulée de façon un peu inexacte (“le même pactole que celui que lègue à son fils Titus, protecteur du *centonarius* Echion”) puisque c'est en fait ce Titus qui reçoit de son père en héritage trente millions.

“dix fois plus que le salaire des plus grands procurateurs équestres de l'époque”.<sup>87</sup> Chiffres astronomiques assurément mais cet argent allait-il entièrement dans la bourse de Dioclès? Plusieurs chercheurs ont estimé en effet que cet argent était partagé entre le cocher et son club, sa faction.<sup>88</sup> On peut penser que l'*agitator* ne touchait qu'un pourcentage sur ces gains, pourcentage qui pouvait croître évidemment avec sa réputation, sa célébrité, ces gains s'ajoutant peut-être à un salaire fixe: les *domini* devaient tout faire pour garder leurs vedettes, avaient donc tout intérêt à bien les rémunérer, ce qui n'empêchait pas les transferts à la suite certainement d'une surenchère du *dominus* d'une autre couleur. Le même type de problème se pose aussi pour les rapports du gladiateur et de son laniste, ou pour ceux du *venator* et de sa sodalité africaine.<sup>89</sup> Nous connaissons tout cela parfaitement aujourd'hui, et le terme de “mercato” qui est employé au football lors de certaines phases de transfert des joueurs en tout cas est plus que révélateur des pratiques financières en vigueur!<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Ainsi E. RAWSON, *art. cit.* (n. 25), 12 (et n. 50).

<sup>89</sup> On peut d'ailleurs s'interroger sur les relations entre sodalités et factions dans les provinces romaines d'Afrique, en tout cas à partir d'une certaine date. Plusieurs mosaïques montrent en effet des rapprochements entre ces deux structures, pour ne pas dire une absorption de l'une par l'autre: on voit par exemple des chevaux (cheval marqué *pra(sina)* à Cherchell) ou des cochers (cocher bleu à Dougga) entourés de tiges de millet ou de feuilles de lierre qui appartiennent à la signalétique des sodalités, comme A. Beschaouch l'a bien montré. En un pavément de Tébessa, comportant l'inscription *Fortuna Redux*, montre un athlète vainqueur à côté des symboles des *Telegenii* (croissant sur hampe, millet): ainsi, les deux composantes, hippique et athlétique, des *ludi circenses* seraient aussi liées aux sodalités. Dans son abondante production sur le sujet, voir par exemple A. BESCHAOUCH, “Que savons-nous des sodalités afro-romaines?”, in *CRAI* 150 (2006), 1401-1417 (où l'auteur indique que ces sodalités ont aussi étendu leur influence sur les *ludi scaenici*). Voir aussi, à propos de la mosaïque aux chevaux de Carthage où l'on retrouverait les symboles des *Taurisci*, J.-P. LAPORTE, “Sousse: la *domus* de Sorothus et ses mosaïques”, in *CRAI* 150 (2006), 1327-1392.

<sup>90</sup> Lors de ce “mercato”, il y a souvent une double négociation financière qui renvoie au sujet que nous abordons: la première entre les clubs pour fixer le montant du transfert, la seconde entre le joueur et son futur club à propos de son nouveau salaire.

Il est très difficile de trancher entre les deux options que nous venons de rappeler. En faveur de la thèse du partage des gains, on fera encore un rapprochement: aujourd'hui, le programme des courses hippiques, à Longchamp, Chantilly ou ailleurs, indique toujours les gains remportés par chaque cheval; c'est un indice pour les parieurs qui peuvent ainsi apprécier la valeur des différents partants. On conviendra que ce n'est pas pour autant le cheval qui garde ces sommes pour s'acheter son avoine.<sup>91</sup> Cet argent va d'abord au propriétaire, mais aussi au jockey ou au driver, à l'entraîneur, et le cheval brillant finit aussi par en profiter, car son *conditor* doit le soigner tout particulièrement! Et s'il n'y avait pas partage de ces gains dans le cirque de Rome, cela voudrait dire qu'en plus de l'argent des *praemia* (*pura* et *maiora*) destinés aux seuls cochers, les factions devaient aussi recevoir des magistrats, du préteur, des sommes très importantes pour engager dans les prochains jeux chars, chevaux et personnel de piste. Ce qui n'est pas impossible mais gonfle sérieusement les dépenses. Et, s'agissant de ce personnel des factions, comment concevoir le salaire de ceux qui, comme les *hortatores* ou les *sparsores*, ou comme les cochers de la même couleur dans les courses *binae* ou *ternae*, étaient directement engagés dans le déroulement des courses et avaient toute leur part dans la victoire ou la défaite de leur couleur. Sans parler des cochers des couleurs alliées qui contribuaient aussi au succès éventuel de l'équipe? On imagine mal comment tous ces acteurs de la course, qui prenaient des risques considérables, n'auraient pas été directement intéressés aux prix remportés et n'auraient pas bénéficié d'une sorte de "participation aux résultats", comme cela peut exister pour les employés d'une entreprise moderne.

En faveur de l'autre thèse, celle de gains empochés intégralement par le cocher vedette, on rappellera les protestations des

<sup>91</sup> Très symbolique à cet égard est la présence, à côté des chevaux vainqueurs, sur de nombreux documents, d'un *modius* rempli d'*aurei*, qui remplace la ration d'avoine: cf. par exemple N. DUVAL, "Les prix du cirque dans l'Antiquité tardive", in *Le cirque et les courses de chars*, op. cit. (n. 6), 137-138.

poètes satiriques comme Juvénal (7, 112-113) ou Martial (10, 74) qui s'indignent des sommes scandaleuses gagnées par ces cochers qui sont pourtant gens de peu, et de peu de culture: pour Juvénal, tel cocher des Rouges (encore les Rouges!) gagne autant que cent avoués, pour Martial, le cocher Scorpus rafle en une heure quinze bourses d'or. Oui, il y a là toute l'exagération normale chez un satirique, mais cette indignation recouvre bien une réalité. On peut certes interpréter de diverses façons le don de deux millions de sesterces accordé par Caligula à Eutychus, *agitator* de la faction verte, mais ce chiffre nous donne une bonne idée du train de vie de ces personnages.<sup>92</sup> Et puisque nous avons mis en avant le caractère plus que contemporain de ces sports romains, on ne peut que constater que les footballeurs et autres sportifs professionnels — mais c'est vrai aussi de certains acteurs de cinéma ou de chanteurs — gagnent aujourd'hui des fortunes qui ne peuvent même pas être comparées aux salaires les plus élevés des gens 'normaux', si on fait exception de quelques dirigeants de multinationales: en 2010, les gains du golfeur Tiger Woods dépassent le milliard de dollars, mais 86% de cette somme sont d'origine publicitaire. Les nombreux commentaires des intellectuels suscités de nos jours par ces débordements rappellent les propos des écrivains de la Rome antique. Nous avons nous-mêmes quelques difficultés non seulement à admettre mais même à réaliser pleinement les sommes fantastiques empochées par les vedettes du sport et de l'écran: pourquoi alors n'y aurait-il pas eu pareille disproportion entre les gains d'un Dioclès et ceux d'un procurateur équestre, au II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère?

L'anecdote que nous a transmise Suétone à propos du père de Néron nous fournira notre conclusion.<sup>93</sup> Cn. Domitius, qui appartenait à une famille manifestement passionnée par les chevaux de course, avait tenté, en tant que préteur, de ne pas

<sup>92</sup> SUET. *Cal.* 55, 7.

<sup>93</sup> SUET. *Nero* 5, 2. Sur ce point, voir aussi J. NELIS-CLÉMENT, *art. cit.* (n. 9), 274-275 (et n. 35).

verser leurs prix aux cochers vainqueurs:<sup>94</sup> ce qui semble indiquer que ceux-ci recevaient habituellement leur argent au cirque même; et on voit aussi Claude compter en public les *aurei* qu'il va distribuer aux gladiateurs.<sup>95</sup> Mais la protestation vient ensuite des *domini* des factions qui exigent que dorénavant ces prix soient bien versés directement après la course: et divers documents agonistiques, concernant différents spectacles sportifs ou non, semblent montrer qu'on était très attentif à cette question. Ce n'est pas un hasard si les sacs d'argent apparaissent souvent en très bonne place comme sur les mosaïques de Piazza Armerina ou de Baten Zammour. Il ne s'agissait pas seulement pour des magistrats ou des évergètes de promettre des prix, encore fallait-il payer comptant et rapidement les concurrents. On voit en tout cas, par l'affaire du père de Néron, que toute la faction était concernée par la victoire d'un des siens et son résultat financier. Mais était-ce parce qu'on partageait ce bénéfice à plusieurs ou parce que les directeurs des écuries voulaient protéger leurs cochers vedettes et leur prouver qu'ils étaient choyés dans la dite faction, et qu'ils n'avaient donc pas intérêt à la quitter? L'interrogation demeure.

<sup>94</sup> La question semble bien dépasser la seule personnalité du père de Néron et avoir concerné d'autres spectacles, comme le montrent les lettres d'Hadrien récemment publiées: l'empereur, qui a rencontré les athlètes et les artistes à Naples en 134, à l'occasion des Sebasta, insiste en effet sur le fait que, lors des *agônes*, l'argent des prix, enfermé dans une bourse la veille des épreuves, doit être exposé publiquement à côté des couronnes, et que ces prix doivent être versés sur-le-champ aux vainqueurs (sans parler d'autres subterfuges des organisateurs relevés par Hadrien). Voir W.J. SLATER, "Hadrian's Letters to the Athletes and Dionysiac Artists Concerning Arrangements for the 'Circuit' of Games", in *JRA* 21 (2008), 610-620 (et surtout 617-618), ainsi que J.-Y. STRASSER, "Qu'on fouette les concurrents..." À propos des lettres d'Hadrien retrouvées à Alexandrie de Troade", in *REG* 123 (2010), 585-622 (et surtout 596).

<sup>95</sup> SUET. *Claud.* 21.

## DISCUSSION

*M.L. Caldelli:* La questione delle *factiones* nei *Capitolia* mi chiama in causa. Come è noto, sappiamo da Svetonio che l'agone Capitolino era *triplex* e dunque prevedeva una sezione equestre. Le uniche altre due testimonianze che abbiamo al riguardo sono le iscrizioni di due *agitatores*, Gutta Calpurnianus e M. Aurelius Liber, legati rispettivamente ai Blu e ai Verdi. Troppo poco per avere certezze. Nel mio lavoro del '93 suggerivo l'ipotesi di un coinvolgimento delle *factiones*, contrario al modello greco, perché pensavo che nell'organizzazione della manifestazione romana sarebbe stato possibile utilizzare una infrastruttura preesistente (e, a Roma, la presenza delle *factiones* è molto forte). Ma si tratta solo di una ipotesi, nella consapevolezza della anomalia. L'assenza di documenti relativi alla sezione ippica, negli altri agoni occidentali di stampo greco (con l'esclusione dei *Sebasta*), non aiuta. È vero d'altra parte che nei *Sebasta* la presenza della prova del cavallo montato (*keles*) dovrebbe orientare, anche per l'agone romano, nella direzione del modello greco.

*J.-P. Thuillier:* Je crois précisément qu'on ne pouvait se passer des cochers des factions, et cela même dans le programme hippique des *certamina graeca* de Rome, dans la mesure où, à cette époque, ils étaient les seuls techniciens à avoir une expérience sportive suffisante. En revanche, il me paraît impossible que les factions elles-mêmes, en tant qu'entreprises de spectacle, aient pu être admises officiellement dans ce type de concours: c'est pourquoi j'ai suggéré les deux hypothèses présentées plus haut (participation individuelle ou en tant qu'employé d'un propriétaire individuel), qui permettent de comprendre comment des *agitatores* appartenant aux factions ont

pu être vainqueurs dans une épreuve des *Capitolia*, sans que leurs couleurs aient été réellement partie prenante dans le déroulement de la course équestre et la récompense finale.

*C. Kokkinia:* You have, I believe convincingly, argued that the alliances that are known to have existed among the factions may have been permanent ones. I wonder what effects alliances (whether permanent or temporary) might have had on the course of a race? More generally, do we know something about the consequences of alliances between factions for the mounting of games?

*J.-P. Thuillier:* Il est clair que, lorsque deux factions étaient alliées, cela avait des conséquences sur le déroulement même de la course, tel char des Rouges venant par exemple gêner par sa course oblique, bien attestée par les textes, celui des Blancs ou des Verts pour favoriser la victoire du cocher bleu, *primus agitator* de sa faction. Par ailleurs, même si nous n'avons aucun document à ce sujet, il est certain que des questions financières se posaient et que la faction alliée qui n'avait pas gagné mais qui avait contribué à la victoire devait obtenir sa part du *praemium* (mais quelle part?): des divergences sur ce point pouvaient sans doute conduire à un renversement d'alliance. Enfin, et pour se limiter à ce dernier point, il va de soi que des factions formant une équipe avaient un poids plus important vis-à-vis d'un magistrat *editor*, comme on le voit bien dans l'épisode relaté par Suétone et Dion Cassius.

*G. Chamberland:* Pour faire suite à votre excellente communication, j'aimerais faire quelques remarques sur les jeux du cirque ailleurs qu'à Rome. L'absence de cirques monumentaux et de témoignages épigraphiques dans des régions entières, telles les provinces danubiennes et même la plus grande partie de l'Italie, indique qu'une proportion importante des habitants de l'Empire n'ont que rarement ou peut-être même jamais assisté aux jeux du cirque. Évidemment, la découverte récente,

que vous avez d'ailleurs soulignée, d'un cirque à Colchester nous rappelle qu'un dossier archéologique (ou épigraphique) n'est jamais fermé, mais la richesse des données archéologiques et épigraphiques à travers l'Empire nous empêche d'attribuer ces silences au seul fruit du hasard des découvertes.

Or, la distribution géographique des inscriptions qui commémorent l'organisation de jeux du cirque est remarquable. Les témoignages proviennent surtout des petites communautés de la Bétique et des provinces africaines. Comme John Humphrey l'avait déjà remarqué, ces petits centres ont organisé des jeux du cirque probablement parce que l'élevage des chevaux y était une activité économique importante, mais les courses devaient y être d'une ampleur bien moindre que dans les grandes capitales provinciales. Les *causae spectaculorum* sont d'ailleurs surtout des événements d'importance assez mineure, comme à Murgi la dédicace d'une statue à une épouse décédée (*CIL II* 5490). Il est remarquable que certaines grandes cités pourvues d'un cirque monumental, et surtout les capitales provinciales occidentales comme Tarragone et Carthage, dont les dossiers épigraphiques sont riches de milliers d'inscriptions, n'ont pas même produit un seul texte mentionnant l'organisation de *ludi circenses*. Or, c'est dans les grandes cités que ces jeux étaient le plus fortement institutionnalisés, notamment là où les factions sont attestées. Il est pratiquement certain que les magistrats et les prêtres du culte impérial provincial étaient obligés de les organiser. À Carthage et à Tarragone, comme à Lyon ou à Mérida (même si on n'a pas de preuves de la présence des factions dans ces deux dernières), le titre de duumvir, de *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* ou de *flamen divi Augusti* portait en lui celui de 'curateur' des jeux du cirque ou des *munera* de gladiateurs. Des jeux dignes de ces grandes cités étaient sans doute trop dispendieux pour être produits en dehors du cadre des célébrations officielles, par exemple lors de dédicaces de statues. C'est donc une forte institutionnalisation, dont les factions étaient la cause (ou la conséquence) principale dans certaines cités, qui expliquerait les silences de l'épigraphie.

*J.-P. Thuillier:* Vous soulignez avec raison ces disparités géographiques et cette diversité dans la situation épigraphique. Humphrey avait déjà mis en lumière la différence entre les capitales provinciales où étaient installées des succursales des factions romaines et les agglomérations secondaires où les chevaux étaient fournis par des éleveurs, des propriétaires de haras, et où les courses équestres se déroulaient sur un cirque de campagne, sommairement aménagé avec quelques tribunes en bois pour les spectateurs privilégiés.

*J. Nelis-Clément:* Votre démonstration met bien en relief le rôle joué par les différentes factions dans l'organisation des courses de char, en particulier dans la ville de Rome, et l'analyse que vous présentez, notamment sur la base des carrières et des transferts des cochers les plus célèbres, illustre de façon convaincante les alliances qui s'opèrent entre les différentes factions. Vous montrez bien que les cochers sont assistés d'une équipe d'acolytes présents sur l'arène (*spartores, hortatores*) mais aussi dans les écuries (*conditores* etc.) ou dans les coulisses, sans parler des entraîneurs ou des directeurs des factions. Mais que sait-on des autres secteurs également impliqués dans l'organisation des *ludi circenses*, et qui nécessitent une certaine 'neutralité' ou indépendance par rapport aux factions? Je pense par exemple à ceux qui doivent entretenir l'arène, aux employés chargés d'actionner les oeufs ou dauphins servant à compter les tours, aux 'arbitres' figurés sur les mosaïques (on reconnaît certains d'eux aux fanions des quatre couleurs qu'ils tiennent dans les mains, agitant celui de la couleur qui réussit à passer en premier les *metae*), aux juges ou arbitres placés sur le *tribunal* qui peuvent exiger que l'on recommence la course comme on le voit chez Ovide, aux musiciens, aux responsables de la billetterie, lorsqu'il s'agit de spectacles payants, ou encore au personnel responsable des paris? Est-il possible qu'une partie de ce personnel (à Rome, ou ailleurs, par exemple dans une cité) soit également impliqué dans les autres types de spectacles organisés localement?

*J.-P. Thuillier:* La question que vous soulevez est très importante, mais il est difficile d'apporter une réponse. Là encore, on peut suggérer deux hypothèses à propos de ce personnel indispensable au bon déroulement des courses comme vous l'indiquez. Les *editores*, à Rome en tout cas, étaient puis préteurs, ou l'empereur lui-même, avaient-ils sous leurs ordres un corps d'agents, d'origine servile, spécialisé dans ces activités techniques liées aux jeux du cirque — mais on peut imaginer que ce même personnel pouvait aussi intervenir dans les jeux scéniques ou les *munera*, puisqu'il y avait même des gladiateurs impériaux? Dans le cas où seules les factions auraient désormais joué un rôle dans l'organisation et le déroulement des courses équestres, il est loisible de supposer que par un accord tacite entre les couleurs, ou par tirage au sort, chacune des factions ait fourni à tour de rôle ce personnel: la tentation de tricher en faveur de sa couleur était contrebalancée par les réactions des adversaires, le contrôle du public prompt à manifester son indignation, ainsi que par les sanctions des autorités... et le fait qu'un tel comportement pouvait se retourner contre sa propre faction lorsque le personnel rival arriverait aux commandes. Ainsi pouvait être préservée la neutralité que vous soulignez à juste titre.

*O. van Nijf:* First of all, an observation: you expressed, if I understood you well, some surprise at the fact that Diocles should have stayed with a less prominent faction, despite his exceptional talents. But there can be such a thing as club-loyalty: a modern example may be helpful. In the seventies a certain Coen Moulijn was the 'vedette' of the Rotterdam football team Feijenoord. At the peak of his career he received offers for an international transfer to Spain and Italy, where the biggest clubs are, but he never wanted to play for any other team. Apparently, therefore, the attitude exhibited by Diocles still persists today.

My question concerns the social status and social mobility of the charioteers. Some of them obviously had spectacular

careers, poor slaves becoming millionaires, so to speak; but is there any evidence for how common this was, and, if so, did any of these men — or their descendants — ever experience real social mobility? Did this kind of success also lead to social success, in the sense that the champion charioteers (or their sons) got integrated into the elite, for example? Do we, in fact, have good information about the status and careers of individual charioteers?

*J.-P. Thuillier:* Vous avez raison de signaler cette possibilité de loyauté envers un club: mais de tels cas de fidélité devaient être exceptionnels, et dans l'exemple moderne que vous citez, des raisons familiales ont pu jouer contre un déplacement à l'étranger. Si les palmarès épigraphiques fournissent plusieurs exemples d'anciens esclaves devenus millionnaires grâce à leurs succès en tant qu'*agitatores*, ces derniers n'ont pas entamé pour autant une 'carrière politique': comme Paul Veyne l'avait bien montré à propos des gladiateurs vedettes, les cochers également étaient à la fois adulés et quelque peu méprisés (sur le statut des cochers romains, voir G. Horsmann, *op. cit.* [n. 46]).

*J. Nollé:* Ich habe grosse Schwierigkeiten zu glauben, dass ein Sparsor während eines Pferdewettrennens in die Arena laufen durfte und dass er in der Lage war, die Pferde seines Rennstalls mit Wasser zu besprengen. Letzteres halte ich bei der Geschwindigkeit von Rennpferden für ausgeschlossen. Es hätte zudem die Gefahr bestanden, dass die eigenen Pferde vor ihm — einem plötzlich auftauchenden Hindernis — gescheut hätten. Ferner vermute ich, dass es verboten war, während des Rennens die Kampfbahn zu betreten und die Gespanne möglicherweise zu behindern. Ich glaube, dass die bildlichen Darstellungen die Sparsores als Chargen eines Rennstalles herausstellen, vielleicht sogar ehren wollen. Wahrscheinlich haben die Sparsores die Pferde vor oder nach dem Rennen besprengt.

J.-P. Thuillier: Toutes les sources, aussi bien littéraires qu'iconographiques, montrent que les *sparsores* (ou *spartores*) intervenaient pendant la course, après avoir puisé de l'eau à un bassin de l'euripe (pour les premières, voir en particulier saint Basile, *Lettre 222 aux Chalcidiens* (en 375): "... pour les chevaux de course l'eau répandue dans leur bouche, lorsque dans leur courte et violente respiration, ils aspirent en plein midi la poussière au milieu du stade" (traduction Y. Courtonne, CUF, t. 3, 1966). Le fait qu'on voit souvent, en particulier sur les sarcophages, ces *sparsores* étendus sur le sol de l'arène au milieu des chars en pleine action après avoir perdu leur amphore paillée, est très significatif. Et c'est précisément parce qu'ils courraient de grands dangers qu'ils étaient considérés comme des personnages importants des factions (moins certes que les *agitatores* vedettes). En tout cas, le fait qu'il y avait beaucoup de monde sur la piste du cirque pendant les courses elles-mêmes rendait la tâche des cochers très délicate.

RUTH WEBB

## THE NATURE AND REPRESENTATION OF COMPETITION IN PANTOMIME AND MIME

Pantomime is an interesting test case for the study of spectacles in the Roman Empire. It is a peculiarly Roman Imperial art form, having been created, according to ancient sources, under Augustus by two artists from the Greek world, Pylades and Bathyllus. Pantomime, as it is described to us by the literary and rhetorical sources, was essentially a solo art. The dancer, usually male, told stories drawn from the traditional mythological repertoire through gesture and actions alone, without the use of words. He was accompanied by a choir and musicians, as well as a singer who presented a text giving the story; but, by all accounts, the principal story-telling was done through the dancer's silent gestures.<sup>1</sup>

As a new creation, pantomime was not initially included among the contests at Greek *agônes*, although it did appear among the non-competitive 'fringe' entertainments. However, as Louis Robert and, more recently, William Slater and Jean-Yves Strasser have shown, it did come to acquire the dignity of competitive status in the second half of the second century. Before then, pantomime contests are documented in Italy. In

<sup>1</sup> On the pantomime, see M.-H. GARELLI, *Danser le mythe. La pantomime et sa réception dans la culture antique* (Louvain 2007); I. LADA-RICHARDS, *Silent Eloquence. Lucian and Pantomime Dancing* (London 2007); R. WEBB, *Demons and Dancers. Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 2008); *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*, ed. by E. HALL and R. WYLES (Oxford 2008).

this paper I first review the evidence for pantomime contests in the West and the East. Here my aim is simply to bring together the available evidence and to provide a fuller picture than is available elsewhere. In approaching the evidence, I was particularly interested in the apparent references to some kind of competitive structure to pantomime performance in first-century Rome and in the fate of pantomime contests in the fourth century, when the epigraphic evidence is lacking and the factions have not yet become involved in the organisation of theatrical entertainment.

The second part of the paper analyses the implications of the introduction of contests in pantomime from the perspective of the performance, asking what impact the element of competition might have had on the presentation of pantomime, as well as on the relationship between dancer, audience, and patron. Pantomime is a particularly interesting case study, both as a Roman creation and because of its very nature, for, unlike other dramatic forms, it was a solo art. The paper concludes with an analysis of victory in the visual representations of pantomimes, suggesting that the figure of the pantomime posed particular problems of representation.

## 1. Historical outline

The earliest use of the term *pantomimos* in Greek epigraphy is to a performance at a public feast by a certain Ploutogenes in circa 80 BCE, who is mentioned in an inscription celebrating the benefactions of a certain Zosimos.<sup>2</sup> Ploutogenes is described as being ‘able to delight [or ‘enchant’], by his art’<sup>3</sup> but he is

<sup>2</sup> *I.Priene* 113 (ll. 64-66) = E. CSAPO and W.J. SLATER, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor 1994), V, 22A. See also L. ROBERT, “Pantomimen im griechischen Orient”, in *Hermes* 65 (1930), 106-122, 114-115. Given the date, we cannot be sure exactly what was meant by *pantomimos* at this time.

<sup>3</sup> *I.Priene* 113 (ll. 65-66): Τὸν δυνάμενον τῇ τέχνῃ ψυχα] | γωγῆσαι παντομίμῳν [Πλ]ουτογένην.

included as an example of Zosimos' achievements as a benefactor, and not primarily for his own merits.<sup>4</sup> After this, *pantomimos* is not used in Greek sources (with very few exceptions): high-style atticising authors like Lucian and Libanios prefer the vaguer but classically correct term *orchesis* ('dance'), and inscriptions use various periphraseis to identify pantomime dancers. *Pantomimus* occurs in Latin sources, but the less precise term *bistrio* is also used of dancers.

### 1.1. The West: first and second centuries CE

The creation of the pantomime is attributed by ancient sources to the reign of Augustus (22 BCE). The importance of the Augustan period in the shaping of Roman imperial culture in the ensuing centuries is well established, and it is likely that Augustus was well aware of the political and cultural potential of the new art.<sup>5</sup> One might expect all the early performances of pantomime in Augustan Rome to have been straightforward displays paid for by a patron, whether in public or in private settings; however, there are indications that pantomime was performed as a competitive art from the outset. These come from one inscription and from literary sources. First, the description of Gaius Theoros (perhaps identifiable with Bathylus, one of the two dancers credited with the creation of Roman pantomime) as *victor pantomimorum* on a *tessera* confirms the existence of contests of some sort.<sup>6</sup> The literary testimonies are

<sup>4</sup> Later Greek texts and inscriptions use the term 'dance' (*όρχησις*) to designate the pantomime.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, R. BEACHAM, "The Emperor as Impresario. Producing the Pageantry of Power", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. by K. GALINSKY (Cambridge 2005), 151–174.

<sup>6</sup> CIL VI 10115 from Tivoli = ILS 5197 = E. CSAPO and W.J. SLATER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), V, 30. O. WEINREICH, *Epigramm und Pantomimus nebst einem Kapitel über einige nicht-epigrammatische Texte und Denkmäler zur Geschichte des Pantomimus* (Heidelberg 1948), 46 and H. LEPPIN, *Histrionen. Untersuchungen zur sozialen Stellung von Büchnenkünstlern im Westen des Römischen Reiches zur Zeit der Republik und des Principats* (Bonn 1992), 218 identify this dancer with Bathylus. V. ROTOLI, *Il Pantomimo. Studi e testi* (Palermo 1957), 312 and E.J. JORY,

from Tacitus and Quintilian. Quintilian relates an anecdote (*IO* 6, 3, 65) about a witty remark made by the emperor when watching two dancers *contendere*, a verb which certainly implies competition.<sup>7</sup> Tacitus' reference to unrest (*discordia*) resulting from the contest (*ex certamine*) of the *histriones* (i.e. pantomimes) at the games in honour of Augustus held shortly after that emperor's death may also point in the same direction.<sup>8</sup> As William Slater notes,<sup>9</sup> translators and commentators differ markedly in their interpretation of this passage. Slater himself understands that the event was a contest between pantomimes such as that mentioned in the *tessera*, pointing out that *certamen* is the regular Latin equivalent of *agôn*, while Woodman translates the key words as "the actors' competitiveness", implying a less formal rivalry.<sup>10</sup> The translation we choose thus depends to a great extent on our understanding of the organisation of pantomime performances at this period, while this depends in turn on how we interpret this passage. Further difficulties are introduced by Cassius Dio's account of the same event, which also mentions unrest but ascribes this to one dancer's refusal to perform for the fee (*misthos*) on offer, suggesting a straightforward,

"The Early Pantomime Riots", in *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. by A. MOFFATT (Canberra 1984), 57-66 are sceptical. His adversaries are named on the verso of the *tessera* as Pylades, Nomius, Hylas and Pierus; the first three are known as dancers in the early principate. See SUET. *Aug.* 45, 7 for Hylas and SEN. *Contr.* 3 pref. 10 for Nomius.

<sup>7</sup> See M.-H. GARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 178.

<sup>8</sup> TAC. *Ann.* 1, 54, 3 Furneaux: *Iudos Augustales tunc primum coepitos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum.* On the riots see W.J. SLATER, "Pantomime Riots", in *CLAnt* 13 (1994), 120-144: 124, who takes these references as evidence of formal pantomimic contests at this early period. E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 6), suggests that Tacitus "may loosely have attributed a traditional cause for the riot".

<sup>9</sup> W.J. SLATER *art. cit.* (n. 8), 124, n. 25.

<sup>10</sup> A.J. WOODMAN, trans., *Tacitus. The Annals* (Indianapolis 2004); cf. J.C. YARDLEY, trans., *Tacitus. The Annals: The Reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero* (Oxford 2008), who translates "rivalry amongst the actors" and the interpretation of M.A. CAVALLARO, *Spese et spettacoli. Aspetti economici-strutturali degli spettacoli nella Roma giulio-claudia* (Bonn 1984), 127 "da rivalità fra gli *histriones*", cited by W.J. SLATER, *art. cit.* (n. 8), 124 n. 25.

paid performance. Such a performance could, of course, involve a competitive element, but Dio, who would have been thoroughly familiar with the idea of pantomime competitions, makes no mention of this.<sup>11</sup> He adds the further information that the dancer's failure to appear prompted the tribunes to convene an immediate meeting of the Senate to approve the extra funds.

Moving on to the reign of Nero, Tacitus also alludes indirectly to pantomime contests when, speaking of the celebration of the first Neronia in 60 CE, he notes that the pantomimes had returned (from banishment) but were not allowed to compete in sacred contests.<sup>12</sup> This does not, of course, exclude competitive performances of other kinds. In addition, the well-documented existence of bands of supporters, or 'claques', attending dancers also implies some sort of competition, although this may have taken the form of rivalry among dancers for employment.<sup>13</sup>

Taken together, these pieces of evidence do suggest some kind of competitive form to pantomime contests from the very beginning of the art in Rome. The surest indication is the description of Theoros as victor in *CIL VI* 10115. As we have

<sup>11</sup> DIO CASS. 56, 47, 2: καν τούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν ὀρχηστῶν τινος μὴ ἔθελγάσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ τεταγμένῳ μισθῷ ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐν τοῖς Αὐγουσταλίοις ἐσελθεῖν, ἐστασιασε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ταρατθμενοι πρὸ τοὺς δημάρχους τήν τε βουλὴν αὐθημερὸν συναγαγεῖν, καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι πλειόν τι τοῦ νενομισμένου ἀναλῶσαι. The suggestion of E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 6), that this first disturbance was then followed by further disturbances when the performance took place makes it possible to reconcile the two accounts, but there is no mention of a second disturbance in Dio.

<sup>12</sup> TAC. *Ann.* 14, 21, 4: *redditi in scaenam pantomimi certaminibus sacris prohibebantur*. See M.L. CALDELLI, *L'agon Capitolinus. Storia e protagonisti dall'istituzione domizianea al IV secolo* (Roma 1993), 74; M.-H. GARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 189, suggests that they may have performed at the *Iuvenalia*.

<sup>13</sup> Another function for claques is suggested by V. DANIELSON, "Artists and Entrepreneurs. Female Singers in Cairo during the 1920s", in *Women in Middle Eastern History*, ed. by N.R. KEDDIE and B. BARON (New Haven-London 1991), 292-309: 302. The author attributes the emergence of "cliques of supporters" or "courts" to the singers' need to counteract the presence of rowdy elements in the audience.

seen, the interpretation of Tacitus' reference to a *certamen* at the *ludi Augustales* is complicated both by difficulties of translation and by Dio's version of events (in which, if anything, the contest is between dancers and patrons and, perhaps, between tribunes and Senate). In addition, both authors were writing well after the events, as was Quintilian. These pantomimic contests can perhaps be compared with the competitions for best comic actor documented for the Republican era.<sup>14</sup> Alternatively, they may on occasion have been more spontaneous contests of the type described by Macrobius (*Sat.* 2, 7, 7-8), speaking of the occasion at which Publius Syrus challenged other mimes to a contest during games given by Caesar.<sup>15</sup>

These uncertainties, however, point towards the range of forms which competition could take: informal rivalry for resources and patronage, semi-formal competitions organised within the context of paid performances, and, as occurs in the second century (if not earlier), formal competitions within the context of the agonistic festivals in East and West.

### 1.1.1. Pantomime in the western *agônes*

Greek-style games were introduced in Naples (the Sebasta) in 2 CE, but there is no trace of pantomime contests being held there until the reign of Trajan. The Capitoline games, established by Domitian in 86, were the first Greek-style contest in Rome itself to become a long-lasting celebration. The *agôn musicus* included contests for Greek and Latin orators, citharodes,

<sup>14</sup> E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 6), and P.G. BROWN, "Actors and Actor-Managers at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence", in *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. by P. EASTERLING and E. HALL (Cambridge 2002), 234 both citing PLAUT. *Amph.* 64-67 and *Poen.* 36-39, where the actions of *favatores* are criticised.

<sup>15</sup> The historical value of this story is dubious, given the late date of Macrobius' anecdote, combined with the fact that it seems to confuse this occasion with that described at 2, 7, 1 and by SUET. *Jul.* 39, at which Laberius was forced by Caesar to appear on stage but given 500,000 *sesterces* to restore his status as a knight.

cithara players accompanied by choirs, and solo cithara players without vocal accompaniment,<sup>16</sup> heralds, comic and tragic actors, *aulos* players and poets.<sup>17</sup> As Caldelli argues, given Domitian's opposition to pantomime and the absence of any mention of pantomime in the sources, it is unlikely that it figured among the official contests at the foundation of the games.

The question therefore arises of when pantomime came to be introduced into *agônes* in the West. The earliest pantomime to be securely documented as a victor in such contests is Marcus Ulpius Augusti libertus Apolaustus (one of the many Apolausti), a freedman of Trajan who was crowned in unspecified games and also won what seems to be the overall contest between winners in all theatrical disciplines (*dia pantôn* in Greek).<sup>18</sup> The contest in which he triumphed is not named in the inscription, but Leppin proposes the Sebasta at Naples and argues that pantomime contests were introduced to this *agôn* between 103 and 117 CE.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to note that, as we have seen, Tacitus makes a point of stating that pantomimes were not allowed to compete at sacred contests during the reign of Nero; the way in which he phrases this remark (using the imperfect *prohibebant*) suggests that, by the time he was writing (in the last years of the first century and the beginning of the second), the situation may well have changed.

In the specific case of the Sebasta at Naples, the existence of pantomime contests appears to be confirmed by the principal speaker in Lucian's dialogue, *On the Dance*, 32 (probably composed before 165 CE), according to whom one city in Italy of Chalcidian origin had already admitted pantomime among the contests or, more literally (and more ambiguously),

<sup>16</sup> SUET. *Dom.* 4, 9 see M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 68–69.

<sup>17</sup> These specialities are recorded in inscriptions, see M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 12).

<sup>18</sup> CIL VI 37841 (CIL VI 10114 = ILS 5184). See H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 205; J.-Y. STRASSER, "L'épreuve artistique διὰ πάντων", in *Historia* 55 (2006), 300; V. ROTOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 317; M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 31.

<sup>19</sup> H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 174 and 205.

had “added it as an adornment to their contest”.<sup>20</sup> This raises the question of whether the Neapolitan Sebasta were really the only western contests to have admitted pantomime as a competition by Lucian’s day (rather than as a hired fringe entertainment). Lucian’s speaker certainly implies that this was the only exception to the usual exclusion of pantomimes at the time, but I believe it would be dangerous to place too much weight on this remark by a fictional character in a work whose date, plausible as it is, is based on probabilities, particularly given that this character is the creation of an author who is notoriously difficult to pin down.<sup>21</sup>

By the late second century, several other victors in sacred contests are known in western contexts: P. Aelius Pylades (Pylades III), a freedman of Hadrian, and his pupil L. Aurelius Pylades (Pylades IV) describe themselves as *hieronicae* in an inscription recording their erection of a building or monument in Genoa.<sup>22</sup> Pylades IV is also the subject of an honorific inscription from Puteoli which mentions four victories. One Apolaustus is recorded in *CIL X* 3716 = *ILS* 5189 as victor in two sacred contests and as an overall victor on one occasion (under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus).<sup>23</sup> After this, other Apolausti are mentioned in Latin inscriptions as sacred victors

<sup>20</sup> LUCIANUS, *Salt.* 32: ἐῶ λέγειν ὅτι πόλις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους ἡ ἀριστη, καὶ τοῦτο ὥσπερ τι κόσμημα τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνι προστέθεικεν. On the date of this treatise see D.S. ROBERTSON, “The Authenticity and Date of Lucian *De Saltatione*”, in *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway on His Sixtieth Birthday, 6 August, 1913*, ed. by E.C. QUIGGIN (Cambridge 1913), 180-185.

<sup>21</sup> L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 2), 121 notes that it would not be surprising if Lucian failed to mention contests that existed in Rome, which, unlike Naples, lay outside the Greek cultural area. C.P. JONES, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge Mass. 1986), 72 also notes Lucian’s selective treatment of the pantomime’s Roman history. See also H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 174.

<sup>22</sup> *CIL V* 7753. H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 286-287. V. ROTOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 318.

<sup>23</sup> See M.L. CALDELLI, “Ancora su L. Aurelius Augg. lib. Apolaustus Memphius Senior”, in *Epigraphica* 55 (1993), 45-57; H. LEPPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 207 notes that it is not certain that this Apolaustus is a dancer, although the name is strongly associated with pantomimes.

and victors in the *dia pantōn*.<sup>24</sup> Later still, an unnamed pantomime during the reign of Caracalla won a prize at the Palatine games and may be referred to as a victor at the Sebasta on the severely damaged inscription recording his career.<sup>25</sup>

Another unnamed dancer, celebrated in a Greek inscription from Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 192, see below) dated to the period 176-180 CE,<sup>26</sup> is credited with victories at the Eusebeia at Puteoli (founded by Antoninus Pius) and is said to have ‘pleased [audiences] in? Roman games’ (ἀρέσαντα διὰ ἀγώ[νων] / ‘Ρωμαίων). The date at which pantomime contests were introduced into the Eusebeia is unclear, particularly if we retain a certain scepticism regarding the use of Lucian’s *On the Dance* as a historical source. More intriguing is the reference in the inscription to Roman ‘contests’ or ‘games’. The formulation, discussed in detail by Slater and Strasser, is unusual. Slater proposes “the *certamina* among the great pantomimes that caused such trouble for law and order in the theaters of the capital”.<sup>27</sup> Strasser suggests that the odd phrasing, which continues καὶ τειμηθέ[ντα] (“and honoured”), followed by the names of Antoninus, Commodus, Verus and Faustina as the source of the honours (the formulation makes clear that the last two were both deceased at the time the inscription was written), implies a non-competitive performance in the context of *ludi*. There remains the possibility of a contest organised within such a context, as suggested above. However, if the dancer in question did win a prize of some sort, it is strange that the vocabulary of victory is not used in connection with his

<sup>24</sup> CIL VI 10117 = ILS 5190 (L. Aurelius Augg. lib. Apolaustus Memphius (Senior) = Apolaustus V): see M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 77-78 and *art. cit.* (n. 23).

<sup>25</sup> First published by M. SORDI, “L’epigrafe di un pantomimo recentemente scoperta a Roma”, in *Epigraphica* 15 (1953), 104-121. See H. LEPPIN, “Zur anonymen Pantomimen-Inscription aus Rom”, in *Epigraphica* 51 (1989), 29-46; M.-H. GARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 229-231.

<sup>26</sup> W.J. SLATER, “Inscriptions von Magnesia 192 Revisited”, in *GRBS* 37 (1996), 195-204; J.-Y. STRASSER, “Inscriptions grecques et latines en l’honneur de pantomimes”, in *Tyche* 19 (2004), 175-212: 188-194.

<sup>27</sup> W.J. SLATER, *art. cit.* (n. 26), 203.

performances in Rome. In addition, the verb *ἀρέσκω* does not appear in association with victory in other inscriptions.<sup>28</sup> It seems, therefore, that his Roman appearances were not competitive in any sense of the word, but were sufficiently well received for the emperors to give him special honours.

Finally, *CIL X* 6219 = *ILS* 5187, although it does not record participation in a particular contest, is an interesting indication of the importance of victory to artists and of the religious practices of dancers. The inscription simply records the fulfillment of a vow to Mercury Invictus by L. Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius (usually identified as Apolaustus V, see above) in the late second century.<sup>29</sup>

The epigraphic evidence from Italy therefore shows that pantomime was introduced gradually from the reign of Trajan and only into a few Greek-style *agônes*. While pantomimes were able to compete in some of these festivals, at others they were still excluded from competition and able only to perform as hired acts, part of the festival ‘fringe’, although particularly successful performances might be rewarded with special honours, as in *I.Magnesia* 192.

### *1.2. In the East: second to third centuries*

*I.Magnesia* 192 is also the earliest epigraphic evidence for pantomime contests in the East.<sup>30</sup> The unnamed artist (whose

<sup>28</sup> It occurs in the epitaphs of a female mime, Chrysopolis, *IK-Klaudiu Polis* 17 (= *SEG* 36, 1139) and a “Bacchic dancer”, *IK-Klaudiu Polis* 83 (= *SEG* 36, 1138). It is also used of the impromptu performance of the daughter of Herodias at Herod’s feast in the *New Testament*, *Matthew*, 14.6. The Latin equivalent, *placuit*, is found in *CIL XII* 188 = *ILS* 5258, the epitaph of the twelve-year old Septentrio, who danced at Antibes. Again, there is no question of contests.

<sup>29</sup> See S. EVANGELISTI, “Testimonianze epigrafiche relative ad attori e a spettacoli scenici nel Latium adiectum”, in *Scienze dell’Antichità* 12 (2004-2005), 655-667: 661-662.

<sup>30</sup> See L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 2); W.J. SLATER, “The Pantomime Tiberius Iulius Apolaustus”, in *GRBS* 36 (1995), 263-292; J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 26); G.W. BOWERSOCK, “Aristides and the Pantomimes”, in *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, ed. by W.V. HARRIS and B. HOLMES (Leiden-Boston

discipline is given the unusual title of ‘rhythmic tragic poetry’) won victories in the West and in the East, at the Epheseia and the Leukophryena at Magnesia itself. Further contests are added to the list by the inscriptions from Delphi and from Ephesos honouring the dancer Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos, studied by Louis Robert and, more recently, by William Slater and Jean-Yves Strasser. The inscription from Delphi (*FD* 3.1, 115) refers to the first ever pantomime contest at the sacred games at Pergamon, the *Olympia Kommodeia Sebasta koina Asias*. Two other inscriptions, *IK-Ephesos* 2070 and 2071, also honouring the same Apolaustos and originally belonging to a single statue base, give further information. *IK-Ephesos* 2071 mentions an eiselastic victory at a contest whose title is lost but restored as the Pergamon victory by both Slater and Strasser, and a further sacred victory at the first ever pantomime contest at Thebes (also under Commodus). *IK-Ephesos* 2070 also includes a mention of a silver crown given to Apolaustos at the Aktia at Nikopolis (“for the sake of honour”,  $\tauιμῆς χάριν$ ). Strasser suggests that the dancer performed as a paid act at this festival and was granted a crown as a special honour to recognise the quality of his performance. His career thus illustrates a variety of types of performance and is particularly interesting, like the Magnesia inscription, as an illustration of the evolution in the opportunities open to dancers (from Italian contests to the East, from the consolation prize of special honours after a particularly successful paid performance to ‘proper’ victory in a sacred contest).<sup>31</sup> The long, incomplete lists of grants of citizenship, statues and memberships of *boulai*

2008), 69–77; 74–75 cites a mid-to-late second-century inscription from Sparta (*SEG* 11, 838) as a further example of early participation by a pantomime in international thymelic competitions. The performer in question, Theodosos, is however defined as a *tragôdos* from Sidon, and I do not see any reason to count him as a dancer, rather than as a tragic actor (or possibly a singer, as documented in later periods).

<sup>31</sup> This crown is not mentioned in the inscription from Delphi. Slater takes this as evidence that this inscription is earlier. Strasser argues to the contrary that, once Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos had won a real victory at a sacred contest, this ersatz crown was no longer worth recording.

granted to this dancer also show how widely disseminated the dance was in the East by the late second century. The presence of several cities known as the sites of significant festivals suggests that Apolaustos performed there as a ‘fringe’ act and was granted these privileges as another sort of consolation prize.

More difficult to interpret is the elaborate epitaph of the dancer Krispos, who was originally from Alexandria but who died at Heraclea Pontica (*IK-Heraclea Pontica* 9). The inscription, dated to the second or third century, claims that he “took the first crown for rhythmic tragedy” ( $\tauῆς ἐνρύθμου τραγῳδίας στέφος λαβὼν τὸ πρῶτον$ ). Several interpretations are possible, including that the prize referred to was not “the first” at a particular contest but was the dancer’s first prize, won just before his death.<sup>32</sup> It is also possible, given the highly poetic language of this particular inscription, that the crown is metaphorical and that  $\piρῶτος$  here is to be understood in terms of quality (‘the best’) rather than chronology.<sup>33</sup> Even if the mention of the crown is not to be taken literally, its presence is an important indication that the vocabulary of victory in sacred contests could now be associated with dancers.

One final piece of papyrological evidence adds to the picture in an unexpected way. *P. Flor.* I 74, dated to 181 CE, is a contract for the hire of two *pantomimoi* (the only occurrence of the word in the Egyptian documents) to perform for five days in the village of Ibion Sesymbotheos at an unspecified festival. The contract states that the dancers are to bring their “entire orchestra of musicians and others” ( $\muεθ' ής ἔχετε συμφωνίας πάσης μουσικῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων$ ) and are to receive the sum of

<sup>32</sup> This is the solution preferred by J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 26), 206–207.

<sup>33</sup> On the use of the verb  $\sigmaτεφανώω$  simply to mean “to honour”, see W.J. SLATER, “Deconstructing Festivals”, in *The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary Studies*, ed. by P.J. WILSON (Oxford 2007), 21–47: 34. On the use of the Latin *primus* to express the exceptional quality of a performer (applied to a person) see M.L. CALDELLI, “Varia agonistica Ostiensia”, in *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica. Actes de la IXe Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain, Macerata, 10–11 novembre 1995*, a cura di G. PACI (Pisa 1998), 225–247: 237, n. 29.

36 drachmas per day, along with bread and oil. At the end of the section specifying the payment, the impresario adds that the dancers are to be given two drachmas "for the price (or value) of the crown" ( $\bar{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho\tau\mu\eta\varsigma\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}[\tau\epsilon\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu]$ ). Wilcken, who was the first to suggest the reading  $[\sigma]\tau\epsilon\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , pointed out the possible connection with the practice recorded in other papyri of offering a "crown", or sometimes an amount of money in lieu of a crown, as a gift from subjects to their rulers.<sup>34</sup> He concluded, however, that the wording in this particular case implied that a real crown was given to the dancers, the cost of which was borne by the impresario. The inclusion of this item among the payments to be made to the dancers is a further indication that this "crown" or "wreath" is not simply connected to the festivities in general but is specifically linked to the dancers and to their performance. The mention of the sum of two drachmas may be a way of stipulating the cash value of the prize, as in some agonistic inscriptions; alternatively, the wording may imply that the dancers were to supply the crown and to be reimbursed, the cash value being added to their payment.<sup>35</sup> Of greater interest, however, is the question of how the crown related to the dancers' performance. Marjaana Vesterinen's suggestion that the dancers were to stage a contest as part of their performance is intriguing, as it shows how competition might be integrated into a paid performance (even in

<sup>34</sup> U. WILCKEN, "Zu den Florentiner Papyri und den Leipziger Papyri", in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 4 (1908), 423-486: 452. The original editor of the papyrus, G. VITELLI, had been unable to decipher the text at this point. Wilcken's emendation is reproduced by M. VANDONI, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci* (Milano 1964) no. 17, 32-33. On the crowns as gifts to the rulers, see U. WILCKEN, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*, Vol. I (Leipzig-Berlin 1899), 295-302.

<sup>35</sup> Where the value of prize-crowns is stipulated in inscriptions a genitive of price or value is used, sometimes with  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$ . See, for example, H.J. METTE, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* (Berlin-New York 1977), II C 2. The expression  $\bar{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho\tau\mu\eta\varsigma$  occurs in *P. Oxy.* 5058, l. 21 relating to a sale of land, translated as "in respect of the price", but the context does not help to illuminate the Florence papyrus. I am grateful to both Jocelyne Nelis-Clément and Pierre Ducrey for discussion of this point.

such a relatively humble context as an Egyptian village festival).<sup>36</sup> It is also an indication that the conception that pantomime was a competitive discipline was widespread by the end of the second century.

Finally, one iconographic document linking pantomime and victory (and thus contests) exists for the third century. This is a terracotta roundel found at Orange, now in the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale, St-Germain-en-Laye, which shows a male figure holding a mask with closed mouth in his raised right hand and a thyrsus in the other.<sup>37</sup> He is accompanied by a smaller figure holding a palm frond and an object that may be a scroll. At ground level there is a representation of a water organ. The roundel also bears a relief inscription with the words *NICA PARTHENOPAEE*. Parthenopaeus was clearly involved in a formal contest whose prize is represented by the palm.

### 1.2.1. Pantomimes as overall victors

An important additional point is that several pantomimes are to be found among the victors of the *dia pantōn*, the final contest pitting the victors of various genres against each other. The earliest example is the victory of Marcus Ulpius Apolaustus (see above, note 18), probably at the Sebasta and probably in the reign of Trajan. The second two lines of the brief inscription read *coronatus adversus histriones / et omnes scaenicos artifices XII* i.e., as Leppin suggests, he defeated twelve fellow victors in other arts to win the overall prize (having first defeated the other *histriones*, i.e. pantomimes). Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos is another. Strasser's study of the *dia pantōn* lists five or six pantomimes as overall victors, compared to five *aulos* players and four actors of comedy and tragedy combined (at least one of whom

<sup>36</sup> M. VESTERINEN, *Dancing and Professional Dancers in Roman Egypt*, PhD. Diss. (Helsinki 2007), 61.

<sup>37</sup> Illustrations in M.-H. GARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 6 and E. HALL and R. WYLES, *op. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 0.1.

is qualified as *pais*).<sup>38</sup> Within the small sample of surviving records, pantomime was therefore relatively well represented in this category of contest, at least in Rome and Naples, implying that it enjoyed particular popularity among the public.

### 1.2.2. Mime

The situation regarding mime is less clear. The main evidence for the existence of competitions in mime is *IK-Tralleis* 110, a statue base dated by Robert to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third, celebrating Flavios Alexandros Oxeidas from Nicomedia. The artist is described as *Asionikes*, that is a victor in the Asian Games, and as having won eighteen victories in Asia and twenty-six in Lycia and Pamphylia, which suggests a wide diffusion of mime contests.<sup>39</sup> Bassus, a performer whose art is not specified, is also described as *Asionikes* in an inscription probably dating to the third century that was found backstage at the theatre at Aphrodisias.<sup>40</sup> Other performers named in these inscriptions are described as Nemean victors (1, 3.ii) and Olympic victors (1, 4), but, once again, their disciplines are not stated (although the name *Philologos* suggests a mime).<sup>41</sup> The epitaph for the mime actress Kurilla mentions the “crowns of glory”, *doxēs ... stephanous*, that she won on stage,<sup>42</sup> but, as in

<sup>38</sup> Strasser prefers to interpret the titles *tragôdos* and *kômôdos* in these inscriptions as referring to ‘artistes lyriques’. Although it is attractive on etymological grounds, this interpretation seems to push the predominance of ‘singing actors’ too early and does not take into account the fact that the same artist can be called both *tragôdos* and *hypokritês* (cf. I.E. STEPHANES, *Διονυσιακοί Τεχνίται. Συμβολές στην πρωτοπογραφία του θεάτρου και της μουσικής των αρχαίων Ελλήνων* [Heraklion 1988], no. 924, Euarchos, who is described both as *kômôdos* and as *hypokritês palaias kômôdias*). See further B. LE GUEN, “Le palmarès de l’acteur-athlète. Retour sur Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1080 (Tégée)”, in *ZPE* 160 (2007), 97–107.

<sup>39</sup> L. ROBERT, “ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ”, in *REG* 49 (1936), 235–254: 245–246.

<sup>40</sup> CH. ROUECHÉ, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London 1993), 18 (1.5.iv) = *IAph2007*, 8.20.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the *biologos* (i.e. mime) Tib. Claudius Philologus Theseus in *IK-Ephesos* 1135.

<sup>42</sup> Peek *GVI* 672, *SEG* 12, 325.

the case of the dancer Krispos, the lack of precision makes it unclear whether these are real prizes or a metaphorical expression of success.

### 1.3. *The fourth century*

In his study of the Greek and Latin inscriptions in honour of pantomimes, Jean-Yves Strasser suggests that pantomime was never truly established as a competitive discipline (with the exception of certain regions like Syria). He uses the third-century inscriptions from Ostia honouring M. Aurelius Pylades, who is not described as *victor* but is said to have been “commended” (*probatus*) by the emperors Valerian and Gallienus, to show that contests were not widespread. The impression that pantomime contests flourished briefly in the late second and early third centuries, only to disappear, is certainly encouraged by the epigraphic evidence studied by Strasser. But a lack of inscriptions does not necessarily mean that a phenomenon ceased to exist, particularly as the ‘epigraphic habit’ wanes. What is more, there is evidence to suggest that pantomime continued to be a competitive discipline up until the sixth century, although this evidence is not easy to interpret.

In this respect, it is unfortunate that the situation in the fourth century is less than clear. The evidence comes mainly from Antioch, always a thriving centre for the theatre and the home of the games at Daphne.<sup>43</sup> Pantomime and mime dominated the stage (along with *tragôdoi*, presumably now singers of excerpts, and kithara players). The nature of the sources, however, makes it extremely hard to extract any definite information about the organisation of the shows and the role of competition. Critics of the theatre, like John Chrysostom, are

<sup>43</sup> See J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Antioch. City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972), and E. SOLER, *Le sacré et le salut à Antioche au IVe siècle apr. J.-C. Pratiques festives et comportements religieux dans le processus de christianisation de la cité* (Beyrouth 2006), esp. 82 ff. M. CASELLA, “Les spectacles à Antioche d’après Libanios”, in *AntTard* 15 (2007), 99–126.

interested primarily in stressing the moral harm done by watching mime and pantomime and are generally unconcerned about the economic aspects of the shows (although Chrysostom does allude to this on occasion, in order to criticise the waste of resources involved). The documentary evidence that exists from the *Theodosian Code* shows that the financing of spectacles and the management of performers were the main preoccupations of the authorities.

There is no doubt that musical *agônes* survived throughout the fourth century. For Rome, Caldelli is able to trace the history of the Capitoline Games up to the middle of the fourth century.<sup>44</sup> In the East, John Chrysostom confirms the continued existence of competitions for citharodes and *tragôdoi* in *On the Priesthood* 5, 1, when he discusses the challenges involved in public speaking, comparing the attitude of the preacher's audience to that of the audience of a competition, who have not come to learn but to take sides for or against the speaker and to derive pleasure from the performance, as when they watch *tragôdoi* or *kitharôdoi*. Chrysostom's use of the analogy shows that he expected the example to be familiar to his readers.

However, it is hard to define with any certainty the place of pantomime in the games or to understand the nature of the pantomime performances that we do hear about. Two passages in Libanios' 64<sup>th</sup> Oration, the *Reply to Aristides on Behalf of the Dancers*, do seem to suggest that pantomime contests continued. At *Or. 64, 58* he refers to spectators sitting as judges (*κριταῖ*) of the dancers, while at *Or. 64, 93* he refers to arguments between spectators who disagree ("fighting with words" and not with their hands) about the relative merits of particular dancers.<sup>45</sup> Though they are not conclusive, these remarks do seem appropriate to spectators at a contest.

<sup>44</sup> M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 112-113.

<sup>45</sup> LIB. *Or. 64, 92* ὅταν γάρ διηρημένοι ταῖς σπουδαῖς, οἱ μὲν ὡς τοῦτον, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἔκεινον, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἔτερον, βοήν μὲν ἐγείρωσι τραχεῖαν, συμπεσόντες δὲ ἐρίζωσι προτιθεὶς ἔκαστος τῶν ἄλλων ὃν ἥρηται τὰ χεῖρε μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ

Another important indication of the competitive nature of pantomime in fourth-century Antioch is to be found in Libanios' allusions to the dancers' supporters or 'cliques' in his orations on political matters, in which he displays an attitude towards dance that is very different from that of his 64<sup>th</sup> oration.<sup>46</sup> The most famous of these speeches is the speech on the Riot of the Statues that followed an attempt by Theodosius to raise taxes in 387. Libanios blames the unrest and seditious behaviour on supporters who "place the dancers above the sun, the moon and the clouds themselves" (*Or. 19, 28*). These groups of supporters are said elsewhere to be paid by the dancers (*Or. 41, 7*), who have themselves received a payment from the city (*Or. 26, 24*). The existence of such groups, which recall the 'cliques' of the early empire, suggest fierce competition between dancers, but the questions raised in the discussion of the earlier period apply equally to fourth-century Antioch. It thus remains unclear to what extent this competition took the form of contests and to what extent it was an informal competition for resources (here, it is interesting to compare the experiences of Libanios himself, as set out in his *Autobiography* [*Or. 1*], in which rivalry between sophists was carried out both in formal contests and in conflict in daily life, including an attempt to silence Libanios himself by witchcraft).

The most significant argument for the continuation of competition in pantomime throughout the fourth century is perhaps the clear association of dance, competition and victory in fifth-century sources (see below). The attachment of pantomimes and mimes to the factions at some point in the fifth century certainly implies that their performances were competitive. It seems unlikely that competition in pantomime (and mime) disappeared in the fourth century, to be reinstated later; but, of course, this scenario is not entirely impossible.

σωφρονεῖν, λόγω δὲ μαχόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἐρρώσθαι. The example is given to support the argument that the dance does not make spectators weak.

<sup>46</sup> I prefer to attribute this difference to the genre and function of the speeches rather than to see it as a sign of a change of heart on Libanios' part.

### 1.4. Fifth and sixth centuries

For the mid-fifth century, the evidence linking pantomimes and victory is mainly iconographic. A series of contorniate medallions, originally from Rome, bear representations of figures in long robes, standing in poses very similar to that of Parthenopaeus on the Orange terracotta, but holding crowns or palms in their raised right hands (Pl. 6.1). They are accompanied by a variety of different, smaller figures, and sometimes by inscriptions containing the words *NICA* or *VINCAS* or representations of palms.<sup>47</sup> The long robes induced Alföldi to make the identification with pantomime dancers, and this identification is supported by the names when they are given: both Karamallos and Margarites are among the names of dancers mentioned by John Malalas.<sup>48</sup> That competition was a regular part of pantomimic performance in the later fifth century is also suggested by the account of the performance in Nonnus' *Dionysiaka* (19, 136-286). As a poetic description involving mythological characters it is far removed from the realities of the period, but the fact that the performance is conceived as a contest between two dancers does suggest that this format was familiar to Nonnus and his audience.

It is above all with the association of the dancers with the factions that competition comes to the fore in the fifth and sixth centuries. The exact date at which the factions took over responsibility for all types of entertainment is not clear (the

<sup>47</sup> A. ALFÖLDI und E. ALFÖLDI, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons* (Berlin 1976-1990), 2. Teil, Nr. 227 (= Kat.-Nr. 378), Taf. 157, 5.6; 228 (= Kat.-Nr. 466), Taf. 189, 6; 229 (= Kat.-Nr. 470), Taf. 190, 6; 230 (= Kat.-Nr. 474), Taf. 191, 1-3; 231 (= Kat.-Nr. 459, 465, 471-472), Taf. 187, 9, 189, 1-5, 190, 7-8; 232 (= Kat.-Nr. 478) Taf. 192, 1. See also E.J. JORY, "The Drama of the Dance: Prolegomena to an Iconography of Imperial Pantomime", in *Roman Theater and Society. E. Togo Salmon Papers I*, ed. by W.J. SLATER (Ann Arbor 1996), 1-27: 6-8.

<sup>48</sup> JOH. MALALAS, *Chronographia* 15, 12 (p. 386 Dind.). A. ALFÖLDI, *op. cit.* (n. 47), Nr. 227 (see Pl. 6.1), bears the inscription *Urani nica* above the figure, and the word *unio* or *iunio* beneath, which M.-H. GARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 234 suggests may mean "pearl".

process was no doubt gradual and uneven). Many of the documents recording mimes and pantomimes as members of factions are themselves difficult to date. The one datable reference which gives a *terminus ante quem* is John Malalas, *Chronographia* 15.12, recording the gift of dancers to the factions by the Consul Longinus in 486.<sup>49</sup> Later references to the pantomimes as members of factions come from Procopius of Cae-sarea, *Secret History* 9.5, and Cassiodorus.<sup>50</sup>

The other documents, whose precise date is hard to determine, are extremely intriguing. One, which is particularly significant for the theme of competition, is the curse from Apheca in Syria. It requests supernatural aid against Hyperechios, the dancer of the Blue faction, who was about to perform the next day. The person who commissioned the curse attempts to "bind" the dancer's body (we can compare the graphic representations of charioteers' bodies being bound from circus curse tablets) and also to prevent his chorus from singing and his supporters from cheering for him.<sup>51</sup> As well as being further proof of the place of dancers within the factions, this curse is precious evidence both for the intensity of competition and for the devotion of supporters.

Finally, there is a fifth- or sixth-century ivory comb from Egypt, now in the Louvre (E 11874),<sup>52</sup> decorated with three

<sup>49</sup> A. CAMERON, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976); CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 45.

<sup>50</sup> On Cassiodorus and the riot of 509 in Rome see R. LIM, "The Roman Pantomime Riot of A.D. 509", in "Humana Sapit". *Études d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*, éd. par J.-M. CARRIÉ et R. LIZZI TESTA (Turn-hout 2002), 35-42.

<sup>51</sup> First published by A. AUDOLLENT, *Defixionum tabellae: quotquot innovuerunt tam in Graecis orientis quam in totius occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore inscriptionum Atticarum editas* (Luteciae Parisiorum 1904), nos. 15 and 16 as a circus curse. Hyperechios was identified as a dancer by L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938), 99-102. English translation in J.G. GAGER (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York-Oxford 1992), 51-53.

<sup>52</sup> See M.-H. RUTSCHOWSKAYA, "Le Peigne d'Helladie", in *Études coptes* 7 (2000), 235-244.

figures (Pl. 6.2). The middle figure is a woman with short hair in a long dress, with a scarf worn diagonally across her body. She raises her right hand, while her left hand holds the scarf at hip level. To her left is another female figure with an open mouth, standing in a very similar posture, but wearing a simpler version of the same costume with no scarf. To her right is a male figure in a short sleeveless tunic, placing an object on a table or stand. On his right foot he wears a sandal with a long sole,<sup>53</sup> his left foot (visible from the reverse, which is as finely carved as the front) is bare. His mouth is also open. The scene is identifiable as pantomime from the following details: although the face is slightly damaged, the mouth of the central figure is closed; the scarf she wears can be identified as the *pallium*, used by dancers and present in other representations; the sandal worn by the male figure is a representation of the *scabellum* or *kroupeza*, which played an important part in establishing the rhythm of the dance. The central figure can therefore be identified with fair certainty as a female pantomime dancer (also attested by sixth-century epigrams), accompanied by two members of her chorus of singers and musicians. The connection with victory and contests is to be found in the object held in the dancer's raised right hand which, although damaged, appears to have been a crown, and in the inscription on the front and back of the comb, which reads: NIKA H TYXH / ΕΛΛΑΔΙΑΣ on the front and KAI ENETΩΝ / AMHN on the verso, associating Helladia firmly both with the idea of victory and with the Blues. The relationship between the comb and the inscription is not clear: the inscription is carefully written, but was added after the decoration was finished. Whether the female figure was intended to represent Helladia (*API* 284 seems to refer to an image of her in Constantinople) or whether it was a generic representation to which the name was added later is impossible to say.

<sup>53</sup> See LIB. *Or.* 64, 95 on the protruding sole of this sandal.

Although depictions of and allusions to mime are relatively frequent throughout Late Antiquity, there are far fewer indications of a competitive context for the performances. Groups of mimes, however, were also attached to the factions, as is clear from an inscription from the theatre at Aphrodisias acclaiming the “fortune of the Greens and the mimes of the Greens” (*IApH* 2007, 8.104).

### 1.5. Other sources

The sources mentioned above are fairly secure references to victory and contests involving pantomimes. Some allow us to be sure that pantomime contests were on the programme at particular festivals at particular periods; others, like the Orange terracotta or the contorniates, simply tell us that pantomime dancers were associated with the idea of victory (represented by crowns and palms). Significant, too, are the inscriptions backstage at the theatre at Aphrodisias. These are over the entrances to rooms and name the occupant, or rather his equipment: each one names the performer in the genitive case with the noun + epithet combination διασκεύη ἄμαχα in the nominative, seeming to reserve the space for the “unbeatable equipment” of the performer.<sup>54</sup> These particular performers’ specialities are not given (although, as suggested above, Philologos, the “Olympic victor”, may well have been a mime, as these artists were particularly associated with speech). As Charlotte Roueché notes, the choice of adjective implies victory and competition. It also tells us something about the performers’ view of their costumes and props (and possibly, in the case of dancers, masks): these have their own qualities that contribute to the performer’s victory. These modest inscriptions therefore shed a potentially interesting light on the representations of

<sup>54</sup> *IApH* 2007, 8.16 (Αὐτολύκου διασκεύη ἄμαχα Νεμεακοῦ ἄμαχα); 8.17 (Καπυρῆ διασκεύη ἄμαχα καὶ Φιλολόγου Ὀλυμπιονέκου); 8.18 (Νεικάνορος διασκεύη ἄμαχα). On the terminology and the problems of interpretation see CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 19–21.

dancers (or tragic actors, for that matter) holding up masks.<sup>55</sup> Such images may not simply serve to accentuate the paradox of the actor and the contrast between his real and assumed identities, but may also, or perhaps primarily, be a display of the power of the equipment. In this context, it is interesting to note the parallel between the mask held aloft on the Orange terracotta and the crown held up on the contorniates.

### 1.6. Summary

Several different kinds of competition emerge from this survey and, although my primary interest is in the pantomime within formal contests, all these phenomena are potentially relevant. Firstly there is the general rivalry between artists for recognition by audiences and for patronage. Then there is the semi-formal type of competition that seems to have existed in early imperial Rome (and in republican Rome, in the case of comic actors). Finally, there is the formal competition of the *agônes* or *certamina*, whether these were sacred contests or *themides* offering cash prizes.<sup>56</sup> These are all very different phenomena, belonging in principle to different models of organisation of spectacles: rivalry for patronage would occur where artists are hired, as in Roman *ludi*, and also where artists are hired for private celebrations, like Zosimus' feast (n. 2 above), or in the paid fringe performances at agonistic festivals. Formal competition, where the artist performs as an independent competitor,

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, British Museum, GR 2001-12-11-1 (bone statuette) and D 253 (terracotta statuette). M.-H. GARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), figs. 3 and 5. See also the ivory plaque from Trier showing a dancer holding up a set of masks in his right hand and a lyre (possibly to be understood as a stage prop) in the other (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 2497), R. WEBB, *op. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 6.

<sup>56</sup> As W.J. SLATER, "Deconstructing Festivals", in *The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary Studies*, ed. by P.J. WILSON (Oxford 2007), 21–47 points out, the difference between the two categories may not always have been great in practice as the prizes won in sacred contests had a monetary value. The ideological difference, however, is particularly clear in Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos' inscriptions.

is characteristic of Greek or Greek-style contests. As we have seen, there are various phenomena that fall between these two extremes, such as special honours paid to successful paid performers, and various models of competition within paid performances, as indicated by *P. Flor.* I 74 and by the identification of dancers in Late Antiquity as belonging to factions that paid them a salary.

Pantomime itself is a particularly complex example of cultural appropriation and re-appropriation. Created in Rome by Greek artists, using Greek traditions (perhaps combined with the Roman *ludus talarius*) and a Greek repertoire of stories, it spread to the East, where it became dominant by the fourth century, if not before. As has long been established, in the East, pantomime contests were introduced into recent Imperial festivals first, suggesting a Roman addition to Greek traditions. However, the story of pantomime contests in Italy suggests a still more complex phenomenon. Pantomime, an art perceived as Greek, appears to have been introduced first into Greek-style contests in the culturally Greek city of Naples. This innovation, seen through Roman eyes, may thus have seemed peculiarly Greek, even if it had at the time no precise parallel in culturally Greek areas.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, as we have seen, there are indications that an element of competition was an integral part of pantomime performance right from its beginnings in Augustan Rome. It may be significant that the traditional founders of the art are said to be two in number (Pylades and Bathyllus), perhaps implying that competition between dancers (as well as rivalry) existed from the very outset.<sup>58</sup> It is certainly also possible that competition in artistic disciplines was perceived to be a characteristically Greek feature, so that its presence in the

<sup>57</sup> In discussion, however, Kathleen Coleman made the very interesting suggestion that the model for pantomime contests in Augustan Rome may have been the very Roman gladiatorial contests.

<sup>58</sup> DIO CASS. 54, 17, 5 (cit. next n.) characterizes the relationship between Pylades and Bathyllus as rivalry. E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 6), notes the anecdotes preserved by Macrobius concerning Pylades' artistic rivalries with other dancers.

pantomime was understood as entirely suitable. Competition in this context may have taken the form of a staged contest between two hired (or slave) performers (and not simply rivalry between two artists understood to be acting as free agents).

If pantomime was indeed associated with competition from its very beginnings, this association might help to explain the importance of the pantomimes' claques in the early Empire, as well as the persistence of disturbances at pantomimic performances. I also wonder whether it might be possible to take a step further and to ask whether pantomime may not have been conceived at the outset as an essentially competitive discipline, precisely in order to create and encourage the type of rivalry between groups of fan which came to typify the pantomime of the early Empire. According to Cassius Dio, Pylades was said to have defended the people's violent divisions over dancers on political grounds, pointing out to Augustus that it was to his advantage if the people spent their time and energy on dancers.<sup>59</sup> Did Augustus need to have this lesson given to him by a dancer, or did he recognise the potential of the dance from the outset? If so, we might add to John Jory's insightful remarks on the artistic qualities of the pantomime, which encouraged violent rivalries among fans (the representation of the passions and the concentration on a single performer), the deliberate fostering of a competitive element.<sup>60</sup> Competition may thus have existed within, and been characteristic of, the dance, well before the dance was admitted into formal competitions.

To return to the presence of pantomime in formal *agônes*, its admission into the western contests, first securely documented under Trajan, is a logical development. In the Greek East, the epigraphic evidence provides a glimpse of a parallel process, whereby the dance moved from a fringe event to a competitive

<sup>59</sup> DIO CASS. 54, 17, 5: ὅθενπερ πάνυ σοφῶς δὲ Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὴ Βαθύλλω διμοσέχνω τέ οἱ δόντι καὶ τῷ Μαικήνᾳ προσήκοντι διεστασιαζεν, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "συμφέρει σοι, Καΐσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι".

<sup>60</sup> E.J. JORY, *art. cit.* (n. 6).

discipline at the end of the second century. Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos at the Aktia and the unnamed dancer of the Magnesia inscription in Rome were not involved in competition, but were honoured for the performances they gave. Such honours, reflecting popularity with audiences as well as imperial approval, must, as William Slater has noted, have been an important step towards the integration of pantomime, and then mime, into the formal agonistic programme of festivals.<sup>61</sup> The rapid success of pantomimes in the overall victors' contests, once they were admitted into these contests, further suggests that this development took place in response to audience demand. This development also seems to have taken place at a time when the traditional disciplines of tragedy and comedy were declining in popularity (although, as Christopher Jones points out here and elsewhere, tragedy, at least, was never fully eclipsed).<sup>62</sup> Simon Price's analysis of Imperial festivals as a Greek way of engaging with Roman power suggests that the pantomime contests were not necessarily perceived as a foreign imposition.<sup>63</sup> The fact that Christian emperors, or even the ascetic pagan Julian, felt unable to put an end to theatrical performance is a powerful indication both of how much influence the will and expectation of audiences had on the provision of shows and of the limits on the authorities' power to effect

<sup>61</sup> W.J. SLATER *art. cit.* (n. 56), 45: "we should not insist... on too strict a dichotomy between familiar formal festival categories and the artists on the fringe. This is I think particularly important in explaining the movement away from formal drama to mime and pantomime".

<sup>62</sup> C.P. JONES, "Greek Drama in the Roman Empire", in *Theater and Society in the Classical World*, ed. by R. SCODEL (Ann Arbor 1993), 39-52. Lucian's favourable comparison of the dancer's grace to the tragic actor's grotesque appearance and movements may hint at the reasons for such a preference.

<sup>63</sup> S. PRICE, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 89 mentions pantomime briefly, along with gladiatorial shows, as new elements which do not mean that imperial festivals were "strongly Roman in flavour and out of keeping with traditional festivals". If this can be said of the gladiators and wild beast fights which are the centre of Price's interest here, it can be said all the more plausibly of the "rhythmic tragic dancing" of the pantomimes, whose formal title linked it to centuries-old traditions.

change against popular demand. There was, however, clearly opposition to the rise in popularity of pantomime in the East in the second century. Lucian's *On the Dance* is framed as a dialogue between a fan of the dance (who does most of the talking) and an opponent. Aelius Aristeides' lost speech against the dancers has recently been interpreted by Glen Bowersock as a reaction against the incorporation of pantomime into contests.<sup>64</sup> Galen's complaints about the statues and honours granted to pantomimes and charioteers are also well known.<sup>65</sup> All of these may simply be responses to the general rise in popularity and visibility of pantomime, rather than specifically to its competitive status.

One further aspect to be considered is the status of the dancers, and here there is a distinct difference between East and West. Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos in the East appears as a free agent in his inscriptions. The western Apolausti, by contrast, are freedmen or are "transported" (*provectus*) by emperors and sent out to various parts of the Empire.<sup>66</sup> It is this type of situation, in which the performer is obliged to perform, that we see in Late Antiquity in both East and West, both in the legislation concerning performers of all types and in the mention of the dancers 'presented' to the factions by the consul Longinus, which suggests that the model of free participation in competition represented by Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos was short-lived, even if pantomime contests continued.

## 2. Pantomime, competition and performance

The first question to be addressed is whether there was any difference between a pantomimic dance presented as a paid *epideixis* and a competitive performance. The only indication

<sup>64</sup> G.W. BOWERSOCK, *art. cit.* (n. 30).

<sup>65</sup> GAL. *De praenotione* 1, 13, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. C.G. KÜHN (Leipzig 1827, repr. Hildesheim 1964–1965), vol. 14, 604, ll. 9–14.

<sup>66</sup> See *CIL XI* 3822 = *ILS* 5192, with M.L. CALDELLI, *art. cit.* (n. 23).

of a tangible difference might be the reference in Quintilian (6, 3, 65) to a contest in the form of a danced "dialogue". The way in which the anecdote is told suggests that such a performance would be familiar to his readers: he refers to the dancers competing "with alternating gestures" (*alternis gestibus*), and Augustus' witty remark, calling one performer the "dancer" (*saltator*) and the other the "interrupter" (*interpellator*), implies some kind of 'call and response' structure with short bursts of dance from each dancer in turn. How did such duos function in what we conceive of as essentially a solo art? One possibility might be purely technical: a sequence of difficult movements which the other dancer had to surpass. Another is narrative: an improvised dialogue between two characters from a myth which could be one of the scenes of seduction, so often evoked by ancient sources as typical of the pantomime, or a scene of rivalry and competition, such as those listed by Libanios (see below). We might compare the practice of declaimers who would sometimes present their speeches in pairs, one arguing each side of a case.

Here, the artistic possibilities would be shaped by the organisation and by the specific form taken by the competition. In the hypothetical case of competition within a paid performance (such as may have existed under Augustus, for example), the whole performance could have been choreographed in advance, with two or more solos by different dancers (or a duo, as implied by Quintilian) representing two scenes or a series of scenes from a single myth (in marked contrast to the normal pantomimic practice whereby a solo dancer embodied or suggested all the characters). This might conceivably also be the format of the show put on by the two dancers hired in *P. Flor.* I 74. In a fully agonistic setting, however, in which the performers participated freely as individual artists, each would have presented an individual piece, presumably unrelated to the others.

On a more general level, competitive performances in both mime and pantomime imply a fixed form with recognised rules

and norms.<sup>67</sup> The spectators who judged the dancers were therefore using shared criteria and were not simply expressing personal preferences. Seneca's reference to the precise qualities of the movements of Nomius is an example of such judgements, and the presence of the name Nomius among the list of dancers defeated by Theoros/Bathyllus in *CIL VI* 10115 = *ILS* 5197 enables us to link this remark to a competitive context (if indeed the same dancer is referred to). Libanios (*Or.* 64, 57) makes similar remarks about the judgements of audiences in his own day, saying, "We return to this same pleasure (i.e. the dance) and examine the placement of the feet, the sweep of the hands and the harmony of the nodding gestures which you criticize, and generally the elegant appearance of the whole" (ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τέρψιν ἀναβαίνομεν ἔξετάζοντες θέσιν ποδῶν, φορὰν χειρῶν, νευμάτων ἢ διαβάλλεις εὐαρμοστίαν, ὅλως τοῦ παντὸς εὐσχηγμοσύνην). In itself, the very possibility of competition in pantomime (and mime) is confirmation that these were demanding arts with their own standards, and that the general characterisation of pantomime as mere lascivious dancing or female impersonation, and of mime as an unstructured free-for-all, are not to be taken at face value.

The existence of competition also implies the search for new spectacular forms and new ways of prompting applause. Several authors mention the impressive athleticism of the dancers and the need for technical precision, including the ability to follow the rhythm of the musicians and to stop dramatically.<sup>68</sup> A competitive

<sup>67</sup> See the definition of *agôn* in R. CAILLOIS, *Les jeux et les hommes. Le masque et le vertige* (Paris 1958), 30: "Il s'agit donc chaque fois d'une rivalité qui porte sur une seule qualité (rapidité, endurance, vigueur, mémoire, adresse, ingéniosité, etc.), s'exerçant dans des limites définies et sans aucun secours extérieur, de telle façon que le gagnant apparaisse comme le meilleur dans une certaine catégorie d'exploits" (my underlining). Caillois' insistence here on a single quality does not apply to the dance, which arguably relied on all the abilities listed (and more), nor does it necessarily apply in the case of sports.

<sup>68</sup> Libanios' remarks on training in *Or.* 64, 103-105 emphasise the range and degree of physical and mental skills required by dancers. See also the remarks of LUCIANUS, *Salt.* 68, 74.

context would tend to encourage the development of such technical and spectacular aspects of the dance. However, Libanios' remarks quoted above show that subtle aspects of technique were a matter of comment and of intense interest ( $\varepsilon\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\omega$ ) on the part of spectators, suggesting that these too would be cultivated. Similarly, the emphasis on the expressivity of the dancers and their ability to embody different characters and evoke a wide range of moods and emotions through their bodies alone are a matter of interest to commentators throughout the history of the dance, so that we may assume, I think, that these aspects of the art were also cultivated. These qualities, and their importance for the success of a dancer, are expressed in the inscriptions celebrating Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos through the use of the term  $\alpha\xi\rho\beta\varepsilon\iota\alpha$  ("precision") to describe his art.<sup>69</sup> It is worth noting that this term appears to be particularly associated with the dance; it is not found, for example, in inscriptions celebrating sophists and rhetoricians.<sup>70</sup> Finally, it is not impossible that the competitive nature of performances was reflected in the stories shown. Several of the stories mentioned by Libanios at *Or. 64*, 67-68 are quarrels and contests (Herakles and Nessos, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon represented through Briseis being led from Achilles' tent, Pelops and Oenomaus, Odysseus revealing the identity of Achilles, Achilles killing Hector) though we need to take into account the fact that here he is providing proof of his argument that the dance dealt with virile subjects. At *Or. 64*, 113 Libanios refers to Athena and Poseidon (presumably their contest for the city of Athens) and Paris and Achilles as subjects. There is no suggestion in his speech that the roles were divided between dancers; on the contrary, he, like other authors, emphasizes their remarkable ability

<sup>69</sup> The Latin inscription from Ostia, *CIL XIV* 474 = *ILS* 5233, celebrates the *peritia* of the unnamed artist. See J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 26), 195-196.

<sup>70</sup> See the examples collected by B. PUECH, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale* (Paris 2002). These inscriptions, moreover, contain only one reference to *techne*, which is a conjecture: *IK-Prusias ad Hypium* T15 on pp. 208-209.

to take on a series of roles. As in the spoken *agônes* of classical tragedy and comedy, such depictions of contests and conflict may reflect the agonistic setting of the performances and, as such, may have had a metatheatrical function.

Far more significant is the impact on the relationship between performer and public and that between performer and organiser. The potential relationship between competitor and public is vividly evoked by one of the dreams mentioned by Artemidorus, involving not a pantomime but a tragic actor (*tragôdos*) who dreamt that he killed the audience and the judges just before competing in Rome. In the event, he was defeated, and the dream and its interpretation reveal that the audience members could potentially be seen as adversaries themselves, which suggests that their responses had an influence on the judges' decisions.<sup>71</sup> Further evidence of this is provided by the curse against Hyperechios, which attempts to prevent his supporters from voicing their support.

It might be thought that, as a result of the influence of the audience, the pantomime with the greatest number of supporters, or simply with the most vocal supporters, would automatically win, making any competition a mere formality. The existence of the curse on Hyperechios suggests otherwise. Even if Hyperechios' supporters were in the majority, the person who commissioned the curse clearly felt that there was a chance of his victory being overturned, and this element of uncertainty, which introduces real risk and excitement into contests of all types, is

<sup>71</sup> ARTEM. *Onirocriticon* 4, 33: 'Ηρακλείδης δὲ Θυατειρηγὸς μέλλων ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐν Πόμη τὸν τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἀγῶνα ἔδοξε τοὺς θεατὰς ἀποσφάττειν καὶ τοὺς κριτάς, καὶ ἐλεφθῆ: οὐ γάρ ἂν τις τοὺς φίλους ἀποκτείνειν ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχθρούς, τρόπον οὖν τινα ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἔχθρούς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς κριτάς: ἀλλως τε καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλον αὐτῷ ἀποσφαγέντες οἴσειν ψήφους. M.L. CALDELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 139, no. 33, places this event at the Capitoline games. An agonistic relationship between dancer and audience existed in Augustan Rome according to SUET. *Aug.* 45 (Pylades sent into exile for pointing at an audience member who had criticized him). We have more information about hostile audiences for sophists, thanks to Philostratos, but there the situation is different, in that the audience members were often trained in the same art as the performer.

expressed in the reference to unseen powers that could be prevailed upon to change the course of events. From a more practical perspective, the dancer's performance on any particular occasion could vary in quality in unpredictable ways. Lucian's anecdote about a disastrous performance of the Madness of Ajax, even if it is a total invention, shows an acute understanding of the unpredictability of live performance. Interestingly, Lucian's speaker, Lykinos, places this event, which he claims to have witnessed himself, in what seems to be a competitive context: the performer has supporters (*stasiōtai*), although these are not necessarily a sign of formal competition, and, more significantly, a rival defined as an *antagonistēs* and *antitechnos* (*On the Dance*, 84).<sup>72</sup> The first of these terms certainly implies a competition, although it could simply indicate a rival, particularly as it is not clear in this case whether we are to understand that the rival was present at the performance in question. Either way, the anecdote is an indication both of the risks involved in performance and of the extent to which the idea of competitive relationships between dancers was familiar to a Greek sophist who was apparently writing before the introduction of formal contests in the East.<sup>73</sup>

A further consequence of the transformation of pantomime into a competitive art was the intensification of the devotion of fans and the elevation of dancers to star status. This could occur without the existence of formal contests, as the situation in early Imperial Rome shows, and may have been encouraged by the nature of pantomime dancing, with its solo performer and arousing rhythms and narrative content, as John Jory has suggested.<sup>74</sup> But competition must have added to this phenomenon. When

<sup>72</sup> See E.J. JORY, "The Pantomime Assistants", in *Ancient History in a Modern University 1*, ed. by T.W. HILLARD *et al.* (Grand Rapids, Mich. 1998), 217-221: 220.

<sup>73</sup> The awkward phrasing of this sentence is a reflection of the difficulty of using Lucian as a historical source.

<sup>74</sup> E.J. JORY, "The Literary Evidence for the Beginnings of Imperial Pantomime", in *BICS* 28 (1981), 147-161: 152. See also W.J. SLATER, *art. cit.* (n. 8), 120-144: 128 for analysis of further reasons.

the factions became involved, a different kind of loyalty and identification was added to the mix, creating the explosive situation that gave rise to theatre riots and the sporadic banishment of the dancers in Late Antiquity.<sup>75</sup> Competition would serve to increase both the attention of audiences and the intensity of that attention. These are precisely the qualities that critics like John Chrysostom seem to fear in the relationship between spectator and performer.

Another difference between dance as hired spectacle and as a contest is to be found in the three-way relationship between audience, dancer and patron. A hired act like the *pantomimos* Ploutogenes was a gift to the people and a sign of the patron's generosity, as recorded in the inscription (*I.Priene* 113, l. 65). In this inscription, the patron Zosimos is named in the nominative, while Ploutogenes is the object of his action (hiring). As noted above, inscriptions also describe the relationship between a paid performer and the public as "pleasing", using the Greek verb *aresko*, which can have connotations of subordination. In practice, therefore, the patron was the primary agent and could draw further attention to his or her role by giving an extra fee, or an honorific crown, to the performer in front of the public, an act that constituted a performance in itself.<sup>76</sup> By contrast, the competitor, like Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos, was — in theory, at least — a free agent competing for his own glory who could

<sup>75</sup> It is important to note, however, that theatre riots may have had other underlying causes, as was the case in Alexandria in 412 and Rome in 509. See also D.R. FRENCH, "Rhetoric and the Rebellion of AD 387 in Antioch", in *Historia* 47 (1998), 468–484 on the responsibility of the theatre 'cliques' for civil disorder as a rhetorical *topos* in Libanius and John Chrysostom.

<sup>76</sup> This is recorded in the case of a pantomime in an inscription from Lagina dated to the second half of the second century (*IK-Stratonikeia* 691) who was given an extra fee by the priest and priestess of Hecate who had hired him. The most striking example of this behaviour is that immortalized in the elaborate mosaic from Smirat in North Africa depicting the presentation of extra money to wild beast hunters by the patron. The mosaic includes the texts of the words uttered on the occasion, with the result that every viewer who read the texts re-enacted the benefaction. See K.M.D. DUNBAIN, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1999), 117, fig. 118.

choose whether or not to grace a particular contest with his presence (even if, in reality, the *Technitai* played a role in organising their appearances). The audience therefore appreciated his skill first and foremost for its own sake, rather than as the sign of the generosity of a third party. The agonothete (or the emperor) certainly played a role in the process, but the primary contact took place directly between performer and audience.

This observation leads to a further suggestion: the organisers of agonistic shows were able to finance the event (by setting up a foundation or contributing from their personal resources), but not to control the outcome. They were responsible for the fact that the event took place, but not (in theory) for the identity of the victors. The sources suggest (although this may be an illusion in some cases) that in the fourth century the individual patrons, or the representatives of the state, took on a more significant role in the shows.<sup>77</sup> If these shows retained their agonistic form in some, if not all, cases, there was potentially a high degree of instability, because the organisers would be unable to dictate the way in which the performance unfolded and they would potentially be eclipsed in the public's mind by the performers. In this situation, two different models coexisted, perhaps in permanent tension: the model of the competition, in which the benefactor merely facilitates the actions of the competitors, who are the primary focus of the audience's attention; and the model of the performance donated as a gift to the public, in which the performers are understood primarily as a sign of the benefactor's agency.

### *2.1. Representing pantomime*

This instability, combined with the perennial ambiguity of the ever-changing pantomime, may well have had an impact on

<sup>77</sup> G. DOWNEY, "The Olympic Games of Antioch in the Fourth Century AD", in *TAPhA* 70 (1939), 428-438, traces the increasing involvement of the authorities in the organisation of these games.

the ways in which dancers are represented. It is noticeable that dancers are almost never represented in the moment of performance.<sup>78</sup> This distinguishes the dance from comedy, tragedy and mime, all of which are represented in performance by the Roman period. Some representations of myths in Roman painting may be intended to show or reflect pantomime, but they do so by showing the mythical characters directly. Once he starts to perform, the dancer becomes invisible.

Where dancers are represented, it is as performers offstage holding their masks or, on the contorniates and the ivory comb, the attributes of victory. The poses are entirely conventional: the pose used to represent dancers on the contorniates, with the right arm raised, the left curving downwards, is exactly the same pose used to represent the victorious athlete in the same medium. The overwhelming association of pantomime with victory on the contorniates, echoed on the comb and, perhaps, even on the Trier ivory, shows how vital an aspect of the dance competition was in the fifth and sixth centuries. The social importance and power of the dancers is recognised in these depictions, but in a manner that is severely circumscribed, and it is interesting to note that in 394 CE the depictions of charioteers, who raised similar problems, and of pantomimes were forbidden to be displayed in proximity to images of the emperor (*Theodosian Code* 15, 7, 12).

## Conclusion

Looking at the phenomenon of competition in pantomime in both West and East, from the age of Augustus to late Antiquity, underlines the importance of competition throughout. Even if the inclusion of pantomime within the fully-fledged

<sup>78</sup> One exception is perhaps the Albizzati terracotta, but this is very schematic. See M.-H. GARELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 4. Another is an extraordinary late antique mosaic from Noheda in Spain showing a dancer in repose and in action. See <http://informes.patrimoniohistoricoelm.es/2010-03/patrimonio.html>

contests of the Greek *agônes* was indeed a relatively short-lived phenomenon, it served as a prelude to a much longer period of competitive performance in late Antiquity and seems to have followed on from existing practices in the West. Various potential models of competition emerge, from informal rivalry between artists to paid performances involving some kind of contest, in addition to the formal contests within the *agônes* in West and East.

The characteristics of pantomime, with its dominant solo dancer and the resulting intensity of the audience's focus on the performer, make it a particularly interesting case-study. As suggested above, an element of competition, as well as introducing audience involvement, introduced an uncontrollable element, shifting the balance between patron, performer and public, reducing the patron's control over the spectacle and increasing that of the audience. As a charismatic individual, the pantomime dancer (far more than the mime actor, the tragedian or the participant in a large spectacle) raised the problem of the patron's role in the events on stage with especial force. For this reason, and not just because of his continual transformations, the pantomime was difficult and maybe dangerous to represent, but this makes the dance a particularly challenging case in the history of the organisation of spectacles.

## DISCUSSION

*J. Nolle:* Wie sollen wir uns die praktische Durchführung eines Wettkampfes von Pantomimen vorstellen? Durften die Wettkämpfer das vorführen, was sie wollten, oder gab es eine thematische Vorgabe durch den Agonotheten oder die Schiedsrichter? Ich könnte mir vorstellen, dass bei den städtischen Agonen lokale Mythen ein beliebtes Thema sein konnten.

*R. Webb:* We would love to know more about the practical organisation of the artistic aspects of the performances and choice of subject matter in particular. In the case of the hypothetical performances paid for by a patron, which may have included an element of competition, we may well imagine that the subject was given to the dancers. Where, as in the case of Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos, they arrived to compete as individuals in a Greek *agôn*, the dancers were presumably free to choose their subject. Here, your suggestion that local myths may have been particularly popular (and thus a sensible choice for a visiting dancer) is very interesting. It may shed light on Lucian's choice to organise his catalogue of myths that dancers should know in geographical order, prompting us to ask whether this organising principle might reflect such practices.

*M.L. Caldelli:* Non sono certa di aver capito bene, ma mi sembra che venga messa in discussione la testimonianza di Luciano a proposito dell'introduzione del pantomimo negli agoni, con la sola eccezione di Napoli e dei *Sebasta*. Mi chiedo se esistano documenti — che io non conosco — che provino con certezza la presenza del pantomimo in agoni diversi da quello napoletano prima del 162 d.C. e dunque inficino il valore di tale testimonianza.

*R. Webb:* I don't know of any such evidence, but the evidence we do have is very fragmentary. What I wanted to say about the use of Lucian is that we should be wary of using his dialogue *On the Dance* as a source of firm chronological data. The statements of his character Lykinos are sometimes taken as straightforward representations of the state of affairs at the time when the dialogue was composed. There are two problems with this use of the text: the dating is plausible but not certain and, most importantly, Lucian's relationship to truth and fiction is extremely complex. We cannot therefore use his dialogue in the same way that we can use a datable inscription.

*M.L. Caldelli:* Anche se non inserito negli agoni, credo che il pantomimo abbia avuto carattere competitivo fin dai suoi inizi (l'idea dei due *inventores* mi sembra un buon argomento, tra gli altri). Tra le competizioni private o semi-pubbliche, per l'Occidente, dove i pantomimi sono per lo più liberti e quelli più famosi, liberti imperiali, penso che possano esserci stati spettacoli dati dagli imperatori per un pubblico ristretto. Penso, per esempio, al caso di Apolausto Senior, noto da numerose iscrizioni, alcune delle quali da mettere in rapporto agli spostamenti dell'imperatore e al suo soggiorno nelle ville (tali i casi delle iscrizioni di Veio e Fondi, sedi di proprietà imperiali). Sembra che il pantomimo abbia seguito l'imperatore durante i suoi viaggi: nelle soste potrebbe essersi esibito in un contesto competitivo, anche se non agonale. L'indagine andrebbe fatta anche per le epoche precedenti.

*R. Webb:* Thank you for this comment, which adds a different dimension, that of semi-private performances for the Emperor, into an already complex picture. It also draws attention to another important factor: the social status of the dancers. The freedmen who followed the Emperor, the dancers who were sent to various parts of the Empire (as in the Latin inscription published by Sordi and Leppin) and many performers of all

types in Late Antiquity were in a very different position from a competitor like Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos. The social status of the performer, particularly the degree of freedom that he or she had to choose to participate or make demands, must have had a considerable impact on the organisation that went on behind the scenes. It would be interesting to know more about the relationship between the performer's status and the audience's perceptions of and reactions to the show, but on that we can only speculate.

*K. Coleman:* Your remarks about the reception of pantomime performances reminds me of the wild applause by a hired claqué after performances put on by the pantomime troupe owned by Ummidia Quadratilla, the grandmother of one of Pliny's friends (*Epist.* 7, 24, 7). I wonder whether the spirit of rivalry promoted by such claques provided some impetus towards the introduction of formal competitions in pantomime?

*R. Webb:* The case of Ummidia Quadratilla is an interesting one. If we knew more about the particular *ludi sacerdotales* where this incident occurred (see Chamberland in *Cahiers des Études Anciennes* 37, 2001),<sup>79</sup> we would understand the role of these 'claques' better. In general, it is unclear whether informal rivalry of the type you have suggested led to the institution of more formal competitions or whether, as I have suggested here, some degree of formal competition existed in some pantomime performances from the very beginning. In addition, as David Sick has argued (*Classical Antiquity* 18, 1999),<sup>80</sup> Ummidia's ownership of a troupe of pantomimes potentially placed her in an influential position, so that the existence of claques could have been of political and economic advantage to her. This

<sup>79</sup> G. CHAMBERLAND, "À propos des 'jeux sacerdotaux' ('sacerdotales ludi') de Pline le Jeune (Ep. VII.24.6)", in *CEA* 37 (2001), 47-53.

<sup>80</sup> D.H. SICK, "Ummidia Quadratilla. Cagey Businesswoman or Lazy Pantomime Watcher?", in *ClAnt* 18 (1999), 330-348.

adds another level of competition to the picture: competition between owners of slave pantomimes.

*C. Jones:* A further example of the audience functioning as judges would be where Theoderic tells two patricians to determine the selection of a "Green" pantomime *convocatis spectatoribus*, so presumably using the audience reaction to determine the winning candidate.

*R. Webb:* This letter (above, n. 50) tells us a great deal about how factions might select their dancers and in this case, as you say, the audience response seems to have been an important factor. This election was also the trigger for violence that seems to have broken out between members of the Green faction because of the patricians' failure to respect the will of the majority. It is a revealing example of the tensions surrounding the mounting of spectacles that are normally hidden from view.

## VII

GUY CHAMBERLAND

### LA MÉMOIRE DES SPECTACLES: L'AUTOREPRÉSENTATION DES DONATEURS<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. Introduction

Cette étude sur l'autoreprésentation des organisateurs de spectacles s'intéresse aux inscriptions municipales latines et, en conséquence, à la partie occidentale de l'Empire. L'Urbs n'étant pas un municipium, elle en est donc exclue.<sup>2</sup> D'ailleurs les spectacles organisés par les magistrats romains et par les empereurs étaient d'une ampleur qui n'avait aucun parallèle dans les municipiums, même dans les grandes capitales de provinces comme Carthage ou Tarragone.

<sup>1</sup> Dans les inscriptions, les abréviations ne sont généralement pas résolues quand il s'agit d'éléments onomastiques, de titulatures impériales et de dates; noter aussi: *l. d. d. d.* = *locus datus decreto decurionum* ("emplacement donné par décret des décürions"). Pour faciliter la consultation, les numéros des inscriptions sont en gras.

J'aimerais remercier Marcel Chamberland, Kathleen Coleman et Jocelyne Nelis-Clément *ob liberalitates*.

<sup>2</sup> Avec M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, "L'évergétisme des magistrats du Latium et de la Campanie des Gracques à Auguste à travers les témoignages épigraphiques", in *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 699-722: 699 n. 1, nous définissons "municipium" et "municipal" non "dans leur sens étroit et juridique mais au sens large, c'est-à-dire pour parler de toute cité qui, quel que soit son statut (municipium, colonie ...), est gérée par des magistrats 'municipaux'". Sur les différences significatives entre les calendriers romain et municipaux des festivités, voir R. BEHRWALD, "Festkalender der frühen Kaiserzeit als Medien der Erinnerung", in *Feiern und Erinnern. Geschichtsbilder im Spiegel antiker Feste*, hrsg. von H. BECK und H.-U. WIEMER (Berlin 2009), 141-166.

Quelque 500 inscriptions latines documentent les organisateurs et leurs spectacles. Ce corpus comprend principalement les inscriptions honorifiques de magistrats et autres membres des élites municipales qui ont organisé des spectacles, et les inscriptions dédicatoires, souvent érigées par les auteurs des travaux eux-mêmes, qui rappellent les spectacles organisés lors de la dédicace d'un monument. Certains de ces documents ont conservé les titres des organisateurs: *munerarius*, *curator munericus*, etc. Notre corpus comprend aussi quelque 70 affiches peintes sur les murs et les tombes de Pompéi.

Ces 500 textes sont parmi ceux que P. Veyne, dans *Le pain et le cirque*, avait jugé bon d'exclure pour ne pas trop ennuyer le lecteur non spécialiste.<sup>3</sup> Son propos n'était pas le même que celui poursuivi ici, mais il n'en demeure pas moins que les inscriptions de la partie occidentale ont été plutôt négligées. Elles n'ont d'ailleurs jamais été rassemblées en un seul corpus. Or, certaines questions ne peuvent être élucidées sans que l'on prenne en considération l'ensemble de la documentation, comme la détermination de la nature publique ou privée des spectacles, qui constitue une distinction fondamentale pour comprendre l'autoreprésentation des organisateurs de spectacles.

Quoique fondamentale, la catégorisation des spectacles romains selon qu'ils étaient obligatoires ou 'libres' (c'est-à-dire non obligatoires) est très difficile à traduire en français ou en d'autres langues modernes. La terminologie latine est en grande partie responsable de cette situation, car seul le contexte permettait de faire cette distinction. Ainsi, les sections LXX (ci-dessous n° 1) et LXXI de la loi d'Urso ne concernent que les *ludi* et *munera* obligatoires des magistrats, ce qui semble avoir échappé entre autres à un chercheur de la trempe de Michael Crawford.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> P. VEYNE, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris 1976), 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Voir *Roman Statutes*, I, ed. by M.H. CRAWFORD (London 1996), 395, selon qui le terme *munus* "need mean no more than 'show offered to the people'". Mais cette définition convient seulement à un spectacle 'libre'. Dans les sections LXX-LXXI il faut certainement attribuer à *munus* le sens plus technique de "spectacle de gladiateurs".

Il n'y a, pour ne prendre qu'un autre exemple, aucune expression latine qui s'applique spécifiquement aux spectacles 'libres' des empereurs. Pourtant, c'est presque seulement cette catégorie qui a intéressé les rédacteurs des *Fastes d'Ostie*, comme les *munera* offerts par Trajan après la conquête de la Dacie.<sup>5</sup>

Nous désignerons comme spectacles 'réglementaires' ou 'publics' ceux que les constitutions municipales, comme la loi d'Urso, exigeaient des magistrats élus annuellement.<sup>6</sup> Un spectacle sera dit 'privé' ou 'libre' si l'organisateur n'était aucunement contraint à l'offrir, même si des pressions populaires ont pu s'exercer sur lui.<sup>7</sup> Une inscription de Singilia Barba en Bétique, citée *infra* au n° 18, fait d'ailleurs la distinction entre *ludi publici* et *privati*. Dans quelle mesure est-il possible de déterminer la nature réglementaire ou libre des spectacles mentionnés dans les inscriptions des notables qui les ont organisés? Cette question fondamentale sera examinée plus loin, dans la seconde partie.

La recherche actuelle a une forte tendance à étudier les jeux romains selon les catégories que je qualifierais de traditionnelles, c'est-à-dire surtout celles des *ludi circenses*, *ludi scaenici*, *munera* de gladiateurs, *venationes*, et concours grecs. Les *munera* ont reçu le plus d'attention. Les *ludi scaenici*, au contraire, ont sans doute été les plus négligés des spectacles au niveau municipal. Il y a, évidemment, des mérites à étudier les jeux selon les catégories que les Romains eux-mêmes identifiaient, et les collections de documents, telle la série *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano*, nous rendent de grands services. Toutefois, il est heureux que les organisateurs de ces *Entretiens* aient élargi le thème à l'ensemble des spectacles car il correspond aussi à une réalité que les Romains eux-mêmes reconnaissaient.

<sup>5</sup> *InscrIt XIII 1 n° 5* (p. 173-241). Les fragments concernant les *munera* ont été regroupés par M. FORA: *EAOR IV 7-18*.

<sup>6</sup> Ils sont parfois dits *ludi publici* (18, 27), *ludi sollemnes* (*EAOR III 62*), etc. Plusieurs inscriptions mentionnent la *cura muneris publici* (par ex. *CIL X 6240 = EAOR IV 21*).

<sup>7</sup> Noter par exemple le *dies privatus* comme supplément à un *munus* public (par ex. *EAOR III 32 + AE 2006, 359; CIL X 4760 = ILS 6296*).

Les inscriptions municipales sont d'ailleurs témoins d'une évolution vers l'abstrait, si je puis dire. En effet, quoique les termes *ludi (scaenici), (ludi) circenses, munus* et *venatio* perdurent à l'époque impériale, ils laissent souvent la place à des termes comme *spectaculum* et *editio*. C'est le spectacle en tant qu'évergésie qui est ainsi davantage souligné par l'organisateur ou par ceux qui lui érigent un monument honorifique. Au niveau épigraphique, cette évolution trouve son aboutissement aux III<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> siècles, époque de nos inscriptions les plus tardives. Que sont l'*aeditio debotionis* (Lavinium: EAOR IV 35) et les *exhibitiones voluptatum* (Lepcis Magna: IRT 564 et 567)?

## 2. La nature des spectacles commémorés dans les documents

Selon Veyne, l'évergétisme est "un système de contributions qui sont versées, *spontanément ou du moins sans obligation formelle*, par des personnes qui ont un intérêt quelconque, matériel ou spirituel, à la poursuite de l'objectif que ces contributions permettent d'atteindre".<sup>8</sup> Selon les termes de la distinction entre spectacles réglementaires et libres, seuls les spectacles libres seraient de véritables évergésies. Comme nous allons le constater, cela est confirmé par les données épigraphiques. Autant P. Veyne que G. Ville<sup>9</sup> distinguent le don véritable de la prestation obligatoire, sans toutefois offrir de critères satisfaisants pour catégoriser les spectacles en ces termes. Ville, dans son chapitre sur les *munera* hors de Rome, tient pour acquis que les spectacles mentionnés dans les inscriptions honorifiques sont réglementaires si l'individu honoré est un magistrat. Mais comme beaucoup d'autres avant et après lui, ce chercheur néglige certains problèmes qui autorisent d'en douter fortement.

<sup>8</sup> P. VEYNE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 25; italiques ajoutées.

<sup>9</sup> G. VILLE, *La gladiature en Occident, des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Rome 1981), notamment le chapitre III (175-225) sur les combats de gladiateurs et les *venationes* hors de Rome.

Ainsi, on observe que seule une minorité des magistrats honorés par un monument inscrit sont connus pour avoir organisé des spectacles. Des provinces et des régions entières n'ont même produit aucun document pour nous éclairer, comme par exemple les cités des provinces danubiennes, ornées de théâtres et d'amphithéâtres. Ni Carthage ni Tarragone, deux grandes cités équipées d'un cirque monumental où les inscriptions se comptent par milliers, n'ont produit ne serait-ce qu'un seul texte de magistrat ou d'un autre individu ayant offert les jeux du cirque.<sup>10</sup> Les petites cités de la Bétique, qui souvent n'étaient pas équipées d'un cirque monumental, en ont produit une douzaine.

Je ne suis pas le premier à faire de telles observations<sup>11</sup>, mais la recherche n'a pas encore pleinement exploité les documents en vue de déterminer la nature réglementaire ou libre des spectacles mentionnés dans les inscriptions. Cette distinction est d'ailleurs plus importante que la distribution des spectacles selon leur programme pour comprendre la raison d'être des commémorations épigraphiques. Nous allons constater que ces questions sont essentielles aussi pour comprendre l'autoreprésentation des organisateurs de spectacles. Ces derniers sont-ils de véritables évergètes, ou reçoivent-ils des honneurs publics pour s'être bien acquitté de leurs obligations?

La distinction réglementaire/libre est reconnue implicitement par presque toute la législation sur les spectacles. Ainsi, dans les articles LXX et LXXI de la loi municipale d'Urso sur les spectacles des duumvirs et édiles, ce sont évidemment

<sup>10</sup> À Carthage, les *defixiones* témoignent des émotions éveillées par le programme des courses au cirque.

<sup>11</sup> P. VEYNE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 486; R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge 1982), 86-87; F. JACQUES, *Le privilège de liberté* (Rome 1984), 399; J.H. HUMPHREY, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Berkeley 1986), 386; M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, *art. cit.* (n. 2), 699-722; E. MELCHOR GIL, "La organización de 'ludi libres' en Hispania romana", in *HAnt* 20 (1996), 215-235; K.M. COLEMAN, "The *liber spectaculorum*. Perpetuating the Ephemerical", in *'Toto notus in orbe'. Perspektiven der Martial-Interpretation*, hrsg. von F. GREWING (Stuttgart 1998), 15-36.

les spectacles réglementaires qui sont visés, même si cela n'est pas dit en toutes lettres. Voici les dispositions concernant les duumvirs:

- (1) LXX: *(duum)viri quicu[m]que erunt, ... | ... ei in suo magistratu munus lu[dos]ve scaenicos Iovi Junoni Minervae deis | deabusq[ue] quadriduum m(aiore) p(arte) diei, quot eius fie[ri] poter'it, arbitratu decurionum faciun|to inque eis ludis eoque munere unusquisque eorum de sua pecunia ne minus (sesterium bina milia) consumito et ex pecunia publica in sing(ulos) | (duum)vir(os) d(um)t(axat) HS (sesterium bina milia) sumere consumere liceto...*

Urso (Bétique): *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5, 1022 = EAOR VII 1*; pour une trad. en anglais, voir M.H. CRAWFORD, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 423-424.

Cette loi municipale est attribuable à César, mais la copie sur bronze que nous en avons date probablement de l'époque de Tibère ou de Claude.<sup>12</sup> On exigeait de chaque duumvir et édile qu'il organisât un spectacle en l'honneur des dieux avec une contribution personnelle d'au moins 2000 sesterces. Or, l'épigraphie nous fait connaître deux des duumvirs d'Urso. Gaius Vettius reçut cet honneur deux fois dans la période triumvirale ou au début du règne d'Auguste:

- (2) *C. Vettius C. f. Ser(gia) | centur(io) leg(ionis) XXX, | (duum)vir iterum, | G(enio) c(oloniae) G(enetivae) Iul(iae) sacrum dat.*

Urso (Bétique): *ILS 2233 = CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5, 1025.*

Puisqu'il fut probablement aussi édile (comme souvent, il ne mentionne que l'honneur le plus élevé), Gaius Vettius a dû être à trois reprises organisateur *ex officio* des spectacles prévus selon les termes de la loi municipale. L'autre duumvir, dont l'inscription est à dater du II<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C., a dû organiser les mêmes spectacles deux fois (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5, 1032*). Ces deux textes ne peuvent évidemment pas faire partie d'un corpus de

<sup>12</sup> Il y a d'ailleurs certains indices de mise à jour, comme l'emploi du terme *munus* pour désigner les spectacles réglementaires, ce qui est difficilement concevable à l'époque de César.

documents sur les spectacles, mais ce n'est pas une mince faute méthodologique que de les ignorer totalement. En effet, les inscriptions des *duumviri*, édiles et *quattuorviri* qui ne mentionnent pas les spectacles (réglementaires ou libres) se comptent par milliers. Pourtant, il ne fait aucun doute que la grande majorité de ces individus ont été, par définition, des organisateurs de jeux, ou *curatores ludorum*. C'est sans doute ce qui explique qu'aux quelque 65 organisateurs de *munera* attestés épigraphiquement — *curatores muneris* et *munerarii* — ne corresponde aucun *curator ludorum*, sauf un cas douteux à Nîmes (*CIL XII 3290: curator[i] lud[---]*). Le titre de *curator ludorum* et la notion de *cura ludorum* ne sont attestés qu'à Rome (où l'organisation des jeux était une tâche monumentale), et seulement dans les sources littéraires. Chez Tacite, par exemple, la fonction du *curator ludorum* consiste à assister l'empereur dans l'organisation de ses spectacles (*Ann. 13, 22*).

Nous avons donc de bonnes raisons de croire que le spectacle réglementaire n'était généralement pas digne de commémoration épigraphique. Il s'agissait en fait d'une forme de paiement pour le prestige conféré par la magistrature nouvellement acquise (car le spectacle était généralement organisé dans les jours qui suivaient la prise de charge — on l'appelle *processus editio* dans le n° 6). D'ailleurs, lorsque les spectacles réglementaires des magistrats sont mentionnés, c'est le plus souvent pour fournir un contexte temporel ou spatial à l'événement ou l'évergésie qui constitue le véritable objet de la commémoration épigraphique, comme dans deux bases de statues érigées à Veii pour honorer le même individu:

- (3) *Cn. Caeso | Athicto, | allecto inter c(entum)vir(os), | omnibus honoribus | exornato, | ex aere conlat(o) | quam(!) municipes, | omnis ordo ei contulit(!) | in orchestra ludis | quos fecerunt | P. Memmius Apulus I(?) et | C. Poppaeus Priscus (duum)vir(i).*

*Dedicata | kalendis | Apriles, | Maximo| et Glabrione co(n)-s(ulibus), | Olo Ortesio | Felice et Nemonio | Silvano (duum)viris | Veientium.*

Veii (Étrurie): *CIL XI 3807 = ILS 6582b. Date: 256 ap. J.-C.*

- (4) *Cn. Caeso Ath[icto], | adlecto inter c(entum)[vir(os)], | ob pieta-  
tem et | munificentiam eius | erga domum diuinam | et municipium Aug(ustum) Veios, | centumviri et seviri et | Augustales et  
municipes | intramurani ex aerae(!) quod | in orchestra conlatum  
est | ludis quos fecerunt | Vergilius Cogitatus, | Iulius Senecio  
(duum)viri.*

Veii (Étrurie): *CIL XI* 3808 = *ILS* 6582c. Date: un peu avant ou après l'inscription précédente.

Les *ludi* des duumvirs ne servent qu'à contextualiser une collecte d'argent effectuée "dans l'orchestre, pendant les jeux scéniques", en vue de financer l'érection d'une statue pour honorer un notable local. Dans l'inscription de Singilia Barba cité plus bas (18), les jeux publics sont mentionnés pour donner la mesure des jeux privés.

Il arrive aussi qu'un spectacle réglementaire mérite des éloges épigraphiques à l'organisateur dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, comme par exemple dans une inscription de Lanuvium:

- (5) *M. Valerio M. f., | aed(ili), dict(atori), | praef(ecto) iuventutis, |  
municipes compitenses veicorum | quinque, quod specus {millia} |  
passus(!) (tria millia) purgavit, refecit, | fistulas reposuit, balnea  
virilia | utraque et muliebre de sua | pecunia refecit, populo  
viscerati(onem), | gladiatores dedit, lumina, ludos | I(unoni)  
S(ospiti) M(atri) R(eginae) solus fecit.*

Lanuvium (Latium): *CIL XIV* 2121 = *ILS* 5683 = *EAOR IV* 27.  
Date: époque d'Auguste.

Les jeux dont on connaît la titulature officielle sont excessivement rare au niveau municipal. Ce texte mentionne ceux que M. Valerius a organisés en l'honneur de Junon Sospes seulement parce qu'il l'a fait seul, sans collègue. À Pisaurum, des *ludi Florales* sont offerts comme supplément à un spectacle libre de gladiateurs (16: *amplius ludos Florales*). Si, à Rome, ces jeux sont réglementaires et organisés annuellement par les magistrats, ici, au contraire, ils constituent une véritable évergésie. Il est fort probable que la désignation de *ludi Florales* ne servait qu'à identifier le programme assez particulier de ces jeux.

Il n'existe, à ma connaissance, qu'une seule attestation sans équivoque d'un spectacle réglementaire de gladiateurs:

- (6) *P. Baebio P. f. | Ter. Iusto. Huic | splendidiss(imus) ordo | stat(uam) ponend(am) cens(uit), omnib(us) | honorib(us) in re publ(ica) funct(o), | quod et in sing(ulos) et univers(os) | aequal(em) semp(er) reverentiam | praebuit, et quod munus glad(iatorium) post | honor(em) (duum)vir(atus) edidiss(et), postul(ante) populo q(uando?) | process(us) editio celebrata est, | ex indulg(entia) paria tria cum ursis [et] | herban(is) liventer(!) suscepert. Is ob | dedic(ationem) statuae dec(urionibus) sing(ulis) (denarios) tern(os) ded(it). | [L.] d. d. d.*

*Ded(icata) kal. Aug., Aemiliano II et Aquilino co(n)s(ulibus).*

*Hic Minturnis diebus IIII | edidit paria XI, | ex his occid(it) gla(diatores) | prim(arios vel -ores) Camp(anos) XI, ur|sos quoque crudel(es) | occid(it) X. Quod ipsi | meminist(is), cives | optimi, herban(os) | univers(os) in dies | sing(ulos) occidit | quaternos.*

Minturnae (Campanie): *CIL X 6012 = ILS 5062 = EAOR IV 34.* Trad.: F. JACQUES, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 102 n° 53. Date: 249 ap. J.-C.

Justus a organisé deux spectacles: une *processus editio* en tant que duumvir, c'est-à-dire le spectacle réglementaire requis de tout magistrat supérieur à son entrée en fonction, puis, un an plus tard, après la fin de son duumvirat, un spectacle 'libre' qu'il avait accepté d'organiser à ses frais, à la demande du peuple. Le texte gravé sur la face principale du monument fait clairement la distinction entre ces deux spectacles, en insistant sur le programme supplémentaire (*ex indulgentia ... libenter*). La deuxième partie, inscrite sur une face latérale, rappelle le programme du spectacle réglementaire organisé par Justus en tant que duumvir, ce qui est exceptionnel. Deux hypothèses se présentent: (1) Justus est allé bien au-delà des attentes en produisant un *munus* au lieu des *ludi* beaucoup moins dispendieux; (2) si un *munus* était exigé des duumvirs, il est fort probable que celui de Justus excédât de beaucoup les normes. En effet, à cause du coût très élevé des *munera* à partir de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle (*infra*), les

spectacles de quatre jours étaient, aux II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles, des évergésies exceptionnelles (alors qu'ils étaient communs vers le milieu du I<sup>er</sup> siècle à Pompéi). Il n'en demeure pas moins que F. Jacques a raison lorsqu'il affirme que le second spectacle, quoique beaucoup plus modeste, méritait davantage les éloges de la communauté puisqu'il fut organisé en dehors de toute contrainte.<sup>13</sup>

Érigé vers la fin du règne d'Auguste ou au début de celui de Tibère, le monument funéraire du Pompéien Aulus Clodius Flaccus est éclairant sur l'*ampliatio*, c'est-à-dire sur le programme supplémentaire qu'un magistrat pouvait décider d'organiser à l'occasion des jeux réglementaires:

- (7) *A. Clodius A. f. | Men. Flaccus, (duum)vir i(ure) d(icundo) ter, quinq(uennalis), | trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo. | Primo duomviratu Apollinarib(us) in foro pompam, | tauros, taurocentas, succursores, pontarios: | paria III, pugiles catervarios et pyctas, ludos | omnibus acruamatis(!) pantomimisq(ue) omnibus et | Pylade et (sestertium) n(ummum) (decem milia) in publicum pro duomviratu; secundo duomviratu, quinq(uennali) Apollinarib(us) in foro | pompam, tauros, taurarios, succursores, pugiles | catervarios; poster(o) die solus in spectaculis athletas: | par(ia) XXX, glad(iatores): par(ia) V, et gladiat(ores): par(ia) XXXV et | venation(em): tauros, taurocentas, apros, ursos, | cetera venatione varia cum collega; | tertio duomviratu ludos factione prima, adiectis acruamatis(!) cum collega.*

Pompéi (Campanie): *CIL X 1074d = ILS 5053.4*. Trad. des lignes 4–8: "Pour son premier duumvirat, pendant la fête d'Apollon (il a donné), sur le forum, une procession, des taureaux, des toreros, des virtuoses de l'évasion, trois paires de combattants sur plateforme, des boxeurs qui combattent en équipes, d'autres qui combattent en paires, des jeux scéniques avec toutes sortes de divertissements et de pantomimes, dont Pylades, et 10 000 sesterces comme cadeau public en l'honneur de son duumvirat". Date: après 2/1 av. J.-C., date du 3<sup>e</sup> duumvirat de Flaccus (cf. *CIL X 890 = ILS 6391*).

<sup>13</sup> F. JACQUES, *Les cités de l'Occident romain. Documents traduits et commentés* (Paris 1990), 102 n° 53.

Il paraît probable qu'à Pompéi, les jeux réglementaires étaient organisés en l'honneur d'Apollon, au début de l'année locale, en juillet.<sup>14</sup> Les jeux du troisième duumvirat semblent avoir été beaucoup plus modestes que ceux des premier et second duumvirats et ont sans doute été beaucoup plus près de ce qu'était la norme. Le spectacle de la quinquennalité fut particulièrement somptueux. Il ne semble pas avoir comporté de *ludi*, à moins que Clodius se soit contenté d'offrir un programme ordinaire vu la qualité des spectacles inscrits dans la pierre, spectacles qu'on pourrait sans doute qualifier de *munera* dans leur ensemble.

En outre, des régions entières, équipées de théâtres, de cirques et d'amphithéâtres, n'ont produit pas même une seule mention épigraphique d'un spectacle. Les provinces frontalières septentrionales, de la Bretagne aux deux Mésies en passant par les Germanies, la Rhétie, le Norique, les Pannonies et la Dacie, sont un cas extrême de cette situation, car nous n'y connaissons aucune attestation d'un spectacle, d'un *curator muneris* ou d'un *munerarius* (du moins dans les cités où la tradition était d'utiliser le latin). Mais il n'y a aucun doute que les magistrats organisaient, là comme ailleurs, les spectacles réglementaires. L'absence de tout spectacle libre (*ob dedicationem, postulante populo*, etc.) peut paraître intrigante, mais s'explique assez facilement. D'abord par l'"epigraphic habit": la qualité et la quantité des données épigraphiques provenant du centre de l'Italie, c'est-à-dire des *regiones* les plus proches de Rome, est bien supérieure à celle des provinces frontalières septentrionales. Ensuite, par les circonstances historiques: les vieilles cités italiennes ont adopté diverses stratégies pour institutionnaliser les spectacles de gladiateurs, qui n'étaient pas prévus par leurs constitutions puisque ces dernières avaient été rédigées à une époque où seuls les *ludi* étaient concevables comme spectacles réglementaires en l'honneur des dieux. Certaines cités ont créé une *cura muneris publici*; d'autres ont

<sup>14</sup> À Rome, les *Ludi Apollinares* étaient célébrés du 6 au 13 juillet. Sur les dates des spectacles à Pompéi, voir S.L. TUCK, "Scheduling Spectacle. Factors Contributing to the Dates of Pompeian *munera*", in *CJ* 104 (2008), 123-143.

peut-être amendé leur constitution; le prestige du duumvirat quinquennal semble avoir encouragé les candidats à promettre un spectacle de gladiateurs, comme peut-être dans l'inscription de Clodius Flaccus (7). Mais lors de la fondation de colonies et de municipes romains à l'époque impériale, notamment dans les régions septentrionales, il était possible d'intégrer *ab initio* les spectacles de gladiateurs parmi les spectacles réglementaires, ce qui expliquerait en grande partie les silences de l'épigraphie.

### 3. L'autoreprésentation dans la sphère publique: le dossier épigraphique

À l'époque républicaine, les documents épigraphiques qui mentionnent les spectacles sont en majorité des comptes rendus d'activités de collège. De Capoue provient une belle série de textes allant de 108 à 105 av. J.-C., érigés par différents collèges de *magistri* qui ont participé à la construction du théâtre.<sup>15</sup> Ils sont tous structurés de la même manière: après la citation des noms de douze *magistri*, qu'on identifie comme membres du collège voué à telle ou telle divinité, on indique quelle section du théâtre ils ont construite; cela est suivi, du moins dans certaines inscriptions, par une mention précisant qu'ils ont organisé des *ludi*; les textes se terminent avec une date consulaire. Voici l'un des mieux préservés:

- (8) *L. Quinti(us) L. f. Gela, L. Iu(v)enti(us) L. f. Ruf(us), | C. Tit-tius C. f., C. Helvius N. f., | L. Helvius L. f., C. Helvius N. f. Gero, | P. Plinius M. f., Q. Matuius Q. f., | C. Paccius Cn. f., M. Mamius M'f., | C. Sattius C. f., P. Statius P. f. Stag(on): | heisce magistrei Iovei Optumo | Maxsumo murum coniungendum | et peilam faciendam et t(h)eatrum | terra exaggerandum locavere | eidemque luudos(!) fecere, | Ser. Sulpicio Ser. f. Galba co(n)s(ule).*

Capua (Campanie): *AE* 1952, 55 = *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2944. Date: 108 av. J.-C.

<sup>15</sup> M.W. FREDERIKSEN, "Republican Capua. A Social and Economic Study", in *PBSR* 27 (1959), 80-130, notamment 83-85.

Une variante archaïque de l'expression *ludos fecerunt* est toujours utilisée. Le verbe *facere* ne nous permet aucunement de connaître la source des fonds ayant servi à financer les jeux, mais puisque certains collèges de *magistri* ont contribué à la construction du théâtre, apparemment sans organiser de jeux, il semblerait que seule une contribution de leur part à l'érection du théâtre était requise. Si les jeux ont été une prime offerte seulement par certains collèges, la sobriété du texte ne le laisse pas facilement entrevoir. Il s'agirait dans ce cas de jeux *ob dedicationem*, mais cela n'est jamais spécifié.

Dans une inscription de Carthagène, un peu antérieure à la fondation de la colonie vers 45 av. J.-C., un collège de quatre citoyens romains (peut-être l'équivalent de quattuorvirs) fait le compte rendu de ses activités:

- (9) *L. Baebius L. f., L. Cati(us) M. f., | L. Taurius L. f., Ser. Aefolan(us) [-f.], | Genio op(p)idi columnam, | pompam ludosq(ue) | coiraverunt.*

Carthago Nova (Tarraconnaise): *CIL II 3408 = CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2269.*

Le texte ne dit pas explicitement si la construction d'une colonne et l'organisation d'une procession et de jeux étaient requises *ex officio* ou si elles constituaient de véritables évergéties. Puisqu'il s'agit d'un collège, la première hypothèse semble la plus probable. Le verbe *curare* (rarissime dans les inscriptions lorsqu'il s'applique aux spectacles) soutient ce point de vue, car il indique que le collège agissait comme curateur de tâches qui lui avaient été confiées par l'*oppidum*. Mais il ne faudrait pas en déduire que les fonds étaient exclusivement d'origine publique. On peut fort bien imaginer une situation comme à Urso où les magistrats, en tant que curateurs des jeux annuels, devaient faire une contribution substantielle des deniers nécessaires à leur organisation.

Dans les termes de l'autoreprésentation, les membres des collèges de Capoue et de Carthagène ne se présentent pas comme des évergètes mais comme des individus qui se sont bien acquittés des tâches qui leur avaient été confiées. À ma

connaissance, l'exemple le plus tardif de tels comptes rendus est un texte érigé par les *Augustales* de Pouzzoles:

- (10) *Q. Volusio Saturn(ino), | P. Cornelio Scip(ione) co(n)s(ulibus), | Augustales | qui [[Neroni]] Claudio | Caesari August(o) et | [[Agrippinae]] Augustae, | I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Genio | coloniae | ludos fecer(unt) XIII, XII k. Mart., | C. Tantilius C. C. | l. Hyla, | Cn. Pollius Cn. l. Victor, | C. Iulius C. l. Glaphyr(us), | curatoribus ---*

Puteoli (Campanie): *CIL X 1574 = ILS 226*. Date: 56 ap. J.-C.

Parce qu'il s'agit d'un compte rendu, ce texte est l'un des plus importants pour comprendre les activités officielles des *Augustales* et *seviri Augustales*, quoiqu'il ait été virtuellement ignoré autant par Robert Duthoy que par Andrik Abramenko dans leurs importantes études sur l'augustalité.<sup>16</sup> Les jeux sont présentés non pas comme une évergésie mais comme une obligation qui a été remplie par le collège. D'ailleurs, la première des deux dates correspond aux *Quirinalia*, une fête qui avait probablement été déterminée à l'époque d'Auguste étant donné l'importance de Quirinus-Romulus dans l'idéologie augustéenne. Nous serions donc en présence de *ludi* annuels célébrés depuis l'époque d'Auguste.<sup>17</sup>

C'est aussi dans la période julio-claudienne que les inscriptions *pro ludis* disparaissent.<sup>18</sup> Ces dédicaces étaient gravées sur les monuments que les collèges de magistrats et autres officiels ou prêtres avaient fait construire ou rénover au lieu d'organiser

<sup>16</sup> R. DUTHOY, "Les \*Augustales", in *ANRW II*, 16, 2 (1978), 1254-1309; A. ABRAMENKO, *Die munizipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlichen Italien* (Frankfurt am Main 1993).

<sup>17</sup> Noter aussi que les jeux sont qualifiés par les dates de célébration plutôt que quantifiés par leur durée sur deux jours (*biduo*). Sur tout ce qui concerne les dates, la thèse de P. HERZ, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften* (Mainz 1975), est indispensable; sur le texte de Puteoli, voir p. 142-143.

<sup>18</sup> Les quelques exemples plus tardifs n'appartiennent pas à la même tradition; voir par ex. *CIL VIII 8324 = ILS 5535* (Cuicul): *pro editione muneris debiti a solo faciendam ... curavit*.

les jeux réglementaires. Ironiquement, c'est parce que les magistrats, en s'acquittant de tâches édilitaires *pro ludis*, se trouvaient équipés d'un support pour faire le compte rendu de leurs activités, que nous avons la confirmation que les jeux faisaient partie de leurs obligations normales.<sup>19</sup> À Pompéi, une dizaine de ces textes sont attestés (plus que n'importe où ailleurs). En voici un à titre d'exemple:

- (11) *T. Atullius C. f. Celer, II u(ir), pro lud(is) lu(minibus) cun(eum) flaciendum) c(uravit) ex d(ecreto) d(ecretionum).*

Pompeii (Campanie): *CIL X 854*. Date: vers l'époque d'Auguste.

Ce texte a été gravé sur toute la longueur du deuxième *cuneus* de l'amphithéâtre. Comme dans les inscriptions précédentes, il s'agit d'un compte rendu sobre des activités d'un membre du collège. Il est possible que l'autre duumvir ait reconstruit un autre *cuneus* ou préféré une gloire plus éphémère en organisant les *ludi* réglementaires. Les comptes rendus de collèges ne sont pas attestés après la période julio-claudienne, du moins en ce qui concerne les spectacles.<sup>20</sup>

Comparées aux textes républicains, les inscriptions d'époque impériale sont beaucoup plus explicites quant à la nature réglementaire ou libre des spectacles. Les expressions républiques persistent, telle *ludos facere*, mais deviennent marginales. L'évolution se fait vers un langage qui exprime mieux l'organisation des jeux en tant qu'évergésies, car les textes sont désormais érigés surtout par ou pour des individus et non plus des collèges. Le verbe le plus commun, et de loin, pour exprimer l'organisation d'un spectacle est *edere*, déjà attesté au I<sup>er</sup> siècle,

<sup>19</sup> Je n'accepte donc pas la position de M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, "Auto-célébration des élites locales: quelques réflexions autour de la viabilité", in *Auto-célébration des élites locales dans le monde romain*, textes réunis par M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, L. LAMOINE et F. TRÉMENT (Clermont-Ferrand 2004), 157-169, puisqu'elle considère les constructions *pro ludis* comme de véritables évergésies.

<sup>20</sup> Sauf dans quelques fragments de fastes municipaux, mais il s'agit de textes d'une nature différente.

mais surtout aux II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles. J'en compte environ 125 à 130 attestations, dont plusieurs citées dans ces pages.<sup>21</sup> Le contexte indique que l'organisateur du spectacle a pourvu personnellement à son financement, ce qui peut être dit des spectacles réglementaires (27), mais très rarement puisque ces derniers ne sont presque jamais l'objet des commémorations. Sans doute l'organisateur a-t-il refusé toute subvention municipale. Comme le substantif *editio*<sup>22</sup> qui en dérive, *edere* prend le point de vue de l'organisateur du spectacle.<sup>23</sup> C'est aussi le verbe utilisé par la foule dans la célèbre mosaïque de Magecius: *exemplo quaestorum munus edes! de re tua munus edes!* (*AE* 1967, 549).<sup>24</sup>

Si on ignore les attestations d'époque républicaine, les verbes *dare* et *facere*, qui viennent en deuxième et troisième position, comptent une quarantaine et une trentaine d'exemples respectivement. Le verbe *facere* ne dit rien de la méthode de financement du spectacle concerné. C'est d'ailleurs surtout ce verbe qui introduit la précision *sua pecunia* ou *impensa sua* indiquant que la source de financement était privée:

- (12) *L. Attius Quir(ina) Vetto, flamen, (duum)vir m(unicipum) m(unicipii) Flavi Canam(itanum)(!), suo et L. Atti Vindicis f(ilii) et Attiae Autumninae f(iliae) et Antoniae Proculae neptis nomine, porticus lapideas marmoratas solo suo ludis sc[a]enicis impensa sua factis epulo dato d(edicavit).*

Canana (Bétique): *CIL* II 1074 = *ILS* 5544. Date: époque flavienne-II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Les autres verbes attestés sont beaucoup moins fréquents, mais on compte une quinzaine d'attestations d'*exhibere* (17,

<sup>21</sup> N°s 6, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 31.

<sup>22</sup> Environ 25 à 30 attestations, dont le n° 6 et l'inscription de Cuicul citée n. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Comparer *editio* à *spectaculum*, lequel prend le point de vue des spectateurs.

<sup>24</sup> A. BESCHAOUCH, "La mosaïque de chasse à l'amphithéâtre découverte à Smirat en Tunisie", in *CRAI* 110 (1966), 134-157; K.M.D. DUNBAIN, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978), 67-69 avec pl. 53.

30) et une demi-douzaine de *celebrare* (6, 21), toutes datables de la période qui va du II<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Parmi les autres, *curare* n'apparaît que deux fois (trois fois en tout avec le n° 9 d'époque républicaine). Une inscription de Paestum illustre bien la distinction entre *edere*, réservé à la partie du programme financée par l'organisateur lui-même, et *curare*, quand il s'est vu remettre 25 000 sesterces du trésor public pour produire un jour supplémentaire (23).<sup>25</sup>

Les dédicaces d'édifices publics sont désormais érigées par des individus, rarement des collèges. Dans la majorité des cas les réalisations inscrites dans la pierre sont présentées en tant qu'évergésies pour lesquelles l'auteur se félicite (ou du moins se met en valeur). Il s'agit alors d'une véritable *autoreprésentation*, car l'évergète et l'auteur du texte se confondent. Avec une centaine d'attestations environ, les dédicaces de statues et autres monuments se révèlent être la *causa spectaculorum* la mieux attestée dans les inscriptions. Les spectacles offerts sont surtout des jeux scéniques, mais on peut aussi organiser des courses au cirque dans les provinces hispaniques et africaines (où les *ludi circenses* semblent avoir été moins dispendieux qu'ailleurs):

- (13) *P. Baebius Ve|nustus, P. Baebi Veneti f., P. Bae|bi Baesisce|ris nepos, Or|etanus, peten|te ordine et po|pulo in hon|orem domus | divinae pont|em fecit ex HS XXX (milibus) circensib|us editis dono | d(edit) i(demque) d(edicavit).*

Oretum (Tarragonnaise): *CIL* II 3221 = 6339 = *ILS* 5901.  
Date: II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

- (14) *Voconia Q. f. Avita | thermas rei publicae | suaे Tagilitanae s(olo) s(uo), s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) | easdemque circensibus | edi<t>is e<t> epulo dato dedicavit | at(!) quot(!) opus tuendum usumq(ue) | perpetuum [t]hermarum præbandum | r(ei) p(ublicae) Tagilita-nae d(enariorum) duo milia q(uingentos) dedi(t).*

Tagilis (Tarragonnaise): *AE* 1979, 352. Date: fin du I<sup>er</sup> ou début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>25</sup> L'autre est dans un texte de Forum Clodii, 18 ap. J.-C.: *CIL* XI 3303 = *ILS* 154.

Le nom de celui (ou celle) qui a financé la construction figure souvent au nominatif, en tête de l'inscription. La dédicace représentait, à n'en pas douter, un moment de grande fierté pour l'évergète. L'organisation d'un spectacle était pour lui une des meilleures façons de se gagner la reconnaissance de l'ensemble de la communauté, représentée par la foule dans les gradins. À la lecture d'une expression laconique comme *editis circensibus*, et avec un recul de deux millénaires, il est difficile pour nous de saisir l'ambiance et les émotions qui devaient régner lors de ces spectacles. Nous sommes mieux éclairés par les mosaïques de spectacle qui décoraient les villas, comme celle de Magerius à Smirat.

Le coût et le prestige des spectacles de gladiateurs (*infra*) expliquent sans doute qu'ils étaient rarement surbordonnés à la dédicace d'un monument. Mais on en connaît néanmoins quelques attestations, comme dans une inscription du Picenum:

- (15) *[L. Flavius - f. V]el. Silva Nonius Bassus co(n)s(ul), pont(ifex), [legat(us) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) pr]ovinc[iae] Iudeae, adlectus inter patricios [a divo Vespasiano et] divo Tito censoribus ... suo et Ann[--]tiae matris suae item [-]millae uxoris nomine, pec(unia) sua, solo suo, [amphitheatrum faciundu]m curavit et parib(us) XXXX ordinariis dedicavit.*

Urbs Salvia (Picenum): *AE* 1969–70, 183 = *EAOR* III 78. Date: époque de Domitien ou un peu après. Le texte est reconstitué à partir de deux inscriptions très fragmentaires, mais presque identiques, en provenance des vestiges de l'amphithéâtre.

Le consul ordinaire L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus a fait ériger un amphithéâtre dans sa patrie, Urbs Salvia.<sup>26</sup> Il offrit pour la dédicace quarante paires de gladiateurs, le spectacle évidemment le mieux adapté à un tel monument. Un autre amphithéâtre

<sup>26</sup> *PIR<sup>2</sup>* F 368; *cos. ord.* 81. Il s'agit du conquérant de Massada. Il s'inspirait probablement de Vespasien et de Titus, qui avaient fait ériger l'amphithéâtre Flavien avec le butin des campagnes de Judée.

a été dédié avec un *munus* et une *venatio* à Circeii (*CIL* X 6429 = *EAOR* IV 45). Parmi les quelques autres édifices dont la dédicace a été accompagnée de combats de gladiateurs, mentionnons une bibliothèque à Dyrrachium (*CIL* III 607 = L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* [Paris 1940], 75 n° 2).

Des spectacles étaient aussi organisés à l'occasion de la dédicace de statues honorifiques. Il s'agissait rarement d'un *munus*, mais cela s'observe néanmoins à Pisaurum, où un fils offrit des combats de gladiateurs en l'honneur de son père, doté d'une statue offerte par la plèbe urbaine et érigée dans un lieu public, avec l'autorisation de la curie:

- (16) *T. Anchario T. f. Pal. Prisco, | aedil(i), quaest(ori), (duum)vir(o), | quaest(ori) alimentorum; | huic primo (duum)vir(orum) biga posita | ob eximias liberalitates et | abundantissimas in exemplum largitiones | et quod ex indulgentia Aug(usti) octies | spectaculum gladiator(um) ediderit, | amplius ludos Florales; | ob haec merita plebs urbana | [ex aere conlato?]; cuius dedicatione | T. Ancharius Priscianus filius, | aedilis, quaestor, adsedente | patre gladiatorium paria decem ad[i]ecta | venatione legitima edidit. | L. d. d. d.*

Pisaurum (Ombrie): *CIL* XI 6357 + *SupplIt* 1 p. 80 = *ILS* 5057 = *EAOR* II 15. Date: 150/200 ap. J.-C.

Ce fut à n'en pas douter un moment glorieux autant pour le père que pour le fils, ce dernier agissant probablement en tant que président du spectacle, peut-être avec le titre de *munerarius*. Son spectacle, constitué de dix paires de gladiateurs, pourrait sembler modeste en comparaison avec les évergésies du père, mais la dépense encourue pourrait fort bien avoir excédé de beaucoup la valeur de la statue érigée aux frais des citoyens.

À Acerrae on ignore quels étaient les "services infinis" pour lesquels Gnaeus Stennius Egnatius Primus s'est vu décerner une statue:

- (17) *Heuresi. | Gn. Stennio Egnatio, Gn. Stenni | Egnati Rufi fil., Fal. Primo, (quattuor)vir(o) | II q(uin)q(uennali), omnibus one-ribus et | honoribus functo, sac(erdoti) p(ublico) | deae Isidis et Serapidis, curat(ori) | operum publ(corum), ingenui, honorati | et Augustales patrono dignissi|mo ob infinita merita eius; cu|ius*

*dedicatione singulis uni|versisq(ue) eorum HS centenos n(ummos)  
| dedit, diem autem ludorum plenissi|me exhibuit. L. d. d. d.*

Acerrae (Campanie): *CIL X 3759 = ILS 6340*. Date: 200/250 ap. J.-C.

Primus exprime sa gratitude en offrant 100 sesterces à chacun des hommes de naissance libre, aux (ex-)magistrats et aux *Augustales* qui l'honoraiient ainsi. En organisant des jeux, il invite aussi le reste de la population à cette célébration de sa propre personne. Nous sommes donc en présence d'un situation très similaire à celle décrite dans le texte de Pisaurum. Si la communauté érige la statue, c'est l'évergète lui-même (ou un proche) qui prend sur lui de défrayer le coût des festivités et de s'assurer que la dédicace sera un événement mémorable.

Dans un texte souvent cité de Singilia Barba, on est informé assez précisément sur les évergésies pour lesquelles M. Valerius Proculinus a été honoré d'un statue à la fin de son duumvirat:

- (18) *M. Valerio M. f. | M. n. G. pron. Quir. | Proculino, (duum)vir(o)  
m(unicipum) m(unicipii) | liberi Singiliensis, | cives et incolae ex  
aere conlato; | hic in (duum)viratu publicos ludos et | totidem  
dierum privatos dedit; | item populum universum in municipio  
habitantem et incolas oleo et balineo | gratuito dato pervocavit; |  
item quo die ludos iu(v)enum in theatro | dedit gymnasium et  
balinea viris et | mulieribus gratuita praestitit. | Huic cives et inco-  
lae pr. k. Ianuarias | abeunti e (duum)uiratu ob rem publicam |  
bene atministratam consensu omnium | in foro publice gratias ege-  
runt et | hostias quas inmolarent item | statuam ex aere conlato  
dederunt | ordo decreto locum eligere | permisit | (duum)vir(atu),  
A. Cornelio Palma Front<on>iano II, | P. Caluisio Tullo co(n)-  
s(ulibus).*

Singilia Barba (Bétique): *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5, 789 = EAOR VII 16*. Date: 109 ap. J.-C.

Proculinus est honoré par ses concitoyens et les résidents étrangers pour sa bonne administration en tant que duumvir. Or, comme dans l'inscription funéraire d'Aulus Clodius Flaccus (7), les réalisations mentionnées se limitent aux 'plaisirs', c'est-à-dire à l'organisation de spectacles et aux journées gratuites aux

thermes. Il est sans doute plus difficile pour nous que pour les citoyens locaux de bien saisir la distinction entre les spectacles obligatoires et les véritables évergésies. La mention des jeux publics sert à donner la mesure des jeux dits privés. S'il devait exister à Singilia Barba des dispositions équivalentes à celles d'Urso, on pourrait alors penser à un programme supplémentaire de quatre jours. En outre, Proculinus est loué pour avoir ouvert gratuitement les bains des hommes et des femmes le jour où il a offert les jeux de la Jeunesse. Puisque ces *ludi iuvenum* sont introduits dans une proposition temporelle, il est pratiquement certain qu'ils ne constituaient pas une véritable évergésie mais qu'ils faisaient partie des obligations normales des duumvirs.

Des jeux étaient aussi organisés lors des dédicaces de statue en l'honneur d'une divinité ou de l'empereur:

- (19) *Boni Eventus. | Aponia Montana, sacerd(os) divar(um) Augustar(um) col(oniae) Aug. Fir(mae), | editis ob honorem sacerd(otii) circiensibus et | ob dedicationem aliis, ex arg(enti) libris CL d(e)s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edit) d(edicavit).*

Astigi (Bétique): *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5, 1162*. Date: début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

- (20) *Libero Patri sacr(um). | L. Caelius Saturninus, | L. Caeli Parthenopaei | lib(ertus), ob honorem (se)<vir(atus)> | editis ludis scaenicas | d(ono) d(edit).*

Italica (Bétique): *CIL II 1108*. Date: vers l'époque de Trajan.

Les dédicants de tels monuments, parmi lesquels on trouve surtout des affranchis fortunés, dont une forte proportion de sévirs augustaux (20), mais aussi des femmes (19), étaient souvent de statut trop modeste pour se voir décerner une statue honorifique avec inscription par la curie municipale. Sans qu'il faille nécessairement douter de leur sincérité, ces individus ont eu recours à une 'stratégie' qui leur permettait de se gagner une reconnaissance sur la place publique. Les motifs pour lesquels *Bonus Eventus* et *Liber Pater* ont été ainsi honorés par des prêtres du culte impérial demeurent incertains. Il faut sans

doute ne pas chercher au-delà de la forte association de ces deux divinités avec la fertilité agricole. Le caractère personnel de la dédicace du sévir *Saturninus* ressort de la comparaison avec l'inscription des *Augustales* de Pouzoles, qui eux ont agi en tant que collège pour organiser des jeux en l'honneur de Néron, de sa mère Agrippine, de Jupiter et du Génie de la colonie (10).

La curie municipale a aussi parfois honoré un individu à cause des mérites de son père au statut social trop modeste, par exemple à Nîmes:

- (21) *Attiae L. fil. Pa|terclae, flami|nicae perpet(uae) gra|tuitae decret(o) or|dinis I(uliensium) A[p]t(enium), ob libera|litates [p]atri[s] eius qui | praeter c[e]tera CCC (milia) HS | rei pub(licae) (se)virorum | reliquit ad ludos se|viral(es) in perpet(uum) celebr|andos. Daph-nion, | lib(ertus). L. d. d. d.*

Nîmes (Narbonnaise): *AE* 1982, 680 (avec corrections postérieures de M. Christol). Date: 150/200 ap. J.-C. Trad.: J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (Paris 2005), 515.

- (22) *Ordo sanctissim(us), | Q. Avilio Q. f. Sennio | Palatina Comini|ano, in honorem pa|tris eius Q. Auili Hyacin|thi quod is, praeter libera|litates spectaculorum quae | sponte ededit vel postu-lata | non negavit, velis novis sum|ptu suo in theatro positis cum | suis armamentis, saepe pecunia | mutua quae a magistratibus | petebatur data actum publicum | iuverit.*

Nîmes (Narbonnaise): *AE* 1982, 681. Trad.: F. JACQUES, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 150-151 n° 81. Date: 150/200 ap. J.-C.

Il ne me semble pas possible de savoir si les individus méritants étaient ou non décédés, mais ils se caractérisent tous deux par leurs origines modestes. Il est fort probable que le père de Patercla, qui avait fait un don important aux sévirs augustaux, un collège presque exclusivement composé d'affranchis, était lui-même un sévir augustal ou du moins un affranchi. Dans l'autre inscription, le surnom grec *Hyacinthus* trahit probablement une origine servile. En outre, ces deux individus ne sont identifiés que par leurs libéralités et non un *cursus honorum*.

Les inscriptions rapportent aussi occasionnellement les montants dépensés pour les spectacles. Il faut distinguer deux catégories principales de dépenses. Il y a d'une part les textes qui rapportent les dispositions testamentaires prévoyant l'organisation annuelle (ou à une autre fréquence) d'un spectacle grâce aux intérêts perçus sur une fondation. D'autre part, on trouve des textes, plus intéressants pour notre propos, surtout honorifiques, qui précisent combien l'évergète a dépensé sur son spectacle. La plus grosse somme attestée, 200 000 sesterces, a été utilisée à Carthage à l'époque d'Hadrien pour organiser un *munus* de quatre jours (*ILS* 9406). Dans une inscription de Paestum, on apprend qu'un duumvir quinquennal offrit un spectacle de gladiateurs, mais que la curie lui confia 25 000 autres sesterces pour organiser un jour supplémentaire, ce qu'il fit par tous les moyens en son pouvoir (*enixe*):

- (23) *C. Pomponio M. Pom[*p*]oni Libonis trierarchi | [*ff*]il. Mae. Dio-  
geni, | (*duum*)vir(o) q(uin)q(uennali); huic ordo decurio|num ob-  
munificentiam eius quot(?) | familiam gladiatoriam ex sua | libe-  
ralitate ob honorem q(uin)q(uennalitatis) | primus ediderit [it]em  
accep[tis] HS XXV m(ilibus) n(ummum) p[ecu]nia publica alium  
d[iem] enixe c[u]raverit, statuam ponendam | pecunia publica  
censuerunt. | L. d. d. d.*

Paestum: *AE* 1975, 252 = *EAOR* III 9. Date: fin du I<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.?

Le seul parallèle dont j'ai connaissance provient de Formies:

- (24) *C. Cludio Hilario, | biselliaro | cui ordo conscript(orum) | orna-  
menta decur(ionalia) dedit | quod is ob honor(em) biselli | HS XXV  
(milia) rei p[ublicae] obtulerit, ex quib(us) | familia glad(iatoria)  
ex postulatu | universor(um) per ipsum edita est, | ad cuius impensas  
insuper | universa plebs ad ampliandam | muneric eius famam |  
optulit(?) insuper HS XXV (milia) nummum; | ordo Augustal(ium)  
pec(unia) sua; | ob cuius dedic(ationem) pavit in Capitol(io) | pane  
et vino promiscue posito | et dedit sportulas | dec(urionibus),  
August(alibus), regal(ibus) sing(ulis) (denarios) quinos. | L. d. d. d.*

Formiae: *AE* 1927, 124 = *EAOR* IV 31. Date: II<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.

C. Clodius Hilarus avait versé au trésor municipal 25 000 sesterces après avoir obtenu l'honneur du *bisellium*. À la demande de l'ensemble de la communauté (*ex postulatu universorum*), il utilisa cette somme pour organiser des combats de gladiateurs, mais l'*universa plebs* la doubla "pour rehausser le prestige de son *munus*". Comme dans l'inscription de Diogenes, les fonds publics ont servi à "augmenter" une initiative privée. En outre, le texte insiste deux fois sur la participation de l'ensemble de la communauté à un événement qui fut sans doute le plus important dans la vie publique d'Hilarus, surtout qu'il était de statut social relativement modeste.<sup>27</sup>

À l'époque d'Auguste, l'affranchi Philomusus de Préneste a prévu dans son testament 40 000 sesterces pour organiser cinq jours de jeux:

- (25) *L. Urvineio L. l. Philomuso, | mag(istro) conl(egii) libert(inorum), | publice sepulturae et statuae in foro locus | datus est quod is testamento suo lavationem populo gratis | per triennium gladiatorumque paria X et Fortunae Primig(eniae) | coronam auream p(ondo) I dari, idemque ludos ex (sesterium) (quadraginta milibus) per dies V fieri iussit. | Philippus l(ibertus) monumentum de suo fecit.*

Préneste (Latium): *CIL XIV 3015 = ILS 6256 = EAOR IV 19.*  
Date: époque d'Auguste.

À 8 000 sesterces par jour, ces *ludi* sont en moyenne six fois moins chers que le *munus* de Carthage mentionné plus haut, mais parmi les *ludi* dont nous connaissons le prix, il s'agit des plus dispendieux. Les montants d'argent inscrits sur les monuments honorifiques ne laissent planer aucun doute que les combats de gladiateurs étaient les spectacles les plus onéreux, du moins à partir de la fin du I<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.

Quand les dépenses effectuées par l'évergète sont chiffrées, c'est certainement parce que la somme excédait les normes assez considérablement. D'ailleurs, la majorité des attestations appartiennent à des monuments honorifiques (ce qui contraste par

<sup>27</sup> On le sait par la convergence de plusieurs indices, dont le surnom grec, l'absence de *cursus* et les ornements décurionaux.

exemple avec les dédicaces d'édifices où la simple mention du spectacle *ob dedicationem* a généralement été jugée suffisante). En outre, quand les spectacles de gladiateurs sont offerts *ob honorem*, c'est le plus souvent pour le duumvirat quinquennal, c'est-à-dire la magistrature suprême de la cité qui correspondait, au niveau municipal, à la censure romaine. On a compté sept attestations, dont le n° 23.<sup>28</sup> Par contre, un seul spectacle de jeux scéniques est offert *ob honorem* pour la quinquennalité, mais il faut remarquer qu'il dura cinq jours (Privernum: *AE* 1974, 228).

Nous avons jusqu'ici examiné vingt-cinq documents. Il n'est pas toujours facile de bien distinguer les diverses situations qui ont incité les individus ou les groupes à ériger les monuments en question. Au risque de simplifier outre mesure, et en se limitant aux monuments qui témoignent de l'autoreprésentation des organisateurs, nous pouvons proposer les catégories suivantes de spectacles et de conditions propices à leur commémoration sur les monuments publics et funéraires:

- le spectacle constitutionnellement requis mais digne d'une mention épigraphique à cause d'une *ampliatio* remarquable ou de circonstances exceptionnelles entourant son organisation (6, 7, 18);
- le spectacle *ob honorem* sur base de statue honorifique (16, 23, 24);
- le spectacle offert pour la dédicace d'un édifice public (12-15);
- le spectacle offert pour la dédicace d'une statue honorifique par le ou les commanditaires de cette statue, ou encore par celui-là même qui se voyait ainsi honoré (17);
- le spectacle *ob dedicationem* offert par le commanditaire (généralement de statut social relativement modeste) d'une statue pour honorer l'empereur ou une divinité, idéalement sur un emplacement public concédé par la curie (19, 20).

\* \* \*

<sup>28</sup> Voir aussi *EAOR* II 24, III 35, 39, 40, *IRT* 396, *ILS* 9406; *APUL. Met.* 10, 18, 1.

Si les inscriptions insistent surtout sur la générosité des organisateurs de spectacles, il est, je crois, légitime de se poser la question à savoir si l'exécution correcte des rituels en l'honneur des dieux et de l'empereur a aussi joué un rôle dans leur autoreprésentation, car les spectacles avaient évidemment une dimension religieuse. En fait, les *ludi publici* (mais pas nécessairement les spectacles libres) étaient d'abord et avant tout des célébrations religieuses (1). Les inscriptions honorifiques, dédicatoires et funéraires des magistrats et des autres notables municipaux nous renseignent, quoique timidement, sur la dimension religieuse des spectacles. Le texte de l'*oppidum* de Carthagène mentionne la *pompa* qui a certainement précédé les *ludi* (9). À Lanuvium des jeux, très probablement réglementaires, sont consacrés à Junon Sospes, patronne de la cité (5). L'inscription du pompéien Clodius Flaccus (7) rapporte que les jeux des premier et second duumvirats ont été célébrés lors des *Apollinaria*; cela n'est pas spécifié pour le troisième duumvirat, mais il est probable que les jeux réglementaires organisés par les duumvirs pompéiens (Clodius agit d'ailleurs en partie *cum collega*) étaient consacrés à Apollon. Dans l'inscription des *Augustales* de Puteoli (10), comme nous l'avons vu, le 17 février (*XIII k. Mart.*) correspondait aux *Quirinalia*, raison probable de la célébration de jeux par ce collège même si cette fête n'est pas mentionnée spécifiquement. À Trebula Suffenas, par contre, les fragments des fastes des sévirs augustaux indiquent que les jeux annuels étaient célébrés pendant quatre jours à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> août, date de la prise d'Alexandrie en 30 av. J.-C.<sup>29</sup>

Mais il s'agit dans tous les cas de spectacles réglementaires. La dimension religieuse était-elle un aspect de l'autoreprésentation aussi en ce qui concerne les spectacles libres? Je ne considérerai ici qu'un exemple représentatif: les dates ou occasions

<sup>29</sup> CIL VI 29681; *SupplIt* 4, 42, avec J. LINDERSKI, "Updating the CIL for Italy: part 2", in *JRA* 11 (1998), 458-484: 464-466 = *Roman Questions*, II (Stuttgart 2007), 369-413: 379-383; EAOR III 23. Les fragments conservés concernent les années 22, 23, 30 et 108.

de célébrations des spectacles. Dans les inscriptions sur pierre, les dates dont on connaît la raison d'être sont attestées surtout dans les dédicaces d'édifices publics et dans les prescriptions testamentaires gravées sur les bases de statues. Les individus qui ont construit ou restauré un édifice public ont sélectionné un anniversaire impérial pour la dédicace. Dans un texte de Rusicade, la complétion de travaux au théâtre a été célébrée au moyen de jeux scéniques le 31 mars 225 (*CIL VIII* 7988 = *ILS* 5648); cette date, attestée plusieurs fois dans l'épigraphie africaine d'époque sévérienne, avait été choisie probablement parce qu'elle correspondait à la victoire décisive de Septime Sévère sur Pescennius Niger en 194, près d'Issus.<sup>30</sup> On ne connaît pas la signification précise de la date du 4 octobre pour la dédicace avec jeux d'un temple à Capsa, mais l'inscription s'ouvre avec une invocation pour le salut de l'empereur Probus (*CIL VIII* 100 + XI 228). Enfin, à Amiternum, un puissant évergète a célébré la restauration à ses frais d'un aqueduc et de thermes un 13 novembre, à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de naissance de Constantin César.<sup>31</sup>

En revanche, dans les textes qui précisent les conditions d'une fondation testamentaire, il n'existe, à ma connaissance, aucun spectacle dont la célébration correspondrait à une date significative pour le culte impérial. Les occasions les plus communes sont l'anniversaire de naissance de l'évergète ou d'un membre de sa famille proche. J'en compte six témoignages, dont cinq de provenance africaine, comme ce texte d'Uchi Maius:

- (26) *L. Cornelio Quieto, | b(onestae) m(emoriae) u(iro) qui testamen|to suo rei publicae colo|niae Mariana Aug(ustae) Ale|xandrianae Vchitanor(um) | [Ma]jorum per fideicommissum | HS decem mil(ia) n(ummum) reliquit ex cuius | summae usuris quotannis die na|tali eius decurionibus sportulae et | [po]pulo ludi darentur. | L.*

<sup>30</sup> Voir P. HERZ, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 171-172.

<sup>31</sup> *SupplIt* 9, 34 = *EAOR* III 47: ... *nomine d(omini) n(ostr)i Constanti beatiss(im)i Caes(aris) natale Idibus Nob(embribus)(!) dedicavit, quarum dedicatione biduum t(h)eatrum et dena iuvenaliorum spectaculis exs(h)ibuit ...*

*Cornelius Quietus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), filius eius, pa|[r]emti(!)  
optimo sua pecunia fecit et | impetrato ab ordine loco dedicavit.*

Uchi Maius (Afrique proconsulaire): *CIL VIII 26275 = ILS 9405.*  
Date: III<sup>e</sup> siècle.

L'autoreprésentation se manifeste ici non seulement dans le monument lui-même, érigé par le fils, mais encore par la date prescrite par le bienfaiteur, c'est-à-dire son anniversaire de naissance, puisque les jeux auront le mérite de rappeler sa mémoire annuellement. Il s'agissait certainement, chaque année, d'un jour glorieux pour ses descendants même si, sur une base annuelle, un seul jour de jeux scéniques était une évergésie plutôt modeste. Certains bienfaiteurs ont eu des intentions moins égoïstes. À Barcino, par exemple, un ex-centurion de la légion VII Gemina a choisi le 10 juin pour tenir annuellement un spectacle de pugilistes (*CIL II 4514 = ILS 6957*). Quoique l'inscription n'indique pas la signification de cette date, nous savons qu'il s'agissait du *natalis* de cette légion.<sup>32</sup>

Les textes de Rusicade, de Capsa et d'Amiternum semblent indiquer que les dédicaces d'édifices publics devaient s'effectuer lors d'anniversaires impériaux, c'est-à-dire à des dates qui étaient significatives pour l'empereur ou sa famille. Par contre, ceux qui prévoyaient une fondation testamentaire pour l'organisation d'un spectacle annuel avaient loisir de choisir une date dont la signification était personnelle, voire leur propre anniversaire. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, un anniversaire impérial n'est jamais choisi. L'organisation de spectacles *ob dedicationem* en des occasions significatives pour le pouvoir impérial semble donc avoir répondu à un certain formalisme. On remarquera par ailleurs que la victoire de Sévère sur Pescennius, célébrée en 225 à Rusicade (dans l'inscription mentionnée plus haut), avait eu lieu 31 ans plus tôt. Marcus Fabius Fronto, qui érige la statue et organise des jeux, ne rappelle pas

<sup>32</sup> Voir P. HERZ, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 223-224, quoique cette inscription ait été omise.

cet événement explicitement, mais cherche plutôt à se représenter comme ayant rempli sa promesse dans un très bref délai, c'est-à-dire en moins de trois mois (3 janvier-31 mars). En outre, on saisit mal pourquoi l'anniversaire de naissance d'un des trois ou quatre fils de Constantin aurait eu une signification particulière pour l'évergète d'Amiternum.<sup>33</sup> Tous ces faits suggèrent que la date impériale choisie pour une dédicace était déterminée en fonction de la date de complétion des travaux, non pas parce que tel ou tel anniversaire impérial avait pour l'évergète ou la communauté une signification particulière.

J'ai gardé pour la fin une dimension de l'autocélébration qui est sans doute la plus révélatrice de la signification du spectacle pour l'organisateur, non pas pour la postérité mais au moment même où il l'offrait et en assumait la présidence. Ces textes sont peu nombreux, et comme d'habitude en épigraphie latine, peu bavards, mais ils ne manquent pas de révéler qu'il se passait au théâtre et dans les autres édifices de spectacles bien plus que le programme officiel. Ce fait est bien attesté à Rome, surtout grâce aux sources littéraires, mais mal documenté dans les cités de l'Italie et des provinces occidentales. Aux textes n°s 3, 4 et 6, j'ajouterai les quelques exemples suivants:

- (27) *Diuo Antonino | Pio. C. Egnatius Festus, aedil(is), (duum)vir; | huic cum pleps urbana ludos publ(icos) | edenti ad statuam sibi ponendam | pecuniam optulisset, is honore | contentus impensam remisit | ... L. d. d. d.*

Perusia (Étrurie): *CIL XI* 1924. Date: peu après 161 ap. J.-C.

- (28) *Voto suscepto pro | salute perpetua domus | August(ae); cum edi- | disset | munus gladiatorium | populus in statuam cont(ulit) | Q. Vibio Q. Caesi f. Ter. | Rustico, | (duum)vir(o) q(uinquennali).*

Venafrum (Campania): *CIL X* 4893. Date: I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.?

<sup>33</sup> Nous savons toutefois que les anniversaires des empereurs pouvaient être célébrés au moyen de spectacles. Perpétue et Félicité ont subi leur martyre lors d'une *venatio* pour célébrer l'anniversaire de naissance de Géta César. Malheureusement, nous ignorons la nature de ce spectacle et qui en fut l'organisateur, mais il ne s'agissait évidemment pas d'un spectacle prévu par la charte municipale.

La plèbe urbaine effectuait une collecte pour une statue en l'honneur de Gaius Egnatius Festus, alors même que celui-ci, en tant que duumvir, ‘éditait’ les jeux scéniques publics; Festus, satisfait d’être ainsi honoré, leur a remboursé cette dépense (27). C’est pendant le spectacle de gladiateurs qu’il offrait que le peuple fit une collecte pour une statue en l’honneur de Quintus Vibius Rusticus (28). Ces deux textes et ceux de Veii (3, 4) ne laissent pas facilement saisir l’atmosphère qui régnait au théâtre, mais il ne fait pas de doute que le spectacle avait lieu aussi bien sur la scène que dans les gradins. D’Ostie nous avons un texte assez exceptionnel par la mention du *lucar*, c’est-à-dire la subvention à laquelle le magistrat avait droit pour organiser ses jeux réglementaires (cf. 1):<sup>34</sup>

- (29) *P. Lucilio | P. f. P. n. P. pro|nep. Gamalae, | aed(ili) sacr(is)  
Volk(ani), | [sa]ledili, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) allecto | [g]ratis decu-  
rioni, | [p]ontifici, (duum)vir(o) censo|riae pot(estatis) quinque-  
nal(i), | in comitis facto cura[tor]i pecuniae publicae exigen[d]ae  
et adtribuenda, | [i]n ludos cum accepisset public(um) | lucar,  
remisit et de suo erogati|onem fecit ...*

Ostie (Latium): *CIL XIV 375 = ILS 6147 = CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3031a.*  
Trad.: F. JACQUES, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 130-131 n° 68a.

Comme dans la mosaïque bien connue de Magerius, l’inscription de Gamala suggère l’existence d’un rituel bien orchestré en présence de l’ensemble de la communauté, c’est-à-dire des spectateurs dans la *cavea*. Un représentant des autorités municipales s’est avancé pour lui remettre la subvention (*lucar*) à laquelle il avait droit pour l’organisation des jeux réglementaires, mais il a montré sa richesse et sa générosité en la refusant, sans doute sous les acclamations de la foule. La description de ce moment n’a aucun parallèle ailleurs dans l’épigraphie municipale. Puisqu’il s’agit d’une inscription assez précoce, peut-être la remise du *lucar* n’était-elle pas encore la norme, ce

<sup>34</sup> Sur ce texte, voir en dernier lieu M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, M.L. CALDELLI, F. ZEVI, *Épigraphie latine* (Paris 2006), 95-101, n° 11. Gamala était un contemporain de Pompée et de César.

qui expliquerait qu'elle ait été digne de mention dans une inscription publique.

Ces quelques textes sont presque les seuls qui laissent entrevoir le moment fort qu'était le spectacle pour l'organisateur, alors même qu'il en assumait la présidence. J'ajouteraï encore une base honorifique dont la provenance exacte est malheureusement inconnue:

- (30) *A. Veratio A. f. Pal. Severiano, | equiti Rom(ano) ... qui cum privilegio sacerdoti Caeninensis munitus potuisset ab honorib(us) et munerib(us) | facile excusari, präposito amore patriae et honorem aedilitat(is) | laudabiliter administravit et diem felicissim(um) III id. Ian. natalis | dei patri n(ostri) venatione pass(iva), denis bestis et IIII feris dent(atis) et IIII paribus | ferro dimicantib(us) ceteroq(ue) honestissim(o) apparatu largiter exhibuit | ... huic cum et populus in spectaculis adsidue | bigas statui postulasset et splendidissim(us) ordo merito decreviss(et) | pro insita modestia sua unius bigae honore content(us) alterius | sumptus rei p(ublicae) remisit. L. d. d. d. c(oloniae) I(uliae?).*

Puteoli? (Campanie): *CIL X 3704 = ILS 5054*. Date: fin II<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Severianus aurait pu se retrancher derrière son immunité en tant que sacerdoce de Caenina (une prêtrise urbaine) pour se désister de toute participation à la vie municipale, mais il a montré son amour pour la patrie en assumant l'édilité et en offrant une chasse à l'amphithéâtre le 11 janvier, jour anniversaire de la divinité tutélaire.<sup>35</sup> La suite de l'inscription nous apprend que le peuple, comme il assistait à cette *venatio* "dans les gradins" (*in spectaculis*), demanda avec insistance qu'on lui érige deux biges, ce à quoi consentit la curie. Satisfait d'un seul bige, le modeste Severianus promit, au vu et au su de tous, de rembourser la dépense encourue pour le deuxième. Sans doute

<sup>35</sup> Comparer avec des inscriptions jumelles de Pouzzoles, *ILS 5186* et *AE 2005, 337*: ... *ob amorem erga patriam et eximiam liberalitatem in edendo munere gladiatorum venatione passiva ...*; cf. M.L. CALDELLI, "Eusebeia e dintorni. Su alcune nuove iscrizioni puteolane", in *Epigraphica* 67 (2005), 63-83, notamment 63-71.

les Romains pouvaient-ils lire mieux que nous les mêmes émotions dans les expressions laconiques telles *postulante* ou *petente populo, impensam remisit*, etc.

#### 4. Conclusion

Qu'il s'agisse d'une modeste journée de jeux scéniques dans une petite communauté africaine ou d'un *munus* de quatre jours dans un grand centre italien, on ne peut comprendre la nature des commémorations épigraphiques sans prendre en considération le statut réglementaire ou libre des spectacles. À la lumière des inscriptions latines qui nous informent sur l'organisation des spectacles au niveau municipal, il est clair que ce critère est fondamental dans l'étude de l'autoreprésentation. Quelques indices nous permettent de saisir la gloire du moment qu'un spectacle réglementaire pouvait procurer à l'organisateur, mais ce sont presque exclusivement les spectacles libres qui méritaient d'être commémorés et gravés dans la pierre, sur la place publique et même sur les monuments funéraires.

Il y a, en conséquence, de fortes raisons de croire que certaines catégories d'organiseurs sont mieux représentées que d'autres dans les textes épigraphiques. Les riches affranchis, qui ne pouvaient briguer les magistratures municipales (surtout depuis la *lex Visellia* de 24 ap. J.-C.), cherchaient d'autres moyens de reconnaissance sociale. Or, les affranchis, dont les sévirs augustaux, pouvaient se tourner vers l'organisation de spectacles pour compenser leur infériorité juridique et sociale. L'inscription de l'affranchi Clodius Hilarus (24) insiste en deux fois sur le rôle de la plèbe entière dans l'organisation de son spectacle de gladiateurs, car elle lui demande dans un premier temps d'être munéraire, puis d'agir en tant que *curator muneris*. En outre, la dédicace d'une statue à une divinité ou à l'empereur permettait à des individus méritants, mais de statut social trop modeste pour se voir décerner une statue honoriique par la communauté, d'ériger pour eux-mêmes, à leurs

propres frais, un monument où ils pouvaient fièrement inscrire leurs réalisations (19, 20). Les curies municipales avaient certainement intérêt à accorder à de tels individus un emplacement public pour encourager l'évergétisme des classes possédantes mais moins privilégiées juridiquement et sans droit d'accès au décurionat. Le monument de Licinius Abascantio à Castulo en Tarragonnaise est particulièrement intéressant à cet égard:

- (31) *[Im]p. Caes. T. Aelio | [Ha]driano Antonino | [Au]g. Pio p. p.,  
pont. max., tri[bu]niciae potest. XVIII, | cos. IIII. | [-] Licinius  
Abascantio | [in re publica] Castulonensi(um) (se)viratu functus ex  
indul[gentia] splendidissimi ordinis quos [is] gerendos in hono[re]s res  
d(ivoru)m et d(ivinae) [d]om[us] cen[sue]rat edi[tis] in amp[h]i-  
t(h)eatro gladi[atorib]us bis spectaculorum die[b(us) ---], item in  
theatro | [ludis cum] acroam[a]tibus frequenter editis, statu[am] |  
Imp. Ant[onini] Aug. p(atris) p(atriae) optimi maximique  
prin[cipis, ac]cepit loco a re publica Castulonensium | [ob hon]o-  
rem (se)viratus [d(ono)] d(edit).*

Castulo (Tarragonnaise): *AE* 1976, 351 = *EAOR* VII 13. Date: 155 ap. J.-C.

Les spectacles offerts par Licinius Abascantio, dont le surnom grec et la fonction de sévir augustal trahissent une origine servile, se comparent avantageusement, tant par leur quantité que par leur qualité, aux spectacles de M. Valerius Proculinus de Singilia Barba (18), comme le soulignent Joaquín Gómez-Pantoja et Mariano Rodríguez Ceballos:<sup>36</sup>

“Aunque *Abascantio* seguramente gastó mucho más dinero en sus vecinos que el Ilvir de *Singilis*, su condición libertina hacía impropio que se le honrase con una estatua; pero proponiendo que ésta se dedicase al emperador, el *sevīr* consiguió indirectamente que su nombre figurase con claridad en un lugar público de la ciudad y que no pasase desapercibida a nadie su dignidad sacerdotal y, sobre todo, su riqueza.”

<sup>36</sup> J.L. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA et M. RODRÍGUEZ CEBALLOS, “¡Fiesta! Una nota sobre los festivales y espectáculos ciudadanos de Hispania”, in *Poder central y autonomía municipal. La proyección pública de las élites romanas de Occidente*, ed. por J.F. RODRÍGUEZ NEILA y E. MELCHOR GIL (Córdoba 2006), 359-384.

Dans les termes de l'autoreprésentation, les organisateurs de spectacles ne semblent pas se comporter différemment des évergètes qui construisent ou rénovent des édifices publics. La mosaïque de Magerius laisse d'ailleurs entendre qu'il y avait des négociations préalables entre l'organisateur d'un spectacle non réglementaire et les autorités municipales, car il fallait s'assurer d'en retirer des bénéfices tangibles. La spontanéité que les inscriptions cherchent à communiquer a toutes les chances de n'être qu'illusoire.

## DISCUSSION

*C. Jones:* On the *lex Ursoneensis*, the fact that the law sets a maximum of 2000 sestertii for the public part of the expense but a minimum of 2000 sestertii for the benefactor's own contribution might suggest that the distinction between private and public *munus* is not absolute; though I think you make a very good point in urging that we have to think about this distinction, at least when dealing with inscriptions from the Latin West.

*G. Chamberland:* I agree that the distinction is not absolute, but it makes sense of the municipal epigraphic evidence which, as I said, amounts to several hundred inscriptions. It is not just a monetary matter but also a matter of 'solemnity'. By that I mean that 'public' spectacles were celebrated for the Roman gods and the local patron deities at specific dates in the local calendar, usually at the beginning of the year. My no. 6 records a *processus editio*, i.e. a spectacle organized by a magistrate just after his investiture. In addition, and as we have seen, the document from Singilia Barba (18) clearly distinguishes between a public and a private program. Only one town, Pompeii, provides enough evidence to attempt some sort of a case study. There, the public *ludi* were celebrated on the *Apollinaria* (7), which corresponded to the beginning of the Pompeian year, in July, while the privately sponsored gladiatorial *munera* are attested in every month of the year except September; that is why organizers needed to advertise them on the city's walls.

*J.-P. Thuillier:* La distinction entre spectacles réglementaires et libres est importante mais dire que "seuls les spectacles libres sont de véritables évergésies" est peut-être exagéré, si l'on pense

par exemple aux édiles de la République qui dilapidaient leur patrimoine et celui de leurs amis pour plaire à la foule et assurer le déroulement d'un brillante carrière politique.

*G. Chamberland:* Mais je crois qu'il y a un gouffre entre la cité de Rome à l'époque républicaine et les colonies et municipes dont les inscriptions sont presque toutes d'époque impériale. Aux remarques que je viens d'adresser à M. Jones, j'ajouterai que la distinction que j'ai établie entre spectacles réglementaires et libres tient compte pratiquement de toute la documentation, non seulement des textes qui mentionnent les *ludi*, *munera* et autres prestations, mais encore des milliers d'inscriptions honorifiques des magistrats qui n'en disent rien. Si, en effet, on peut considérer les spectacles réglementaires comme une forme d'évergétisme, il n'en demeure pas moins que cet évergétisme 'obligatoire' n'a eu presque aucune valeur d'autoreprésentation sur la place publique.

Toutefois, il me semble que la situation que vous décrivez pour Rome trouve son pendant dans la loi d'Urso, mais évidemment à une échelle beaucoup plus modeste. La section LXXI exige des édiles la même contribution personnelle de 2000 sesterces que les duumvirs pour organiser leurs spectacles réglementaires, mais ils n'ont droit qu'à 1000 sesterces comme subvention publique. Est-ce parce qu'on s'attendait de leur part à des spectacles moins somptueux étant donné leur rang inférieur? Certainement pas. Alors que les duumvirs pouvaient se contenter d'offrir quatre jours de jeux scéniques — les moins dispendieux des spectacles après les combats de pugilistes amateurs — les édiles devaient organiser au moins deux programmes différents, soit trois jours de jeux scéniques et un quatrième jour au cirque ou "sur le forum" (c'est-à-dire des combats de gladiateurs). Mais les candidats à l'édilité avaient de bonnes raisons de surenchérir, car il leur fallait déjà songer à leur campagne pour le duumvirat. Dans ce contexte, les jeux des duumvirs ont toute l'apparence d'une forme de paiement, une notion qu'il est difficile de concilier avec celle

d'évergétisme. Il n'en demeure pas moins que sous l'Empire, on compte plus d'une quinzaine d'attestations du titre *duumvir et munerarius* (ou une variante) face à seulement deux occurrences du titre correspondant *aedilis et munerarius*, auxquelles j'ajouterais un grafitte pompeien qui fait l'éloge d'un notable local: *aedilem bonum et munerarium magnum!* (*CIL IV* 4999).

*J. Nollé:* Vielen Dank für diese umfassende Zusammenstellung der Zeugnisse für Spiele in den westlichen Teilen des Reiches. Bei dieser Gesamtschau habe ich einerseits den Eindruck gewonnen, dass es viele Gemeinsamkeiten mit den Verhältnissen im Osten gibt, dass andererseits aber auch bemerkenswerte mentale Unterschiede bestehen. Aufgefallen ist mir insbesondere, dass wir in den Texten des Ostens so gut wie überhaupt nicht den Hinweis darauf finden, dass eine gewährte Euergesie *postulante populo* erfolgte. In dieser Hinsicht waren die Honorationen des Ostens weitaus aristokratischer gesinnt bzw. billigten dem Volk eine solche Rolle nicht zu.

*G. Chamberland:* I suspect it has to do with fundamental Roman virtues such as *liberalitas*, as well as the model provided by the Urbs, where public entertainment buildings became the natural venue for the Roman people to express their demands and objections to the emperor. At the municipal level, *postulationes populi* were much less politically sensitive, but they were nevertheless emotionally charged, which the mosaic of Magearius shows much better than our formulaic inscriptions. The spectators, symbolic of the entire community, also came together to reward their benefactors (3, 4, 27, 28, 30). Such events were highlights in a public career.

*J. Nollé:* Wenn ich zwei ihrer Aussagen verbinde — einmal das Ende der Überlieferung für Agone gegen Ende des 3. bzw. gegen Anfang des 4. Jh. und dann den religiösen Hintergrund der *ludi* —, frage ich mich, in wie weit die zunehmende

Christianisierung — ich denke dabei besonders an Afrika — eine der Ursachen für das zumindest epigraphische Ende der Spiele ist. Wurde es angesichts von immer mehr Christen immer schwieriger, stolz auf die Durchführung von „heidnischen“ Spielen zu sein?

*G. Chamberland:* It is actually remarkable how little is said in the inscriptions about the religious meaning of the spectacles, including *ludi*. Municipal notables wanted to be remembered for their munificence and *liberalitas*, not their devotion to the gods. The games for Juno Sospes at Lanuvium (5) were worthy of epigraphic commemoration only because M. Valerius organized them without a colleague. From the second century until our evidence dies out in the fourth, and as Professor Thuillier has pointed out elsewhere, *ludi* became mere *voluptates*, entirely foregoing their meaningfulness as pagan religious celebrations. The appearance of terms such as *editio* and *voluptates* in the second century, and progressive displacement of the official terminology, supports that claim. The Fathers of the Church, such as Tertullian, an African Roman, were at pains to demonstrate that the spectacles were celebrations of pagan gods. Their repeated appeals suggest that their fellow Christians were unmoved.

*C. Jones:* In general it is curious how much detail the Latin inscriptions give about types of *munus*, number of gladiators and animals involved, etc., compared with Greek inscriptions. Is this because there is some difference in the cultural and social outlook (e.g. greater insistence on the moral qualities of the honorand in the East, more on his/her material gifts in the West)? Is it the influence of Rome, providing a stronger model in the West?

*G. Chamberland:* There are, indeed, some inscriptions (and mosaics, such as that of Fortuna Redux at Tebessa) which provide details about the programme of a *munus*. I suspect

that in most cases this is because such programmes were private undertakings. In Flaccus' inscription (7), for instance, much more attention is given to the supplementary programme, such as the number of pairs of athletes and gladiators, while little is said about the programmes presented jointly with his colleague. I would agree to some extent that it has to do with the honorand's material gift more than his/her moral qualities, but note how Proculinus' benefactions are equated with good administration (18: *ob rem publicam bene atministratam*). Gifts of spectacles are also an expression of the benefactor's *liberalitas* and *munificentia* (21-23; cf. 16), and *amor patriae* (30).

*C. Jones:* With reference to self-representation in Latin honorific inscriptions: even when the place is given *ex decurionum decreto* and the city is 'doing the honors', still the actual setting up of a statue is (perhaps always) a celebration, a kind of public party or picnic (cf. your no. 24, *pane et vino promiscue posito*). Even more when the honorand gives the party, there is a blend of public recognition and self-presentation.

*R. Webb:* Dans votre dossier figurent plusieurs inscriptions qui sont présentées comme des expressions de la gratitude de la communauté envers le donateur (je pense aux n°s 3-6 et 18 entre autres). À quel point peut-on parler d'"autoreprésentation" dans ces cas? Savons-nous, par exemple, si le texte gravé résulte d'un processus de négociation entre le donateur lui-même et ses concitoyens?

*G. Chamberland:* En effet, il s'agit souvent d'inscriptions honorifiques qui ne sont pas érigées par les individus honorés mais par l'ensemble ou une partie de la communauté. Malgré l'apparence de spontanéité, il est probable que souvent des négociations préalables avaient eu lieu. Dans la sphère privée, c'est ce que la mosaïque de Magerius démontre, car la foule lui demande de payer pour le spectacle, avec toute l'apparence de

la spontanéité, même s'il avait déjà préparé quatre sacs d'argent qu'il fit porter au centre de l'arène. On peut aussi se demander qui a entrepris les deux collectes effectuées pour financer les statues de Caesus Athictus (3-4). Mais dans la majorité des cas qui concernent les élites aristocratiques locales, il s'agit d'une autoreprésentation de classe qu'il faut sans doute situer dans un contexte de réciprocité. La véritable autoreprésentation, celle d'un individu par et pour lui-même, est plus commune parmi les individus fortunés mais de condition sociale et juridique trop modeste pour se voir honorés par la curie municipale. Le monument érigé à Castulo par le sévir Abascantio (31) est représentatif de cette situation.

*J. Nelis-Clément:* Le terme *indulgentia* apparaît à trois reprises dans les documents que vous discutez, une fois seul (6), une fois sous la forme *ex indulgentia Aug(usti)* (16) et une fois comme *ex indul[gentia] splendidissimi ordinis* (31). Est-ce qu'il vous paraît possible, sur la base de l'ensemble du dossier que vous avez étudié, de préciser ce qu'implique concrètement la demande d'une telle *indulgentia*, dans quel contexte (types de spectacles, lieux, statut de l'évergète etc.) elle s'impose, de quelle(s) autorité(s) elle dépend et comment se déroulent les tractations? En d'autres termes, et dans une approche plus générale, que savons-nous du contrôle exercé sur l'organisation des spectacles?

*M.L. Caldelli:* A proposito dell'espressione *ex indulgentia (principis)*. Mi sembra di ricordare, almeno per quanto riguarda i *munera*, che ci sia un passo di Svetonio, della vita di Claudio, in cui si dice che i liberti non potevano dare *munera* se non con autorizzazione imperiale. E in effetti abbiamo una serie di iscrizioni di ricchi liberti che danno *munera ex indulgentia* (penso, ad esempio, al caso del liberto imperiale Pylades nelle due basi di Pozzuoli). Andrebbe indagato, caso per caso, quando troviamo *ex indulgentia*, *ex indulgentia principis*, *ex indulgentia ordinis* se si tratta di un permesso e a fare cosa.

*G. Chamberland:* Cette *indulgentia* du prince, c'est-à-dire l'autorisation impériale, semble avoir été nécessaire (ou perçue comme telle) seulement pour les *munera* et les *venationes*. Mais j'ajoute qu'en dehors du monde des spectacles, elle a aussi été obtenue pour des constructions publiques comme les aqueducs et les remparts. On utilise le verbe *impetrare* dans une formule du genre *indulgentia sacra impetrata* (comme à Praeneste: EAOR IV 30). Quant au statut des demandeurs, quelques munériaires d'origine servile sont attestés qui ont fait appel à l'*indulgentia*, comme l'affranchi impérial Pylades que Mme Caldelli mentionne (ILS 5186 et AE 2005, 337), mais Ancharius Priscus (16) est de naissance libre. En outre, on sait par Tacite (*Ann.* 13, 49) qu'en 58 les Syracuseins avaient demandé au Sénat romain l'autorisation d'augmenter le nombre de gladiateurs au-delà de la limite permise par la législation. Cette demande ne semble pas avoir émané d'un seul individu mais de la curie municipale dans son ensemble.

Mme Nelis-Clément remarque que l'*indulgentia* du n° 6 n'est qualifiée d'aucune façon. Je me demande si ce pourrait être à cause des événements politiques et militaires de 249, quand l'inscription a été érigée, car l'empereur Philippe avait été défait et tué au début de l'été par Trajan Dèce, qui lui a succédé. Si l'*indulgentia* avait été accordée par Philippe, il allait de soi qu'il fallait censurer son nom ou ses attributs (*indulgentia Augusti, indulgentia sacra*, etc.).

*K. Coleman:* It is significant that *indulgentia* becomes so closely associated with the emperor that the word even becomes an oblique way of addressing him (*indulgentia tua*, like "Your Majesty").

*M.L. Caldelli:* Una piccola osservazione a proposito dell'iscrizione di Gamala (Senior), ricordata in ultimo (29). Come è stato ben sottolineato, in questo documento, assai discusso e su cui esiste una enorme bibliografia, abbiamo la menzione piuttosto eccezionale del *lucar*, peraltro in una espressione priva di

confronti. Nessun dubbio che i *ludi*, di cui Gamala, in qualità di edile, si assume il finanziamento senza utilizzare la somma destinata alla loro organizzazione, siano pubblici. Ma, ai fini della questione della autorappresentazione, vorrei ricordare che l'iscrizione non è un'iscrizione pubblica, ma un'iscrizione funeraria, destinata a essere collocata all'interno della tomba familiare.

*G. Chamberland:* Cette inscription m'intéresse surtout pour ce qu'elle révèle sur l'autoreprésentation au moment même du spectacle, mais vous avez certainement raison de faire cette correction, pour laquelle je vous remercie. La seule autre attestation épigraphique du *lucar* (en tant que subvention pour les jeux) appartient aux 'commentaires' des jeux séculaires d'Auguste.

*K. Coleman:* The balance between *postulatio populi* and *liberalitas munerarii* must have been tricky to negotiate. There are hints of the pressure that sponsors were under in Pliny's letter consoling his friend Maximus (*Epist. 6, 34*), whose spectacle at Verona in memory of his wife was a flop because the animals did not arrive from Africa in time. Pliny says that Maximus did right (*recte*) in promising the show, not only because the spectacle was 'owed' to his wife's memory (*debebatur*), but also because refusing a unanimous demand crosses the line between consistency and recalcitrance (§2): *praeterea tanto consensu rogabaris, ut negare non constans, sed durum videretur*. Giving in to public demand for a show is an opportunity to demonstrate μεγαλοψυχία (§2): *illud quoque egregie, quod tam facilis tam liberalis in edendo fuisti; nam per haec etiam magnus animus ostenditur*. The sub-text of Pliny's consolation seems to be that the locals suspected Maximus of being mean, and were liable to interpret the cancellation of his show in that light.

*G. Chamberland:* Baebius Justus' inscription (6) reports that he agreed to the people's demand for a supplementary *munus*, but organized it willingly (*libenter*). Interestingly, no. 22 from

Nîmes contrasts spectacles offered as a sudden outburst of generosity (*sponte*) with those that were asked for (*postulata*). At times, however, *postulatio* turned to extortion, as when the people of Pollentia blocked a funeral procession until the heirs of the deceased gave them enough money to mount a funerary *munus*, but they were severely punished by Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 37). Pliny disapproved of benefactions such as *ludi aut gladiatores* which were ephemeral (*Epist.* 1, 8), and I am wondering whether in letter 6, 34 he is not trying to shift the initiative away from his friend. In addition, a funerary *munus* sounds anachronistic in the age of Trajan.

On the occasion of the death of his wife, the Emperor Augustus organized games at Capri in the year 37 BC. He had been informed of the death of his wife and the news was to be communicated. The Emperor was extremely distressed and overcome with grief. He was unable to leave his bed. His son Octavian, who was present with what he told the Emperor, the news and which friends had come to pay their respects. Another acquaintance and a group of friends present, of whom the woman whose name had given him the acquaintance, considered leaving on the same day that were to depart. Then came word to the emperor of the silk robes to be distributed to the most distinguished persons, in every district and a silver basket. These same silken garments were necessary in 401 while the Emperor was staying, was to be prepared. On this occasion Augustus said to his friends, who were gathered before him, to remain seated and to listen to his friends. They eight persons who had come to him, three for his bed and four, one friend each. This was to show that he did not consider the friends outside the family, and that he had several lieutenants who could help him in his empire.

<sup>1</sup> According to the speech of Cicero, *De Finibus* 1, 10, 2, the Emperor Augustus organized games at Capri and it is the same in the *Historia Augusta*.



## VIII

CHRISTOPHER JONES

### THE ORGANIZATION OF SPECTACLE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Symmachus, the paladin of the pagan cause at Rome in the last decades of the fourth century, twice in his final years organized games on behalf of his son, Memmius. In 393, when Memmius was only ten years old, the occasion was his quaestorship. His father encountered several disappointments. He had hoped to obtain African lions, but had to be content with what he calls "a few bear-cubs worn out with hunger and fatigue". Another disappointment was a group of Saxon prisoners-of-war that the usurper Eugenius had given him: these inconsiderately committed suicide on the very day they were to appear. Then there was the expense of the silk-robés to be distributed to the winners, and presents to be given as mementos to the more distinguished spectators, an ivory diptych and a silver basket.<sup>1</sup> Even more elaborate preparations were necessary in 401 when Memmius, now eighteen, was to be praetor. On this occasion Symmachus' main concern was to get enough Spanish horses for the chariot-races, and he writes to no fewer than eight persons asking for their help. Here too he had bad luck: one friend sent four sets of four horses, but only eleven of the sixteen survived the journey, and more died on their arrival. He got permission from the great Stilicho to flood the

<sup>1</sup> Bear-cubs: SYMM. *Epist.* 2, 76, 2. Saxons: 2, 46, 2. Silk robes as *praemia*: 5, 20, 2. Diptychs: 7, 76. A full listing of Symmachus' letters on Memmius' games of 393 and 401 in *PLRE I* 869.

amphitheater with water in order to exhibit the necessary crocodiles, but all the crocodiles except two died. Another object of his concern was the bears that had to be imported from Dalmatia. He had also to obtain charioteers and scenic artists from abroad, and anxiously awaited the news of their safe arrival in Campania. A contemporary source says that these games cost Symmachus two thousand pounds of gold.<sup>2</sup>

We might seem to be at the end of an era, in a pagan world clinging to the elaborate rituals of the Republican and imperial periods. That impression is reinforced by our knowledge that the failure of Eugenius' revolt in 394 dealt a crushing blow to the cause of western paganism, and that the influence of great churchmen like Ambrose in the West and John Chrysostom in the East could now equal or surpass that of a mere senator. Yet many of the traditional forms of spectacle — charioteers, *veneratores*, pantomimes, mimes — survived, though in changed form and with different systems of presentation and organization. In this paper I want to consider what did survive and why, and what these new systems were.

I begin with some definitions. What counts as a "spectacle" in this age when Christianity occupied the highest ranks of society and exercised so strong an influence on public life? Here I will define "spectacle" as a visual event, primarily aimed at impressing public spectators, and organized by one or more persons, who may or may not be thought of as "benefactors". Taking my starting point as 395, the year in which the sons of Theodosius divided the empire into eastern and western parts, I will begin with the demise of the traditional contests (*agônes*). I shall then discuss the evolution of organized athletics and of mime and pantomime, which had been admitted to the traditional *agônes* only under the High Empire, but survived triumphantly into Late Antiquity. I then move to chariot-races,

<sup>2</sup> Horses: details in J.-P. CALLU, *Symmaque: Lettres, Tome II (Livres III-V)* (Paris 1982), 138 n. 2. Deaths: SYMM. *Epist.* 5, 56. Actors and charioteers: 6, 33; 6, 42. Stilicho: 4, 8. Crocodiles: 6, 43; 9, 41; 9, 151. Bears: 7, 121; 9, 132, 135, 137, 142. Final cost: OLYMP. *HIST.* fr. 44 (*FHG IV* 67-68).

which, though part of the traditional *agônes*, took a new form in Late Antiquity, particularly with the appearance in the East of the Roman-style “factions”. Next I take up the subject of gladiators (*gladiatores, monomachoi*) and their cousins, the fighters against wild animals called “hunters” (*venatores, kynêgoti*). I end with some forms of spectacle that are not entertainments, but rather spectacles in the literal sense by which the emperor is less a benefactor than the primary focus of interest, implied or actual, in a public display. I exclude another form of spectacle, extremely important but too remote from our subject here, that of ecclesiastical spectacle such as the enthronement of bishops or the consecration of churches, since in these the element of display, however ‘spectacular’, is secondary to other functions.

Most of the traditional *agônes* of the ‘period’, the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia and Nemea, and the newcomers to the ‘period’ such as the Capitolia, do not seem to have survived long past the reign of Constantine. The oldest of them all, the Olympia of Elis, was terminated by one of the Theodosii, probably the second.<sup>3</sup> But many cities had long since instituted Olympics of their own, often borrowing details from the archetype such as the Hellenodikai, and at least one of these secondary Olympics, the Antiochene, persisted into the sixth century.<sup>4</sup> Constantine abolished those of Chalcedon, no doubt not wishing an idolatrous event to be held so near his Christian capital. Under Theodosius II, the prefect of the city, Leontios, who may have been a pagan, tried to re-institute them, an attempt that raised the ire of the monk Hypatios, who went to the bishop and demanded that he intervene; when he proved hesitant, Hypatios and his monks shamed Leontios into abandoning his project.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> I. WEILER, “Theodosius I. und die Olympischen Spiele”, in *Nikephoros* 17 (2004), 53–75.

<sup>4</sup> For late imitations of the Olympics, S. REMIJSSEN, “The *alytarches*, an Olympic *agonothetes*”, in *Nikephoros* 22 (2009), 129–143.

<sup>5</sup> CALLINIC. V. *Hypatii* 33 (Sources Chrétiennes 177, 214–219); *PLRE* II 669, Leontius 9.

Most of our information concerns the Olympics of Antioch. In Libanius' day these still involved athletes, but the main attractions were the chariot-races and *venationes*. A law of the emperor Leo, dated to the year 465, forbade members of the curial order to preside over them, and entrusted them to the Count of the Orient; in 521 Justin terminated them altogether. Curiously, Christian writers often refer to "the Olympics" when devising metaphors of the Christian's struggle for the eternal crown, but that does not imply that they were familiar with them in reality.<sup>6</sup>

The decline and disappearance of organized *agônes* of the pagan type did not put an end to public athletics. A.H.M. Jones found no mention of athletic contests after 400, but argued that there must still have been athletic victors in the sixth century, since a constitution in Justinian's code, originally issued by Diocletian, gives prize-winning athletes immunity from civic obligations. The constitution in question refers not only to civic obligations, but requires that the athletes should have won in "sacred games" held at Rome and elsewhere: and yet there is no evidence that any of the "sacred games" of earlier centuries lasted so late as the reign of Justinian. The answer is perhaps that descendants of famous prize-winners could claim immunity, and the emperor is allowing such claims to be put forward if any such descendants are still living in his own day. A papyrus from Hermoupolis shows the emperor Gallienus granting full exemption from liturgies to an orphan boy, descended from ancestors "famous in athletics".<sup>7</sup>

A poem preserved in the Planudean Appendix seems to imply the existence of traditional athletics and honorific statues for victors even in sixth-century Byzantium. This is an elegant

<sup>6</sup> Leo I: *Cod. Iust.* 1, 36. Justin I: JOH. MAL. 17, 13. Metaphorical language: C.P. JONES, "Imaginary Athletics in Two Followers of John Chrysostom", in *HSPh* 106, forthcoming.

<sup>7</sup> A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964), II 1018, III 337 n. 69, citing *Cod. Iust.* 10, 54, 1; J.H. OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (Philadelphia 1989), no. 289.

epigram on a boy runner written by Macedonius, a consul and poet under Justinian.<sup>8</sup>

"By this statue (is honored) Thyonichos, not so that you may see how beautiful he is from the radiance of this monument, but that when you learn the race that he won by his effort, my good friend, you may emulate the same frenzy. This (boy) did not bend his leg in fatigue, but defeated everyone in the contest, contemporary, younger, (or) older."

This is perhaps archaizing and pseudo-pagan fantasy. Yet there were still athletic spectacles, if not traditional contests. A remarkable papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, dated to the sixth century, is called by the editor a "circus programme". Headed with a Christogram, it contains a list of chariot-races interspersed with "singing rope-dancers", "gazelle and hounds", "mimes", and "a troupe of athletes" (*xystos*).<sup>9</sup> The fact that athletes are on the same level with rope-dancers and mimes suggests that they had become part of the show, like trapeze-artists in the modern circus, and no longer competed for prizes. Charlotte Roueché has published an inscription from Aphrodisias, perhaps as late as the sixth century and mentioning a Christian boxer; she aptly recalls Theodore of Sykeon's healing of a wrestler (*louktatōr*) in the reign of Maurice. In her words, "all this is evidence not for the continuation of athletic contests in their earlier form..., but for demonstrations of athletic skills as a form of entertainment".<sup>10</sup>

To move to the subject of 'theatrical' entertainments and their organization, the old view that mime and pantomime had completely replaced traditional tragedy and comedy — a view going back at least to Edward Gibbon — is an exaggeration: a

<sup>8</sup> *Anth. Plan.* 51 = J.A. MADDEN, *Macedonius Consul. The Epigrams* (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1995), no. 41.

<sup>9</sup> *P.Oxy.* 2707 (and possibly *P.Binger* 128 and *P.Harrauer* 56); cf. A. CAMERON, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976), 213-214.

<sup>10</sup> CH. ROUECHÉ, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London 1993), no. 87 (= *LApH2007*, 2.313), citing A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE (éd.), *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon* (Bruxelles 1970), ch. 88.

leaf of the diptych of Anastasius, consul in 517, shows a mime in the left portion of the lowest register and a tragedy in the right (Pl. 8.1).<sup>11</sup> The juxtaposition suggests that traditional drama survived at least in Constantinople, but had to compete with other entertainments, principally mime. This continued to enjoy a tremendous vogue, despite the denunciations of the clergy and the occasional intervention of the secular authorities. At an uncertain date in the first decades of the sixth century, Choricius of Gaza composed a *Defense of the Mimes* that is one of the very few works surviving from antiquity to have the theater as their subject. It is entirely pagan in its frame of reference, and ends with a short encomium of Dionysus as a benefactor of mankind; it might therefore seem so anachronistic as to say little about mime in the sixth century. Yet it is precisely Choricius' claims for the morality of the mime, or at least its moral harmlessness, that gives it its contemporary resonance.<sup>12</sup> The pressure against theatrical performances came as much from ecclesiastical as from secular authorities (and secular authorities probably tended to act when they themselves came under pressure from the Church); hence a leading sophist of Gaza, on excellent terms with the ecclesiastical and secular powers, had to defend this form of popular theater as a harmless amusement if he was not to offend its critics. Choricius' defense and the attacks of churchmen surely indicate that not all performances of mime were under state-patronage. If there is any truth in Procopius' account of them, the empress Theodora's

<sup>11</sup> R. DELBREUECK, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin-Leipzig 1929), no. 21 (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles); CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 25. PLRE II 82-83, Anastasius 17. In general, W. PUCHNER, "Acting in the Byzantine Theatre. Evidence and Problems", in *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. by P. EASTERLING and E. HALL (Cambridge, U.K.-New York 2002), 304-324.

<sup>12</sup> CHORIC. *Apol. Mim.*, no. 32 Foerster-Richtsteig. On this work, T.D. Barnes, "Christians and the Theater", in *Roman Theater and Society. E. Togo Salmon Papers*, I, ed. by W.J. SLATER (Ann Arbor 1996), 178-180; V. MALINEAU, "L'apport de l'*Apologie des Mimes* de Chorikios de Gaza à la connaissance du théâtre du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive*, éd. par C. SALIOU (Salerno 2005), 149-169; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Mosaics as History* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 62-63.

notorious stage-performances took place in the capital itself.<sup>13</sup> Procopius' approximate contemporary, the Syriac historian John of Ephesos, gives a marvelous account of a Christian couple, married but living in chastity, who posed as mimes in the city of Amida. "They used to go about the city in disguise," says John, "and they used constantly to perform drolleries (*paignia*) and buffooneries, being constantly in the courts of the church like strangers, jesting at the clergymen and everyone, and being boxed on their heads by every one as mime-actors (*mimoī*), while at all hours of the day a large number of people surrounded them chiefly on account of their marvelous appearance and the comeliness of their faces, joking and playing with them and giving them slaps on their heads".<sup>14</sup>

As an example of the freedom with which such mime-troupes operated, we may consider Malalas' account of a mime-actor who became a saint. Appropriately named Gelasinos, he was performing in Syrian Heliopolis (Baalbek), a notoriously pagan city and a very plausible setting for such a story.<sup>15</sup>

"[Gelasinos] was a second mime, and came on in a scene. It was during a holiday, and while the people watched, (the actors) put him into a big bath full of warm water, making fun of Christian doctrine and of holy baptism. But this same Gelasinos the mime, after having been baptized, emerged from the bath, put on white clothing, and was no longer willing to perform, saying in front of the people, 'I am a Christian, for I saw the mighty power of God while I was being baptized in the bath, and I will die a Christian'. When the people who were spectators in the theater heard this, they became completely enraged. Swarming onto the stage from their seats, they took hold of him, dragged him out of the theater in his white clothing, and killed him by stoning, and thus the righteous man was martyred."

<sup>13</sup> PROCOP. *Anecd.* 9, 13-14.

<sup>14</sup> JOH. EPHES., *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, III, ed. by E.W. BROOKS (Paris 1925), 166-167 = 512-513. I am grateful to R. Webb for this reference.

<sup>15</sup> JOH. MAL. 12, 50; W. WEISMANN, "Gelasinos von Heliopolis, ein Schauspieler-Märtyrer", in *AB* 93 (1975), 39-66. T.D. BARNES, *art. cit.* (n. 12), 164 n. 9, considers all such hagiographical accounts of mime-martyrs "bogus and fictitious".

Malalas goes on to describe how Gelasinos' relatives recovered his remains, took them to the village Mariamne, and constructed a martyr-chapel in his memory. Even if the story is imaginary rather than historical, Malalas or his source is unlikely to have invented it unless some mime-troupes were known to operate free of official supervision. In 546, Justinian banned men and women, but especially theatrical performers, from dressing as monks or nuns, and from making jokes at their expense: we might guess that ecclesiastical authorities had brought the abuse to his attention.<sup>16</sup> In the *Secret History*, Procopius alleges that Justinian's reign saw the general closure of "theaters, race-courses, and hunting-arenas (*kynēgesia*)", and that "he ordered these spectacles to close in Byzantium too, so that the public chest might not have to give the usual subsidies to the many, virtually innumerable, persons who gained their living in this way". But this appears to be an exaggeration: there may have been temporary bans or restrictions, but mimes at least were too popular ever to vanish. As late as 691, the Trullan Council was still trying to end stage-diversions (*thymelika paignia*), but our sources continue to mention mimes at Byzantium until the late Middle Ages.<sup>17</sup>

The situation of pantomime was different. The circus program of Oxyrhynchus intersperses chariot-races with "singing rope-dancers", "gazelles and hounds", "mimes", and "a troupe of athletes", but not with pantomimes. This art required the actor to have the training and the suppleness of the modern ballet-dancer, and in addition it called for a large back-up of orchestra and chorus. To judge by Lucian's account, it also depended on the audience's appreciating its highly allusive references to Greek myth. A mosaic from Zeugma, dated to the early third century, refers to a story preserved for us only by the mythographer Hyginus, though one suspects that it was

<sup>16</sup> *Nov.* 123, 44 (p. 624 Kroll).

<sup>17</sup> PROCP. *Anec.* 26, 8-9; F. TINNEFELD, "Zum Profanen Mimus in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)", in *Vyzantina* 6 (1974), 323-343.

known from some lost drama.<sup>18</sup> In Justinianic Byzantium, pantomime was linked to the circus-factions, and it could well have persisted in the capital and in such sophisticated centers as Aphrodisias while disappearing from provincial towns such as Oxyrhynchus. In 579, when Gregory, the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch, was named in a scandal of alleged paganism, a hostile source reports that he saved his position in part by promising to build a hippodrome and importing a troupe of pantomimes from the capital; it may be that he wanted a more stellar troupe than he could find locally, but it may rather be that there was no local troupe to be found at all.<sup>19</sup> By a curious coincidence, Gregory of Tours reports that the Frankish king Chilperic began to build circuses in Soissons and Paris just about this time, "providing a spectacle for the populace" (*populi spectaculum praebens*).<sup>20</sup>

In the Oxyrhynchus program charioteers are the main event, and ample evidence, for example Symmachus' frantic search for Spanish race-horses, confirms the ever increasing popularity of chariot-races. The most spectacular visual record of a victorious charioteer in the Byzantine period is the early sixth-century Porphyrius-monument so brilliantly published by Alan Cameron in 1973. In his companion volume, *Circus Factions*, Cameron argues that Greek-style chariot-races, in which the owner rather than the driver was the dominant figure and won all the credit for the victory, had never become widespread outside the great festivals of the "circuit" (Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia and Nemea) and a few others. Roman-style races, in which the driver and not

<sup>18</sup> K.M.D. DUNBabin, "The Pantomime Theonoe on a Mosaic from Zeugma", in *JRA* 23 (2010), 413-426.

<sup>19</sup> Aphrodisias: e.g. CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), no. 12 (from the stage of the Odeon; I continue to think that the subject is a pantomime). Cf. CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 25-28, concluding: "The forms of entertainment that demanded space, scenery, and musical support, such as the pantomime, appear to have withered away after the end of the sixth century". Gregory of Antioch: JOH. EPH., *Hist. Eccles.* 5, 17 (*Corp. Scr. Chr. Or.* 106 [Paris 1936], 225-226).

<sup>20</sup> *Hist. Franc.* 5, 17, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Merov.*, I.1 p. 216. I owe this reference to Peter Brown.

the owner won the crown, were excluded from the traditional *agônes*, and became popular in the East only from about 400. Cameron's explanation is that the traditional Greek gymnasium disappeared just at this time, and was soon followed by the disappearance of gladiatorial contests, though not of *venationes*. This left "a gap in the social life of the cities" so that "precisely in the decades immediately following... we begin to find evidence of chariot-racing as a sport in its own right in eastern cities". Behind this spread of Roman-style chariot-racing, he argued, lies imperial patronage: as the emperors built more and more hippodromes in provincial capitals, the new style caught hold, and with it there came Roman-style *factiones*; these were not just fan-clubs, but corporations headed by charioteers such as Porphyrius, and responsible for maintaining stables and supplying equipment for shows. As these corporations came under the control of the state, they were fused into one organization with simultaneous responsibility for theatrical displays and for chariot-racing, so that, to quote Cameron again, "by the fifth or sixth century public entertainments were largely if not entirely financed out of public funds all over the eastern provinces" (by "public" Cameron clearly means state-funds, not local ones).<sup>21</sup>

This is a bold and ingenious attempt to account for all the evidence for the rise of circus-factions and their characteristic colors in the East, and also for the presence of Green and Blue mimes and pantomimes. It also accounts for much that is otherwise puzzling, such as the late appearance in the *pars Graeca* of the Roman circus-colors. Yet it is difficult to avoid a feeling that this comprehensive explanation puts too much emphasis on state-control; it turns the factions into entertainment agencies, with the difference from their modern counterparts that the factions served as a conduit for state-funds.<sup>22</sup> This may have happened in the capital and in major cities such as Antioch, but

<sup>21</sup> A. CAMERON, *op. cit.* (n. 9), ch. 8, "Circus Factions and Theatre Factions", especially 214-222.

<sup>22</sup> For similar doubts, CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 46.

it is hard to imagine state funds trickling down to a minor Egyptian town such as Oxyrhynchus. The Apiones, great land-owners at Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere, and also prominent in the high politics of the sixth century, appear in papyri as benefactors of both Blues and Greens; a papyrus of 565 shows them making payments to two *ergastēria* of mimes, perhaps "studios" that hired out their members. It seems more likely that the Apiones were imitating the emperors as patrons of local entertainments, rather than passing on funds sent from above.<sup>23</sup> Those who organized the already mentioned program of spectacles at Oxyrhynchus, which included charioteers along with musical performers and athletes, probably drew on similar pools of local talent, financed by local grandes rather than by the emperor.

Though I therefore share the doubts that have been expressed by others about Alan Cameron's hypothesis, it is fair to note recent discoveries in the stadium of Aphrodisias, which certainly underwent a major architectural change in Late Antiquity. This was built in the Julio-Claudian period for athletic events of all types, and had also accommodated gladiatorial combats and *venationes*, but not chariot-races; Katherine Welch has argued from the width of the tracks that these took place in some open area outside the walls. At a date not later than the early sixth century, the east end of the stadium was remodeled so as to form a small arena for *venationes* and other entertainments, and only at this end do inscriptions mentioning the Blues and Greens appear.<sup>24</sup>

I move to two forms of spectacle that were not included in the traditional Greek games, gladiatorial combats (*munera gladiatoria, monomachiai*) and staged hunts (*venationes, kynēgia*). These were usually special shows put on by wealthy citizens, *munera*, though the letters of Libanius reveal a late development

<sup>23</sup> E.R. HARDY, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931), 136, "The Apion family's interest in the hippodrome at Oxyrhynchus was probably both a natural consequence of their position in the city and a means of maintaining it". *Ergastēria: P.Oxy.* 2480, 43.

<sup>24</sup> K. WELCH, "The Stadium at Aphrodisias", in *AJA* 102 (1998), 547-569.

whereby *venationes* had come to be included in the Olympia of Antioch.<sup>25</sup> The destinies of these two types of spectacle were quite different in Late Antiquity. Eusebius asserts that after the council of Nicaea in 325 Constantine “forbade the cities to be polluted by murderous gladiators”, and yet an inscription from Hispellum in Umbria shows him permitting the city to honor his family with “a spectacle both of theatrical shows (*scaenici ludi*) and of a gladiatorial exhibition (*munus gladiatorium*)”; his only concern is that nothing occur that smacks of “contagious superstition”. In Rome, where senatorial paganism persisted well into the fifth century, gladiatorial combat lived on at least into the reign of Honorius. I have already mentioned Symmachus’ disappointment when his carefully-assembled troop of Saxon prisoners-of-war committed suicide. A constitution of Honorius dated to 397 imposes penalties on those who transfer out of gladiatorial schools to the personal service of senators, and only a few years later Prudentius denounces gladiatorial combat in his *Contra Symmachum*. A commemorative medallion, or so-called ‘contorniate’, that shows such combat used to be dated to the 430s, but now turns out to have been re-cut; the only authentic one with this subject is from about 410, so that it may have been Honorius who gave the *coup de grâce* in the West. In his long attack on the emperor Julian, usually dated about 440, Cyril of Alexandria speaks of gladiatorial games as a thing of the past.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris 1940), 267–268. Antioch: G. DOWNEY, “The Olympic Games of Antioch in the Fourth Century A.D.”, in *TAPhA* 70 (1939), 428–438.

<sup>26</sup> On the decline of gladiatorial combats in general, G. VILLE, “Les jeux de gladiateurs dans l’Empire chrétien”, in *MEFR* 72 (1960), 273–335; W. WEISMANN, “Gladiator”, in *RLAC* 11, Lg. 81 (1979), 23–45: 27–28. Constantine: D.S. POTTER, “Constantine and the Gladiators” (giving the relevant texts, and arguing that the emperor only banned *damnatio ad ludum*), in *CQ* 60 (2010), 596–606. SYMM. *Epist.* 2, 46, 2. Honorius: *Cod. Theod.* 15, 12, 3. PRUD. *Contra Symm.* 1, 379–405; 2, 1091–1132. Contorniate: A. ALFÖLDI and E. ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons, Teil 2: Text* (Berlin–New York 1990), 215–216, no. 205. Cyril: *PG* 76, 698 B; on the date, M.P. ÉVIEUX, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Contre Julien*, t. I (Paris 1985), 10–15.

By contrast, *venationes* remained popular in the eastern empire and (at Rome at least) even under Theoderic. Unlike gladiatorial combats, they appear on many 'contorniates' of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Ivory diptychs give an even more vivid impression, as for instance a diptych of the consul Areobindus, precisely dated to 506 (Pl. 8.2).<sup>27</sup> Such displays were not confined to the capitals. A celebrated mosaic of the fifth century from Yakto, a village near Daphne, has a border showing buildings of Antioch, among them the stadium with its local name of "Olympiakon". The center of the mosaic consists of a roundel showing the personified Munificence (*Megalopsychia*). In her left hand she holds a basket full of coins, and in her upraised right more coins, which she is about to throw (these were at first taken to be flowers). The surrounding panel shows scenes of huntsmen confronting animals, or animals fighting one another; the six huntsman are named starting clockwise from top right in the following order: Hippolytus, Actaeon, Teiresias, Narcissos, Adonis and Meleager. A long discussion followed the initial publication in 1934: was this a representation of a *venatio*, as the image of Munificence throwing out coins would seem to suggest? If so, then the mythological names of the fighters would be professional names such as entertainers often took: pantomimes become "Paris", gladiators become "Achilles", and so on.<sup>28</sup> A very fragmentary tapestry in the Abegg Collection might counsel a doubt, since it shows Artemis juxtaposed with four of the same figures as at Yakto — Actaeon, Meleager, Adonis, and Narcissos. Yet it seems clear from the presence of *Megalopsychia* at Yakto, and from the contemporary dress of the 'hunters', that the mosaic commemorates one or more real-life *venationes*; the donor was presumably the wealthy owner of the house in which the mosaic was

<sup>27</sup> Areobindus diptych: R. DELBRUECK, *op. cit.* (n. 11) no. 11 (Paris, Musée de Cluny). For Areobindus, *PLRE* II 143-144, Areobindus 1.

<sup>28</sup> Standard publication: D. LEVI, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements I: Text* (Princeton-London-The Hague 1947), 326-337 (border), 337-345 (central panel).

found.<sup>29</sup> As we saw, the emperor Leo about this time excluded private citizens from presiding over the Antiochene Olympia, but that would not have prevented a rich benefactor from offering a *munus* from his own funds.

So far I have discussed spectacles having a set organization and a defined audience. The donor might be the emperor himself, even if the factions supplied the performers and equipment, and the audience could include the high society of Byzantium as well as the commoners in the upper tiers of the hippodrome. I have also argued that there was still room for private enterprise, for traveling mime-troupes or local companies willing to put on chariot-races or bands of musicians. I turn now to what can be called “punitive” spectacles, for instance throwing condemned criminals to the beasts (*damnatio ad bestias*) and parading malefactors through the streets, not necessarily on the way to execution.

*Damnatio ad bestias* is a form of punishment with a long history, and its various forms in the imperial period have been excellently discussed not least by one of our own organizers: I would also mention the several treatments by Louis Robert.<sup>30</sup> At first sight it seems surprising that this form of punishment continued into the Byzantine period, since it seems so obviously at variance with the condemnation of gladiatorial contests expressed by Christian preachers and emperors; as we have seen, this aversion to public cruelty led to the demise of such contests even at Rome early in the fifth century. Several sources refer to some kind of ban in the reign of the emperor Anastasius. The

<sup>29</sup> F. BARATTE, “Héros et chasseurs. La tenture d’Artémis de la Fondation Abegg à Riggisberg”, in *MMAI* 67 (1985), 31-76. Cf. K.M.D. DUNBAIN, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge, U.K.-New York 1999), 181: “The hunters bear mythological names... but they wear contemporary costume, and are clearly amphitheatre *venatores*”.

<sup>30</sup> K.M. COLEMAN, “Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments”, in *JRS* 80 (1990), 44-73; L. ROBERT, e.g. *Les gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec* (Paris 1940), 351 s.v. “condamnés”; “Une vision de Perpétue martyre”, in *CRAI* 126 (1982), 228-276 = *Opera Minora Selecta*, V (Amsterdam 1989), 791-839.

Syriac historian Joshua the Stylite mentions an edict of Anastasius of 499 ordering that “the fights of wild beasts in the *kynēgion* be suppressed in all cities of the Greek empire”, which sounds like the regular *venatio*: yet two panegyrists of Anastasius, Procopius of Gaza and Priscian of Caesarea, seem to refer to *damnatio ad bestias*. In Procopius’ words, “Formerly the cities put on inhumane spectacles; for unhappy men were delivered to the beasts in the midst of the people, though they had as spectators those who shared the bond of nature, and somehow or other a man took pleasure in seeing a man torn apart and his body not even receiving burial, but filling the bellies of animals in place of a tomb”. Joshua the Stylite partially confirms Procopius; he mentions an edict of Anastasius of 499 ordering that “the fights of wild beasts in the *kynēgion* be suppressed in all cities of the Greek empire”. Yet consular diptychs of 508 and 517 clearly depict *venationes*. Either then the ban soon lapsed, or else, if the reference to “cities” in both Procopius and Joshua is significant, Anastasius may have forbidden city-magistrates from using *damnatio* as a punishment, perhaps suspecting local dignitaries of perverting the course of justice in order to create human fodder for the people’s amusement.<sup>31</sup> After Anastasius the only references to this practice concern Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, and in each case it is the emperor or his agent who administers the punishment. To give only one example, about 579 the governor of Osrhoene, Anatolius, was accused of paganism and magical practices. After being tried and found guilty in Antioch, he was sent up to Constantinople to be tried again by his peers, and on being found guilty a second time was “thrown to the beasts” and crucified.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> JOSH. STYL. 23 (ed. W. Wright); PROCOP. *Paneg. Anast.* 15 (p. 96 ed. Amato); PRISC. *Paneg. Anast.* 220-227 (p. 65 ed. Chauvot). Cf. CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 77-78; C. EPPLETT, “Anastasius and the Venationes”, in *Nikephoros* 17 (2004), 221-230.

<sup>32</sup> Sources in *PLRE* III 72-73, Anatolius 8; cf. A.D. LEE, “Episcopal Power and Perils in the Late Sixth Century. The Case of Gregory of Antioch”, in J. DRINKWATER and B. SALWAY (ed.), *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected* (London 2007), 103-104.

It is time to look briefly at the West, for which we have much less evidence than for the East. It might be supposed that the end of the Roman Empire, customarily associated with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476, brought the end of public spectacles in their Greco-Roman form. But this is certainly not true of Ostrogothic Italy under Theoderic (493-526), for which Cassiodorus' *Variae* are a rich source of information. In reading them, we have to remember that the decisions are the king's, but since he was illiterate the words are Cassiodorus', and the senator misses no opportunity to display his own erudition.<sup>33</sup>

Ruling from Ravenna, but concerned to support the dignity of the western Rome, the *Variae* show Theoderic eager to maintain the public life of the old city, including its musical and sporting spectacles, and they show that fights between supporters of the Blues and Greens and other aspects of the spectacle in Late Antiquity were as prevalent in the old Rome as in the New. The king directs a letter concerning the Theater of Pompey to the patrician Symmachus, a descendant of the orator and father-in-law of Boethius; having heard that it has fallen into disrepair, he promises to supply the necessary funds from the treasury. Cassiodorus takes the opportunity to lend the king some of his own learning, and gives etymologies for the words "theater", "tragedy", and "comedy"; he goes on to explain the origin of "dance", that is pantomime, invented by the muse Polyhymnia, and of mime, "which is now regarded only as mockery" (*tantummodo derisui habetur*), though the inventor, Philistio, had higher ambitions.<sup>34</sup> On another occasion the king has learned from a petition submitted by the

<sup>33</sup> Cassiodorus: TH. MOMMSEN (ed.), *MGH, Auct. Ant.* 12 (Berolini 1894). Theoderic illiterate: J.B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London 1923), I 467.

<sup>34</sup> *Var.* 4, 51, pp. 138-139 Momm.; text, translation and discussion in V. FAUVINET-RANSON, *Decor civitatis, decor Italiae. Monuments, travaux publics et spectacles au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les Variae de Cassiodore* (Bari 2006), 348-356. Symmachus: *PLRE II* 1044-1046, Symmachus 9.

Greens that rioting has broken out over the selection of a Green pantomime. He orders two patricians, hereditary patrons of the Greens, to select the worthier candidate by conducting a popularity test: when the spectators are assembled (*convocatis spectatoribus*) in the theater, the patricians are to select the winning candidate, and in that way “we may appear to have given the payment that we make for the city’s spectacle to persons duly elected”. As in his letter concerning the Theater of Pompey, Cassiodorus gives the king an erudite explanation of the word “pantomime”: “with his mouth closed he speaks with his hands, and by certain gestures he causes that to be understood which could scarcely be conveyed by a speaking tongue or a written text”.<sup>35</sup> Like the emperor in Constantinople, the king funds the spectacles of the capital, though the factions do not control the selection of their own pantomime; that task is left to a commission of senators and to the verdict of the people.

Rome of the same period also had imperially-subsidized charioteers and *venatores*, though not gladiators, to judge by the silence of Cassiodorus. In one letter the king notes that a certain Thomas, a charioteer from the East (*ex Orientis partibus*) with a worldwide reputation, has elected to make his career in Italy; accordingly the Praetorian Prefect is ordered to pay him a monthly salary in order to retain his services. After having dispatched the essential business, Cassiodorus cannot refrain from giving a complete history of chariot-racing, from the time of Oenomaus onwards, and an allegorical interpretation of the colors, the chariots, and so on. The letter ends with a resigned confession that such spectacles, however unworthy, are necessary for the satisfaction of the people.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Var.* 1, 20, p. 25 Momm.; V. FAUVINET-RANSON, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 303-306. On this event see R. LIM, “The Roman Pantomime Riot of AD 509”, in *“Humana Sapit”*. *Études d’Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*, éd. par J.-M. CARRIÉ et R. LIZZI TESTA (Turnhout 2002), 35-42.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas the charioteer: *Var.* 3, 51, pp. 105-107 Momm.; V. FAUVINET-RANSON, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 329-344.

On the subject of “hunting” (*venatio*), Cassiodorus ends his *Chronicle* with an effusive account of an event of 519, the consular games of Theoderic’s son-in-law Eutheric.

“In that year Rome saw many spectacles (*miracula*): at each of the events even Symmachus, the ambassador of the East, was amazed by the gifts given to Goths and Romans... In the games of the amphitheater, (Eutheric) exhibited wild animals of different kinds for the present age to marvel at as a novelty. For these spectacles Africa in its devotion also sent choice delights (*exquisitas voluptates*). When all was over amid extraordinary praise, he filled the citizens of Rome with such love that they were still missing his presence when he returned to Ravenna to the sight of his glorious father. There in renewed exhibitions (*editionibus*) he bestowed such gifts on Goths and Romans that only he could exceed the consulate he had celebrated at Rome.”<sup>37</sup>

Four years later Theoderic using the pen of Cassiodorus addresses a consul of the year 523.

“If those who wrestle using the well-oiled flexibility of their bodies elicit consular generosity; if sweet singing is sold for a price; what reward can be enough for a huntsman who toils with risk of death for the pleasure of the spectators?”

As he had with charioteering, Cassiodorus gives a brief history of *venatio* from its rustic beginnings to the present day. He contrasts this primitive state with a catalog of the maneuvers that the *venator* must learn in order to elude the animals: he must jump over them, hide behind a “portable wall of canes” (*gestibili muro cannarum*), roll in a wheel, and so on. Just such tricks appear in exactly contemporary diptychs. The Areobindus diptych in Paris (Pl. 8.2) shows a kind of egg-shaped cage inside which the head of the *venator* is just visible, while an angry bear leaps on it. In another diptych of the same consul (Pl. 8.3), a *venator* carries a device with vertical bars, and a pole in the middle presumably intended as a kind of

<sup>37</sup> CASSIOD. *Chron.* s.v. 519 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.* 11, 161). Eutharic: *PLRE II* 438.

pivot on which the “wall” could be rotated; a bear is trying to get round it. In the same scene a *venator* perches on the cross-bar of a kind of trestle, while a bear lunges below: the man must have teased the bear and leapt up at the last moment.<sup>38</sup> Theoderic’s letter, like his previous one, ends with a sigh of resignation: “Alas, the regrettable error of the world! If there were any consideration of equity, as much wealth should be given for the life of mortals as seems to be lavished on men’s deaths”.<sup>39</sup> Theoderic was subject to the same conflicting pressures as his eastern counterparts. The people had to be kept satisfied by constant offerings of spectacle: but the most violent of these spectacles were exactly those that disturbed the conscience of a Christian king.

With the ever increasing concentration of power in the hands of the emperor and the growing presence of Christianity in every aspect of public life, there were other events that can count as spectacles, though they are not competitive or agonistic. One such occurred in 402, the year following the praetorian games of the young Memmius Symmachus. The writer is a deacon of the church of Gaza, visiting Constantinople in the company of his bishop Porphyrius, and the occasion is the baptism of the infant heir to the throne, Theodosius II.

“The whole city was embellished and adorned with silk, gold, and every kind of adornment, so that one could not describe the adornment of the city; you could see the crowds of inhabitants like waves of the sea, dressed in every kind of colored clothing. It is not in my power to describe the brilliance of that adornment, but rather for those trained in rhetoric. When the young Theodosius had been baptized and was returning from the church to the palace, again you could observe the magnificence of the crowd of great personages and their brilliant attire, for all wore white, so that you might think that the crowd had been covered in snow. The patricians came first, the *illustres* and all the dignitaries with the army regiments, all carrying candles, so that you would think stars were shining on earth. ... The

<sup>38</sup> R. DELBREUECK, *op. cit.* (n. 11), no. 12 (St. Petersburg, Hermitage).

<sup>39</sup> *Venationes*: CASSIOD. *Var.* 5, 42, pp. 168-170 Momm.

sainted Porphyrius said to me, 'If earthly things, that soon pass away, have such glory, how much more do heavenly things for those worthy of them, which neither eye has seen nor ear heard nor heart of man perceived?'"<sup>40</sup>

A sixth-century ivory produced in Constantinople shows a reliquary being carried in procession for the dedication of a church (Pl. 8.4).<sup>41</sup>

Another kind of spectacle that now becomes prominent, though it has its antecedents in the imperial period, is the punitive parade, the public exhibition of malefactors. No doubt shaming is a large part of punishment in most societies. The United States no longer have public executions, but do have so-called "perp walks", in which the police parade suspected offenders or "perpetrators" before the public; these became a subject of heated controversy in May, 2010, when Dominique Strauss-Kahn had been subjected to just such a humiliation by the New York police. Malalas refers several times to such parades in the reign of Justinian, and we can well imagine that this strict enforcer of public morality was especially fond of this device. Soon after his accession he found out that certain bishops were guilty of homosexuality. Isaiah, bishop of Rhodes, was tortured and exiled, but Alexander bishop of Diospolis, whose offense was presumably more serious, was castrated and "paraded around on a litter". In the next year the emperor banned gambling everywhere after finding that gamblers in Constantinople had been uttering blasphemies, no doubt curses on their bad luck. These unfortunates had their hands cut off and "they were paraded around on camels". A couple of years later, after fans of the Blues and the Greens had incited riots, the city prefect found seven of them guilty of murder, and

<sup>40</sup> MARC. DIAC. *V. Porph.* 47 (pp. 39-40 ed. Grégoire-Kugener). T.D. BARNES, "The Baptism of Theodosius II", in *Studia Patristica* 19 (1989), 8-12, is mainly concerned with the chronology of the event.

<sup>41</sup> W.F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2. Aufl. (Mainz 1952), 70-71 no. 143 (Cathedral Treasury, Trier).

sentenced four of them to be beheaded and three to be impaled. Malalas continues:

“After they had been paraded through the whole city and had crossed to the other side, some of them were hanged. But two of them, one a Blue and the other a Green, fell as the scaffold (*ta xyla*) broke. The people who were standing around saw what had happened and acclaimed the emperor Justinian.”

Malalas’ account implies that the beheading took place on an elevated wooden scaffold with a crowd of bystanders looking on: the spectacle was clearly meant as an *auto da fé*, designed to impress the public with the emperor’s piety and severity. It had unintended consequences, for a few days later it sparked the famous Nika riot, in which he nearly lost his throne.<sup>42</sup>

I conclude with some general observations. It is easy to suppose that the moment when Christianity became the dominant religion of the empire, wherever we place that moment, coincided with a rupture in the culture of ancient spectacle; to put it another way, that the spectacles of Late Antiquity (again, wherever we place the onset of that period) were different in kind from what had gone before. Certainly there is evolution. Gladiatorial games fade out in the course of the fourth century; the factions that had long been familiar at Rome appear in the East in the late fifth; mime persists, but pantomime seems to fade away in the late sixth. But earlier centuries too had seen their own evolutions. Pantomimes first appear in Greek inscriptions soon after the Mithridatic Wars, but are admitted to the traditional *agônes* only at the end of the second century CE; gladiators first appear in the East in the first century CE, but (so far as our evidence shows) become part of organized games such as the Olympia of Antioch only in the fourth.<sup>43</sup> Change therefore is not new: the question is the

<sup>42</sup> JOHANNES MALALAS 18, 18 (bishops), 18, 47 (gamblers), 18, 71 (Blues and Greens).

<sup>43</sup> Pantomimes: L. ROBERT, “Pantomimen im griechischen Orient”, in *Hermes* 65 (1930), 106-122, esp. 114-117 = *Opera Minora Selecta*, I (Amsterdam

cause of the change. Some have seen the root cause in “imperialization”, a tendency of emperors to bring under their own control what had hitherto been a variety of organizations.<sup>44</sup> An allied explanation invokes economic factors. As city-magistrates and benefactors became less and less able to bear the costs of munificence, the secular authorities stepped in to replace them, and in due course the imperial treasury too was forced to withdraw as the chief sponsor. While both of these explanations have their merit, they also have weaknesses. I have tried to argue that private enterprise or local benefaction still provided much of what we might call retail spectacle well into the sixth century, and that it will not do to see all or even most entertainments, those of the theater, the arena, and the hippodrome, as constituting a single system funded by the emperors. And while the state takes over the Olympia of Antioch in the fifth century, a munificent bishop is still able to put on pantomimes and promise to build a hippodrome in the late sixth. Economic change did not move at the same speed everywhere, and did not always take a downward path: it was a surprise when late sixth-century inscriptions of Aphrodisias showed the citizens acclaiming the generosity of a great local benefactor called Albinus.<sup>45</sup>

Though economic factors may well have hastened this evolution, the effect of Christianity should not be underestimated. The Christian opposition to the taking of life without just cause, “Thou shalt not kill”, surely led to the elimination of gladiatorial contests. *Venationes* presumably survived because the *venator* had a chance of escaping, even though Christian moralists and emperors deplored the fact that he might end up

1969), 654-670, esp. 662-665; G.W. BOWERSOCK, “Aristides and the Pantomimes”, in *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, ed. by W.V. HARRIS and B. HOLMES (Leiden-Boston 2008), 74-76.

<sup>44</sup> Thus e.g. V. MALINEAU, *art. cit.* (n. 12), 152.

<sup>45</sup> CH. ROUECHÉ, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989), nos. 82-84. On the date of Albinus see now ROUECHÉ, “From Aphrodisias to Staupolis”, in *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected* (above, n. 32), 184-186.

literally in the belly of the beast. A curious illustration occurs in the historian Socrates' account of Theodosius II. Listing his many Christian virtues, for example his habit of singing antiphonal hymns with his sisters every morning before breakfast, Socrates tells of an incident in the amphitheater of Constantinople. "The people clamored that one of the well-built (*euphueis*) *paraboloi* ["risk-takers" of some kind] should fight a dangerous beast. But the emperor said to them, 'Do you not know that we are accustomed to watch humanely (*philanthrōpōs theōrein*)?' And by saying this, he taught the people to be humane spectators thereafter".<sup>46</sup> As the clergy, especially the bishops, replaced the civic benefactors of previous centuries, they were ever more able to impose Christian values on their flocks, and it took all the skill of a sophist such as Choricius to defend the suspect pleasures of the people. Eventually economic and moral considerations converged: the definitive loss of the West in the later sixth century, and the growing encroachment of enemy powers in the East, caused the old Greco-Roman entertainments to vanish from many areas where they had taken root. But just as it is a mistake to see the Christianization of the empire as marking the end of traditional spectacle, so perhaps the spectacles of the early Middle Ages, if we knew more about them, were not so different from their Late Antique antecedents as we might imagine.<sup>47</sup>

## Addendum

I regret having submitted my manuscript in October, 2011, before noticing *Antiquité tardive* 15 (2007), *Jeux et spectacles dans l'Antiquité tardive*. Not all the contributions concern the

<sup>46</sup> SOCR. *Hist. Eccles.* 7, 21, 12 (p. 369 Hansen). On this passage, G.W. BOWERSOCK, "Parabalani. A Terrorist Charity in Late Antiquity", in *Anabases* 12 (2010), 45-54: 51.

<sup>47</sup> I am very grateful to the other participants in the *Entretiens* for helpful comments and references.

period after 395, which was the main focus of my paper, but I would like to have cited E. Soler (47-58) on the way in which the state struggled to reconcile Christian disapproval of actors and actresses with the need to maintain public entertainments; Ch. Roueché (59-64) on recent archaeological discoveries relevant to spectacle in the Greek East; St. Giglio on praetorian *munera* (65-88); J.-Cl. Golvin and F. Fauquet on the later history of the hippodrome of Constantinople (181-214). On this last subject there is now the important treatment of G. Dagron, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople: jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris 2011).

## DISCUSSION

*K. Coleman:* Do you think that the figure at the bottom left on the diptych of Areobindus (Pl. 8.3) is meant to be taunting the bear? Provoking the beasts to react was obviously dangerous, and it doesn't always seem to have worked. This may be why it is one of the preoccupations in the *Liber Spectaculorum* of Martial, e.g. 22, 1 Shackleton Bailey, describing a bull *per totam flammis stimulatus harenam* ("goaded by flames all over the arena"), a method illustrated on the hunt mosaic from the Maison d'Isguntus at Hippo Regius, or 26, 1-2, *Sollicitant pavidi dum rhinocerota magistri / seque diu magnae colligit ira ferae* ("While the trainers were nervously worrying a rhinoceros and the great beast's temper was taking a long time to gather strength").

*J.-P. Thuillier:* Pour la question de l'influence du christianisme sur la fin des *munera* de gladiateurs, vous observez une position mesurée que je partage tout à fait, et vous n'éliminez pas le facteur économique. Pour respecter le commandement "Tu ne tueras pas", on aurait pu se contenter en effet de supprimer les combats *sine missione*, comme cela a été fait à d'autres périodes, et d'arrêter les duels "au premier sang"?

*R. Webb:* I agree with your point that mime performances were put on in very different contexts in Late Antiquity (and in earlier periods): that it formed part of the consular games is shown by the diptych of 517 in the Cabinet des Médailles (Pl. 8.1) and by Claudian's poem on the consulship of Manlius Theodorus in 399 (line 312). At the other extreme John of Ephesus depicts a couple of mimes, who are actually ascetics in disguise, performing in town squares (above, p. 311). I do wonder, however, whether we can really use the fact that mimes

contravened the moral standards of the state to argue that such performances must have been put on outside state control. (In this connection, I think it is important to note that the periodic bans seem to have affected pantomimes rather than mimes, leaving Justinian's legislation in *Novella* 123, 44 as the only attempt to control the content of mime performances.) Although there is likely to have been some limit to how vulgar or provocative mimes could be in particular circumstances, like consular games, one could argue that a certain degree of public mockery and derision was an integral part of the festivities with an important social function, and could be tolerated to some extent within the special context of a festival. This question matters because your argument has significant implications for our understanding of spectacle in the ancient world: can we assume that the patron (whether a representative of the state or any other person) controlled every aspect of the shows he sponsored, or was he constrained to a greater or lesser degree by the expectations of the audience whom he needed to satisfy? In the latter case, we might expect there to have been constant negotiations, of the sort that have been alluded to in other papers, about the acceptable limits for performances of various kinds, not only mime, and a constant testing of the boundaries of the acceptable that may be indirectly reflected in the stories of the martyr mimes.

*O. van Nijf:* I was wondering about the effect that two of Christianity's major foundation myths, so to speak, had on the kind of spectacle that you describe: the crucifixion of Jesus, and of course the various stories about martyrdom that precisely depended on publicity, the spectacular dimension of the event. Has this in any way influenced Christian approaches to these forms of spectacle? Has it affected the attitude of Christians towards the spectacles that were being put on, or their attitude towards the commemoration/representations that were found?

*C. Jones:* We might well expect that accounts of the execution of Jesus (with its own punitive "parade", in fact the best-attested

one of all) and of the agonies of martyrdom should have affected the Christian view of such spectacles. Yet I do not in fact know of such concerns being expressed, for example of a Christian author such as Augustine deplored *venationes* on the ground that they recalled the punishments of Christians: what such authors say is that spectacles of this kind are inhumane and unnatural, in other words their arguments resemble those advanced by pagan moralists such as Plutarch.

*J. Nollé:* Bei einer Reihe von Zeugnissen über Schauspiele in der Spätantike frage ich mich, ob wir es mit Beschreibungen realer Zustände oder mit Fiktionen zu tun haben. Das scheint mir besonders im Falle des Konsuls Macedonius so zu sein. Er — vielleicht ein Bürger von Sardis — evoziert ein Bild dieser Stadt, das ganz und gar von den Traditionen “heidnischer” Lokalmythen geprägt ist. Möglicherweise ist Macedonius der heidnischen Reaktion dieser Stadt zuzurechnen. Und so bin ich nicht sicher, ob nicht auch der Laufwettbewerb in der Zeit des Justinian eine Fiktion ist, eine Art agonistischer Nostalgie, zumal sich der Name des Läufers auch also sprechender Name verstehen lässt und ich mir kaum vorstellen kann, dass er von einem Zeitgenossen des Macedonius getragen wurde. Andere Frage: Gibt es Zeugnisse dafür, dass in der Spätantike Christen den Versuch unternommen haben, so etwa wie einen christlichen Pantomimus zu schreiben und aufzuführen?

*C. Jones:* On your first point: Sardis certainly does seem to have harbored a “pagan” community into Late Antiquity, to judge by the fact that pagans were still being incarcerated there in the reign of Justinian (*I. Sardis* 19; *SEG* 44, 1761). I have wondered if the existence of vibrant Jewish communities in Sardis and also Aphrodisias might have something to do with a kind of united front of the two groups against the Christians. But Christians of this period think in two registers: compare Nonnus, who can write both the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase of John’s Gospel*. I incline to suppose that Macedonius was a

Christian writing in a pagan mode, as also in the poem on the mythical origins of Sardis to which you refer (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 645). As to the “unreality” of Thyonichos, the fact that Thyia and Thyades are associated with Dionysus (K. Preisendanz, “Thyia 1-3”, in *RE* 6 A, 1936, 679-684; “Thyiaden”, *ibid.*, 684-691), and that the verb θύω can mean “move rapidly”, certainly suggests a fictional name. I also know of no victory-statues in the sixth century of the type implied by the poem, nor of Christians either writing or performing pantomimes; I discount, of course, stories of actors being converted, of which the best known is John Chrysostom’s Pelagia: P. Petitmengin (éd.), *Pelagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d’une légende* (Paris 1981-1984).

*R. Webb:* The Theonoe mosaic is certainly very intriguing and does not conform to the regular iconography of either mime or pantomime (though there are so few examples of either that it is difficult to speak with any certainty). It may be a case of a special type of pantomime involving several actors, as in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (10, 30-33). However, I also wonder whether the anomalies in this mosaic may be peculiar to Zeugma. The version of Menander’s *Synaristosai* from Zeugma differs from those in Mytilene and Pompeii in that the figures are not represented with typical comic masks but with very naturalistic masks that one could easily mistake for pantomime masks if one did not know that this was a scene from comedy. It could be that the artists were not familiar with traditional tragic and comic masks or chose to represent them differently, in which case Theonoe’s mask could simply indicate that this mosaic refers to the tragedy that may have been the source of Hyginus’ account of the story. This hypothesis does not explain the fact that only one character is masked while the others appear not to be.

*K. Coleman:* With reference to the question of the memory of gladiatorial *munera*, we should keep in mind that even after they had stopped being put on (if they had stopped, in fact) the artefacts, buildings, etc., that recalled them were omnipresent.

There is no evidence that, for instance, all the lamps depicting gladiatorial combat were suddenly smashed, and it is interesting to speculate about the reaction to this kind of iconography; did it seem quaint, or horrible, or what? Specifically, you have shown how Cassiodorus puts into Theoderic's mouth a lot of learned discussion about the history of various spectacle buildings at Rome and the shows put on in them. This makes it seem all the more curious that when he describes the Colosseum ("that egg-shaped building", *ovi specie*: *Variae* 5, 42, 5) he associates it exclusively with beast displays. Do you think that this shows that the memory of gladiatorial combat had faded by now, or that a good Christian should not mention it (even though elsewhere he mentions other types of spectacle that the Christians were not too keen on)?

*C. Jones*: It is certainly curious that the kinds of artefact you mention were not destroyed, but I suspect that the association of gladiatorial *munera* with Christian martyrdom was less strong in antiquity than we think. The Colosseum does not become associated with martyrdom until the Renaissance (M. Di Macco, *Il Colosseo. Funzione simbolica, storica, urbana* [Roma 1971], 79-81, "Il Colosseo luogo di Martirio").

*K. Coleman*: On the Megalopsychia mosaic, I wonder whether the "coins" being thrown are actually *σίμιατα* (*missilia*), tokens representing items for which the spectators could cash them in afterwards. We hear quite a lot about these in the ancient sources: Domitian had to re-do one of these distributions when the lower classes caught most of the tokens and the senators and equestrians hardly got any (Suet. *Dom.* 4, 5; cf. L. Robert, "Sur le décret d'Acriaphia pour l'Évergète Épaminondas", in *Arch. Eph.* 1969, 34-39 = *Opera Minora Selecta*, VII [Amsterdam 1990], 740-745). The mechanism for distribution — a type of pillowcase suspended from cables — is represented on a few wall-paintings from Pompeii. The conceit of Generosity herself flinging the tokens would be a nice riff on the sponsor's role.



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Abb. 1.1



Abb. 1.2



Abb. 1.3



Abb. 1.4a



Abb. 1.4b



Abb. 1.4c



Abb. 1.4d



Abb. 1.5



Abb. 1.6a



Abb. 1.6b



Abb. 1.6c



Abb. 1.6d



Abb. 1.6e



Abb. 1.7a



Abb. 1.7b





Abb. 1.8



Abb. 1.9



Abb. 1.10a



Abb. 1.10b



Abb. 1.10c



Abb. 1.10d



Abb. 1.11a



Abb. 1.11b



Abb. 1.11c



Abb. 1.11d

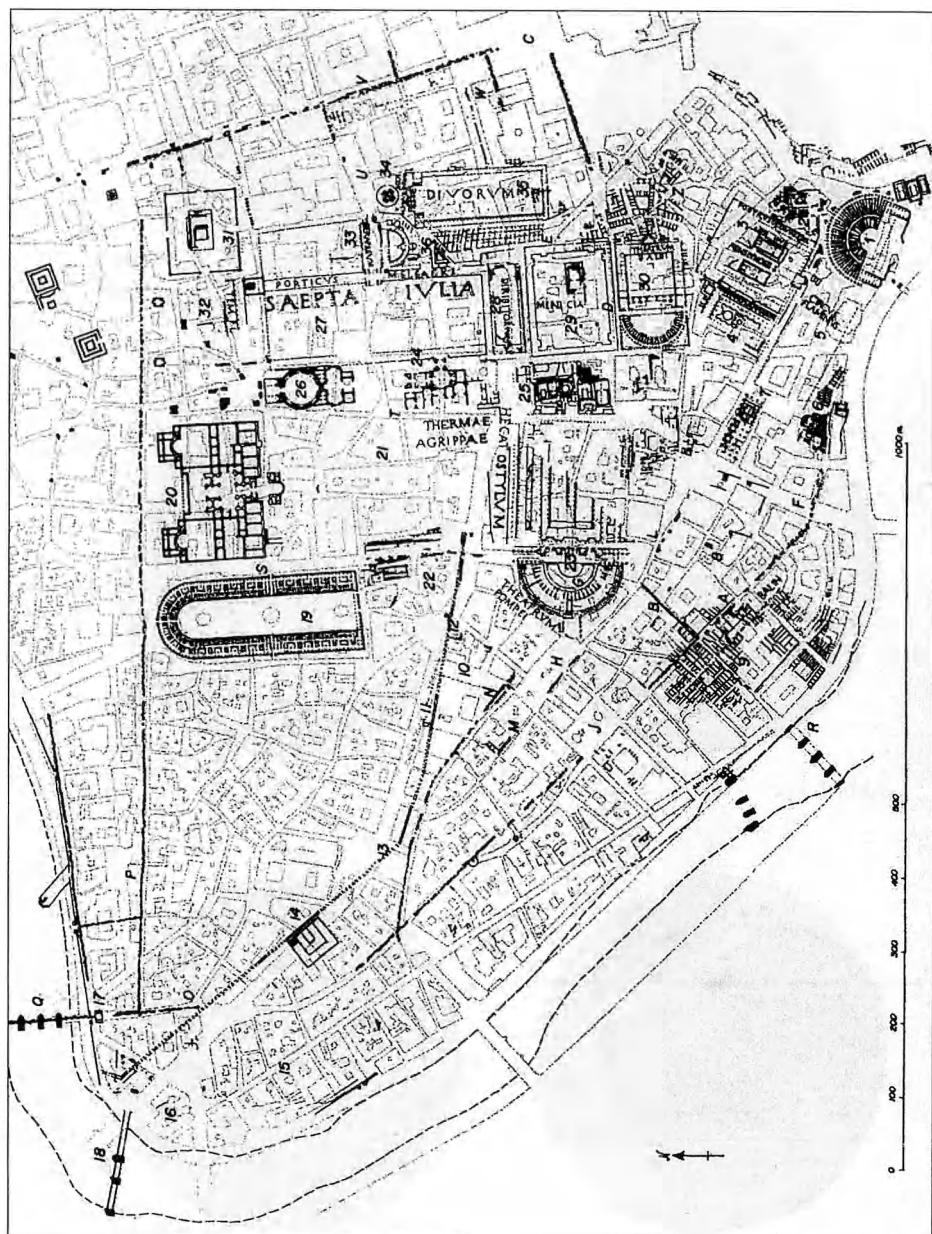


Fig. 4.1

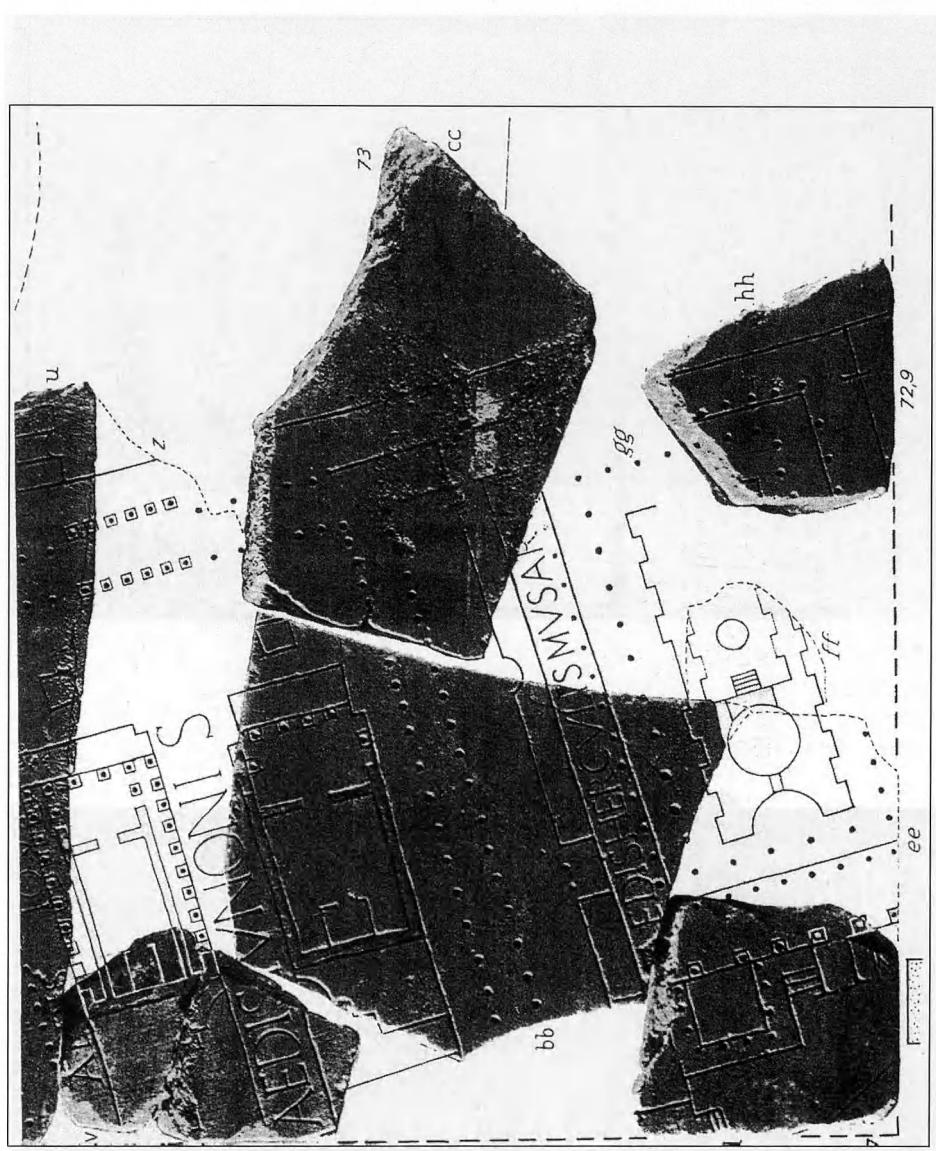


Fig. 4.2



Fig. 4.3



Fig. 4.4

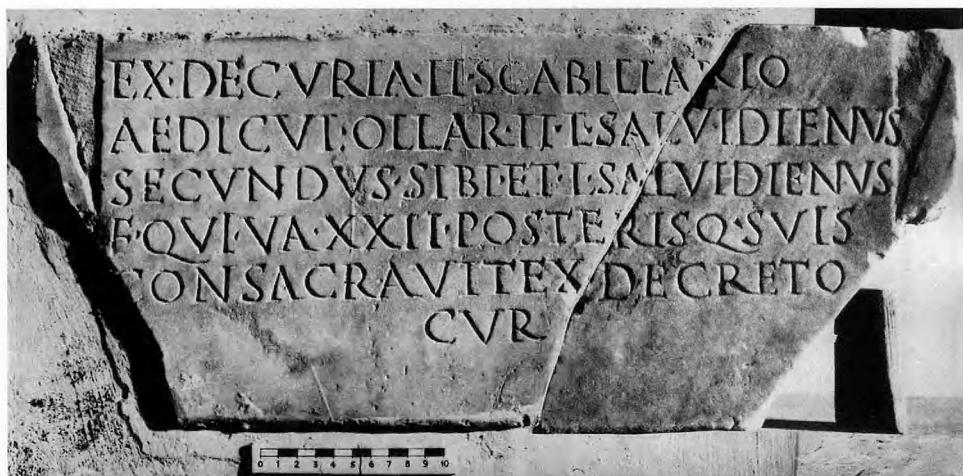


Fig. 4.5



Fig. 4.6

Fig. 4.7

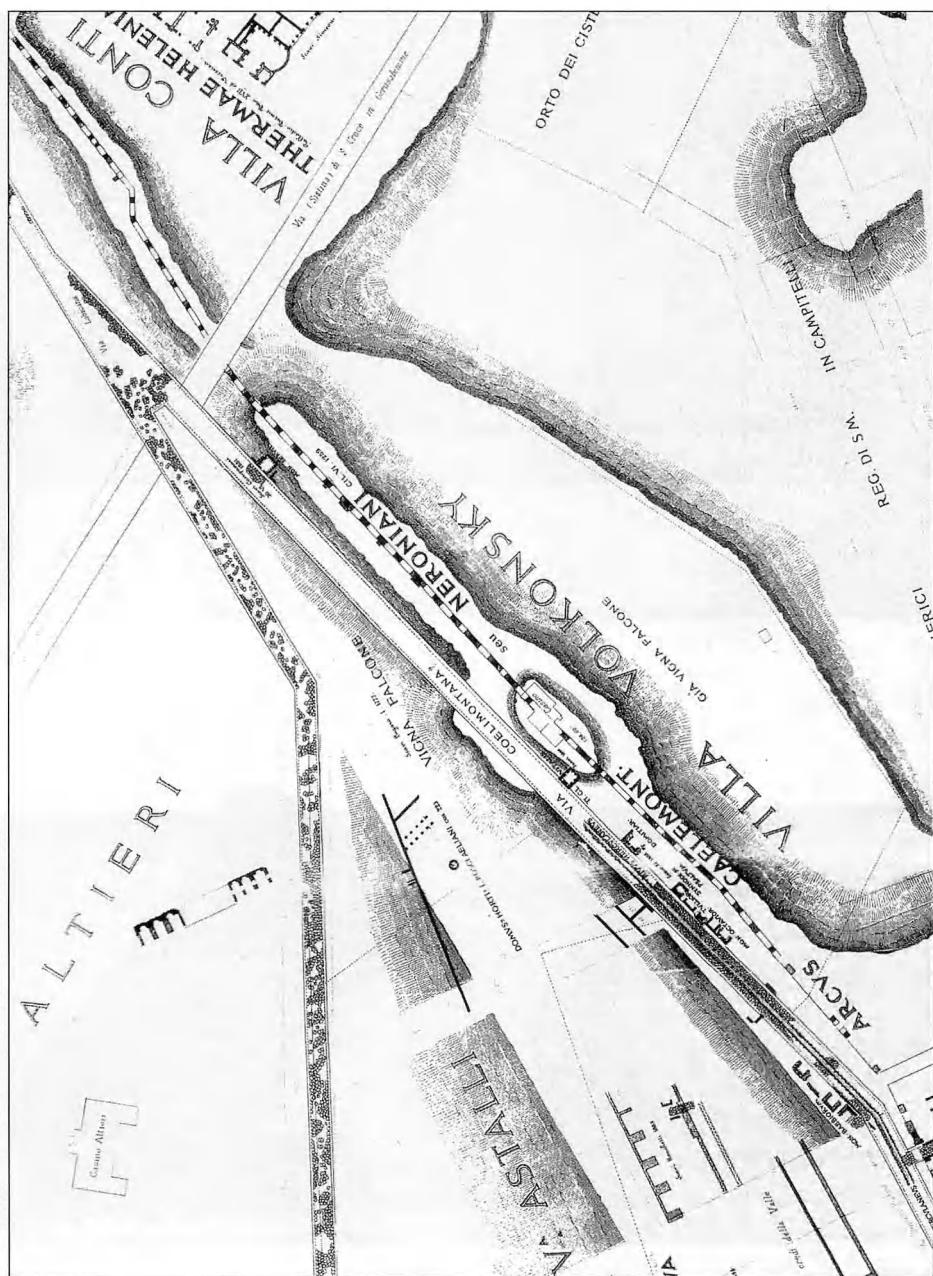


Fig. 4.8

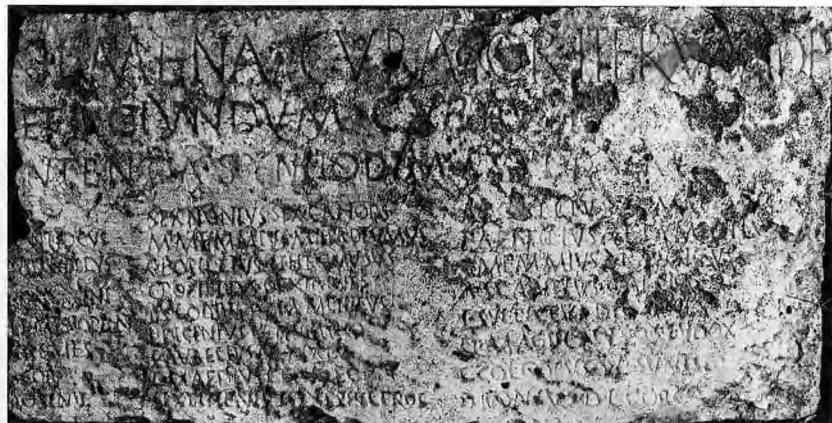


Fig. 4.9

M · L I C I N i V S · C · L · M E N A · C V R A T O R · I T E R V M · D E  
S V A · P E Q V N I A R · E F I C I V N D V M · C V R A V I T  
d e c V R I O N V M · S E N T E N T I A · S Y N H O D I · M · P S A L T V M

## M A G

Q · MAGVLNIVS · Q · L · EVDOX

C · CLODIVS · C · L · SINISTOR

D · NONIVS · D · L · CORCONIVS

DECVR

5 M · LICINIVS · C · L · MENA

L · CRITONIVS · L · L · ANTIOCHVS

P · TREMELIVS · P · L · ASCLEPIAD

P · OBVLCIUS · C · L · DEMETRIVS

M · VALERIVS · C · L · PHILEROS

10 A · CVRIVS · A · L · ANTIOCHVS

Q · VETTIVS · N · L

A · LICINIVS · M

A · AEMILIVS · A

M · FVLVIUS · C · L · EVMENI

M · APPVLEIVS

M · CALEIDIVS

M · OVIDIVS · M

C · ACILIVS · EVPROSINV

S

ANTIOCVS

L · // / / / ILVS

L · L · MENOPAN

L · L · HILARIO

L · F · MAEC

L · F · MAEC

SEX · TITIENIVS · SEX · L · PHILEROS

SEX · NONIVS · SEX · L · ANOPS

M · MEMMIVS · M · L · PROTVMVS

C · POPILLIVS · PHILOMVSVS

C · POPILLIVS · C · L · XIPANES

L · CLODIVS · C · L · PAMPHILVS

L · LICINIVS · L · L · HILARIO

L · AVRELIVS · L · F · MAEC

L · MAELIVS · L · F · MAEC

SEX · TITIENIVS · SEX · L · PHILEROS

A · POPILLIVS // / / / MA / / / / VS

P · AEMILIVS · A · L · PAMPHILVS sic

C · MEMMIVS · C · L · MVSICVS

A · SCANTIVS · CALVIO

L · SVLPICIVS · DIO // / NES

Q · MAGVLNIVS · Q · L · EVDOXVS sic

C · COLODIVS · C · L · SVNISTOR sic

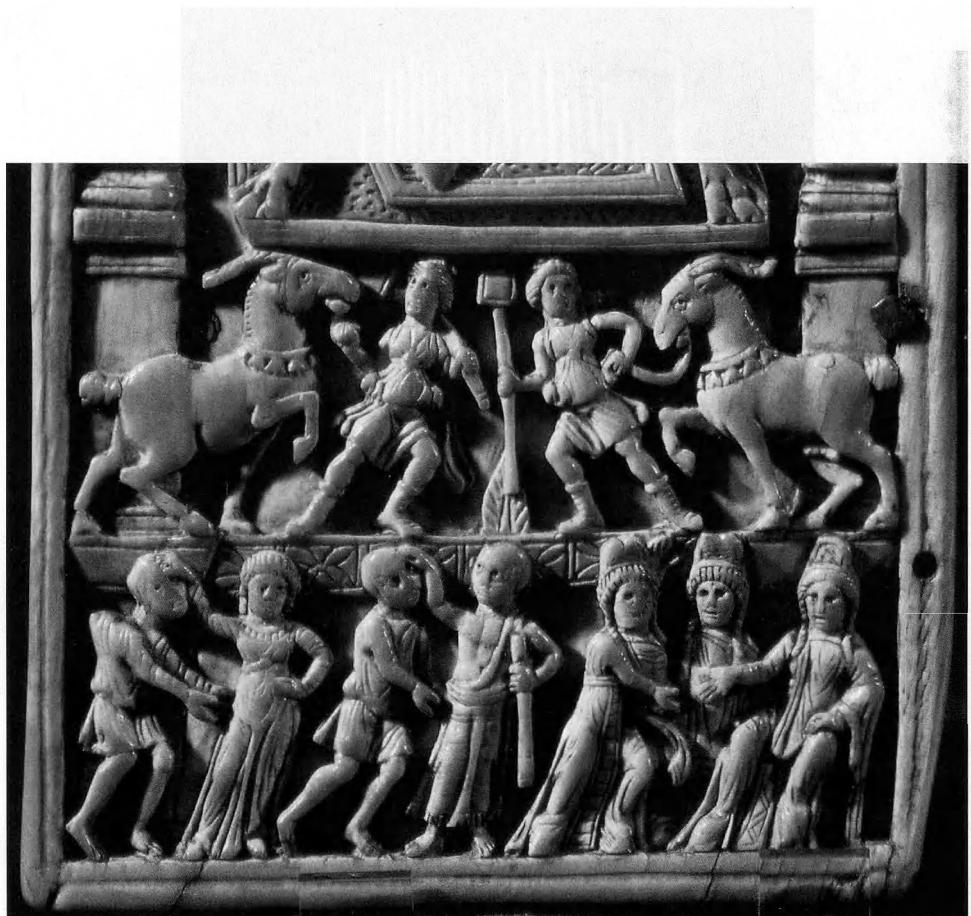
Fig. 4.10



Pl. 6.1



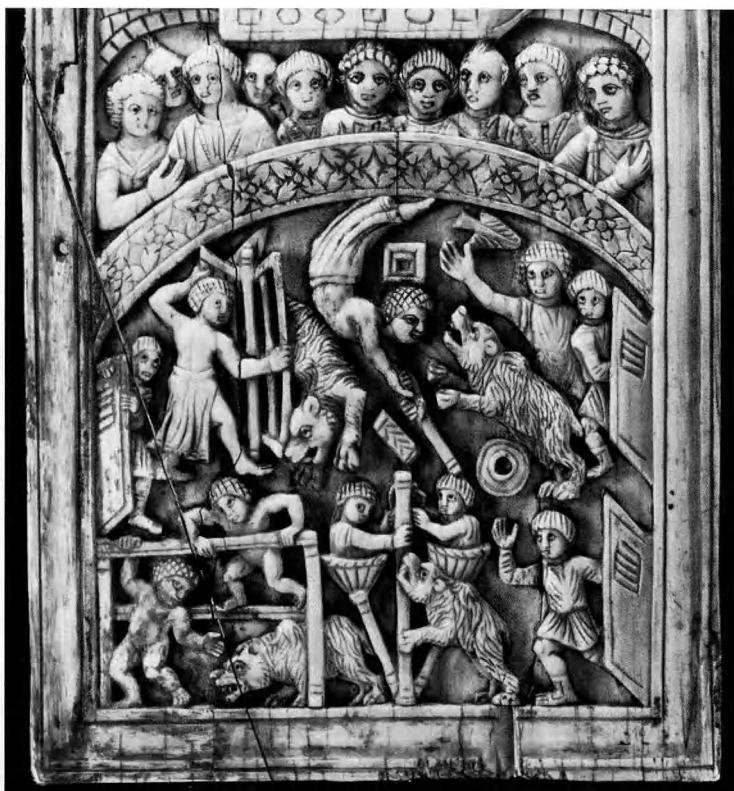
Pl. 6.2



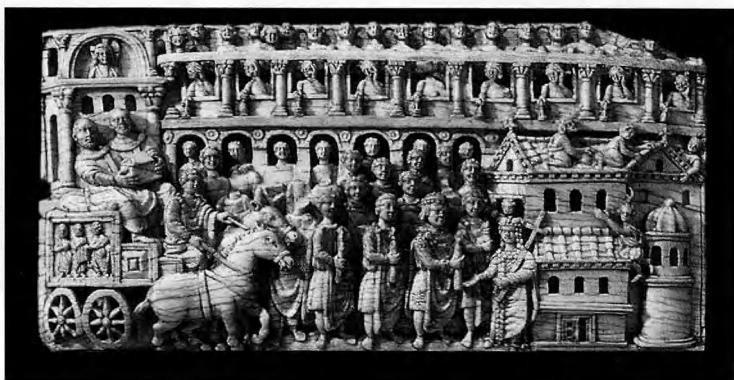
Pl. 8.1



Pl. 8.2



Pl. 8.3



Pl. 8.4

## TABLE DES PLANCHES

**Abb. 1.1.** Tetradrachme (Ag) von Rhegin, ca. 484-476 v. Chr. Vs. Maultierbiga, im Abschnitt Lorbeerblatt; Rs. Hase. *Auktion UBS Gold & Numismatics* 59, 2004, Nr. 4070.

**Abb. 1.2.** Festmünze (Ag) von Metapont, ca. 440/430 v. Chr. Vs. Gerstenähre; Rs. Anthropomorpher Flussgott Acheloos mit Stierhörnern und -ohren. S.P. NOE, *The Coinage of Metapontum 1-2* (New York 1927-1931, <sup>2</sup>1984), 70 Nr. 311½.

**Abb. 1.3.** Dekadrachme (Ag) von Syrakus, ca. 400 v. Chr. Vs. Quadrige, im Abschnitt Panhoplie; Rs. Kopf einer Göttin, von Delphinen umgeben. *Auktion NAC* 48, 21. Oktober 2008, Nr. 52.

**Abb. 1.4a-c.** Statere (Ag) von Aspendos, 4. Jh. v. Chr. Vs. Zwei Ringer; Rs. Schleuderer und Beizeichen (Eros oder Triskeles). *SNG von Aulock* Nr. 4529, 4531 und 4538.

**Abb. 1.5.** Bronzemünze von Smyrna, 2./1. Jh. v. Chr. Vs. Kopf des Apollon; Rs. Caestus. *Auktion Künker* 133, 2007, Nr. 7592.

**Abb. 1.6a.** Bronzemünze von Side. Tranquillina (241-244 n. Chr.). Rs. Preistisch mit Preiskrone. Sammlung Bloecher, nach einem Abdruck in der Gipssammlung der Universität Düsseldorf. J. NOLLÉ, "Side. Zur Geschichte einer kleinasiatischen Stadt in der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel ihrer Münzen", in *AW* 21 (1990), 244-265, S. 257 Nr. 94.

**Abb. 1.6b.** Bronzemünze von Side. Tranquillina (241-244 n. Chr.). Rs. Apollon Side vor Preistisch mit Preiskrone. Sammlung Mossop. J. NOLLÉ, "Side. Zur Geschichte einer kleinasiatischen Stadt in der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel ihrer Münzen", in *AW* 21 (1990), 244-265, S. 257 Nr. 95.

**Abb. 1.6c.** Bronzemünze von Side. Gordian III. (238-244 n. Chr.). Rs. stilisierte Stele, darin Schrift. *SNG PfPs IV* Nr. 753.

**Abb. 1.6d.** Bronzemünze von Side. Philippus II. (244-249 n. Chr.). Rs. Preistisch, darauf Preiskrone, darunter Losgefäß und Palmzweige. British Museum. J. NOLLÉ, "Side. Zur Geschichte einer kleinasiatischen Stadt in der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel ihrer Münzen", in *AW* 21 (1990), 244-265, S. 257 Nr. 93.

**Abb. 1.6e.** Bronzemünze von Side. Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 n. Chr.). Rs. Preistisch, darauf Preiskrone. Sammlung Karbach. P. WEISS, "Auxe Perge. Beobachtungen zu einem bemerkenswerten städtischen Dokument des späten 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.", in *Chiron* 21 (1991), 353-392, S. 391 Nr. 7.

**Abb. 1.7a.** Bronzemünze von Anazarbos. Valerian I. (253-260 n. Chr.). Rs. Sechs Preiskronen. Sammlung Levante. R. ZIEGLER, *Kaiser, Heer und städtisches Geld. Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Anazarbos und anderer ostkilikischer Städte* (Wien 1993), 363 Nr. 836, 1.

**Abb. 1.7b.** Bronzemünze von Anazarbos. Vs. Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.); Rs. Elagabal überreicht der thronenden Stadtgöttin von Anazarbos eine Preiskrone. Fitzwilliam Museum. R. ZIEGLER, *Kaiser, Heer und städtisches Geld. Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Anazarbos und anderer ostkilikischer Städte* (Wien 1993), 288 Nr. 443.

**Abb. 1.8.** Bronzemünze von Byzantion. Vs. Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.); Rs. Die Stadtgöttin von Byzantion erhält von Caracalla eine Preiskrone. *Auktion Gorny & Mosch* 122, 2003, Nr. 1708.

**Abb. 1.9.** Bronzemünze von Mopsuhestia. Vs. Valerian (253-260 n. Chr.); Rs. Die beiden auf *sellae curules* sitzenden Kaiser Valerian und Gallienus überreichen der Stadtgöttin von Mopsuhestia eine Preiskrone. CNG, *ElAuct* 224, 16. Dezember 2009, Nr. 447.

**Abb. 1.10a.** Bronzemünze von Perge. Vs. Tacitus (275-276 n. Chr.); Rs. Der thronende Kaiser überreicht der Stadtgöttin von Perge eine Preiskrone. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Kleinasiatische Münzen 2* (Wien 1902), 333 Nr. 35 mit Taf. 11, 8.

**Abb. 1.10b.** Bronzemünze von Perge. Vs. Tacitus (275-276 n. Chr.); Rs. Preiskrone von Palmzweigen flankiert auf Unterlage. CNG, *ElAuct* 237, 21. July 2010, Nr. 104.

**Abb. 1.10c.** Bronzemünze von Perge. Vs. Tacitus (275-276 n. Chr.); Rs. Der thronende Zeus mit einer Preiskrone auf der vorgestreckten Rechten. BMC *Pamph.* 140 Nr. 104 mit Taf. 25, 4.

**Abb. 1.10d.** Bronzemünze von Perge. Vs. Tacitus (275-276 n. Chr.); Rs. Drei Preiskronen auf Preistisch. SNG *PfPs* IV Nr. 457.

**Abb. 1.11a.** Bronzemünze von Thyateira. Vs. Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.); Rs. Der Kaiser überreicht Apollon Tyrimnaios eine Preiskrone. *Auktion Gorny & Mosch* 125, 2003, Nr. 315.

**Abb. 1.11b.** Bronzemünze von Thyateira. Vs. Iulia Soaemias (218-222 n. Chr.); Rs. Apollon Tyrimnaios mit Preiskrone auf ausgestreckten Rechten. H. BLOESCH, *Griechische Münzen in Winterthur 2* (Winterthur 1997), 167 Nr. 3973.

**Abb. 1.11c.** Bronzemünze von Thyateira. Vs. Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.); Rs. Kranz, darin Schrift. *Auktion Rauch GmbH 81*, 2007, Nr. 511.

**Abb. 1.11d.** Bronzemünze von Thyateira. Vs. Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.); Rs. Preistisch mit hineingesteckten Palmzweigen auf Preistisch, zwischen ihnen Geldbeutel, unter dem Tisch Losurne. *Auktion Hauck & Aufhäuser 20*, 2007, Nr. 413.

**Fig. 4.1.** Pianta del Campo Marzio. P. SOMMELLA, L. MIGLIORATI, in *Corso Vittorio Emanuele II tra urbanistica e archeologia. Storia di uno sventramento*, a cura di M.G. CIMINO, M. NOTA SANTI (Napoli 1998), 114-115.

**Fig. 4.2.** Pianta della *aedes Herculis Musarum*, FUR, particolare della lastra 31. F. CASTAGNOLI, "Porticus Philippi", in *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale*, edenda curavit K. DE FINE LICHT (Odense 1983), 93-104, p. 94.

**Fig. 4.3.** Roma, dal Piazzale Labicano, blocco con menzione del *magister scribarum poetarum*. Prima età augustea. Ora al *Tabularium* (inv. CE 6765). Neg. Ist. Epigr. "Sapienza - Università di Roma" 3663.

**Fig. 4.4.** Roma, dal Piazzale di Porta Maggiore, blocco relativo al sepolcro della *societas cantorum graecorum*. Fase a: età sillana; fase b: fine età repubblicana. Ora al Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 124657). Neg. Ist. Epigr. "Sapienza - Università di Roma" 382267.

**Fig. 4.5.** Roma, da vigna Belardi, presso Porta Maggiore, lastra con menzione della *decuria II scabillariorum*. I secolo d.C., prima metà. Ora ai Musei Capitolini (inv. NCE 107). Neg. Ist. Epigr. "Sapienza - Università di Roma" 14686.

**Fig. 4.6.** Roma, da vigna Belardi, presso Porta Maggiore, lastra con menzione dei *curatores del collegium scabillariorum*. I secolo d.C., prima metà. Ora al Palazzo delle Esposizioni (inv. 3706). Neg. Ist. Epigr. "Sapienza - Università di Roma" 5524.

**Fig. 4.7.** Roma, da vigna Belardi, presso Porta Maggiore, lastra con menzione della *decuria VI scabillariorum*. I secolo d.C., prima metà. Ora al Palazzo delle Esposizioni. Neg. Ist. Epigr. "Sapienza - Università di Roma" 7333.

**Fig. 4.8.** Pianta dell'area villa Wolkonsky. R. LANCIANI, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Roma 1910), tav. 31.

**Fig. 4.9.** Roma, dall'area della villa Wolkonsky, blocco relativo al sepolcro della *synhodos magna psaltum*. Primissima età augustea. Ora presso l'ingresso della villa Wolkonsky. DAI Rom 87. 1850.

**Fig. 4.10.** Trascrizione della Fig. 4.9 = CIL VI 33968.

**Pl. 6.1.** Contorniate medallion (verso), mid-fifth century, from Rome, showing a dancer with a cupid. London, British Museum R 4878. Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum.

**Pl. 6.2.** Fifth- or sixth-century ivory comb from Egypt showing a female dancer and bearing the name Helladia. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 11874. Photo RMN © Hervé Lewandowski.

**Pl. 8.1.** Diptych of Flavius Anastasius, consul 517 (detail). Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, France. Photo © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

**Pl. 8.2.** Diptych of Areobindus, consul 506 (detail). Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny. Photo © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

**Pl. 8.3.** Diptych of Areobindus, consul 506 (detail). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photo © The State Hermitage Museum. Photograph by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.

**Pl. 8.4.** Sixth-century ivory plaque showing reliquary being transferred to church. Hohe Domkirche Trier, Domschatzkammer. Photo © Hohe Domkirche Trier, Domschatzkammer.





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## ENTRETIENS SUR L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

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