Attic Inscriptions Online

The Ephebate in Roman Athens:
Outline and Catalogue of Inscriptions

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AIO Papers no. 12
December 2020

AIO Papers

Published by Attic Inscriptions Online, 97 Elm Road, Evesham,
Worcestershire, WR11 3DR, United Kingdom.

ISSN 2054-6769 (Print)
ISSN 2054-6777 (Online)

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Akrigg 2019: B. Akrigg, *Population and Economy in Classical Athens*

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THE EPHEBATE IN ROMAN ATHENS: OUTLINE AND CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS[1]

Christopher de Lisle

INTRODUCTION

An ephebe (*ephebos*, ἔφηβος) was a young man, literally "one who has arrived at manhood," at around eighteen years of age. The ephebate (*ephebeia*, ἐφηβεία) was the main public institution of Athenian education, which prepared ephebes for life as adult members of the community. Firm epigraphic evidence for the institution starts in ca. 334/3 BC, following its creation or reformation in the aftermath of the Athenian defeat at the Battle of Chaironeia. Whether the institution existed before this remains a matter of debate.[2] In the late fourth century BC, the ephebate was a two-year course undertaken by male citizens on the cusp of adulthood, which involved military and athletic training, guarding the Piraeus, patrolling the Athenian border, and participation in religious and commemorative rituals throughout Attica. It played a key role in articulating Athenian ideas about masculinity, citizenship, and what it meant to be Athenian.[3] In the Hellenistic period, the institution was converted into a one-year course, undertaken by only a minority of Athenians, but it remained one of the central institutions of civic life in Athens and versions of it were adopted by most other Greek city-states.[4] The Post-Sullan period, from the Sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 BC to the reign of Augustus, marks the end of most studies of the Athenian ephebate, but was only the halfway point in the history of the institution.[5] In the Roman Imperial period, the ephebate continued to be one of the most active and epigraphically productive institutions of the Athenian state. There are over three hundred and fifty inscriptions relating to the ephebate from the period between 86 BC and 267 AD, which

[1] I prepared this paper while a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow and benefitted from the libraries of the British and American Schools at Athens, as well as the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford. I am grateful to Stephen Lambert, Peter Liddel, P. J. Rhodes and the anonymous reviewers for comments, and to Irene Vagionakis for encoding.

[2] In favour of an earlier institution: Pélékidis 1962, 71-79; Chankowski 2010, 140-42; N. Kennell, *Anc. Soc*. 43, 2013, 16-19; Chankowski 2014. Against: Friend 2019, 8-33; Henderson 2020, 25-30, 36-55, 67-73. On early ephebic inscriptions see RO 89 and *AIO* 1968 (= *SEG* 23.78), with AIO's notes. On the word "ephebe," see Chankowski 2010, 45-142; Henderson 2020, 3-35.

[3] For the fourth-century BC ephebate: *Ath. Pol.* 42, RO 89, and *IG* II^3 4, 329 with notes on AIO; Pélékidis 1962, 104-54; Friend 2019; Henderson 2020, 74-77, 81-196, 298-302.

[4] For the Hellenistic ephebate, see *IG* II^2 4, 357 with notes on AIO; Pélékidis 1962, 155-277; Habicht 1992; Burckhardt 2004; Tracy 2004; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a; Chankowski 2010 (especially on the spread of the ephebate outside Athens); Friend 2019, 172-84; Henderson 2020, 197-290, 303-23.

[5] For the Post-Sullan ephebate, see *AIO Papers* 11 and 11B, *IG* II^2 1039 with notes; Henderson 2020, 280-89.

provide key insights into the development of Athenian culture and society under the Roman empire. Yet there have been few studies of the institution in this period.[6]

This paper is intended to provide an overview of the Roman-period ephebate and its inscriptions in their contemporary Athenian context. The rest of this introduction deals with the location of the ephebes' headquarters in Athens and the age at which men enrolled in the ephebate. The rest of the paper is divided into four sections. The first lays out the development of the institution and its epigraphic habit from the Sullan Sack in 86 BC to the Herulian Sack in 267 AD. The second section outlines the personnel who ran the ephebate: the annual magistrates, the permanent ephebic staff, and the ephebic liturgists. The third section lays out the ephebes' activities, in terms of political participation, athletics, military training, rhetoric and academic activities, and festivals. The fourth section discusses the ephebate's role in citizenship and social status in the Roman period. Participation in the Roman-period ephebate was not limited to citizens and was neither necessary nor sufficient to assume citizen status. Although the Roman-period ephebate was an elitist and hierarchical institution, particularly when compared to its Classical predecessor, it had some egalitarian elements and most of the ephebes were not part of the small elite which dominated Athens at this time. The fifth and final section is a catalogue of all known ephebic inscriptions from the period 86 BC-267 AD. The production of this paper was prompted by study of the ephebic inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period in the collections of the Ashmolean and British Museum for *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean) and *AIUK* 4.3B (BM). The paper therefore makes special reference to the inscriptions in those collections. A representative sample of other ephebic inscriptions will be published on the AIO website concurrently with this paper.

0.1. The Diogeneion and the provenance of the Imperial ephebic inscriptions

The headquarters of the ephebate in the Roman period was the Diogeneion gymnasium, named in honour of Diogenes, the Macedonian general who restored Piraeus to Athenian control in 229 BC.[7] It was already serving this role when it is first attested, undergoing repairs, in 107/6 BC (*IG* II^2, 1011, l. 41). It continues to appear regularly in ephebic inscriptions thereafter, but its only appearance in literary sources is an episode set in the mid-first century AD, in Plutarch (*Table Talk* 9.1 = *Mor.* 736d). Its location is not explicitly stated in any ancient source, but it is generally presumed to have been located near St. Demetrios Katephores. Demolished in 1857, this church was located on the corner of Kyrrhestou and Erechtheos streets, to the east of the Tower of the Winds, north of the Acropolis. The vast majority of the Roman-period ephebic inscriptions with provenance

[6] For full-length studies of the Roman ephebate, one must go back to Dittenberger 1876; Dumont 1876; Graindor 1922. Recent analysis in Perrin-Saminadayar 2004 on the period 86 BC-120 AD; Newby 2005, 160-201 and Kennell 2009 (both through the lens of athletics and sport); Wiemer 2011, 487-538 (on status and hierarchy). Wilson 1992 is an unpublished corpus of all the Roman-period ephebic inscriptions from Athens, without which this paper would not have been possible. Follet 1976 and Byrne *RCA* are indispensable for chronology and prosopography. Kennell 2006 is a register of all attested ephebic institutions in the Greek world from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD.

[7] On Diogenes, see *IG* II^3 1, 1160; *IG* II^2 3474; Plut. *Arat.* 34.4-6, Mikalson 1998, 184-85. On *gymnasia*, Van Nijf 2008, 206-7.

were found during excavations of the section of the Post-Herulian Wall underneath the church (see the Catalogue in sect. 5 for findspots of individual inscriptions).[8] Many of the Imperial-period ephebic inscriptions that do not derive from these excavations were found in this same general area, such as *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 16 and *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 16.[9] Several fragments of *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17 , which is the only inscription to explicitly provide for copies to be erected in the Diogeneion, were found in the excavations at St. Demetrios Katephores. But the inscription also provides for a copy to be erected in the City Eleusinion and it is uncertain which copy these fragments belong to.[10]

From the mid-first century AD onwards, the Diogeneion is the only gymnasium that the ephebes are attested to have used, but two other gymnasia are associated with the ephebes in the Post-Sullan period. The first is the Lykeion, located northeast of the city outside the Diochares gate and once the headquarters of Aristotle's school.[11] In the Hellenistic period, graduating ephebes were sometimes granted permission to make commemorative dedications there (e.g. *IG* II^3 1, 1290, 1362). A number of first-century BC dedications by *pareutaktoi* (recently graduated ephebes, see sect. 0.2), who had been victorious in torch-races at the Epitaphia and Theseia have been found there (*IG* II^3 4, 396-399). There is no evidence for the ephebes' presence there after the first century BC.

The other gymnasium associated with the ephebes is the Ptolemaion, perhaps constructed by Ptolemy III Euergetes in the late third century BC.[12] It seems to have been the main site for the academic side of the ephebes' activities – Hellenistic and Post-Sullan ephebic decrees refer to ephebic cohorts donating a hundred books to its library on graduation.[13] The last ephebic inscription to refer to the place is *IG* II^2 1043 (37/6-36/5 BC). In the late second century AD, Pausanias reports it contained herms that were "worth seeing," and locates it near the (Roman) Agora and the Theseion (Paus. 1.17.2). This is near the presumed location of the Diogeneion and, as we shall see, stone herms were one of the main forms of ephebic inscription. Perhaps the Ptolemaion and the Diogeneion (which Pausanias does not mention), both of which seem to have been built in the late third century BC, were two parts of a single complex.

0.2. Age of the ephebes

In the Classical period, ostensibly, young men enrolled in the ephebate when they turned eighteen (*Ath. Pol.* 42.1-2). It has long been noted, however, that many ephebic catalogues, even in the Classical period, feature brothers at a far higher rate than is compatible with them all being twins. The general conclusion is that many families sought to enrol some or

[8] Travlos 1971, 281; Krumeich 2008, 133-34; Lattanzi 1968, 21; Sourlas 2015, 311-12; Di Cesare in *Topografia di Atene*, 752-53; Di Cesare 2018, 218-19, 224-25. On the church, see Biris 1940, 26, no. 37 (with ph.).

[9] Cf. *SEG* 26.191 = Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 22, 1953, 178, no. 2.

[10] See *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), pp. 3-4.

[11] Strabo 9.1.19, *IG* I^3 105, with n. 6; Lygouri-Tolia 2002; Di Cesare 2018, 216; Henderson 2020, 220-21.

[12] Pélékidis, 1962, 263-64; Sourlas 2015, 312-14; Di Cesare in *Topografia di Atene*, 749-51; Di Cesare 2018, 219-24.

[13] *IG* II^2 1029, ll. 25-6 (97/6 BC), 1041 with note 4; Pélékidis 1962, 263-64; Haake 2007, 45; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 264-66. On the academic component of the ephebate, see section 3.4.

all of their sons at once, by holding back the oldest son or enrolling the younger early. This phenomenon becomes more common in the Hellenistic period.[14] In the Imperial era, it is even more marked than in earlier times. In *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD), there are twelve pairs of brothers (out of 123 ephebes, 19%) and in *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5 (194/5 AD) there are eight or nine pairs and two or three groups of three brothers (out of 132 ephebes, 16-20%). By contrast, the rate of twin births is about 1% and the rate of twin survivals in ancient times was probably much lower than this.[15] The most extreme case is *IG* II^2 2211 (mid-ii AD), in which *six* sons of Dionysodoros of Oion undertook the ephebate in the same year. Not all of the ephebes will have been exactly eighteen when they entered the ephebate therefore. However, the age variation was probably not enormous. Saskia Hin collates all the explicit attestations of individual ephebes' ages from throughout the Greek East excluding Athens and Egypt, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods – mostly from epitaphs – and finds most to have been between sixteen and eighteen years of age.[16]

There are shadowy attestations of arrangements for youths before and after the ephebate. The *mellepheboi* ("future-ephebes") had lessons in the Diogeneion and made a few dedications along with the ephebes from ca. 120-ca. 60 BC (*IG* II^3 4, 370, 373, 374, probably 367). They are not attested subsequently.[17] Recently graduated ephebes who continued to participate in training and competitions were called *pareutaktoi* ("ex-cadets"). They never appear in ephebic catalogues, but are attested by a few first-century BC torch-race dedications found at the Lykeion (*IG* II^3 4, 396-397, 399) and held games at Eleusis in honour of Herodes Atticus from 166 AD onwards alongside the ephebic *Peri Alkes* festival (*SEG* 12.110, ll. 52-55, see sect. 3.5). They also appear in the late second-century BC ephebate on Delos (*ID* 2593, 2598) and possibly in Herakleia Pontika. The *pareutaktoi* are not equivalent to the group called the *neoi* (young men), who are attested in several Greek cities in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. The latter had a range of military, political, and religious functions, while the former are only encountered in athletic contexts.[18]

[14] Friend 2019, 89; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 399-400; Reinmuth 1948, 214-15.
[15] Kennell 2009, 330.
[16] Hin 2007, 143-46.
[17] Pélékidis, 1962, 59-60.
[18] Graindor 1922, 203; P. Roussel, *BCH* 55, 1931, 441; Pélékidis, 1962, 234-35. *Neoi*: Kennell 2012.

1. PERIODISATION AND TYPOLOGY OF INSCRIPTIONS

The ephebate and its epigraphic profile changed over the Roman period. There are broadly three phases. The first period runs from the Sullan Sack until the end of the first century BC, during which time the ephebate broadly continued forms established in the Hellenistic period (honorific decrees for the ephebes, victory dedications by ephebes). At the end of the first century BC, the epigraphic record breaks off, with no dated inscriptions at all between 13/2 BC and 36/7 AD. This decline in epigraphic output does not necessarily indicate that the ephebate itself had gone into abeyance (sect. 1.1).

The second period begins in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius and continues through the Flavian period. It is characterised by lists of friends who had gone through the ephebate together ("*Philoi* lists," sect. 1.2) and by the first examples of the form of ephebic catalogue that would become standard in the third period. Although the ephebate's epigraphic output at this time is smaller than in the next period, it appears that the level of participation was high.

The third period begins in the early second century AD, around the reign of Hadrian. In this period, the ephebate's epigraphic output increased dramatically, with at least 260 inscriptions surviving from this time. Enrolment was high, sometimes exceeding two hundred. The main types of inscription at this time were ephebic catalogues (sect. 1.3) and honorific herms (sect. 1.4), which seem to have been erected annually, but the earlier genres continued to be produced, as well as the new genre of the *systremma* catalogue (sect. 1.5). The beginning of the third period coincides with Hadrian's constitutional reforms at Athens. There are some changes to the ephebate that may be connected with these reforms, but these reinforced existing trends, rather than totally overhauling the institution (sect. 1.6). The third period comes to an abrupt end with the Herulian Sack (267 AD), after which most of the ephebic inscriptions were used as building material for the post-Herulian wall.[19]

1.1. Post-Sullan and early Imperial ephebate (86 BC – mid-i AD)

The development of the ephebate after the Sullan Sack of 86 BC is discussed in *AIO Papers* 11 and in the individual entries for the post-Sullan ephebic decrees on the AIO website (esp. *IG* II^2 1006+1039). In this period the Assembly continued to inscribe a set of three honorific decrees at the end of the ephebes' year of service, as had been customary since the third century BC (see *IG* II^3 1, 917). In the first of these decrees, the Council receives a report from the *kosmetes* (superintendent) that he and the ephebes have carried out the final sacrifices of the ephebate successfully, and honours him and the ephebes. In the second decree, the Council receives a report from the ephebes of what the *kosmetes* had done and permits the ephebes to honour the *kosmetes* for his work. In the third decree, the Council,

[19] A. Frantz, *Hesperia* 48, 1979, 194-203 proposes that *IG* II^2 5205 (= *IG* II^2 5, 13292), a *propylon* erected in 396-402 AD and found just to the south of the Little Metropolis church (about 250 m north-east-east of the Tower of the Winds), belonged to a renovation of the Diogeneion, and that both the *gymnasion* and the ephebate still remained active at this time. Cf. Remijsen 2015, 62-63; Di Cesare 2018, 225. This rests on a daring restoration, not accepted by Sironen in *IG* II^2 5. Even if the Diogeneion was still a *gymnasion* at this time, it does not follow that the ephebate remained active.

usually with the Assembly, honours the ephebes and, usually, their teaching staff for their achievements during the year. The honours consist of crowns that were publicly announced at festivals, the inscription of the decrees on a stele, and the erection of a statue or painted image of the *kosmetes*. A set of inscribed crowns and a catalogue of all the ephebes is appended. The decrees' descriptions of the activities of the *kosmetes* and the ephebes are very similar to the Hellenistic decrees, but less detailed. The catalogues are often fragmentary, but indicate that enrolment was quite high – around 100-130 ephebes per year, roughly comparable with the period before the Sullan Sack. The last of these decrees is *IG* II^2 1025+1040 (ca. 20 BC).[20]

The next ephebic inscription, *IG* II^2 1963 (13/2 BC), is simply a list of the ephebes' names with a short header announcing "those who served as ephebes" (οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες), the archon-date and the *kosmetes*' name. This is similar to the catalogue portion of the preceding ephebic decrees (cf. *IG* II^2 1006+1039, l. 70) and to Hellenistic dedications by groups of ephebes (cf. *IG* II^3 4, 357 and 365). There are no further dated ephebic inscriptions of any kind until a dedication to Hermes by "those who served as ephebes" in 36/7 AD (*AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 4). However, there are some fragmentary lists and undated ephebic dedications that could belong to the period between 13/2 BC and 36/7 AD.[21]

Éric Perrin-Saminadayar proposes that this decline in ephebic inscriptions resulted from the withdrawal of public funds for inscribing ephebic decrees. Before the Sullan Sack, the treasurer of the military funds "allocated funds" (*merisai*) to erect the ephebic decrees (e.g. *IG* II^2 1028, l. 57, 100/99 BC). The Post-Sullan decrees are less explicit about how they were funded. They instruct either the General and the Herald of the Areopagos or the Generals and the treasurer of the military funds "to take care of" (*epimelethenai*) actioning the decree (see table below). The only inscription in this period that is explicit about the source of the funds for inscribing the decrees is *IG* II^2 1043 (37/6 or 36/5 BC), where the cost of inscription was one of several expenses that had been covered by Sosis of Oe, one of the ephebes.[22] The decline in inscribed ephebic decrees is part of a general lull in epigraphic activity in the early Julio-Claudian period. Other epigraphic genres, like prytany lists and choregic dedications, also peter out by the end of Augustus' reign and then revive in new formats in the mid-first century AD.[23]

The decline in epigraphic output need not indicate a decline of the ephebate itself or a substantial shift in the way it operated. The fact that decrees were (apparently) not inscribed does not mean that they were not passed in the Council or announced orally at festivals, as before. In fact, *IG* II^2 1990 (61/2 AD), the first ephebic catalogue of the type discussed in section 1.3, seems to describe a similar process to that which we see in the Post-Sullan decrees: the *kosmetes* presents the ephebes to the Council (l. 9), the People honour the *kosmetes* for his personal virtue and for his oversight of the ephebes (ll. 7-8), and the General and Herald of the Areopagos are presumably named at the head of the inscription because they were responsible for enacting the People's decision (ll. 2-6). This seems to indicate that the process that the Post-Sullan decrees record had continued to take

[20] Cf. above, n. 5.
[21] List fragments: *IG* II^2 1962 and 1964. Dedications, see n. 25.
[22] Perrin-Saminadayar 2004a.
[23] Geagan 1967, 92-93, 101-2 and 137.

place even after they had stopped being inscribed, although it remains possible that it represents revival rather than continuity. There is also substantial continuity in the activities and personnel of the ephebate, both before and after the gap in inscriptions, as we will see in sections 2 and 3.

Table 1: Post-Sullan ephebic decrees

Inscription	Date	Responsible authority	Number of ephebes
IG II^2 1006 +1039	79/8 BC	General and Herald of Areopagos	109 citizens (+ 3 tribes lost), foreigners not preserved
IG II^2 1041	43/2-42/1 BC	Generals and Treasurer of the military funds	—
IG II^2 1042	40/39-39/38 BC	Generals and Treasurer of the military funds	—
IG II^2 1043	37/6-36/5 BC	General and Herald of Areopagos; Sosis of Oe	ca. 52 citizens, ca. 50 foreigners
IG II^2 1025 +1040	ca. 20 BC	Generals and Treasurer of the military funds	—
IG II^2 1963	13/2 BC	—	ca. 130 citizens, foreigners absent or not preserved

One epigraphic genre which appears to continue through the gap in the early first century AD are the **agonistic dedications**, set up by or in honour of gymnasiarchs, *agonothetai* (competition-directors), or victors in torch-races at the Theseia and Epitaphia. Most of these take the form of bases with holes on top for one or two torches. The genre has much earlier roots, e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 335 (333/2 BC) and the *lampadedromia* dedications from second-century BC Rhamnous.[24] Most of the undated inscriptions from the late first century BC and early first century AD, which might fill the gap in dated ephebic inscriptions, are agonistic dedications. They imply that even during this period of reduced documentation, there were enough ephebes each year to make torch-races and other contests viable. Agonistic dedications continue into the second century AD (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 423).[25]

One important change that did occur during the Post-Sullan period is the shift in where ephebic inscriptions were erected. In the Hellenistic period, ephebic decrees were set up in the Agora (the earliest preserved example is *IG* II^3 1, 917, l. 33 of 266/5 BC and the latest is *IG* II^2 1029, l. 37 of 97/6 BC). Immediately after the Sullan Sack (86 BC), ephebic decrees may have continued to be erected in the Agora, but this is not certain (see *IG* II^2 1039 with n. 3). At some point in the Post-Sullan period they began to be erected in the

[24] See *IG* II^3 4, 357, with notes and discussion in *AIUK* 4.5 (BM).
[25] *IG* II^3 4, 395-397 (late i BC); *IG* II^3 4, 405 (mid-late i AD); *IG* II^3 4, 411-413 (late i AD); *IG* II^3 4, 418, 420-421 (mid-ii AD). Pélékidis 1962, 225-39; Wilson 1992, 15-51; Newby 2005, 174-75.

Diogeneion instead (see sect. 0.1). The earliest decree found in the excavations of the Post-Herulian Wall is *IG* II^2 1041 (43/2 or 42/1 BC), while the earliest ephebic dedications in the wall are *IG* II^3 4, 391 (35/4 BC) and *IG* II^3 4, 395 (17/6 BC). Ephebic dedications of the same type and date are also found in the Agora, e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 394 (ca. 50 BC) and *IG* II^3 4, 387 (38/7 or 37/6 BC). The shift in location thus seems to have been a process that occurred over the course of the late first century BC. This shift in epigraphic practice seems to accompany a shift in where the ephebes spent their time. As discussed in sect. 0.1, the ephebes used a number of other gymnasia in addition to the Diogeneion in the first century BC, but after the resumption of ephebic inscriptions in the mid-first century AD they are attested solely at the Diogeneion.

There have been differing views on the significance of these shifts in location. Hans-Ulrich Wiemer sees the end of inscriptions in the Agora as a sign that the ephebate was separating itself off from civic oversight and control. Riccardo Di Cesare takes the opposite position, emphasising that the decision to base the ephebate at the Diogeneion, in the centre of the city of Athens, rather than in the suburban gymnasia and countryside fortifications where the ephebes spent their time in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, emphasises the centrality of the ephebate in Athenian civic life.[26] This seems more plausible, since we have substantial evidence for civic oversight and control of the ephebate in this period; in our one literary reference to the Diogeneion, set in the mid-first century AD, the Hoplite General, one of the main magistrates of Roman-period Athens, visits the Diogeneion to review the ephebes' progress (Plut. *Table Talk* 9.1 = *Mor.* 736d). As discussed above, it also appears that the ephebes continued to be presented to the Council for review at the end of their training, and we shall see in the next section that, when we again have records, the ephebate seems to have enjoyed a high level of participation.

1.2. *Philoi* lists (mid-i AD – early ii AD)

In the mid-first century AD, the production of inscriptions associated with the ephebate increases, with the development of the ***philoi* list**. At least forty-two examples of this genre survive. In this type of inscription, an individual ephebe inscribes a list of his friends or a group of friends inscribe a list of their own names. Sometimes these *philoi* lists honour victors (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, see fig. 1) in which case there is overlap with the ephebic victory dedications mentioned above; sometimes they seem to have no other purpose than to commemorate the ephebes' friendship (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 9). Most are plaques, but some are herms (e.g. *IG* II^2 2030) and one is a column (*IG* II^2 1985). The earliest firmly dated example is *IG* II^2 1975 (41/2 AD), but *IG* II^2 1989 = *SEG* 34.155 probably belongs to the reign of Caligula (37-41 AD).[27] The majority fall around the reign of Claudius (41-54 AD, e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5), the Flavians (69-96 AD, e.g. *IG* II^2 1998) and Trajan (98-117 AD, e.g. *IG* II^2 2030 and 2024).

In the earlier examples, the friends usually describe themselves as *philoi gorgoi kai synepheboi* "fierce friends and fellow ephebes." *Gorgoi*, which means both "ferocious" and "closely-bonded," suggests a martial self-perception, but also has a learned flavour, looking

[26] Wiemer 2011, 501; Di Cesare 2018, 224-25.
[27] Dates: Schmalz 2008, 49-50. Wilson 1992, 202-3 places *IG* II^2 1989 under Nero.

back to Homeric poetry and Classical tragedy.[28] After the term *philoi gorgoi* dies out in the late first century AD, *synepheboi* is often used alone. Sometimes other terms occur, such as *syntriklinoi, syntrophoi, systatai* (fellow diners, fellow wards, partners). All of these terms make the sense of camaraderie of the ephebic cohort palpable, but the very fact that not all ephebes were included in these monuments underlines their potential to be exclusive. The format of the list often creates hierarchies of inclusion. These dynamics of friendship, inclusivity, and exclusivity are discussed in the commentary to *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5.

The circles of friends in these lists can be large (e.g. *IG* II^2 1969 and 1970 have 51 and 70+ individuals), but most are around twenty (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5 and *IG* II^2 1984 list 24+ and 19 ephebes). Even the larger groups are unlikely to represent the whole cohort. *IG* II^2 1969-1971 derive from the same year (45/6 AD) and list a total of 106 ephebes. This is comparable to the numbers seen in ephebic cohorts in the Hellenistic Age and Post-Sullan period.[29] Nearly three quarters of these ephebes (78+) appear in only one list. Only two ephebes appear in all three. Thus, *philoi* lists are not reliable guides to the annual number of ephebes in this period; they can only be used to determine the lower bound of the cohort.

Table 2: *Philoi* lists of 45/6 AD

	IG II^2 1969	*IG* II^2 1970	*IG* II^2 1971
Total ephebes in list	51	70+	18
Present only in this list	25	40+	13

1.3. Ephebic catalogues (late i AD – 260s AD)

The key new genre in the third and final period of the Roman ephebate is the annual **ephebic catalogue** (of which *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5 and *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 are particularly fine examples). The earliest examples of the genre belong to the late first century AD (*IG* II^2 1990 of 61/2 AD, *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 2 of ca. 80 AD, and *IG* II^2 1996 of 87/8 AD?). They become more frequent and more sumptuous in the early second century AD, probably as a result of successive *kosmetai* striving to out-do their predecessors, and continue to be produced until 267 AD. Unlike *philoi* lists, these catalogues are comprehensive, listing all the year's officials and ephebes. Catalogues of all the ephebes had previously been appended to the honorific ephebic decrees set up annually in the Hellenistic and Post-Sullan periods. As discussed in sect. 1.1, the first of these new-style catalogues, *IG* II^2 1990, seems to indicate that it followed a similar process to that attested in the Hellenistic and Post-Sullan ephebic decrees, with the *kosmetes* presenting the ephebes to the Council and the People honouring the *kosmetes*. However, the catalogues of the Roman period differ from these Hellenistic and Post-Sullan inscriptions, since they have their own standardised format, do not include the text of any decrees, and they were erected

[28] See *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, with notes.
[29] See n. 254.

by the year's *kosmetes* (or occasionally by prominent ephebes), not the Council and People.[30]

The standardised format which most, but not all, ephebic catalogues follow was firmly established by the middle of the second century AD. They open with the invocation "With Good Fortune" (*Agathe Tyche*) and/or the name of the emperor (e.g. *IG* II^2 2017), and the archon-date. The *kosmetes* appears in the nominative, with his deputy, as the one who "listed his fellow magistrates and those who went through the ephebate under him" (ἀνέγραψεν τούς τε συνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἐφηβεύσαντας, *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, l. 3-4, *vel sim.*). This first portion is usually inscribed in larger letters, spanning the full width of the stele. The rest of the inscription usually consists of a number of columns listing the other members of the *kosmetes*' staff (with some minor variations in inclusion and order), then the ephebes who had performed the gymnasiarchy for each month and funded the various ephebic festivals – all in the nominative. Sometimes the cohort magistrates are given as well (for these positions, see section 2, below). The remaining citizen ephebes are then listed, by tribe with patronymics and abbreviated demotics. No particular order within tribes is discernible, except that relatives tend to be placed next to each other. Finally, the *epengraphoi* ("additional enrollees") are listed, with patronymics (the nature of these individuals is discussed in sect. 4.1). In the 180s and 190s AD, several lists finish by listing victors in the year's competitions.[31]

The lists are sumptuous monuments, usually taking the form of a large rectangular plaque with or without a pediment (see fig. 2). However, variants occur, notably plaques shaped like shields (e.g. *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5). They are often decorated with reliefs in the pediment, and at the top and bottom of the inscribed area. The most common scene shows the *kosmetes* being crowned by two or more ephebes, usually naked except for the ephebic cloak and holding palms of victory (e.g. *IG* II^2 2017, 2208, and perhaps *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 2, see fig. 3). They are interpretable both as the *kosmetes*' sons and as representatives of the ephebic cohort as a whole.[32] This crowning scene can appear at the top or in the centre. The way that the ephebes are depicted honouring the *kosmetes* recalls the second of the three decrees in the Hellenistic and Post-Sullan ephebic decrees, in which the Council granted permission to the ephebes to honour their *kosmetes* (see sect. 1.1). There is often a second relief at the bottom of the plaque, showing figures in a boat, either rowing or standing with their oars raised above their heads (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, *NM* 1468, *IG* II^2 2087, see fig. 2 and 5). These are depictions of the *naumachia* competition (see sect. 3.5.i). Other reliefs show ephebes engaged in wrestling and running contests and include motifs like shields with winged Victories (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10),

[30] e.g. *IG* II^2 2044 (139/40 AD), 2085 (161/2 AD), 2245 (254/5 AD).

[31] See n. 206.

[32] In *IG* II^2 2017, l. 19 (109/10 AD), the earliest certain example of this motif, the crowning ephebes are specifically named as the *kosmetes'* sons. This is a plausible interpretation in *IG* II^2 2044 (139/40 AD) and 2208 (215/6 AD), where the *kosmetes*' sons are prominent ephebes. In *IG* II^2 2050 (143/4 AD) the motif is used although the *kosmetes* had no children in the cohort, see n. 55. Graindor 1915, 251-64; Lattanzi 1968; Krumeich 2008, 135-38.

palms of victory, amphorae of oil (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 406),[33] and busts of Athena (*IG* II^2 2247). These reliefs are valuable evidence for the ideology of the ephebate.[34]

Table 3: Size of ephebic cohorts in the Roman Period

Inscription	Date	Ephebic liturgists	Citizen ephebes	Non-citizen ephebes	Total
IG II^2 1969-1971	45/6 AD				106+ [a]
IG II^2 1996	87/8 AD?	10	80[b]	ca. 180	ca. 270
IG II^2 2017	109/10 AD	6	69	11+	86+
IG II^2 2044	139/40 AD	11	53	47	121
IG II^2 2048	140/1 AD				"202" [c]
IG II^2 2051	144/5 AD?		84[d]		84
IG II^2 2052	145/6 AD	16+	85		101+
IG II^2 2065	150/1 AD	9	62	4+	75+
IG II^2 2067	154/5 AD	12	131	– [e]	143 (+ ?)
IG II^2 2068	155/6 AD	23	87	106	216
IG II^2 2086	163/4 AD	10	85	41	136
IG II^2 2097	169/70 AD	16	80	153	249
IG II^2 2103	174/5 AD	14	106	110	230
IG II^2 2128	184/5 AD		94	104	198
AIUK 4.3B (BM) 5	194/5 AD		71	61	132
AIUK 11 (Ash.) 10	195/6 AD	10	74	39	123
IG II^2 2193	201/2 AD	14	60	27	101
IG II^2 2199	203/4-207/8	14	62	32	108
IG II^2 2208	215/6 AD	40	40	33+	123+
IG II^2 2237	230/1-236/7	20+	85+	5+	110+
IG II^2 2239	238/9-243/4	27	233[f]	0	250
SEG 33.157	240s AD	8	98+	2?	108+
IG II^2 2245	254/5 AD	21	300	52	373[g]

[a] A minimum figure derived from three *philoi* lists, see section 1.2.

[b] Eleven of these are probably ephebic magistrates, see n. 101.

[c] An honorific herm, which announces the total, presumably as unusually large.

[d] 37 ephebes listed by tribe but without demotics are probably *epengraphoi*.

[e] The part of the stone which would have named the *epengraphoi* seems to be lost.

[f] None of the ephebes have demotics; some are probably *epengraphoi*.

[g] The increased size of this cohort might be linked to pressing military threats (see n. 154) or connected with the expansion of the Council that occurred sometime before 270 AD (Dow 1958, 436).

[33] L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, 599-600.

[34] See Newby 2005, 174-75 and discussion in section 3 below.

Since the ephebic catalogues include all the ephebes for the year, it is possible to use the intact and nearly intact ones (along with some other inscriptions), to get an impression of how large ephebic cohorts were in the Roman period.[35] The above table lists all inscriptions that are complete or nearly complete with their date. For each, the total number of ephebes is provided, broken down into the three categories of ephebic liturgists, ephebes listed by tribe, and non-citizen ephebes (i.e. Milesians and *epengraphoi*, see section 4.1).

The numbers are remarkably consistent over time, ranging between 100 and 250 ephebes per year, with an average around 160 in total (about 105 if *epengraphoi* are excluded). There is a slight increase between ca. 165 AD and 185 AD, which is particularly pronounced for enrolments of *epengraphoi*. The crises of this period – the Antonine Plague (ca. 165-180 AD) and the Costoboci invasion of Attica (170/1 AD) – do not appear to have had a negative effect on enrolments. Ephebic enrolments do not tail off in the third century AD; there was a high level of participation in the ephebate right up to the Herulian Sack in 267 AD. The implications of these figures for the inclusivity or exclusivity of the ephebate are discussed in section 4.3.

1.4. Honorific herms (ca. 110-250 AD)

There are around sixty ephebic honorific monuments from the second and third centuries AD, mostly deriving from the excavations of the post-Herulian wall under St. Demetrios Katephores. Nearly all of these are herms, square columns with a human head on top and a phallus on their front surface (see fig. 4). Pausanias saw some herms that were "worth seeing" in the Ptolemaion gymnasium (Paus. 1.17.2); it is possible that these are identical with the herms recovered from the post-Herulian wall (see sect. 0.1). Herms were widespread as honorific monuments in the Roman period, but were considered to have originated in Athens. They were particularly closely associated with ephebes and gymnasia, because Hermes was one of the patron gods of the gymnasium (along with Herakles).[36] The genre may have developed out of herms bearing *philoi* lists, like *IG* II^2 1983 and 2030 (respectively mid-i AD and 100/1 AD). The heads of these herms were individualised portraits of the honorands. Both the heads and shafts of the herms were incorporated into the Post-Herulian wall, but most were separated beforehand and it has only been possible to reunite them in a few cases.[37] The herms are usually inscribed on the front and occasionally on the sides, giving the name of the honorand, stressing his virtues, other magistracies and priesthoods he held, and his glorious ancestry, often in verse. They often also include lists of notable officeholders and ephebes of the year. From the end of the second century, as they included more and more individuals, the honorific herms become more and more like the ephebic catalogues. For several inscriptions from this period that have lost their prescripts, it is not possible to assign them to one or the other category. The earliest firmly dated honorific herms are *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 6 (108/9 AD) and *IG*

[35] For the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Friend 2019 and Pélékidis 1962 calculate the number of ephebes in a year from fragmentary lists by multiplying individual tribal cohorts by twelve/thirteen. In the Roman period, the size of the tribal cohorts varies too much to make this a reliable technique.
[36] Krumeich 2008, 138-39; Fejfer 2008, 228-33 See also *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), sect. 5.
[37] Key studies: Graindor 1915; Lattanzi 1968; R. R. R. Smith, *JRS* 88 (1998) 56-93, esp. 79-81; Newby 2005, 174; Krumeich 2008. Intact or reunited herms: *IG* II^2 2021, 3739, 3744.

II^2 2023 (112-114 AD); the last are *IG* II^2 3768 and 3769 (240s AD). Stylistic dating of the portrait sculpture yields a similar date range (110s-260s AD).[38]

The majority of these herms were erected in honour of the *kosmetai*, usually by their sons who were serving as ephebes (e.g. *IG* II^2 2048, 2193, 3769), sometimes by the ephebes as a collective (e.g. *IG* II^2 3739). Thus, both the portrait sculpture and the inscriptions are key evidence for understanding how the office of *kosmetes* was conceived (see section 2.1, below). They may have been a replacement for the Hellenistic and Post-Sullan practice of honouring the *kosmetes* with a bronze statue in armour (e.g. *IG* II^2 1006, ll. 86-88, 95-96) or a painted plaque (e.g. *IG* II^2 1042, ll. 61-62), which ceased at the end of the first century BC (see sect. 1.1).[39] In addition to the herms, the *kosmetes* was also frequently honoured with crowns and, as mentioned in the previous section, scenes of the ephebes crowning the *kosmetes* are frequently depicted in the reliefs on the ephebic catalogues. Honorific herms were not restricted to the *kosmetai* however. Some were for other ephebic officials like the *antikosmetes* (e.g. *SEG* 26.172) or the *paidotribes* (e.g. *IG* II^2 3737, 156/7 AD) and a few were produced for prematurely deceased ephebes (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 16). Most were dedicated in the name of the ephebic cohort, usually in conjunction with the Council of the Areopagos and occasionally with the Council and People as well.[40] They are thus part of the broader genre of public dedications of herms and statue bases. Many of them mention the decrees that authorised their erection, but, in accordance with usual practice in Roman Athens, none provide the full text of these decrees.[41]

1.5. *Systremma* catalogues (145-199 AD)

This final genre of ephebic inscription listed the members of a *systremma* (team) of ephebes, along with the ephebe that had led them, the systremmatarch (team leader), who was probably responsible for the inscription. The nature of these groups is discussed in section 2.3, below. In one case, two *systremmata* share a single inscription (*IG* II^2 2087, see fig. 5). The earliest example of this genre is *IG* II^3 4, 419 (145/6 AD). The latest is *IG* II^2 2124 (199/200 AD), but the institution is attested appears to have continued until the end of the ephebate, since the systremmatarchs are mentioned in *IG* II^2 2245, the ephebic catalogue of 254/5 AD. There are no examples of this genre in the Ashmolean or British Museum collections.[42]

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[38] Krumeich 2008, 135.

[39] Pélékidis 1962, 207-8.

[40] The phrasing of *IG* II^2 3733 and 3737 (οἱ … ἔφηβοι, αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, "the ephebes, having requested it from the Areopagos Council") indicates where the initiative for these monuments came from. Permission from at least one of the councils – usually the Areopagos – was necessary to set up a dedication in a public space in the Roman period; see Geagan 1967, 35-36, 41-42, 77 and 147.

[41] Geagan 1967, 32-33, 43, 140-59.

[42] Oliver 1971, 66-74. *IG* II^3 4, 419 (145/6 AD), with notes.
IG II^2 2087 (163/4 AD), *SEG* 24.97 (179/80 AD), *IG* II^2 2129 (184/5 AD), 2127 (196-200 AD), 2124 (199/200 AD). Cf. *IG* II^2 3768 (after 243 AD).

1.6. Hadrian's constitutional reforms and the ephebate

The start of the third period of the ephebate in Roman Athens roughly coincides with the reign of Hadrian. Éric Perrin-Saminadayar has posited that Hadrian's reforms to the Athenian constitution included an overhaul of the ephebate, which revitalised it and transformed it from an exiguous association, with minimal participation, and limited links to the wider civic body.[43] The idea that the ephebate was in decline before the reign of Hadrian has been questioned in sect. 1.1 and 1.2., where we have seen that there is evidence for civic oversight of the ephebate and for relatively high rates of participation in it during the Julio-Claudian period. Nevertheless, there are some important changes to the ephebate that could be associated with Hadrian's reforms, such as the re-introduction of the board of *sophronistai* (controllers), which took place before 139/40 AD (see sect. 2.1), and perhaps the abolition of the *paideutai* (teachers), who are last attested ca. 120 AD (see sect. 2.2).[44] The first of these changes reflects an emphasis on archaism, which is characteristic of Hadrian's reforms. The latter might mark an increased focus on athletic activities in the ephebate, at the expense of intellectual training (see sect. 3.2-3.4). The introduction of an ephebic festival for Hadrian, two ephebic festivals in honour of Antinoos, and an ephebic priest of Antinoos was probably connected with Hadrian's reforms to the Athenian festival-cycle and the establishment of the Hadrianeia as one of Athens' four Panhellenic festivals in 131 AD, although the initiative probably came from Athens rather than Hadrian. It was a turning point in the ephebate's engagement with the Imperial cult (see sect. 3.1 and 3.5.iii).[45]

However, archaism, the emphasis on athletics, and the connection with the Imperial cult were all features of the ephebate before the reign of Hadrian. Moreover, many of the institutions that characterise the ephebate after Hadrian are attested already in the late first century AD.[46] We have seen in sect. 1.3 and 1.4 that the main two types of ephebic inscription that characterise the third period – ephebic catalogues and honorific herms – had their roots in the period before the reign of Hadrian. Changes to the ephebate also occurred over the century following Hadrian, such as the introduction of the *antikosmetes* (see sect. 2.1) and the *sebastophoroi* (see sect. 3.1). Rather than being a transformative moment in the way the ephebate functioned, the changes in the reign of Hadrian reinforced existing trends.

Changes that Hadrian made to other parts of the Athenian constitution likely had an impact on the ephebate. For example, the ephebic year of service started in the month of Boedromion and ended in Metageitnion. Before Hadrian reformed the Athenian calendar in 124/5 AD, Boedromion was the third month of the civic year, so ephebes actually completed their service in the archon-year following the one in which they enrolled. After the calendar reform, the civic year also began in Boedromion. This calendar reform was motivated by other concerns, but the result was that the ephebate was more closely integrated into Athens'

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[43] Perrin-Saminadayar 2004a, 100-3. On Hadrian and Athens, see: Boatwright 2000, 144-57; Spawforth 2012, 233-70; Shear 2012.

[44] For the introduction of the *sophronistai*, see sect. 2.1 and n. 66. For the abolition of the *paideutai*, see sect. 2.2 and n. 87.

[45] For the date, see n. 197-198.

[46] Examples discussed below include: the gymnasiarchs, *agonothetai*, and cohort magistrates (sect. 2.3), training in the *kestros* (sect. 3.3), the *naumachia* (sect. 3.5.i), festivals in honour of imperial family members (sect. 3.5.iii), and the participation of Milesians/*epengraphoi* (sect. 4.2).

annual political cycle.[47] Even more important may have been Hadrian's oil law (*IG* II^2 1100), which seems to have guaranteed Athens' gymnasia the olive oil that they required at a minimal cost. The ephebes who supplied the oil for the ephebate would thus have enjoyed a substantial cost saving.[48] The same group of ephebes were responsible for funding ephebic festivals and thus the savings resulting from the oil law may have enabled the proliferation of ephebic festivals that took place in the second century AD (see sect. 3.5.iii). Rather than reflecting specific changes to the ephebate, the increased epigraphic output of the ephebate after Hadrian's reign probably resulted from the general increase in Athenian prosperity in this period, as a result of Hadrian's reforms and benefactions, as well as the increased attention given to Athens by Hadrian's successors as part of their imitation of him.

1.7. Unique Texts and the limits of the epigraphic evidence

There are two unique ephebic inscriptions: *SEG* 50.155 (184/5 AD), which transcribes a speech on Theseus delivered by an ephebe at one of the ephebic festivals,[49] and *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17 (ca. 220 AD), which is a decree of the Athenian People regulating an aspect of the ephebate. Both of these represent types of text (speeches by the ephebes and decrees about them), which may have been produced on a regular basis, but were not usually inscribed. This is a reminder that the Imperial ephebate's particular epigraphic habit does not provide a full view of the institution's activities or concerns. Although there are many inscriptions and they provide very full prosopographic evidence, they are essentially lists. They provide far less of an account of activities or cardinal virtues of the ephebate than the Classical and Hellenistic evidence. To get a sense of contemporary ideas about the institution, the texts need to be supplemented by the imagery of their relief sculpture and the occasional references to the ephebate in literary sources.

The changing nature of the epigraphic habit over time imposes other limitations. Offices and festivals can disappear from view for long periods of time and it is unclear whether that means that they lapsed or simply that a choice was made not to inscribe them. For example, ephebic participation in the Theseia is mentioned in the late first century BC (*IG* II^3 4, 377, 396-397), in the years around 100 AD (*IG* II^2 1996, 2038), in 160 AD (*IG* II^2 2082), and then frequently from the 190s AD onwards (e.g. *IG* II^2 2119).[50] This might indicate that the festival was continually celebrated by the ephebes, or that it lapsed and was revived several times. In general, a pattern of lapse and revival is a possibility, since conscious efforts were made to revive earlier practices. *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17 (ca. 220 AD), which revises or revives the ephebes' role in the Eleusinian festival, is one example of such efforts and is particularly revealing because it seems to show the use of earlier epigraphic material as a source by revivalists.[51]

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[47] Pélékidis 1962, 174-75, 217-19; Shear 2012.

[48] See sect. 2.1, with n. 74-75.

[49] *IG* II^2 2291b, 2291c, *SEG* 18.59 have also been identified as ephebic speeches, but are not ephebic: Wilson 1992, 2. On this speech, see Chaniotis 1988, T 17; Follet and Peppas-Delmouzou 2000.

[50] On the Theseia: Pélékidis, 1962, 225-36; Follet 1976, 318-19; Pritchett 1998, 36-37. Cf. Mikalson 1998, 249-53.

[51] See *AIUK* 4.2 (BM) with notes, and Lambert (forthcoming).

2. PERSONNEL

2.1. Annual magistrates

The ephebate was managed by a set of civic magistracies, held by eminent citizens, who oversaw a single ephebic cohort, during their year as ephebes, from Boedromion to Metageitnion. These magistrates were the *kosmetes*, his deputies, the *sophronistai*, and the *hyposophronistai*. The role of gymnasiarch also had an ephebic element.

The *kosmetes* (superintendent) oversaw the ephebate as a whole. The position already existed in the fourth century BC, when it was an annual, elected office, responsible for ensuring that the ephebes developed *eukosmia*/*kosmiotes* (decorum), *eutaxia* (good order), *peitharchia* (obedience), and *sophrosyne* (self-control) – terms that emphasised orderly conduct in military and civic contexts.[52] This continued to be the case in the Imperial period, though there is no positive evidence for how *kosmetai* were selected at this time. Holders of the office were drawn from the same class as the chief civic magistrates and they are sometimes mentioned as holding important offices or priesthoods concurrently. This indicates the prestige of the position and perhaps also that it was not quite a full-time job.[53] At least in the late second century AD, there was a law which regulated the *kosmetes*' activities, since in *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5 (194/5 AD), the *kosmetes* refers defensively to a loophole "in the law" (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) to justify a break with normal practice.

In the Hellenistic period, the annual honorific decrees for the *kosmetai* lay out their duties formulaically but in great detail. In those decrees, the focus is on how the *kosmetes* guided the ephebes to good behaviour, oversaw their activities, and prevented them from experiencing financial hardship (e.g. *IG* II^2 1006+1039, ll. 15-35, 79/8 BC). The inscriptions of the Roman period are much more taciturn, but *IG* II^2 1990 (61/2 AD), notes that the *kosmetes* had "been honoured by the *demos* for both living his own life well and decorously and directing the ephebes' behaviour and decorousness" (ll. 7-8).[54] That is, much as in earlier times, the *kosmetes* had two tasks: acting as a role model for the ephebes and overseeing their activities.

The role of moral paragon is specifically emphasised in *SEG* 50.155 (184/5 AD), the only surviving ephebic oration, in which the speaker concludes that the best way to honour Theseus is to compete with one another and seek to imitate their *kosmetes* whose virtuous conduct had earned him his position. Some of the honorific herms erected for the *kosmetai* by the ephebes mention virtues that were apparently appropriate for a *kosmetes*, but they are all rather generic: *kleos*, *eunoia*, *kosmiotes*, *arete*, *chrestotes* (glory, kindness, decorum, excellence, usefulness), and distinguished ancestry. More helpful are the artistic depictions of the *kosmetai* on the ephebic catalogues and honorific herms (see fig. 3-4). The former

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[52] *Ath. Pol.* 42, Herod. *sv.* κοσμηταί. Friend 2019, 58-61 (Classical); Henderson 2020, 93-96 (Classical) and 208-11 (Hellenistic). On *kosmos*, *eukosmia*, and *eutaxia*, see *Kosmos* 1998; Roisman 2005, 192-99; Henderson 2020, 62-67.

[53] Concurrent positions: Secretary of the Synedrion: *IG* II^2 3744; Archon *Basileus*: *IG* II^2 3741; General: *IG* II^2 2109; Priests: *IG* II^2 3738, 2048, 3756, 2108; Hieronikes and xystarch of Bithynia: *IG* II^2 3741. Cf. F. Camia *ZPE* 188, 2011, 142.

[54] … τειμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς καὶ κοσμίως αὐτόν τε βιοῦν καὶ προεστάσθαι τῆς ἀναστροφῆς τῶν ἐφήβων <καὶ> κοσμιότητος… ll. 7-8. cf. *IG* II^2 3741 (145/6 AD), 3372 (ii/iii AD).

frequently depict the *kosmetes* being crowned by the ephebes (see sect. 1.3). In these depictions, the *kosmetes* is usually shown dressed in *chlamys* and chiton, as an ideal citizen-rhetor, but sometimes other dimensions are stressed. *IG* II^2 3741 and 2193 both emphasise the *kosmetes'* past athletic achievements. In *IG* II^2 2208 (215/6 AD), the *kosmetes* is depicted with a number of papyrus rolls at his feet, representing his intellectual talents or devotion to official work. In *IG* II^2 2050 (143/4 AD), uniquely, the figure being crowned is depicted in armour.[55] The portraits of the *kosmetai* on the herms are closely modelled on both classical portraits of rhetors and philosophers, and on contemporary Roman imperial portraiture, often simultaneously, thus associating the *kosmetes* with two sets of moral paragons, which were probably perceived as complementary rather than contrasting.[56] This moral dimension had been an important part of the ephebate from its establishment and remained a general trend in contemporary educational thought. The pseudo-Plutarchian essay, *On Educating Children* stresses that the role of education is to restrain the wild tendencies of youth – especially those on the cusp of manhood – and inculcate proper moral character. Philostratos similarly presents teachers of rhetoric as role models for all aspects of their students' lives in his *Lives of the Sophists*.[57] In the decree of the People, *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17 (ca. 220 AD), which regulated the conduct of the ephebes at the Eleusinian Mysteries, part of the justification was that "the ephebes in participating in the city's cultivation of the divine should also become more pious men," that is, the shaping of their moral character.

In his role as director, the *kosmetes* was in charge of the personnel and physical structure of the Diogeneion. In *IG* II^2 3741 (145/6 AD) the *kosmetes* is praised for "taking care of the Diogeneion" and *IG* II^3 4, 416 (ca. 120 AD) records repair works undertaken by the *kosmetes* in office at that time. He also planned out the ephebes' year, as shown by *IG* II^2 2116 (188/9 AD?), in which the institution of a new ephebic festival is attributed to the *kosmetes*. The *kosmetes* played an active role in the ephebes' lives, leading them in religious processions and sacrifices (*AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17, ll. 10-12, 19-24). He also acted as the intermediary between the ephebes and the civic government. When the ephebes wished to honour their long-serving *paidotribes* in 156/7 AD, it was the *kosmetes* who submitted their request to the Areopagos Council (*IG* II^2 3737). Similarly, in 175/6 AD, he submitted the ephebes' proposal to honour Antoninus Pius to the Council of 500 (*SEG* 29.152b).[58] As discussed above, from the second century AD onwards, the *kosmetes* was the focus of the ephebate's epigraphic habit: as author of the ephebic catalogues and the main honorand of the ephebic herms. The close relationship between the ephebes and their *kosmetes* is epitomised by the reliefs depicting the ephebes crowning him. Especially notable is *IG* II^2

[55] Perhaps in this case the crowning motif is repurposed to depict the ephebes honouring the emperor. This is the only instance of the crowning motif in a year when the *kosmetes* had no sons going through the ephebate. Price 1984, 186 notes that it is rare for figures other than the emperor to be depicted in armour. The inscription commemorates the ephebes of 143/4 AD, the year following Antoninus Pius' second acclamation as Imperator: *CIL* X 515; *Hist. Aug., Ant. Pius* 5.4; *RIC* 745.
[56] See sect. 1.4, above, with n. 37 for references.
[57] [Plut.] *Mor.* 7c-8c, 10a-11a, and 12a-14b; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 523-4, 587, 617; Webb 2017, 149.
[58] Cf. *IG* II^2 2103, honouring the *kosmetes* for *philotimia* towards ephebes as well as Council and People.

2208 (215/6 AD), which features one crown in which the *kosmetes* honours the ephebes and one in which the ephebes honour the *kosmetes*.

The *kosmetes* had two deputies called *hypokosmetai* until the early 140s AD and a single deputy called an *antikosmetes* thereafter.[59] This change is probably not just a matter of nomenclature: *hypo-* indicates a subordinate, while *anti-* usually indicates someone empowered "to act in place of."[60] Whereas the *hypokosmetai* rarely appear in inscriptions, the *antikosmetes* was a regular part of the dating formula alongside the *kosmetes*. They might be honoured by the ephebes with a herm like a *kosmetes* or fill ephebic liturgies that had been left vacant.[61] The *antikosmetai* sometimes went on to serve as *kosmetes* themselves (e.g. Gaius Julius Casianus Apollonios in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 7 of 158/9 AD and *IG* II^2 2085 of 161/2 AD). There is one possible example of someone serving as *antikosmetes* in two separate years.[62] In *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5, the *kosmetes* of 194/5 AD declares that he decided not to appoint an *antikosmetes* and to instead give the duties to his son, stating defensively that this was permitted "in the law," as mentioned above. Probably he wanted his son to perform the role but could not actually appoint him for some reason. This was probably not because of a bar on appointing relatives, since there are several cases of sons and brothers serving as *antikosmetes*.[63] More likely it reflects a minimum age requirement. In the fourth century BC, there had been such an age limit for *sophronistai* and *kosmetes* (forty years of age); this would be our only attestation of it in the Imperial period.[64]

Subordinate to these magistrates were the *sophronistai* (controllers). In the classical period, there were ten *sophronistai*, one for each tribe, who were elected by the People from a slate nominated by the ephebes' fathers. As the title implies, at that time they were responsible for inculcating the ephebes with the virtue of *sophrosyne* (moderation, self-control).[65] The position was abolished around 300 BC, but was resuscitated over four hundred years later in the reign of Hadrian, probably as a result of his constitutional reforms and an example of those reforms' archaising character (see sect. 1.6).[66] From this point on, there were usually six *sophronistai* and six *hyposophronistai*. The former are invariably the fathers of one or more of the year's ephebes, while the latter tend to be younger men. The sons of the *sophronistai* appear to have had a certain prestige; they tend to be listed in a

[59] The last attestation of *hypokosmetai* is *IG* II^2 2047 (140/1 AD); the first of the *antikosmetes* is *IG* II^2 2054 (145/6 AD).

[60] Cf. the use of *anti-* in translations of Roman magistracies, e.g. *anthypatos* (proconsul), *antistrategos* (propraetor), *antibasileus* (interrex).

[61] Herm: *SEG* 26.244 (160/1 AD). Liturgies: *IG* II^2 2067 (154/5 AD), 2097 (169/70 AD).

[62] Alexandros of Marathon in *IG* II^2 2201 (210/1 AD) and 2208 (215/6 AD), but it is a common name.

[63] Son: *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 6 (108/9 AD); *IG* II^2 2067 (154/5 AD), perhaps *IG* II^2 2239 (238/9-243/4 AD). Brother: *IG* II^2 2224 (218/9 AD).

[64] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2. The son in *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5 (194/5 AD) was an ephebe himself in *IG* II^2 2119 (191/2 AD), so would still have been in his early twenties.

[65] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2-3; [Plat.] *Axiochos* 366d-367a; *IG* II^2 1156 (334/3 BC). Friend, 2019, 61-74, 141-47; Henderson 2020, 81-93.

[66] Last attestation: *IG* II^2 1159 (303/2 BC); Pélékidis 1962, 169; Burckhardt 2004, 193. The date is discussed by Habicht 1992; Henderson 2020, 192, 208. The first (re-)attestation is *IG* II^2 2044 (139/40 AD). Follet 1976, 118.

prominent position within the main catalogue of ephebes.[67] It is normal for some members of a year's college of *(hypo)sophronistai* to be related to one another.[68] Many *sophronistai* are attested elsewhere as ephebes themselves or as members of the Council of 500, but not in higher positions (unlike the *kosmetai*).[69] Service was usually annual; there are a few examples of repeat tenure.[70] The revived *(hypo)sophronistai* probably did not serve as tribal commanders like their Classical predecessors,[71] since there were thirteen tribes and only twelve *(hypo)sophronistai*, the number of ephebes from each tribe varied significantly year to year, and there were often multiple *sophronistai* from the same tribe.[72] Individual *sophronistai* may have had oversight over individual *systremmata* (teams) of ephebes, as shown by their presence in *systremma* lists (e.g. *IG* II^2 2087, 163/4 AD, see sect. 1.5). Three *sophronistai* appear to be depicted in the relief decoration on *IG* II^2 2122 (179/80 AD), perhaps flanking a now-lost scene of ephebes crowning the *kosmetes*. They are bearded, fully dressed in chitons, and each holds a long rod.

In Hellenistic and Roman cities, the work of overseeing the gymnasium was generally undertaken by a gymnasiarch. This post was usually an annual one and primarily responsible for meeting the costs of olive oil and building repairs. It could be performed by individuals who would not be physically present in the gymnasium, like women, emperors, and gods.[73] This position also existed at Athens from the fourth century BC onwards. In the first century AD, it was a very prestigious post, regularly held by the highest political elite, often concurrently with the position of Hoplite General.[74] The only evidence for these gymnasiarchs interacting with the ephebate is a set of late first-century BC dedications at the Lykeion gymnasium by ephebic torch-race victors (*IG* II^3 4, 396-399), where the adult gymnasiarch appears in the dating formula. In the 120s AD, Hadrian established an endowment, "the gymnasiarchy of the God Hadrian," overseen by an annual *epimeletes* (manager), to discharge the financial duties of the gymnasiarch in perpetuity, and significantly reduced the costs involved through his oil law, which ensured a cheap supply of olive oil to Athens' gymnasia (*IG* II^2 1100). Thereafter, the gymnasiarch is rarely attested at Athens.[75]

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[67] At the start of the whole list (e.g. *IG* II^2 2044, 139/40 AD) or at the start of each tribal contingent (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, 195/6 AD). In *IG* II^2 2050, l. 45 (143/4 AD) the "sons of the *sophronistai*" are referred to as a special group.

[68] e.g. in *IG* II^2 2086 (163/4 AD), Publius of Daidalidai and his son Epaphrion served as *sophronistes* and *hyposophronistes* respectively.

[69] See *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 with notes.

[70] e.g. Euelpistos of Euonymon, *hyposophronistes* in *IG* II^2 2085 (161/2 AD) and 2086 (163/4 AD); Eutychides of Melite, *sophronistes* in *IG* II^2 2125 (193/4 AD) and 2203 (197-210 AD).

[71] Follet 1976, 118 and 246.

[72] e.g. *IG* II^2 2097, ll. 176-88 (169/70 AD); *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, ll. 9-22 (195/6 AD).

[73] Van Nijf 2008, 208-9; Kennell 2009, 328-29.

[74] Classical and Hellenistic institution: e.g. *IG* II^3 4 356 (iii BC), 369 (late ii BC); Culasso Gastaldi 2009, 115-42. Imperial institution: e.g. *I Eleusis* 358, *IG* II^3 4, 408 (i AD), *Agora* XV 322, *IG* II^2 1072, 3580, 3546, 4071, 3592, 3687 (ii AD). Most of these are honorific inscriptions which include the title as part of the honorand's *cursus honorum*. Camia 2014, 142 finds thirteen holders among the uppermost Athenian elite.

[75] On the oil law, see Oliver 1989, no. 92. People still occasionally held the gymnasiarchy, perhaps to allow the funds of the endowment to recover: Geagan 1967, 128-32.

2.2. Ephebic staff

It was the staff who actually instructed the ephebes and managed the ephebate on a day-to-day basis. In the late first and early second century AD, they are apparently referred to as *paideutai* ("teachers," e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 6, 108/9 AD). From the mid-second century AD they are referred to collectively as *hoi peri to Diogeneion* ("the men associated with the Diogeneion", e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, ll. 61-63, 195/6 AD)[76] and in the third century AD as *hoi dia biou* ("the men in office for life," e.g. *IG* II^2 2245, 254/5 AD).[77] In the Classical period, the staff were elected annually by the ephebes' fathers (*Ath. Pol.* 42.3), while in the Hellenistic Age, they seem to have been appointed by the *kosmetes* (e.g. *IG* II^2 1011, l. 21). The change in appointment coincided with a professionalisation of the ephebic staff, with many individuals serving for several years and making efforts to pass positions to relatives.[78] This is still the case when ephebic inscriptions resume in the mid-first century AD.[79] At the end of the first century AD, the post of *paidotribes* (trainer) began to be granted *dia biou* ("for life"). The first example is *IG* II^2 2000 (reign of Domitian). The status of *dia biou* began to be granted to other ephebic staff in the 180s and 190s AD. There is no evidence for who was responsible for granting positions on the staff or *dia biou* status in the Roman period.

The most important of this class of officials was the aforementioned *paidotribes* (trainer), one of the original officials of the fourth-century BC ephebate (*Ath. Pol.* 42.3). The *paidotribes* was responsible, along with the *hypopaidotribes* (deputy trainer), for organising the physical training of the ephebes on a day-to-day basis.[80] These athletic activities were a central focus of the ephebate (see section 3.2). A sign of his prominence – and perhaps of the affinity that developed between him and the ephebes – is that he often appears along with the *kosmetes* in the dating formula of dedications. The *paidotribes* is the only member of the ephebic staff to receive an honorific herm from the ephebes (*IG* II^2 3737, 156/7 AD) and the only one to appear in relief decoration (Louvre MA 833, depicted naked holding a staff).[81] The *grammateus* (secretary) and *hypogrammateus* (deputy secretary)[82] were presumably responsible for compiling the lists of ephebes in the ephebic catalogues. The *hoplomachos* (weapons trainer), who trained the ephebes in infantry combat also went back to the fourth-century BC ephebate; Plato and Xenophon present itinerant *hoplomachoi* as part of Athenian youths' military education already in the late fifth century

[76] Dow 1958, 423-26. An alternative term in *IG* II^2 2086 and *SEG* 12.115 is *hoi peri ten epimeleian auton tetagmenoi* ("the men assigned to the ephebes' care").
[77] Follet 1976, 144-45.
[78] e.g. in *IG* II^2 2996 of 25-18 BC, Philios son of Philios of Phrearrhioi appears as *paidotribes*, with a demesman Apollonides Noumeniou of Phrearrhioi as his deputy. In *IG* II^2 2997 (8/7 BC), the two appear as co-*paidotribai*. In *IG* II^2 1966, Apollonides is in the role alone. Henderson 2020, 219-20.
[79] cf. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, with notes.
[80] Graindor 1931, 94-96, Pélékidis 1962, 108-9; Follet 1976, 206-26. On the Classical and Hellenistic *paidotribai*, see Henderson 2020, 131-38, 219-20. For these trainers in Imperial Greek thought and practice beyond the ephebate, see König 2005, 305-15 and 2014, 335-47; Van Nijf 2008, 209-12. Two Roman-period handbooks for *paidotribai* survive: *P. Oxy* 3.466 and Philost. *Gymn*.
[81] T. F. Winters, *Hesperia* 61, 1992, 381-84. Cf. section 4.3.
[82] The title is instead *antigrammateus* in *IG* II^2 2067 (154/5 AD).

BC.[83] An assistant, *hypohoplomachos* is attested once.[84] These three officials (*paidotribes*, *grammateus*, and *hoplomachos*) seem to have been the main ephebic staff, as shown by the fact that they had assistants and by the tendency for them to appear first in the ephebic catalogues. They are sometimes joined at the head of lists of staff by the *hegemon* (discussed below).

The military instructors of the ephebes aside from the *hoplomachos* – the *akontistes*, the *toxotes*, and the *katapeltaphetes*, who had trained the ephebes in the javelin, the bow, and the catapult respectively in the Classical and Hellenistic periods – disappear in the first century BC.[85] In the Imperial period, the ephebes were instead trained in the use of the *kestros*, a 15 cm-long barbed missile fired with a sling. This weapon was invented in the second century BC,[86] but its first certain attestation as part of ephebic training comes in *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 2 (ca. 80 AD). A sign of the importance of this training to the ephebes is shown by *IG* II^2 2021, A. l. 7 (ca. 120 AD), in which the ephebes refer to themselves as *kestrophoroi* ("*kestros*-bearers"). The *kestrophylax* , who was in charge of the *kestroi* and, perhaps, trained the ephebes in their use, was a low-prestige position. He is consistently recorded last among the ephebic staff and was often a non-citizen.

The other staff are much more shadowy figures, whose exact roles can only be guessed at. In the first century AD, a group of four *paideutai* without any specific title appear several times (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 6, 108/9 AD). They might be the same as the tutors responsible for grammar, geometry, rhetoric, and music lessons mentioned in Plutarch, *Table Talk* 9.1. If so, they had a very low profile compared to their equivalents in other Greek cities of the same period, where the *grammatikos* (tutor of grammar) was usually on the same level as the *paidotribes*. They disappear around 120 AD.[87] The *didaskalos* (instructor) who appears a few decades after they disappear was probably not a replacement; the full version of his title appears in *IG* II^2 2086 (163/4 AD) as "instructor of the ephebes in the hymns of the God Hadrian," which suggests that he was responsible for organising ephebic choruses, not for general intellectual education.[88] The exact roles of the other members of the staff, like the *epimeletes* (manager), *prostates* (foreman), and *epi Diogeneiou* (manager of the Diogeneion), can only be guessed at. The position of *hegemon* (leader) is paralleled in Hellenistic Beroia, where the *hegemon* was responsible for keeping the ephebes in order and organising the gymnasium's schedule.[89] In the third century AD, these staff are joined by a doctor and a *hypozakoros* (ritual attendant).

[83] Plat. *Lach.* 179e-184c, Xen. *Mem.* 3.1; E. L. Wheeler, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 1-20.
[84] *SEG* 33.158 (263/4 or 267/8 AD).
[85] *IG* II^2 1043 with note on AIO; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 259-61; Wiemer 2011, 495-96; Henderson 2020, 127-31, 217-19, 285-86.
Philost. *Gymn.* 11 and 43; Burckhardt 2004, 196-99; Newby 2005, 160-70; Kennell 2009, 332-33.
[86] Polyb. 27.11 = Suid. *sv.* κέστρος; Walbank 1979, 308-10.
[87] Follet 1976, 246.
[88] διδάσκαλος ἐφήβων τῶν ᾀσμάτων θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ, l. 30. On the literary and epigraphic evidence for choruses in the Imperial period, see Bowie 2006.
[89] *I Beroia* 1, A ll. 11-16, B ll. 1-5, cf. Kennell 2012, 219.

At a lower level of prestige than all of these staff were the *thyroros* (doorman), the *lentiarios* ("cloakroom manager," identical with the *kapsarios*),[90] and the *pyriates* (boilerman). These personnel almost invariably appear last in lists of ephebic officers, if they are included at all. In *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD), for example, the *thyroros* and *lentiarios* appear right at the bottom of the list, separated from the other staff and below all the ephebes. Most of these individuals are mononymous, several are "Milesians" (see sect. 4.1), and only one of them is certainly a citizen. A note at the end of Mitsos 1971, no. 1 (216/7 AD) states that at their end-of-year banquet, "the ephebes did not make a payment to anyone except, out of necessity, to the *kapsarios*" (usually a disbursement was made to all staff and ephebes). This "necessity" might indicate that this *kapsarios* lived in greater poverty than other officers of the ephebate.

Table 4: Attestations of ephebic staff

Title	First attestation		Last attestation		Freq.
Epimeletes	*IG* II^2 1970	ca. 45 AD	—	—	1
Paideutai (4)	*IG* II^2 1970	ca. 45 AD	*IG* II^2 2021	ca. 120 AD	8
Thyroros	*IG* II^2 1970	ca. 45 AD	*IG* II^2 2238	238-255 AD	20
Hegemon	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 5	ca. 45 AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	52
Kestrophylax	*AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 2	ca. 80 AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	35
Epi Diogeneiou	*IG* II^2 2018	ca. 120 AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	16
Didaskalos	*SEG* 29.152(A)	ca. 140 AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	28
Lentiarios	*IG* II^2 2097	169 AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	10
Prostates	*SEG* 26.176	170s AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	13
Pyriates	*AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5	194 AD	—	—	1
Doctor	*IG* II^2 2234	225-236 AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	7
Hypozakoros	*IG* II^2 2237	230-236 AD	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	6
Zakoros	*SEG* 33.158	263 or 267 AD	—	—	1

2.3. Ephebic liturgists and cohort magistrates

A key feature of the ephebate was the leading role which (some of the) ephebes took in running the ephebate. All of the offices held by ephebes involved a substantial outlay of money by the ephebe's family, in exchange for honour and prestige. Usually around fifteen ephebes performed these roles each year, but the exact number varied because ephebes could and did hold more than one position. The roles fall into three categories: the monthly gymnasiarchs, the *agonothetai* (competition-directors), and the cohort magistrates.

[90] Baslez 1989, 28. There are two cases of the same individual attested with both titles in different catalogues: Melissos son of Diophantos in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD) and *IG* II^2 2193 (201/2 AD) and Zosimos in *IG* II^2 2245 (254/5 AD) and *SEG* 33.158 (263/4 AD or 267/8 AD).

The gymnasiarchs paid for the gymnasium's supply of oil. The position existed already in the late fourth-century BC ephebate, when there were two ephebic gymnasiarchs per tribe, who all seem to have served for the whole year.[91] In the Imperial system, by contrast, a single ephebic gymnasiarch was responsible for all expenses for a single month and there was no tribal dimension. The first explicit reference to the system is *IG* II^2 1043, l. 26 (37/6 or 36/5 BC), but it may have existed earlier.[92] Monthly gymnasiarchs are recorded in the Hellenistic ephebic law at Beroia (*I Beroia* 1) and they were common throughout the Roman empire, but the Athenian system was unusual in giving the role to ephebes rather than adults.[93] Sometimes multiple ephebes paid for a single month, like the pair of brothers in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 6 (108/9 AD). It was also common for one or two ephebes to pay for multiple months – even the whole year, as in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD).[94] Gymnasiarchs were not selected by any kind of lottery, as shown by *IG* II^2 1996 (87/8 AD?), in which an ephebe named Anthesterios was gymnasiarch for the month with which he shared his name – something unlikely to have occurred by chance. There may have been significant pressure to serve; Post-Sullan decrees refer to the *kosmetes* "impelling" (προτρεψάμενον) capable ephebes to undertake the role (*IG* II^2 1006+1039, l. 30; *IG* II^2 1043, l. 29). If no ephebe was available in a month, the role could be undertaken by all of the gymnasiarchs in common, by the *kosmetes* or *sophronistai*, or by the sebastophoric fund, but not by non-citizen ephebes.[95] The gymnasiarchies are listed in the order that they served, starting in Boedromion and ending in Metageitnion, showing that this continued to be the term of the ephebic year, as in Hellenistic times.[96] *IG* II^2 2026a and 2086, which break down some of the oil provisions by day rather than month, seem to indicate that the ephebes required oil for about twenty days in each month.[97] As mentioned previously, Hadrian's oil law (*IG* II^2 1100) will have reduced the cost of the ephebic gymnasiarchy in money and time. Under that law, a portion of all oil produced in Attica had to be sold to Athens, probably at an artificially low rate. Presumably, the ephebic gymnasiarchs simply made a payment to the state oil-buyers (*elaiones*).[98]

The *agonothetai* (competition-directors) organised and paid for individual festivals. Like the gymnasiarchy, the *agonothesia* had an adult parallel: a liturgy that paid for major Athenian festivals and had its roots in the late fourth century BC. Adult *agonothetai*

[91] *IG* II^3 4, 331 (334 BC, to appear in *AIUK* 4.3 (BM)) and 336 (333 BC). D. M. Lewis and O. Palagia, *ABSA* 84, 1989, 337-44; Henderson 2020, 97-104, 201-5.

[92] The multiple gymnasiarchs in *IG* II^2 1965+3730 and *SEG* 59.169 (both ca. 45-40 BC) seem not to belong to the tribal system: Daly 2009, 408-9. There are a couple of other first-century BC gymnasiarchs attested, but it is hard to tell whether they are ephebes or adults: *IG* II^3 4, 380 (55 BC), 385 (after 50 BC) 401, 402 (i BC).

[93] Kennell 2006, *sv*. gymnasiarch.

[94] Cf. *IG* II^2 2022, 2048, 2193, 2197.

[95] In common: *IG* II^2 2024 (111/2 AD) and 2044 (139/40 AD); adults: *IG* II^2 2004, *SEG* 33.157; fund: *IG* II^2 2208 (215/6 AD). On the sebastophoric fund, see sect. 3.1 and n. 125. Non-citizen ephebes, see sect. 4.1.

[96] See n. 47.

[97] *IG* II^2 2026a (115/6 or 116/7 AD) records 90 days of oil for the final five months of that year (i.e. 18 days per month, or four months of 20 and one month of ten); *IG* II^2 2086 (163/4 AD) splits the gymnasiarchy for the final month of the year into [10?] and 10 days.

[98] See n. 75.

invariably belonged to the wealthiest section of Athenian society. They were responsible for meeting the costs of a given festival, especially the cost of the prizes for victors, but also for organising the processions and sacrifices and for maintaining order on the day.[99] The responsibilities of the ephebic *agonothetai* seem to have been the same. For example, in *IG* II^3 4, 425 (ca. 210 AD) an ephebic *agonothetes* provides prizes for the ephebic Hadrianeia, just as an adult *agonothetes* would. It was fairly common for a single ephebe to undertake more than one *agonothesia* along with one or more gymnasiarchies (e.g. *IG* II^2 2067, 2086). Like the gymnasiarchs, the *agonothetai* are regularly listed in the ephebic catalogues, starting with *IG* II^2 1996 (84-92 AD), but the role seems to be attested already in *IG* II^3 4, 393 (26/5 BC?). Like the gymnasiarchies, an individual *agonothesia* could be shared by two or more ephebes, by the ephebes as a collective, by one of the adult magistrates, or by the sebastophoric fund, but not by a non-citizen ephebe.[100] Adult *agonothetai* had an assistant called an *eisagogeus* (usher). Two ephebic *eisagogeis* (apparently serving for the entire year) are attested in *IG* II^2 2005+2237 (231/2-236/7 AD).

The third category of ephebic positions were the cohort magistracies, which shared their names with the pre-eminent civic magistracies of Athens: the archon, general, herald, *basileus*, polemarch, and six *thesmothetai*, joined occasionally by two *agoranomoi* and *astynomoi*. In the second and third centuries AD there was also an ephebic priest of Antinoos – perhaps analogous to the civic priest of the Imperial cult. The first explicit attestation of these magistrates is *IG* II^2 2017 (109/10 AD), but they may appear already in first-century AD catalogues.[101] It is rare for ephebic catalogues to give a full list of them as *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD) does – usually only those who had also served as gymnasiarchs or *agonothetai* are mentioned (but this is frequently most of them). In the Imperial period, the adult archons' responsibilities were chiefly religious (organising sacrifices, processions, dedications, and repairs to shrines) and symbolic (they were "the leadership"), although the general and herald of the Areopagos had much wider competencies. Election to these archonships was a prestigious honour and holders were probably expected to donate money on achieving the office.[102] After their year of office, the adult archons were entitled to enter the Areopagos Council, the pre-eminent decision-making organ of Roman Athens, so the positions also established the holder as a member of the political elite for life (see sect. 4.1). The ephebic cohort magistracies were also an honour that marked their holders out as members of the elite. The ephebic archon in particular is generally one of the most prominent ephebes of the year, often carrying out several liturgies, delivering ephebic orations, and winning contests. They may also have played a leading role in ephebic processions and ceremonies and, if their adult counterparts

[99] See *IG* II^3 4, 518 with notes. Philost. *Vit. Soph.* 2.59, Geagan 1967, 132-36; Camia 2014, 142 finds 21 holders among the uppermost Athenian elite.

[100] Pair: e.g. *IG* II^2 2068 (155/6 AD) and 2199 (203/4-207/8 AD); collective: *IG* II^2 2097 (169/70 AD) and 2119 (191/2 AD); adults: *IG* II^2 2097 (169/70 AD), 2119 (191/2 AD) and *SEG* 33.189; fund: *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD) and *IG* II^2 2208 (215/6 AD), see sect. 3.1 and n. 125. Non-citizen ephebes, see sect. 4.1.

[101] *IG* II^2 1990, l. 19 (61/2 AD) refers to a group of "Areopagite" ephebes. In *IG* II^2 1996, ll. 24-34 (87/8 AD?), eleven ephebes (the same number as the ephebic magistracies) appear without titles after the gymnasiarchs but ahead of the main list of ephebes by tribe.

[102] Geagan 1967, 1-31, 57-60 and 123-25.

made financial contributions on entering office, they probably did so as well.[103] We do not know how the cohort magistrates were selected.

These cohort magistracies were central to Paul Graindor's idea that the ephebate was a kind of "mirror-institution" (*institution-miroir*) of the Athenian *polis*, intended to prepare elite youths for the sort of duties that they would perform as adults.[104] Éric Perrin-Saminadayar has modified this, arguing that the ephebate did not reflect the contemporary *polis*, but an archaising version, a "memory-institution" (*institution-mémoire*).[105] There is no real need for this to be a dichotomy, given the importance of archaism, tradition, and the past in the politics and society of Roman Athens generally.[106] However, it is worth noting that the ephebic magistracies reflected the contemporary Athenian constitution, not the Classical one. The prominent role of the ephebic general (usually listed second) matches the prominence of the single general in the Roman period, rather than the multiple generals of the Classical period, who were entirely distinct from the archons. The ephebic *agoranomoi* and *astynomoi* were a pair each, as in the Roman period, not boards of ten as in Classical times. The *agonothesia* system had not existed for adults until the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[107] Moreover, the prestige that the ephebes derived from these positions, as shown by the memorialisation of them in ephebic catalogues and in private dedications (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 418, 145/6 AD), is entirely in keeping with the memorialisation of magistracies by adults in Roman Athens.[108]

The *systremma* lists (sect. 1.5) reveal a fourth class of ephebic officials: the systremmatarchs (team captains), ephebes who led *systremmata* ("teams" or "bands") of ephebes and occasionally erected dedications and catalogues. These *systremmata* varied in size from year to year from twelve in 145/6 AD (*IG* II^3 4, 419) to thirty-six in ca. 199 AD (*IG* II^2 2124) and included both citizen ephebes and Milesians/*epengraphoi* (see sect. 4.1). It is possible that all the ephebes in a given cohort were members of one. Each *systremma* was overseen by a number of *sophronistai* and existed for the whole year – *IG* II^2 2047 (140/1 AD) and *IG* II^2 2087 (163/4 AD) celebrate the successes of members of their *systremmata* in multiple individual events at different ephebic festivals. J. H. Oliver proposed that they were the teams for the ephebic naval contest, called the *naumachia* (see sect. 3.5.i), but there seem to have been too many *systremmata* for this. They are about the right size to have competed in torch-races, but torch-races were competitions between tribes at least as late as the erection of *IG* II^3 4, 405 (mid-late i AD, see sect. 3.5.ii), while

[103] In *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, ll. 57-60 (195/6 AD), the ephebic magistrates pay for the (adult?) Lenaia and *Chytroi* festivals. Presumably, these expenses are mentioned because they were extraordinary. Oliver 1970, 55-56 proposes that the prestige of the ephebic archonships corresponded to the size of the financial contribution made on entering office, but there is no evidence for this.

[104] Graindor 1915, 252-53; Graindor 1931, 90.

[105] Perrin-Saminadayar 2004a.

[106] On archaism: Aleshire and Lambert 2011, Spawforth 2012, esp. 192-204; Lasagni 2020; Lambert (forthcoming).

[107] Hoplite general: Geagan 1967, 18-31; Sarikakis 1976. *Agoranomoi* and *Astynomoi*: Geagan 1967, 123-25. *Agonothesia*: see n. 99.

[108] Cf. the Roman archons' dedications in the Cave of Apollo Hypo Makrais: *IG* II^3 4, 128 with notes on AIO and Rigsby 2010.

systremmata contain ephebes from multiple tribes.[109] It is tempting to equate the systremmatarchs with the cohort magistrates. On the one occasion on which a full list of the year's systremmatarchs is given (*IG* II^2 2245, 254/5 AD), there are eleven of them – the same number as the cohort magistrates down to the *thesmothetai* – and the first systremmatarch is recorded elsewhere in the inscription as the ephebic archon. The systremmatarch in *IG* II^3 4, 419 (145/6 AD) was also the ephebic polemarch, while the pair in *IG* II^2 2087 (163/4 AD) were ephebic *basileus* and ephebic polemarch respectively. In most other cases, the systremmatarchs are the kind of ephebes whom we would expect to hold an cohort magistracy (i.e. holders of gymnasiarchies and *agonothesiai*), but are not explicitly stated to be cohort magistrates, so this theory must remain tentative.

[109] See section 3.5.ii, below.

3. ACTIVITIES OF THE EPHEBES

The Roman-period ephebes engaged in a vast range of activities, not all of which are equally well-represented in the epigraphic evidence. The year of service was meant to craft the ephebes into ideal men for their own sake and for the sake of the community as a whole. As Artemidoros puts it, "the ephebate is the measure of the upright and healthy life" (*Oneir.* 1.54). The ephebate's formative role means that its curriculum gives us insights into the Athenian establishment's ideas about what the ideal Athenian man looked like. This section discusses that curriculum under five headings: political participation, athletics, military training, rhetoric/academia, and religious activities. All of these, except academics, had been important in the fourth-century BC ephebate. Separating them into distinct headings is necessary but artificial, since they were deeply interlinked. Ephebic games, for example, were religious festivals that centred on athletic and rhetorical competition and offered important opportunities for ephebic political participation.

There are four key themes regarding the ephebes' activities. The first of these is the co-existence of physical and intellectual training within the ephebate. Although the ideal was for the ephebes to excel in both, the balance seems to have shifted over time.[110] Both Chrysis Pélékidis and Éric Perrin-Saminadayar emphasise the expansion of the academic dimension of the ephebate at the expense of physical training in the Hellenistic period. In the Imperial Age the balance seems to have reversed – both Jason König and Zahra Newby find athletics to be the central focus of the ephebate in this period.[111] The second key theme is the idea of the ephebate as showcase. As Blaise Nagy states, "one of the major purposes of the ephebate was for the *epheboi* to demonstrate their newly acquired talents in front of an approving populace and their own parents."[112] Thirdly, the ephebes were presented as embodiments of the ideals and achievements of the Athenian past, especially the mythical acts of Theseus and the victories over the Persians at Marathon and Salamis. The ephebate was one of many Athenian institutions that emphasised the continued relevance of the Athenian heritage in order to assert that Athens' classical past was also its future.[113] Finally, as discussed in section 2.1, the ephebate was conceived as a moral education intended to inculcate civic virtues such as hard work, manliness, orderliness, and piety. Athletic and religious activities were meant to train the ephebes in these virtues and display their successful acquisition of them.[114]

[110] See n. 157.
[111] Pélékidis 1962, 170; Perrin-Saminadayar 2004a, 99-100; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 50-51, 259-68. The extent of this Hellenistic shift is challenged in Henderson 2020, 197-98, 211-17. König 2005, 45-96; Newby 2006, 160-201.
[112] Nagy 1991, 301.
[113] See n. 132-133.
[114] Hin 2007, 161-65.

3.1. Political participation

Several aspects of the ephebes' political participation are touched on elsewhere in this paper. For example, service as an ephebic gymnasiarch, *agonothetes*, and/or ephebic archon prepared prominent ephebes to exercise those roles in their adult lives and enhanced their political standing in the community (sect. 2.3).

Much of the epigraphic evidence for the ephebes shows them acting as an autonomous political body, making collective decisions and passing decrees.[115] The main evidence for this is the honorific decrees that they passed for their *kosmetai* and other individuals. We know about these decrees from the honorific herms erected by the ephebes (see sect. 1.4) and from the ephebic catalogues, which sometimes include wreaths inscribed, "the ephebes [honour] the *kosmetes*" (e.g. *IG* II^2 2208) and often bear relief scenes depicting ephebes crowning their *kosmetes* (see sect. 1.3). There are also occasional references to ephebic gymnasiarchs and *agonothetai* being crowned (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 425). In some cases, the ephebes' decisions were submitted to the Areopagos for approval (e.g. *IG* II^2 3737, 156/7 AD, honouring the *paidotribes* with a herm) – this was a normal part of erecting honorific monuments in public places in the Imperial period.[116] *SEG* 50.155 (184/5 AD), the ephebic oration, opens with an ephebic decree ordering the transcription of the speech, which reads, "it was decided by the ephebes, when they gathered after the [Theseia games]" (ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἐφή[βοι]ς, συνελθοῦσιν μετὰ τὸν [τῶν Θησείων? ἀγῶ]ν[α], ll. 3-4). It is significant that the ephebes make their decision without reference to any authority other than themselves (and possibly the *kosmetes*, who is mentioned in the dating-formula). The fact that the occasion on which they gathered is specified, suggests that they gathered regularly – perhaps after each ephebic festival to honour their organisers (see sect. 3.5.iii). Groups that made decisions communally were not unusual in Roman Athens, which contained many councils, *gene*, and other associations.[117] However, for many Athenians, the ephebate would have been the first such group that they were active members of. As a result, it probably played an important role in socialising the young to communal decision-making.

The Hellenistic ephebic decrees inform us that in that period ephebes also "sat in on" or "watched over" (ἐφεδρεύειν) the Assembly (e.g. *IG* II^3 1, 1313, ll. 12, 101-2), acting as a sort of honour guard for it. As Henderson notes, "although ceremonial, guarding the *ekklesia* was also educational," since it allowed the ephebes to learn the Assembly's procedures and norms, and meant that they were up-to-date with current issues.[118] There is no reference to this practice in ephebic inscriptions from the Roman period, but it appears to have continued since Philostratos mentions "sitting around" (περικαθῆσθαι) the

[115] Cf. Henderson 2020, 101-2, 283 on collective decisions of the Classical and Hellenistic ephebes.
[116] See n. 40.
[117] Perrin-Saminadayar 2004a compares the Roman-period ephebate with these associations. Evidence for the associations in Roman Athens is collected in Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Greco-Roman Associations* I, no. 49-55; see also *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 2, with notes.
[118] Burckhardt 2004, 204-5; Henderson 2020, 212-13. The practice may have originated in the protective role that the ephebes played by garrisoning the Mouseion hill during the Chremonidean War: *IG* II^3 1, 917, ll. 8-15 (266/5 BC).

Assembly as one of the two main public activities of the ephebes in the second century AD, along with religious processions (*Vit. Soph.* 2.550).

The ephebes could also play a central role in the interactions between the *polis* and powerful individuals. The best-known example of this is the role played by the ephebes in the Athenians' difficult relations with Herodes Atticus (101-177 AD).[119] In 165/6 AD, probably as part of celebrations of Roman victories over Parthia, Herodes made a prominent benefaction to the ephebes, replacing the black cloaks they wore for the Eleusinian procession with white ones (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.550; *IG* II^2 2090, ll. 5-11). In 166/7 AD, he also funded a new set of games for the *pareutaktoi* (see sect. 0.2) at Eleusis (*SEG* 12.110, ll. 52-55). These acts of benefaction were also acts of self-promotion, which advertised Herodes' generosity and central role in Athenian life. Herodes' public persona focused on his role as an educator and epitome of the Athenian cultural tradition, so it was important for him to be a patron of the ephebes. Both his benefactions emphasised the link between the ephebate and the Eleusinian cult, an institution that Herodes was personally involved in, as a member of the *genos* of the Kerykes. Thus, Herodes used the ephebate to advance a particular idea of Athens and of his place in it. Similar patterns of benefaction are seen in communities throughout the Greek world in the Roman period.[120] Later, in 174/5 AD, Herodes stood trial before emperor Marcus Aurelius in Sirmium, as a result of conflicts between him and the Athenians. On his return, the Athenians made a powerful conciliatory gesture by performing the *apantesis* ("official welcome"), commonly given to Hellenistic kings and high Roman officials, for him.[121] The ephebes were a prominent part of the procession that met him at Eleusis and led him back to Athens as part of this ritual (*IG* II^2 3606). When Herodes died in 177/8 AD, the Athenians got the last word in their relationship with him, by sending an ephebic procession to "snatch" his body from his estate at Marathon and bring it to Athens for a public funeral (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.566).[122] There are parallels for the ephebes' role in honorific funerary processions at a number of other cities in the Roman empire.[123] In the relations between Herodes and the Athenian community, the ephebes served as both a field of merit which Herodes could cultivate in order to assert himself and as a tool which the community could use to reassert their agency *vis à vis* the magnate.

In many cities, the ephebes also played a central role in the imperial cult, as they had previously done in Hellenistic ruler cults.[124] In Athens, one major way in which they did this was the celebration of festivals in honour of past and present emperors (see section 3.5.iii, below). Additionally, a number of ephebic catalogues from the late second century and early third century AD mention a "sebastophoric fund," which paid for ephebic sacrifices in honour of the emperors and special disbursements of cash to the ephebes and

[119] On Herodes Atticus, see *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 15 with notes, Ameling 1983; Tobin 1997; Spawforth 2012, 101; D. Knoepfler, *REG* 131, 2008, 317-70.
[120] Cf. Quass 1993, esp. 196-352; Zuiderhoek, 2009, esp. 71-112.
[121] Perrin-Saminadayar, *BCH* 128-129, 2004-05, 351-375; Chankowski 2010, 414-23; Henderson 2020, 273-78.
[122] Newby 2005, 193; Rife 2008, 99-102; Wiemer 2011, 512-13.
[123] Cf. Aezanoi: *MAMA* IX, P49, ll. 14-20 (Menogenes Meniskou, i BC); *IK Kyme* 19, ll. 44-52 (Lucius Vaccius Labeo, i AD); *IK Priene* 42 (Thrasyboulos Thrasyboulou, ii-i BC).
[124] Price 1984, 143-44; König 2005, 63-72.

ephebic staff at Plataia, as well as occasionally covering costs when no one stepped up to fund an ephebic festival or gymnasiarchy.[125] *Sebastophoroi* ("Emperor-bearers") carried busts of the Emperor and his family in processions. A letter from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to Athens (178-182 AD) describes the form of these busts and specifies that they were to be carried to festivals and Assembly meetings (*SEG* 21.509, ll. 57-60 = Oliver 1989, no. 196). Only the busts and the sebastophoric fund – not the *sebastophoroi* themselves – are attested at Athens, but the association of this task with ephebes is paralleled in several other Greek communities. At Tanagra it was specifically the task of the ephebic *agonothetai* (*IG* XII Suppl. 646). A long Ephesian inscription of 104 AD (*IK Ephesos* 27A) records similar images, which were to be carried by the ephebes in processions through the city to the theatre for festivals, athletic contests, and Assembly meetings, and the donation of these busts was also accompanied by the establishment of a fund to disburse cash, similar to the Athenian sebastophoric fund.[126] It thus seems likely that the ephebes were responsible for the virtual presence of the Emperors at the most important events of Athenian public life.

More abstractly, the ephebes were an important locus in which ideas about Athenian identity and heritage were encoded.[127] Examples of the ephebes being used to emphasise the enduring relevance of Athenian military successes, especially Marathon and Salamis, are discussed below. Other examples forged connections with the Athenian mythic heritage, especially Theseus – for example the ephebes' cloak (*chlamys*), which we have encountered already.[128] The *chlamys* was the most important symbol of the ephebate. Reliefs almost always depict the ephebes wearing them, even when heroically nude. Funerary monuments for ephebes regularly include the cloak in their decoration (e.g. *IG* II^2 3746, *SEG* 46.286 *SEG* 58.215, and *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 16). "Putting on" and "taking off the cloak" were standard terms for enrolling in and graduating from the ephebate.[129] Artemidoros claims that ephebes were required to wear the cloak by law (*nomos*), and connects it with the virtue of self-control that the ephebate was meant to imbue (*Oneir.* 1.54, cf. Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 3.4.). This uniform made the ephebes instantly recognisable and helped them develop a cohesive group identity.[130] To this important ephebic symbol were attached various aetiological stories related to the history of Athens. Two are recorded regarding the black cloaks which the ephebes wore on the Eleusinian procession until 165/6 AD. An inscription erected on Herodes' estate after his return from Sirmium (*IG* II^2 3606, ll. 18-22) claims that these cloaks recalled the black sail of Theseus' ship when he returned after slaying the Minotaur. By contrast, Philostratos says the cloaks had been worn in mourning for the mythical herald Kopreus, whom the Athenians murdered when he attempted to drag the children of Herakles out of a sanctuary in which they had sought asylum (*Vit. Soph.*

[125] *IG* II^2 2086 (163/4 AD), 2089 (167/8 AD?), 2113 (187/8 AD), *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD), *IG* II^2 2221 = Mitsos 1971, 1 (216/7 AD). J. H. Oliver, *Historia* 26, 1977, 89-94.
[126] L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* II, 124-25; Price 1984, 189; Rogers 1991, 80–135.
[127] Newby 2005, 160-201; Wiemer 2011, 513-16.
[128] Friend 2019, 92-93, Henderson 2020, 104-9.
[129] Gauthier 1985, 156. Cf. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 16; Artem. *Oneir.* 1.54.
[130] Cf. *chlamydephorountes* (cloak-wearers), an alternative name for the ephebes at Leontopolis and Antinoupolis in Egypt: M. N. Tod, *JEA* 37, 1951, 86-99; K. J. Rigsby *GRBS* 19, 1978, 241.

2.1.550).[131] Clearly, there was no one story that explained this practice, but, in both cases, the important ephebic symbol was used to assert the continued relevance of the Athenian mythic past in the present. In the competitions between Greek *poleis* in the empire, such assertions were political; they translated into prestige and imperial patronage.[132] This use of the youth to assert the endurance of the community's classical heritage was not unique to Athens; the *agoge* was used similarly at Sparta.[133] This role of the ephebate in expressing important ideas about Athenian identity recurs in the following sections.

3.2. Athletics

Athletics were a central part of life in Athens and other Greek communities under the Roman empire and ideologically important as signifiers of Greekness and masculinity.[134] Physical training and physical competition were also a central part of the Athenian ephebate, intended to channel the ephebes' youthful energy (*hebe*, the root of the word "*ephebos*") into physical excellence and orderliness.[135] The lists of gymnasiarchs show that the ephebes required oil – that is, they were training in the gymnasium – for about twenty days in each month.[136] The precedence of the *paidotribes*, who was concerned with athletic training, over all the other ephebic instructors has been mentioned in section 2.2. One of the terms that the ephebes use to refer to themselves, *aleiphomenoi* ("the ones who are oiled up," e.g. *IG* II^2 3773) also demonstrates the centrality of athletic activity to their identity.

Athletic activities are also one of the main focuses of the ephebic inscriptions: the ephebic catalogues devote substantial space to commemorating the gymnasiarchs and the *agonothetai* who had facilitated the year's athletic activities. Most ephebic dedications commemorate athletic successes (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 7) and the teams of the *systremma* lists were concerned with athletic activity (sect. 1.5). Athletics are also one of the main themes of the inscriptions' relief decoration. Palms of victory and jars of oil are frequent motifs.[137] The standard scene of the ephebes crowning the *kosmetes* discussed above, depicts the ephebes as athletic victors: nude, holding palms of victory, often wearing crowns themselves.[138] The fragmentary relief decoration of *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 shows ephebes engaging in other athletic competitions: running a torch-race and wrestling or competing in pankration, all watched over by Herakles. The only common motifs that do not have an athletic element are those depicting the *naumachia* and those associated with warfare.[139] While athletics are prominent in the epigraphic and artistic record, the focus is largely on the events for individuals that were a traditional part of athletic competitions. Other types of physical activity were probably part of ephebic life, but are largely ignored

[131] P. Roussel, *REA* 43, 1941, 163-65. A structuralist examination of the cloaks in P. Vidal-Naquet, *Annales* 23-25, 1968, 47-64 (=P. Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter*, 1986, 106-28).
[132] Boatwright 2000, esp. 129-35, 208-9; Spawforth 2012, esp. 103-41 and 242-55.
[133] Kennell 1995, 49-69; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 176-95.
[134] König 2005, 2014 and 2017; Van Nijf 2001 and 2008.
[135] Newby 2005, 160-201; Kennell 2009. On athletics in earlier periods of the ephebate's history: Chankowski 2010, 236-317; Chankowski 2018; Henderson 2020, 62-67, 127-38, 217-21.
[136] See n. 97.
[137] *IG* II^3 4, 406, 421, 425; *IG* II^2 2017, 2026a, 2047, 2245.
[138] For depictions of athletic victors, generally, see König 2005, 97-157.
[139] Newby 2005, 183-85.

in these representations, such as the ball-game *episkyros*, referred to by Pollux as an "ephebic" activity (9.103-104).[140]

The emphasis on the ephebes as athletes was part of a broader ideology of youth education. The association of youth with athletics and the gymnasium was important already in the classical period. Athletics is at the centre of the traditional system of education which "Just Argument" contrasts with the new learning of the sophists in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (973-78). In the pseudo-Andokidean speech, *Against Alkibiades*, the gymnasium is the stereotypical location of the youth, as the law courts are for the elders (4.22). That trend continues in the Imperial period. The pseudo-Plutarchean essay, *On Educating Children*, emphasises the importance of physical exercise for improving physical appearance, increasing strength, and ensuring long life (8c-d). The same idea is parodied in Lucian's *Anacharsis*, probably indicating its general currency. The athlete is also presented as the ideal of youthful masculinity in literary sources, like Dio Chrysostom's *Melankomas Orations* (*Or*. 28-29), and in sculpture.[141] The popularity of athletics in the Imperial period is also clear in the continued prestige and patronage of the Olympic, Isthmian, and Pythian games, and the profusion throughout the Greek world of new athletic festivals modelled on them.[142] In honorific inscriptions, titles deriving from athletic success (e.g. *hieronikes*, *periodonikes*) and membership in the Universal Athletes' Guild were placed on the same level as civic and imperial offices (e.g. *IG* II^2 3741 and 2193).[143] The emphasis on athletics in the ephebate was part of this broader trend, in which athletic success served as a signifier of prowess, masculinity, and Greekness, for the individual athletes and for their communities.[144]

3.3. Military training

In the Classical period, the focus of the ephebate was on military training. Ephebes performed garrison duty in the Piraeus, received training in hoplite combat, archery, the javelin, and the catapult, and spent the second year of their service patrolling Attica's borders.[145] In the Hellenistic period, this second year was abolished and the religious and intellectual elements of the ephebate expanded, but military training continued to be an important part of what the ephebes did. The ephebes still performed guard duty in the Piraeus and the Mouseion Hill, regularly visited the border forts at Eleusis and Rhamnous, and could be entrusted with active military roles in moments of extreme crisis.[146] In the Imperial period, mainland Greece was entirely demilitarised and Athenian men were no

[140] Ball-games: N. B. Crowther, *Stadion* 23, 1997, 1-15; L. O'Sullivan, *G&R* 59, 2012, 17-33. The full range of events at the ephebic games is discussed in sect. 3.5. The same representative bias towards certain kinds of athletics is also seen in numismatic sources, with Games coinage stressing athletic events while ignoring oratory, music and drama: Skotheim forthcoming.
[141] König 2005, 45-157. Cf. Skotheim forthcoming.
[142] Spawforth 1989, 193-97; Alcock 1993, 169-71; Van Nijf 2001 and 2008; König 2005, 163-70.
[143] C. A. Forbes, *CP* 50, 1955, 238-52.
[144] Whitmarsh 2001, 188-90; König 2005, esp. 45-157, 301-52; Van Nijf 2001 and 2008, 212-15; König 2017; Webb 2017.
[145] Friend 2019, 81-87; Henderson 2020, 27-29, 127-38.
[146] *IG* II^3 1, 917; Burckhardt 2004; Tracy 2004; Henderson 2020, 172, 211-17, 256. For the idea that the military aspect declined in importance in this period, see n. 111.

longer likely to see combat at any point in their lives. The only military actions in Attica in the whole Imperial period were the invasions of the Costoboci in 171 AD and the Heruls in 267 AD. The border patrols of the Classical and Hellenistic periods are not attested in Roman Attica and the border fortress at Rhamnous fell out of use.[147] The instructors who taught the ephebes to use the javelin, bow, and catapult disappeared in the first century BC (as mentioned in sect. 2.2), and cavalry training is last attested in *IG* II^2 1025+1040 (ca. 20 BC).

Nevertheless, the ephebate continued to be presented as a form of military training.[148] The long-standing idea that all athletic training was a form of military training remained widespread in the Roman period; it is referenced in discussions of athletics by Plutarch, Lucian, and Philostratos – sometimes enthusiastically, sometimes critically.[149] The ephebes took lessons from the *hoplomachoi* and the *kestrophylax* throughout the period. One of the events in the ephebic games was the *hoplon*, the race in armour (see section 3.5.iii below). Shields are a common motif in the relief decoration of the ephebic inscriptions.[150] Three ephebic catalogues (*IG* II^2 2051, Sourlas 2015, *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5) are even carved in the shape of shields. The last of these includes a couplet of martial poetry around the rim, concluding "always armed for hand-to-hand combat for the fatherland" (αἰὲν ἐς ἀνχέμαχον πατρίδ' ὁπλισσ[άμενοι]) , which strikes a martial tone and recalls the heroes of archaic literature, particularly Homer's *Iliad*.[151] In the crowning scene on *IG* II^2 2050 (143/4 AD) the ephebes wear full armour as does the figure they are crowning (perhaps the emperor rather than the *kosmetes*?).[152] *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17, the decree of ca. 220 AD reforming or reviving the ephebic role in the Eleusinian Mysteries specifies that the ephebes were to make their procession to Eleusis in full armour. *IG* II^2 3746, set up by the ephebes for Idaios of Pallene, a member of the cohort who died during the year, depicts Idaios with a cloak over his left shoulder and a hoplite shield in his right hand, again indicating the prominence of the military dimension in conceptions of the ephebate.

The military successes of the Classical past, particularly the victories at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataia, remained central to Athenian prestige and self-esteem in the Roman period. The role of the ephebes in commemorating these victories is discussed in the section on festivals below, but the military dimensions of the ephebate were important for claiming that Athens' military prowess was not just remembered but maintained. Military prowess remained central to conceptions of citizenship and masculinity in Athens and Greece generally.[153] This made the military dimensions of the ephebate very important ideologically. When military threats did arise in the second and third centuries AD, the

[147] Alcock 1993, 17-18; Petrakos 1999, 41-42. This contrasts with Asia Minor, where young men often served in *polis*-organised militias: Brélaz 2005; Chankowski 2010, 344-66. Asian Greeks are well-attested as Roman auxiliaries: M. P. Speidel, *ANRW* 2.7.2, 1980, 730-46.
[148] Kennell 2009, 332-33; Wiemer 2011, 491-95.
[149] Classical: [Andoc.] 4.22. Imperial: Plut. *Mor.* 192c-d, 233e, 639f; Luc. *Anachar.* 24-30; Philostr. *Gymn.* 19, 28; König 2005, 45-96.
[150] *IG* II^2 3732, 2047, 2087, 2113.
[151] See *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), pp. 32-33.
[152] See n. 55.
[153] König 2005, 47-59; Kennell 2009, 332-33; Spawforth 2012, esp. 106-17, 130-38, 245-46.

Athenians expected the ideology to be efficacious. The Gothic siege of Thessaloniki, if it does date to 252/3 AD, may have prompted the very large ephebic cohort of 254/5 AD (*IG* II^2 2245).[154] Herennius Dexippos, whose sons were prominent members of that cohort, presents consciousness of Athenian military heritage as central to the morale of the Greek forces resisting the Goths and then the Heruls in 267 AD.[155] The *Historia Augusta* claims that the Athenians did prove capable of driving off the Heruls under Dexippos' leadership (*HA Gall.* 13.10).

3.4. Rhetoric and academic activities

In the Classical period, academic activities – education in writing, mathematics, rhetoric, and philosophy – were not part of the ephebic programme. The expansion of the academic dimension of the ephebate in the late Hellenistic period has been described by Chrysis Pélékidis and Éric Perrin-Saminadayar.[156] From 123 BC, ephebic decrees refer to the ephebes attending lectures of philosophers, orators, grammarians, and others, as well as a large library in the Ptolemaion, to which each graduating ephebic cohort donated a hundred books. This shift coincides with the opening of the ephebate to Romans and other Greeks, for whom the main draw of Athens was its pre-eminence in philosophy and rhetoric.[157] Although Greek authors and inscriptions often present rhetoric and athletics as a dichotomy, the ideal man was generally expected to be accomplished in both spheres and the ideal city was expected to host and celebrate both activities.[158]

In the Roman period, there is some evidence for academic activities within the ephebate, but less than in the Hellenistic period.[159] The only ephebic relief which might reference academic pursuits is *IG* II^2 2208 (215/6 AD), in which the *kosmetes* being crowned has a bundle of papyri by his feet – and these might be meant as financial accounts rather than literature.[160] Plutarch, in a passage set in the 60s or 70s AD, takes it for granted that the ephebes spent time on academic subjects, writing, "when Ammonios [Plutarch's teacher] was General at Athens, he took in a display at the Diogeneion of the ephebes who were learning writing, geometry, rhetoric, and music, and invited the teachers who pleased him to dinner" (i.e. with the Prytaneis).[161] These teachers might be equated with the four

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[154] Wiemer 2011, 518-20. But see Mallan and Davenport 2015, 215-18, with arguments for redating the siege to 262 AD.

[155] Herennius Dexippos, *FGrH* 100 F28 and *Codex Vindobonensis Hist. gr.* 73, ff. 192^v-193^r (= G. Martin and J. Grusková, *Wiener Studien* 127, 2014, 101-20), with Mallan and Davenport 2015, 203-26. The continued belief in a link between athletic and military prowess is also shown by the selection of an Olympic victor, Mnesiboulos of Elis, to lead the Greek resistance to the Costoboci invasion in 171 AD (Paus 10.34.5).

[156] See n. 111.

[157] *IG* II^2 1006, ll. 19-20, *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 16 with notes; Haake 2007, 44-55; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a 261-66; Henderson 2020, 263, 269. Library, see n. 13.

[158] See n. 144.

[159] See Hin 2007, 154-61 and Van Nijf 2008, 209-12 for differing views on the prominence of oratorical training in ephebates elsewhere.

[160] Newby 2005, 178.

[161] Plut. *Table Talk* 9.1 = *Mor.* 736d Ἀμμώνιος Ἀθήνησι στρατηγῶν ἀπόδειξιν ἔλαβεν <ἐν> τῷ Διογενείῳ τῶν γράμματα καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὰ ῥητορικὰ καὶ μουσικὴν μανθανόντων ἐφήβων, καὶ τοὺς εὐδοκιμήσαντας τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν.

anonymous *paideutai* mentioned above who appear in some ephebic inscriptions. They are not attested after 120 AD.[162]

In Philostratos' *Lives of the Sophists*, successful sophists are invariably depicted surrounded by young men (νέοι or νεότης).[163] These sophists usually charged an entry fee for their lectures and taught a much broader age-range than the ephebate, as is made clear from Philostratos' description of the lectures given by his own teacher, Proklos of Naukratis, "we would be called in alltogether and sat down when we had been called in – the children and their pedagogues in the middle, and the teenagers by themselves."[164] Philostratos repeatedly stresses that learning rhetoric was a lifelong pursuit. Other authors make the same point about philosophy.[165] There were institutions of rhetorical and philosophical education in Roman Athens: the imperially-appointed chair of rhetoric and the heads of the Academy, Stoa, and the Epicurean garden, but they are all presented as involving (wealthy) Athenian and foreign youth generally, not the ephebes specifically.[166]

The ephebic festival games included academic competitions in poetry, encomium, and heralding alongside the athletic competitions. *IG* II^2 2119, ll. 230-38 (191 AD), an unusually full ephebic catalogue, lists further annual ephebic orations: two protreptic orations delivered by the ephebic herald and *basileus*, one speech by the ephebic archon at the *Peri Alkes*, four speeches at the ephebic Haloia by the herald, *basileus*, and two *agonothetai*. The speech by the ephebic archon at the Theseia festival in 184/5 AD – a meditation on how the ephebes could best use Theseus as a role model – so enthused the ephebes that they had it inscribed as *SEG* 50.155 (184/5 AD, see sect. 1.7). In one sense, this was playing at being Perikles and thus an example of the ephebate's focus on the Athenian past, but it also shows the agency of the leading ephebes in defining what the ephebate was and why it mattered. The ephebes went all the way to Plataia to witness a debate between Athenian and Spartan representatives.[167] Ephebic dedications, especially honorific herms, often open with elegiac couplets (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 6, ll. 1-2). All of these examples show that rhetorical ability was appreciated in (some) ephebes, but also suggests that ephebes who gave speeches were expected to have already received their training before enrolment.

3.5. Festivals

In the Classical period, the ephebic year included tour of the sacred sites of Attica (*Ath. Pol.* 42.3). In the Hellenistic period, especially in the second century BC, the ephebic decrees record participation by the ephebes in a wide range of festivals in Athens and throughout Attica.[168] These activities are much more sparsely attested in the Imperial period, but festivals and religious rituals clearly remained an important part of the ephebes' activities.

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[162] The ephebic *didaskalos* was a chorus-instructor, not a tutor of academic topics, see n. 88.

[163] e.g. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1.518, 2.562.

[164] Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.604: … ἀθρόοι ἐσεκαλούμεθα καὶ ἐκαθήμεθα ἐσκληθέντες οἱ μὲν παῖδες καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ μέσοι, τὰ μειράκια δὲ αὐτοί.

[165] Plut. *On Educating Children* = *Mor.* 1a-14c; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1.529.

[166] Chair of rhetoric: Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.623, 566-67, 588.

[167] See n. 180.

[168] Pélékidis 1962, 110-12, 211-56; Mikalson 1998, 41-42, 172-85, 243-49, 253-55; Friend 2019, 147-64; Henderson 2020, 140-44, 227-35, 245-55.

In many cases, festivals and rituals referred to in Imperial inscriptions are known in more detail from the ephebic decrees of the Hellenistic period. There is a methodological issue with using information from the latter to inform the former. For example, in the Hellenistic period the ephebes' enrolment at the beginning of their year in Boedromion was followed by *eisiteteria* sacrifices at the common hearth of the People in the Prytaneion and a procession in honour of Artemis Agrotera. The event signified a new stage in the ephebes' relationship with their community, through the parallel with the hearth ceremonies by which brides, babies, and slaves were introduced to a new household. In Metageitnion, at the end of the ephebes' year, *exiteria* sacrifices were offered to Athena Polias and the other gods on the Acropolis and then the *kosmetes* presented the ephebes to the Council for review.[169] Imperial sources refer to some parts of these ceremonies, but not others. The references to the gymnasiarchies in ephebic decrees show that the ephebic year started and ended in the same months as in the Hellenistic period. *IG* II^2 2119, ll. 142-3 (191/2 AD) shows that the ephebic year opened with all the ephebes running a race to Agrai (*pros Agras dromos*), the site of the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera.[170] Mitsos 1971, no. 1 (216/7 AD) mentions the *exiteria* sacrifices, as a feast held in the Diogeneion. *IG* II^2 1990 (61/2 AD) states that the *kosmetes* submitted the ephebes to the Metroon (i.e. the Council) at the end of their year. It thus seems likely that the whole complex of entry and exit ceremonies continued to be held in a similar fashion to earlier times. But, strictly speaking, neither the *eisiteteria* nor events at the common hearth are mentioned in any source from the Imperial period.

Philostratos identifies "escorting processions" and attendance at the Assembly the two key occasions on which the ephebes were visible to the wider community (*Vit. Soph.* 2.550) and there are a number of major civic festivals in which the ephebes played an important role. The ephebic role in escorting the sacred objects from Eleusis to Athens in preparation for the Eleusinian Mysteries is prominent in Classical and Hellenistic sources (e.g. *IG* II^2 1011, ll. 7-8), and is also mentioned in ephebic inscriptions. Herodes Atticus' gift to the ephebes of new cloaks for this procession has been mentioned already (*IG* II^2 2090, ll. 7-11 of 165/6 AD). The procession is modified or revived by *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17 from ca. 220 AD, one of the latest decrees of the Assembly. The decree presents the ephebes' involvement as being in the interest of the city, by ensuring that the Eleusinian goddesses received what they were due, but also as being good for the ephebes who would thus become "more pious men."[171] The ephebes lifted a bull at Eleusis in the Hellenistic period (e.g. *IG* II^2 1006, ll. 9-10, cf. Strabo 14.1.44) and the same ritual might be referenced in *SEG* 26.246 (late ii AD), a list of *agonothetai* which includes a poetic note that Wilson reads as ... ἀλκῆς ταῦρον ἑλ[ων… ("… of strength, having grasped a bull…").[172] In the

[169] *IG* II^2 1011, ll. 5-7, *IG* II^2 1039, ll. 4-7; Gauthier 1985, 154-56; Mikalson 1998, 243-49; Henderson 2020, 144-47. Hearth ceremonies: Parker 2005, 13-14, the best-known is the *amphidromia* ceremony at which a father acknowledged a newborn as his legitimate offspring.

[170] Robert 2005, 56-57. This is also the site of the Panathenaic stadium and the tomb of Herodes Atticus: Rife 2005, 102-8 with further bibliography.

[171] Pélékidis 1962, 220-25; Parker 2005, 346-49; Lambert forthcoming. On the cloaks, see n. 130.

[172] Wilson 1992, E.073. W. Peek, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 6, 1973, 125-27 and A. N. Oikonomides *Ancient World* 21, 1990, 19, working from a photograph read, ἀλκῆς γαῦρον ἑλ[ὼν ("having grasped an exulting … of strength"). Both link the inscription with the *Peri Alkes*. On bull-lifting generally, see van Straten 1995, 109-13; Henderson 2020, 238-44.

Hellenistic period, the ephebes also celebrated the Epitaphia in honour of the Athenian war dead, following the annual funeral speech in the Kerameikos, and paid their respects at Marathon itself (*IG* II^3 1, 1313, ll. 11-12, 15-19).[173] *IG* II^3 4, 376 shows that the ephebes were still visiting Marathon as of 61 BC. The Epitaphia is last attested in 17/6 BC (*IG* II^3 4, 395), so it is uncertain whether the ephebes were involved in any honours for the war-dead in the Imperial period.[174] *IG* II^2 2046, ll. 1-4 (ca. 138 AD) indicates that ephebes participated in the sacrifices at the Great Dionysia, and probably therefore took part in the preceding procession. In *IG* II^2 2245 (254/5 AD), the son of the *kosmetes* serves as the "charioteer of Pallas," which might be connected with a Hellenistic reference to a procession led by the *kosmetes* that brought Pallas back from Phaleron (*IG* II^2 1006, ll. 11-12).[175] Heliodoros' novel *Aithiopika*, probably written in the early third century AD, presents the ephebes as part of a Panathenaic procession. Although set in the fifth century BC, this probably reflects practice in the author's own day.[176] Finally, *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 mentions ephebic involvement in the celebration of *Chytroi*, as well as games and a banquet for all the ephebes and Diogeneion staff on the occasion of the Lenaia festival.[177] A prominent ephebic role in festivals generally and processions in particular is paralleled at a number of other *poleis* (e.g. *IK Ephesos* 27A). The prominence of the ephebes in this context is significant, since processions and other civic rituals presented the community with an ideal image of itself, playing an important role in constructing communal identity.[178]

The ephebes also formed part of the Athenian delegation to at least one Panhellenic festival, the *dialogos* (debate) at Plataia. Ephebic attendance is recorded intermittently in ephebic catalogues between 163/4 and 216/7 AD,[179] but the event may already be referenced by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 38.38 around 80 AD. This *dialogos* seems to have been a ceremonial debate that took place between Athens and Sparta every four years at the common council of the Greeks, to decide which city would have precedence at the Eleutheria festival, which was held two years after the *dialogos* and commemorated the Greek victory over the Persians at the Battle of Plataia in 479 BC. The ephebes would have formed a sympathetic audience, to be countered by the Spartan youth. The debate was followed by sacrifices for the emperor's health and victory. The sebastophoric fund distributed money to the ephebes and the staff – three drachmai at the start of the festival and five drachmai along with the sacrifice, which would have helped pay for travel and food costs, but also displayed Imperial largesse. The whole event clearly demonstrated to the ephebes how the contemporary prestige of the Greek cities derived from both their past achievements and their present loyalty to the Emperor.[180]

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[173] Pélékidis 1962, 229-36; Parker 2005, 469-70.
[174] Kearns 1989, 55, 183; Mikalson 1998, 171-72. Perhaps the torch-race "for the heroes" in *IG* II^2 2119, l. 243 (191/2 AD) is for war heroes.
[175] Nagy 1991; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 165-67.
[176] Heliodoros *Aeth.* 1.10.1; Shear 2001, 129-30.
[177] Cf. Pélékidis 1962, 239-47; Hamilton 1992, 41-42.
[178] Ephesos: Rogers 1991. Processions and community: Price 1984, 111-12; Shear 2001, 226-30 (Panathenaia at Athens); Hammerschmied 2018, 91–127 (Magnesia).
[179] *IG* II^2 2086, ll. 33-34 (163/4 AD); *IG* II^2 2089, ll. 16-17 (167/8 AD?); *IG* II^2 2113, ll. 143-44 (187/8 AD); *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, ll. 38-45 (195/6 AD); Mitsos 1971, no. 1 (216/7 AD).
[180] N. Robertson *Hesperia* 55 (1986), 88-102; Spawforth 2012, 130-38 and 245-46.

i) Naumachia

The *naumachia* (naval battle) is referenced frequently in ephebic inscriptions and their reliefs from the reign of Domitian onwards.[181] This event has been interpreted either as a kind of mock battle that demonstrated military manoeuvres or as a rowing race. *IG* II^2 2208 (215/6 AD), uniquely, shows two boats; they are heading in the same direction, which suggests a race. At least one of the ephebes is shown raising his oar skywards; perhaps to use it as a weapon, or as a gesture of triumph (see fig. 2, fig. 5 shows a more normal version).[182] Between one and three ephebes are usually listed as *naumachesantes* (naval battlers). These seem to be the boats' captains and funders, but it is not always clear whether the catalogues are listing only those responsible for the winning boat or a complete list of competitors. Whenever *naumachesantes* are named, they are the most prominent ephebes of the year. In *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, for example, the two *naumachesantes* are Philisteides, who had been ephebic archon and held the gymnasiarchy for the entire year, and Publius Aelius Cornelius, ephebic *strategos* and son of the *antikosmetes*. Probably, only ephebes of this calibre could afford the enormous costs that must have been associated with outfitting ships for the event.

Athens is the only city where a *naumachia* is known to have formed part of the ephebate, but they are attested elsewhere in other contexts. At Rome, *naumachiae* were recreations of famous naval battles of the past, which formed part of the most sumptuous gladiatorial shows.[183] Other *naumachiai* were rowing contests. The most notable of these was the *naumachia* at the games that Augustus instituted at Nikopolis in Epirus to commemorate the Battle of Actium.[184] This form of competition probably also had antecedents in Athens: the "contest of boats" (*hamilla ton ploion* or *hamilla ton neon*), which was held at various festivals in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and on other occasions, like the departure of the Athenian fleet to Sicily in 415 BC.[185] Throughout the Hellenistic period, the ephebes regularly borrowed ships from the Athenian fleet and rowed out to Salamis for the Aianteia, often participating in races on the way (e.g. *IG* II^3 1, 1313, ll. 19-26; *IG* II^2 1041, l. 20).[186]

Simone Follet proposed that the *naumachia* in the Roman period was part of the Great Panathenaia and that all ephebic inscriptions mentioning a *naumachia* belong to a Great Panathenaic year. The ephebic catalogue *IG* II^2 2245 (254/5 AD) which includes a *naumachia* does explicitly draw attention to the fact that it was inscribed in a Great Panathenaic year.[187] However, J. L. Shear has recently found chronological issues with

[181] Inscription only: *IG* II^2 1996, 2024, 2119, *SEG* 26.185, Inscription with relief: *IG* II^2 1997, 2167, 2473, 2208, 2245, *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10. Relief only: *IG* II^2 2001, 2046, 2248, 2087, *NM* 1468 (an ephebic plaque that was apparently never inscribed).

[182] Mock-battle: Newby 2005, 179-92. Compare the *anthippasia* in the classical period, a competition in cavalry manoeuvres, cf. *IG* II^3 4, 252. Rowing: Coleman 1993, 71-73.

[183] Ov. *Ars* 1.171-72. Coleman 1993, with further references.

[184] Nikopolis: M. Lämmer, *Stadion* 12/13, 1986-87, 27-38; *Naumachiae* commemorating Actium are also attested at Cumae and on the estates of wealthy senators: Aus. *Mos.* 208-19, Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.61-4; Coleman 1993, 73.

[185] Panathenaia: *IG* II^2 2311, ll. 78-81. Departure: Thuc. 6.32.2. Newby 2005, 180.

[186] Pélékidis 1962, 247-49; Parker 2005, 456.

[187] Follet 1976, 339-43. Followed by Wilson 1992, 108-9.

placing all *naumachiai* in Great Panathenaic years. Zahra Newby notes that *IG* II^2 1996 (87/8 AD?) refers to 'the *naumachia* at S[alamis]' and *AIUK* 11 *Ashmolean* 10, ll. 49-50 (195/6 AD) probably places the *naumachia* at the Mounichia festival, which was shortly before the Aianteia festival on Salamis. Newby therefore proposes that the *naumachiai* were associated with the ephebes' crossing to Salamis to celebrate the Aianteia – thus, a continuation of Hellenistic practice.[188] Regardless, the idea that the festival commemorates the Battle of Salamis and the Athenian naval heritage seems incontrovertible. Like the military aspects of the ephebate discussed above (sect. 3.3), the *naumachia* is an example of how the ephebate asserted the continued relevance of Athens' military heritage. Furthermore, by commemorating Salamis in the same way that Actium was commemorated elsewhere in Greece, the Athenians implicitly placed themselves on a par with the Romans.

ii) Torch-races

Torch-races by the youth were already a special feature of festivals in the Classical period and they were a central feature of the ephebate in the Hellenistic period, when they are referred to regularly in ephebic decrees and dedications.[189] The race was run as a kind of relay by teams of uncertain size, each of which represented a single tribe.[190] In the only Roman-period inscription to list a full team (*IG* II^3 4, 405, mid-late i AD) there are fourteen ephebes: three with demotics from the tribe of Attalis and eleven with no demotics.

In the first century BC and first century AD, torch-races are intermittently attested in dedications by victors and *lampadarchs* (torch-race organisers). Most inscriptions simply refer to "the torch-race" generically, but some specify a festival: the Sylleia, the Theseia, the Epitaphia, and the Hephaistia.[191] Most of these were festivals celebrated by the whole community, in which the ephebic torch-race was only one event. The ephebes were only one of the age categories who competed in these events – there were also races for the *pareutaktoi* (see sect. 0.2) at the Theseia, and for adult men at the Epitaphia (*IG* II^3 4, 396). A torch-race also appears on the relief decoration of *IG* II^2 1992 (mid-i AD). After the first century AD, references to torch-races are much rarer, but there are indications that they continued to occur. A torch-race is among the ephebic activities depicted in the relief on *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 and *IG* II^2 2119, the unusually full ephebic catalogue of 191/2 AD mentions a generic "torch-race," as well as two others "for the heroes" (perhaps a continuation of the Epitaphia?), and "for Gaius…" (Gaius Caesar, the grandson of

[188] Newby 2005, 179-92; Shear 2012, 165-66. E. Kapetanopoulos, *Horos* 10-12, 1992-98, 217 interpreted Μουνίχια in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD) as the Mounichia festival; Follet understood it to mean the contest took place "at Mounychia" in Piraeus. Ephebic association with Salamis: Parker 2007, 231, 238.

[189] On torch-races, see *AIUK* 4.5 (BM), sect. 2; Parker 2005, 472; Chankowski 2018, 58-59; Henderson 2020, 158-63. Wilson 2000, 322 n. 123 provides a list of Hellenistic festivals with torch-races.

[190] Friend 2019, 124 suggests teams of ten in the fourth century BC.

[191] Generic: *IG* II^3 4, 379, 382-384, 386-387, 390-391, 400, 405, 407, 410-411, 413. Sylleia: *IG* II^3 4, 375, see n. 194. Theseia: *IG* II^3 4, 377, 388, 396-397, see section 1.7. Epitaphia: *IG* II^3 4, 385, 395-397, see n. 173. Against the identification of the Theseia and Epitaphia, see Pélékidis 1962, 228-29; Pritchett 1998, 36-37. Hephaistia: *IG* II^3 4, 412; see *IG* I^3 82 with note, Parker 2005, 471-72; Pélékidis 1962, 252. Several of these dedications were erected in the Lykeion, see n. 11.

Augustus?) If Newby's argument that the *naumachia* ought to be associated with an ephebic crossing to Salamis for the Aianteia is accepted, the ephebes may also have continued to run the torch-race there, as they did in the Hellenistic period (*IG* II³ 1, 1166).

iii) Ephebic games

The most prominent ephebic festival activity in epigraphic record is the series of games funded and organised by the ephebic *agonothetai*. Most of these festivals were part of the imperial cult, but some honoured traditional gods and heroes. The number of festivals fluctuated over time: in 143/4 AD there were five (*IG* II^2 2050); by 201/2 AD that number had risen to thirteen (*IG* II^2 2193 and 2196). Thereafter it varied between seven and nine (e.g. *IG* II^2 2239 and 2245). A table presenting the names and dates of introduction of these festivals appears below, updating that found in Follet 1976, 318-28.[192]

The first of the imperial ephebic festivals to be firmly attested is the Germanikeia, in honour of Germanicus, the initial heir of the Emperor Tiberius, father of Gaius Caligula and brother of Claudius. The festival may have been instituted when Germanicus visited Athens in 18 AD, after his sudden death in 19 AD, or with the accession of Caligula or Claudius in 37 and 41 AD respectively. It is first attested in *IG* II^2 1969, ll. 24-5 (45/6 AD). As an heir to the throne, it may have been considered particularly appropriate for Germanicus to be commemorated by the ephebes. The survival of these honours for Germanicus, long after the extinction of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, is paralleled elsewhere in the Greek East.[193] There are some possible precursors to the Germanikeia, which may have helped inspire it: the short-lived Sylleia and Antonieia Panathenaia festivals, in honour of Sulla and of the triumvir Marcus Antonius, respectively, both of which descend in turn from honours given to Hellenistic kings. The Sylleia were probably established in 84 BC and probably lapsed after Sulla's death in 79 BC.[194] The Antonieia were instituted in 39 BC when Antonius served as gymnasiarch and abolished in 30 BC after the Battle of Actium.[195] Another possible precursor is a torch-race "for Gai[us …]," perhaps in honour of Gaius Caesar, Augustus' grandson and heir who was honoured as a "New Ares" when he visited Athens in 2/1 BC and received cult throughout Achaia when he died in 4 AD. This race is attested only in *IG* II^2 2119 (191/2 AD), but, if in honour of Gaius Caesar, is unlikely to

[192] Follet 1976, 230-31, 321-28. On these festivals generally: Graindor 1922, 165-214; Krumeich 2008, 137-38.

[193] Visit: Tact. *Ann.* 2.53.5-6. Graindor 1922, 176-79, Graindor 1931, 92; Follet 1976, 322; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007b, 131-33. On commemoration of Germanicus generally: Kantiréa 2007, 64; Blonce and Gangloff 2013, with 117-20 on Athens. For Germanicus' long afterlife, cf. *P Dura* 54, col. ii (military calendar of 224-35 AD from Dura-Europos).

[194] See *IG* II^3 4, 375 and *IG* II^2 1006+1039, with n. 6 on AIO. Pélékidis 1962, 236-39; Kantiréa 2007, 30-32. A. E. Raubitschek proposes the Sylleia was a rebranding of the Theseia and Epitaphia, because all three events featured torch-races and the date of the Theseia is close to the date of Sulla's victory games at Rome: Raubitschek 1951. If the Theseia and Epitaphia were not a single festival (see n. 191), this argument is weakened.

[195] See *IG* II^2 1043, ll. 22-23. Kantiréa 2007, 38. For the possible re-establishment of this festival, see n. 211.

have been instituted after the reign of Augustus.[196] As a young heir, Gaius, like Germanicus, would have been an appropriate honorand for the ephebes.

In Hadrian's reign, three new ephebic festivals were added: the Hadrianeia, the Antinoeia at Eleusis, and the Antinoeia in the City, all modelled on the Germanikeia. These new festivals honoured Hadrian and his young lover Antinoos who drowned in Egypt in 130 AD and was rapidly divinised. The ephebic priest of Antinoos was probably established at the same time as these festivals. As a god, Antinoos was presented as a paragon of male youth, and thus the model of what the ephebes were meant to be. The establishment of festivals in honour of Antinoos and Hadrian simultaneously stressed the relationship between them, which had been presented as a realisation of the pederastic mentorship propounded by Plato in the *Symposion*, in which the wise older man was to lead his youthful lover to virtue. This might have been seen as a model for the ephebes' relationship with their *kosmetes* (cf. sect. 2.1) or with Athens itself.[197] These festivals formed part of the wider Athenian programme of honours for Hadrian; an "adult" Hadrianeia festival was established as one of the Athenian penteteric games in 131 AD.[198] From Hadrian's reign until the mid-third century AD, new ephebic festivals were regularly instituted in honour of successive emperors. Some of these were short-lived, but many continued to be celebrated until the end of the ephebate. Most of these were clearly named for the emperor that they honoured: the Antoneia for Antoninus Pius, the Kommodeia for Commodus, etc. Uniquely, the Severeia for Septimius Severus were supplemented by a penteteric Great Severeia.[199] A couple of the festivals have less transparent names. The Philadelphia appears to have been established for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, shortly after their proclamation as joint-heirs in 138 AD or after their assumption of the throne in 161 AD.[200] The Epinikeia ("Victory Games") probably commemorated Lucius Verus' victory over the Parthians in 166 AD.[201]

In addition to these imperial festivals, there were also ephebic festivals in honour of traditional gods and heroes, which looked back to the mythic past of Athens, but often spoke to the Imperial present as well.[202] In the Hellenistic period, the ephebes celebrated the Theseia with the aforementioned torch-race and demonstrations of their military training (e.g. *IG* II^2 956-958, mid-ii BC). The torch-race endured until at least the end of the first century BC (see sect. 3.5.ii), but by the reign of Domitian the ephebes celebrated the Theseia with athletic games (*IG* II^2 1996). In the Imperial period, Theseus could be seen as a traditional Athenian precursor of the Emperor. The parallel is particularly clear from the inscriptions on the Arch of Hadrian, in which Hadrian places himself and Theseus on a par (*IG* II^2 5185). Theseus was also the prototypical ephebe, because his central myths, the journey from Troezen and the slaying of the Minotaur, revolved around his coming of age

[196] For the cult of Gaius, see *IG* II^2 3250, Kantirea 2007, 56-58, 145-46.
[197] Graindor 1934, 43. For the cult of Antinoos generally, see Birley 1997, 215-20; Jones 2010, 75-84; Smith 2018. The ephebic priest of Antinoos often funded one of the Antinoeia festivals, e.g. *IG* II^2 2059=2267, ll. 11-12 (136/7-147/8 AD); 2065, ll. 25-27 (150/1 AD); 2067, ll. 120-21 (154/5 AD); *SEG* 29.152b, ll. 9-10 (175/6 AD).
[198] Follet 1976, 129 n. 3, 331-33, 346-48; Spawforth 1989, 194.
[199] Follet 1976, 326-27.
[200] See n. 212; cf. *IG* II² 4779 a pair of statue bases honouring the *philadelphoi autokratores*.
[201] Follet 1976, 325. Cf. Graindor 1922, 195-98.
[202] Pélékidis 1962, 225-39; Parker 2007, 483-84.

as an ephebe. Both of these points are made explicitly in the inscribed ephebic oration *SEG* 50.155, which was probably delivered at the Theseia of 184/5 AD.[203] The *kosmetes* and (perhaps) the emperor Commodus as Archon instituted another ephebic festival, the Athenaia, in 188/9 AD in order to revive the "original" festival of Athena, which legend claimed had been held before Theseus created the Panathenaia (*IG* II^2 2116, ll. 17-21, 188/9 AD?).[204] The Amphiaraia commemorated Athenian control of Oropos, whose patron deity was Amphiaraos. It may have been (re-)instituted in response to challenges to that control under Septimius Severus. The ephebes and the cult of Amphiaraos had already been used to assert claims to Oropos in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[205]

The events which took place at the ephebic festivals are not usually enumerated. However, there are occasional references in other inscriptions, especially victor dedications, and they were included in ephebic catalogues for a brief period in the late 180s and early 190s AD.[206] At that point, most of the festivals consisted of roughly the same set of events. There were three "academic" contests: acting as a herald, delivering an encomium, and poetry (cf. sect. 3.4). There were also four footraces: the *stadion* (ca. 180 metres), the *diaulos* (ca. 360 metres), the *dolichos* (a long race of several kilometres), and the *hoplon* (ca. 180 metres, in armour). Finally, there were two combat events: wrestling (*pale*) and *pankration* (no-holds-barred wrestling). Except for the absence of musical events, this is a standard set of events, similar to that encountered at the Panathenaia and other Panhellenic Games in the imperial period.[207] Wrestling, *pankration*, and the *stadion* were split into three divisions (*taxeis*), labelled A, B, and Γ (*IG* II^2 2114, 2215, 2119). These do not seem to be consistent classes – in one case the same ephebe won two divisions at the same festival (*IG* II^2 2119, ll. 220-221). Thus, ephebic games had about fifteen separate events. Honorific herms occasionally refer to a specific ephebe as "the Herakles" (e.g. *IG* II^2 2051, ll. 106-10, "the Herakles Coponius Phileros"). This probably indicates they had achieved a particular combination of victories in the *pankration*.[208]

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[203] Cf. *IG* II^2 3606, ll. 18-22, which connects the ephebes' black cloaks with Theseus' black sails. For Theseus and the ephebes in earlier periods, see Henderson 2020, 108; Mikalson 1998, 249-53.
[204] Raubitschek 1949, 284 n. 8; Newby 2005, 176.
[205] Graindor 1922, 210-12; Petrakos 1968, 43-44, 196; Follet 1976, 320. A penteteric Amphiaraia was first celebrated in 329/8 BC, during an earlier period of Athenian control of Oropos: Parker 2005, 457. In the late Hellenistic period, when Oropos was not under Athenian control, ephebes "went to the Amphiaraon and learnt the history (ἱστόρησαν) of the control of the sanctuary by their fathers that has existed since ancient times, then they sacrificed and went back to their own territory that same day": *IG* II^2 1006, ll. 27-28; Henderson 2020, 155-57.
[206] Wilson 1992, 45. *IG* II^2 2038 (ca. 125 AD), *IG* II^2 2087 (163/4 AD); *SEG* 12.110 (166/7 AD), *IG* II^2 2120 (170s-190s AD), *IG* II^2 2114 (187/8 AD), *IG* II^2 2118 (189/90 AD); *IG* II^2 2119 (191/2 AD, the pinnacle of the phenomenon), Wilson 1992, E.016a (191/2 AD).
[207] Blonce and Gangloff 2013, 119-20. On these events: Philostr. *Gymn.* 3-11; Shear 2001, 241-79.
[208] Full list: *IG* II^2 3740 (142/3 AD, the Herakles Nigros, Herakles D-), *IG* II^2 2051 (144/5 AD, the Herakles Coponius Phileros), *IG* II^2 3744 (added to inscription of perhaps 174/5 AD, the Herakles Leontas and the Herakles Alexandros), *IG* II^2 3747 (Late ii AD, the Herakles Kalliphron), *IG* II^2 2137 (Late ii AD, the Herakles Elataios kai Andriades), *IG* II^2 2199 (203/4-207/8 AD, the Herakles Leonides). For Herakles and the *pankration*, see C. A. Forbes *AJP* 60, 1939, 473-74; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 6, 1970 47-49.

iv) The *Peri Alkes*

The contest *Peri Alkes* (literally, "about strength"), first appears in *SEG* 26.170 (136-147 AD) or *IG* II^2 2050 (143/4 AD) and is regularly listed with an *agonothetes* like the aforementioned festivals, but it seems to have been a different kind of event. In *SEG* 12.110, ll. 50-55 (166/7 AD), it is associated with a contest in wrestling and *pankration* at Eleusis for the *pareutaktoi* (see sect. 0.2) first held in honour of Herodes Atticus in that year. Graindor and Newby thus connect the whole festival with Atticus, but Follet argues against this, because the *Peri Alkes* is attested before the institution of this contest. In *SEG* 12.110, the *Peri Alkes* has a pair of ephebic *taxiarchs* ("infantry commanders", not attested for any other festival), which suggests a division into two groups. These teams might be connected with two groups of ephebes, the Theseidai and the Herakleidai, which appear, each with eleven members, in *IG* II^2 2119, ll. 255-78 (191/2 AD) at the end of the catalogue, immediately after the protreptic speech for the *Peri Alkes*, suggesting that they belong to the same event.[209] Sourlas 2015 (175/6 AD) is a partially preserved catalogue of Theseidai, inscribed on a marble shield, which contains at least eleven citizen ephebes and nine or more *epengraphoi*. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 7, a dedicatory plaque in honour of an unspecified ephebic victory at Eleusis might belong to the *Peri Alkes*. Perhaps the relief decoration, which depicts Herakles at rest, indicates a victory by the Herakleidai. If *SEG* 26.246 (late ii AD) describes a bull-lifting ritual, as discussed above (sect. 3.1), it appears to associate it with the *Peri Alkes*.[210]

[209] Graindor 1922, 201-6; Follet 1976, 57, 225, and 319; Newby 2005, 195-96.
[210] See n. 172.

Table 5: Attestations of ephebic festivals

Festival	Honouring	First Attestation		Last Attestation		Freq.
Epitaphia torch-race	Marathon	Hellenistic		*IG* II^3 4, 397	Late i BC	3
Theseia torch-race	Theseus	Hellenistic		*IG* II^3 4, 397	Late i BC	4
Sylleia	Sulla	*IG* II^3 4, 375	ca. 84-80 BC	*AIO* 1798	79/8 BC	2
Antoneia	M. Antonius	*AIO* 1838	37/6-36/5 BC	*IG* II^2 2245?	254/5 AD[211]	2
Theseia games	Theseus	*IG* II^2 1996	87/8 AD?	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	13
Naumachia	———	*IG* II^2 1996	87/8 AD?	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	7
Hephaistia torch-race	Hephaistos	*IG* II^3 4, 412	Late i AD			1
Germanikeia	Germanicus	*IG* II^2 1969	45/6 AD	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	38
Hadrianeia	Hadrian	*SEG* 26.170	136-142 AD	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	33
Antinoeia in the City	Antinoos	*SEG* 26.170	136-142 AD	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	37
Antinoeia at Eleusis	Antinoos	*SEG* 26.170	136-142 AD	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	34
Peri Alkes	———	*SEG* 26.170	136-142 AD	*IG* II^2 2201	210/1 AD	16
Philadelpheia	M. Aurelius and L. Verus	*IG* II^2 2051 or 2097	144/5 or 169/70 AD[212]	*SEG* 33.157	240s AD	20
Antoneia	Antoninus Pius	*IG* II^2 2068	155/6 AD	*IG* II^2 2239	238-243 AD	11
Sebastophoric gift at Plataia	———	*IG* II^2 2089	160s AD	Mitsos 1971, 1	216/7 AD	5
Epinikeia	M. Aurelius and L. Verus	*IG* II^2 2097	169/70 AD	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	18
Theseidai and Herakleidai	———	Sourlas 2015	175/6 AD	*IG* II^2 2119	191/2 AD	2
Kommodeia	Commodus	*IG* II^2 2113	187/8 AD	*IG* II^2 2208	215/6 AD	10
Athenaia	Athena	*IG* II^2 2116	188/9 AD?	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD	15
Severeia	Severus	*IG* II^2 2193	201/2 AD	*SEG* 33.189	235/6 AD	13
Amphiareia	Amphiareus	*IG* II^2 2193	201/2 AD	*IG* II^2 2242	237/8 AD	8
Alexandreia	Alexander Severus	*SEG* 26.184	220s AD			1
Gordianeia	Gordian III	*IG* II^2 2242	237/8 AD	*IG* II^2 2239	238-243 AD	2
Asklepeia	Asklepios	*IG* II^2 2245	254/5 AD			1

Events listed only in *IG* II^2 2119 (191/2 AD): Race to Agrai, Torch-race for the Heroes, Torch-race for Gaius…, speech at the Haloia of the ephebes.

[211] This celebration of the "Antoneia for Ma[rcus]" nearly three hundred years after honours for M. Antonius had been discontinued might be a reinterpretation of the Antoneia originally instituted for Antoninus Pius, cf. Follet 1976, 323-24.

[212] Follet 1976, 324-25 dismisses the mention of the Philadelphia in *IG* II^2 2051 as a graffito. Alternatively, Syllas' archonship may be misdated (144/5 AD is tentative: Byrne, *RCA*, 527) or perhaps the festival was inaugurated on Antoninius Pius' adoption of M. Aurelius and L. Verus in 138 AD.

4. EPHEBES AND STATUS

This section discusses the role of the ephebate in two kinds of status. The first kind is legal status: freedom and citizenship. The ephebate was only open to free men. On his tombstone, the *paidotribes* Abaskantos refers to himself as "the trainer of the free children" (*IG* II^2 6397), while Artemidoros' manual of dream interpretation states that a slave who dreams of being an ephebe "will be freed, since the law allows the ephebate only to the free" (*Oneir.* 1.54). In contrast to these clear statements regarding freedom, the situation in relation to citizenship is more complicated, being characterised by a combination of inclusion and exclusion. A certain group of non-citizens, known as *Milesioi* ("Milesians") or *epengraphoi* ("additional enrollees"), were allowed to enrol in the ephebate and did so in large numbers (see sect. 1.3), but there were limits on their participation. Going through the ephebate did not have any impact on their legal status – it was neither necessary nor sufficient to gain full citizen rights – but it demonstrated to themselves and others that they were part of the Athenian community.

The second kind of status considered in relation to the ephebate in this section is social prestige and membership of the civic elite. This too was characterised by a combination of inclusion and exclusion. Participation in the ephebate was not restricted to the highest levels of the social and political elite. Some aspects of the ephebate emphasised the community and equality of the ephebes. At the same time, most but not all of the opportunities that the ephebate provided for individuals and families to achieve prestige were open only to the wealthiest citizen ephebes.

4.1. Citizen and non-citizen ephebes

Participation in the Classical ephebate was restricted to Athenian citizens, but this changed in the late Hellenistic period, when ephebic catalogues began to include non-citizens, usually referred to as *xenoi* (foreigners). These *xenoi* are usually listed with their ethnics; they derive from throughout the eastern Mediterranean, especially Miletos, Antioch, and Cyprus. Some were permanent residents of Athens or Delos; others were members of commercial families or Hellenistic royal courts who were only resident at Athens while they were ephebes. Foreign ephebes first appear in *IG* II^2 1006+1031 (123/2 BC) and they rapidly grew from around a dozen individuals to form half the cohort. In the post-Sullan period, they appear in *IG* II^2 1006+1039 (79/8 BC), and *IG* II^2 1043 (37/6 or 36/5 BC). Other post-Sullan decrees are not intact, so it is uncertain whether they appeared on them. Non-citizen ephebes are also seen in other Greek cities in the Hellenistic period (e.g. *IK Priene* 41; *ID* 1922).[213]

When ephebic inscriptions reappear in the mid-first century AD, most of them do not provide clear evidence for the presence or absence of non-citizen ephebes. Terminology and formatting that clearly expresses a distinction between citizen and non-citizen ephebes appears only at the end of the first century AD. There seems to have been a period of flux from that point until the 140s AD, during which time five basic formats co-existed, as follows:

[213] Pélékidis 1962, 186-96; S. Follet, *Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 9, 1988, 19–32; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 250-53, 449-78; Henderson 2020, 267-73.

i) No ephebes have demotics

This format is mostly seen in *philoi* lists, which usually provide the patronymic and demotic for the ephebic staff and the inscriber, but list the friends themselves without demotic or patronymic, probably for reasons of space. As a result, any non-citizen ephebes who might have been present are rendered invisible to us. This format becomes very rare in any type of ephebic inscription after about 120 AD.

Examples:

Philoi lists: *IG* II^2 1969-1974, 1979, 1984-1987a, 1992 (mid-i AD); *IG* II^2 1998 (75/6 or 79/80 AD); *IG* II^2 2285 (Late i-early ii AD), *IG* II^2 2030 (100/1 AD); *IG* II^2 2002 (after 117 AD); *IG* II^2 2021 (ca. 120 AD)

Dedications: *IG* II^3 4, 414 (111/2 AD)

Honorific herms: *IG* II^2 2023 (112/3-114/5 AD)

Systremma list?: *IG* II^2 2142 (mid-ii AD)

Fragments: *IG* II^2 2062, 2074, 2163 (mid-ii AD), *IG* II^2 2168, 2240 (138-early iii AD)

ii) Ephebes with demotics and ephebes without demotics

There are a number of lists in which ephebes without demotics are mixed in with ephebes with demotics. An early example is *IG* II^3 4, 405, a dedication by the victors in an ephebic torch-race (mid-i AD). It appears in other dedications and *systremma* lists through the second century AD, but on only three official ephebic catalogues, all of which date to the early 140s AD. In two of these, the ephebes without demotics appear at the end of the whole list. In *IG* II^2 2051 (144/5 AD), however, all the ephebes are arranged in tribal order, but thirty-eight of them, listed last in their respective tribes, lack demotics. In other types of inscription, the ephebes without demotic are mixed in with the other ephebes in no apparent order. Caution is necessary with this category; in some cases, demotics are missing because of the way the stone has broken (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 4). In other cases, they may have been excluded for reasons of space.

Examples:

Dedications: *IG* II^3 4, 405 (mid-late i AD, most also lack patronymics); *IG* II^3 4, 421 (165/6 AD)

Ephebic catalogues: *IG* II^2 2049 (142/3 AD); *IG* II^2 2051 (144/5 AD?); *SEG* 29.152a (ca. 140 AD)

Systremma lists: *IG* II^2 2055 (145/6 AD); *IG* II^2 2129 (184/5 AD); *IG* II^2 2127 (196/7-200/1 AD)

Fragments: *IG* II^2 2257 (Late i-early ii AD); *IG* II^2 2022 (113/4-115/6 AD) ; *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 3 (ca. 110-120 AD)

iii) Milesians

In the reign of Domitian, *IG* II^2 1996, an exceptionally early ephebic catalogue includes 80 ephebes classed as *poleitai* (citizens) and arranged by tribe, followed by 177 ephebes classed as "Milesians." The term seems to be avoided in ephebic catalogues thereafter, though Milesians continue to appear in other less official types of ephebic inscription, alongside

ephebes with demotics. Three Milesians are also encountered in low-ranking roles in the ephebic staff.[214] As discussed below, these Milesians are widely attested in non-ephebic inscriptions as well, especially funerary inscriptions.

Examples:

Ephebic catalogues: *IG* II^2 1996 (87/8 AD?); *IG* II^2 2271 (ii AD)
Philoi lists: *IG* II^2 2024 (111/2 AD); *IG* II^2 2026a (115/6 or 116/7 AD)
List fragment: *IG* II^2 2035 (early ii AD)
Systremma lists: *IG* II^2 2087 (163/4 AD)

iv) *Protengraphoi* and *epengraphoi*

Beginning in the reign of Trajan, ephebic catalogues divide the ephebes into *protengraphoi* ("first enrollees") and *epengraphoi* ("additional enrollees"). The terms, which are not used in any other type of inscription, appear to derive from the "enrolment" (*engraphai*) of the ephebes, which Hellenistic decrees record at the beginning of the ephebic year alongside the *eisiteteria* sacrifices (see sect. 3.5). Both terms first appear in *IG* II^2 2017 (109/10 AD). The *protengraphoi* are last encountered in *IG* II^2 2068 (155/6 AD), while *epengraphoi* continue until the end of the ephebate.[215] Usually, the *protengraphoi* have demotics, while the *epengraphoi* do not, and neither group is arranged by tribe. However, there are exceptions. In *IG* II^2 2044 (139/40 AD) and *IG* II^2 2068 (155/6 AD), a couple of the *protengraphoi* lack demotics. Seventeen of the *epengraphoi* in *IG* II^2 2033+2064 (120s AD?) and all five in *IG* II^2 2034 (early ii AD?) have demotics, but these are the only inscriptions where this occurs.

Examples:

Ephebic catalogues: *IG* II^2 2017 (109/10 AD); *IG* II^2 2033+2064 (120s AD?); *IG* II^2 2034 (early ii AD?); *IG* II^2 2001+2046+2248 (138-161 AD); *IG* II^2 2044 (139/40 AD); *IG* II^2 2068 (155/6 AD)

v) Ephebes arranged by tribe and Epengraphoi

The term *epengraphoi* remains in use in ephebic catalogues after the term *protengraphoi* disappears. The non-*epengraphoi* are arranged by tribe, except in *IG* II^2 2059=2267 (136/7-147/8 AD). They are not usually referred to by any particular term.[216] However, in *IG* II^2 2015 (215/6 AD), they are revealingly introduced as "the rest of the citizen ephebes arranged by tribe" (οἱ ὑπόλοιποι τῶν πολειτῶν κατὰ φυλὴν ἔφηβοι), a phrase which contrasts them with the ephebes who had served as gymnasiarchs and ephebic archons, who were also citizens but not included in the tribal part of the catalogue, and with the *epengraphoi*, who are thus identified as non-citizens. The *epengraphoi* are consistently placed at the end of the

[214] Aristeas son of Aristeas (*thyroros* in *IG* II^2 2024, 111/2 AD), Trophimos (*thyroros* in *IG* II^2 2022-2023, ca. 112-115 AD), Threptos (*hypopaidotribes* in *IG* II^2 2018, ca. 120 AD), Telesphoros son of Abaskantos (*hypopaidotribes*, from 163/4-169/70 AD, see n. 221).
[215] Woloch 1971, 744-45; Follet 1976, 245.
[216] Follet 1972, 246; Wilson 1992, 460.

list. This format is the only one encountered in the official ephebic catalogues and ephebic herms after the 150s AD, so I do not list examples after that decade here.

Examples:

Ephebic catalogues: *IG* II^2 2059=2267 (136/7-147/8 AD); *IG* II^2 2042 (138/9-148/9 AD), *IG* II^2 2049 (142/3 AD), *IG* II^2 2050 (143/4 AD), *IG* II^2 2065 (150/1 AD), *IG* II^2 2056+2063+ 2079 (158/9 AD), etc.

Systremma list: *SEG* 14.97 (179/80 AD)

The status of Milesians and *epengraphoi*

It seems that "*epengraphoi*" was a term for Milesians who were going through the ephebate. Both Milesians and *epengraphoi* are explicitly distinguished from citizen ephebes (in *IG* II^2 1996 and *IG* II^2 2015, respectively). Marie-Françoise Baslez cites a number of examples of *epengraphoi* who are attested elsewhere as Milesians. The key evidence is *IG* II^2 2086 and *IG* II^2 2087, an ephebic catalogue and *systremma* list which both belong to the cohort of 163/4 AD. The *systremma* list contains three individuals identified as Milesians (Theotimos, Telesphoros, and Leonax, *IG* II^2 2087, ll. 56-58), who appear as *epengraphoi* in the catalogue.[217] Thus, the term Milesian was replaced by *epengraphoi* in ephebic catalogues in the reign of Trajan, but the term continued in use as an ethnic in other, less official contexts, such as *philoi* and *systremma* lists, as well as non-ephebic inscriptions. It seems likely that "ephebes without demotics" are also equivalent to *epengraphoi*, since they only appear in inscriptions in which there are no ephebes explicitly called *epengraphoi*. In the official ephebic catalogues, this form of (non-)labelling is limited to the 140s AD, but it was used intermittently in other types of inscription throughout the second century AD.

While the Hellenistic catalogues draw attention to the diverse origins of the *xenoi* by including their ethnics, the Imperial ephebic catalogues present the Milesians/*epengraphoi* as a single homogenous group. All appear to have been permanent residents in Athens and some can be traced for several generations. Some scholars have considered them to be immigrants or descendants of immigrants from Miletos.[218] However, none of them are attested at Miletos and none of them can be shown to have descended from the Milesians attested at Athens in the late Hellenistic period. Saskia Hin has shown that their demographic profile differs in significant ways from foreign residents in Roman Athens.[219] It seems likely that they were a group of semi-citizens, composed of freedmen and illegitimate children (of course these two categories could overlap).[220] A strong case in favour of this interpretation is provided by Telesphoros son of Abaskantos the Milesian,

[217] Baslez 1989, 33. There is a problem with Leonax (*IG* II^2 2087, l. 58), who does not appear anywhere in *IG* II^2 2086. He might be the *epengraphos* Kleonas son of Epagathos (l. 181). Cf. Byrne, *RCA* p. 149.

[218] Wilson 1992, 475-76; Vestergaard 2000; Wiemer 2011, 509-10; Gray 2002 collects all Milesian tombstones in Athens; summarised as Gray 2011, 49-50. On the community of Milesians in Hellenistic Athens, see Günther 2012.

[219] Hin 2016, 245-46, 251: There are more Milesians attested at Roman Athens than all foreign residents combined (523 vs. around 400). Whereas large migrant communities in Roman Athens mostly married within their own community, Milesians tended not to marry other Milesians.

[220] Baslez 1989, 24-27; Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 500; Lambert on *AIUK* 2 (BSA), no. 13.

who served as *hypopaidotribes* under Abaskantos son of Eumolpos of Kephisia from 162/3 or 163/4 until Abaskantos' death around 170/1. It seems almost certain that Telesphoros was related to Abaskantos, whether as a freedman or an illegitimate son.[221] It may be that the category of *epengraphoi* included other foreigners as well, but, if so, it is striking that there are no prestigious foreigners among them, as there are among the *xenoi* of the Hellenistic period – even though Athens remained a prominent international centre for education in the Imperial period.

The fact that Milesians/*epengraphoi* were included in the ephebate and its catalogues at all is significant, contrasting with both the general exclusion of non-citizens from the Classical ephebate and the late Hellenistic ephebate's openness to foreigners of all types.[222] The right of non-citizens to participate in civic institutions was the subject of controversy in second-century AD Athens. A set of legal disputes about supposed sons and grandsons of freedmen holding archonships and participating in the Areopagos required Imperial intervention in 161-169 AD and again in 174/5 AD (*SEG* 29.127).[223] This dispute, or something similar, is parodied by Lucian in *Zeus Tragoidos*.[224] The co-existence of the five different formats for listing non-citizen ephebes in the early second century AD may indicate an earlier period of uncertainty about how citizens and non-citizens should be differentiated in the ephebate. Such disputes might also explain the few occasions in the early second century AD, when *epengraphoi* bear tribal affiliations or demotics. Clearly, the *epengraphoi* themselves considered participation in the ephebate valuable, since they enrolled in high numbers, especially in the mid-second century AD (see sect. 1.3).[225]

Although the Milesians/*epengraphoi* thus enjoyed a privileged status, *vis à vis* other non-citizens, various aspects of the ephebate presented them as subordinate to the citizen ephebes. The most obvious example is the fact that they that they were listed at the bottom of the catalogues and labelled as "*additional* enrollees." This secondary status would have been reinforced if the registration of ephebes actually took place in two waves, as this label suggests, with the *epengraphoi* forced to wait until all the citizen ephebes had been registered. Similarly, Baslez suggests, they may have been placed second in processions.[226] The *epengraphoi* are never gymnasiarchs, *agonothetai*, or ephebic magistrates. On the one occasion when Milesians carried out gymnasiarchies, they are denied the title of gymnasiarch, and are baldly stated to have "paid for the oil" (*IG* II^2 2026a, ll. 21-30, 115/6 or 116/7 AD).[227] It is pretty clear that they participated in team competitions: the *systremma* lists show that they were members of *systremmata* (e.g. *IG* II^2 2087, *SEG* 14.97); *IG* II^3 4, 405 (mid-late i AD) probably indicates that they formed part of the relay teams in torch-races; and the team of Theseidai in Sourlas 2015 (175/6 AD) included at least nine *epengraphoi*. On the other hand, there is no certain example of a Milesian victor in the

[221] Baslez 1989, 29.
[222] See n. 213 above.
[223] *SEG* 29.127, ll. 27-34 and 57-80; Oliver 1970, 44-57; S. Follet, *Rev. Phil*. 53, 1979, 29-43: Baslez 1989, 31-36; N. Kennell, *CP* 92, 1997, 346-62.
[224] J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 101, 1980, 304-13.
[225] Cf. Spawforth 2012, 205 on the eager participation of the "heterogenous sub-elite" in the *genos* of the Amynandridai (*SEG* 30.120).
[226] Baslez 1989, 27-28.
[227] Graindor 1931, 91.

ephebic festival games – they may have been barred from participating in athletic competitions with individual victors.[228] By the third century AD, Milesians occur frequently as members of the ephebic staff, but usually in the roles with the lowest precedence: the *thyroros*, *kestrophylax*, and *hypopaidotribes*. They never hold the annual positions of *kosmetes* or *sophronistes*, nor even the more prestigious positions in the ephebic staff, like *paidotribes* and secretary. The *epengraphoi* were thus included in the ephebate alongside the citizens, but with limits that ensured the distinction between citizen and non-citizen remained clear.

4.2. The ephebate and citizen-status

Two possible institutional links between the ephebate and citizenship have been proposed in scholarship. Firstly, passage through the ephebate might have been necessary for men to assume citizen status. Secondly, non-citizens who went through the ephebate might have received citizenship on graduation. It is unlikely that either link existed in the Roman period – or at any other period in the history of the ephebate.

In the late fourth century BC, young men who were eligible for citizenship by birth had to be enrolled in their deme register (*lexiarchikon grammateion*) by their fellow demesmen, and pass a review (*dokimasia*) by the Council (*Ath. Pol*. 42.1-2). After this, they swore the "oath of the ephebes" (RO 88) – Lykourgos says all citizens did this (Lyc. 1.76). After recounting this procedure, the *Ath. Pol.* goes on to give an account of the ephebate. Some scholars have understood this to mean that undertaking the ephebate was required in order to assume or confirm full citizen status, but this opinion is no longer widely held. Several sources indicate that young men were considered to be citizens immediately following the enrolment and review – that is, an ephebe was a young citizen, not a "pre-citizen." Henderson emphasises that being an ephebe in this sense and participating in the ephebate were two different things. Moreover, demographic calculations indicate that even in the late fourth century BC, the period of greatest participation, not all young citizens went through the ephebate.[229] The very low levels of participation in the Hellenistic period make a connection between the ephebate and citizenship even less likely at that time. For the same reason, it seems unlikely that such a requirement could have existed in the Roman period, although participation in the ephebate was higher than in the Hellenistic age. As mentioned above, Artemidoros' dream manual and Abaskantos' epitaph associate the ephebate with free status not citizen-status. The main piece of evidence cited in favour of the ephebate being a prerequisite for citizenship in the Roman period is the *Boule Papyrus*, a letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians in Egypt, which declares that anyone who had passed through the Alexandrian ephebate was entitled to citizenship (*P Lond.* 1912, *PSI* 1160 = Oliver 1989, no. 19). This evidence has very little relevance; Alexandria used the "laws of Athens" at its foundation, but its political structures were very different by the Roman period and Claudius' decision in the Papyrus appears to be an innovation.[230]

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[228] Cf. Van Nijf 2001, 325-27 on the politics of class and athletic victory in Imperial Asia Minor.
[229] *Ath. Pol.* 43.1; Hypereides fr 192 (Jansen) = Harp. *sv.* ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῆσαι / ε, *IG* II^2 1156, l. 61. *RO*, pp. 442-53; Friend 2019, 95-100; Henderson 2020, 30-35, 144-47. On the demographic factors, see n. 254 below. For the old view, see Reinmuth 1948.
[230] Oliver 1970, 49.

A weaker form of the argument for a connection between the ephebate and citizenship is that completing the ephebate was necessary in order to exercise some privileges of citizenship. Families who participated in the ephebate and families who held high civic offices overlapped in the Roman period, as in the Hellenistic Age.[231] In *Zeus Tragoidos* Lucian presents the Olympian gods participating in a parody of an Athenian Assembly, and Momos says to Apollo:

> Moreover, you are now fully entitled (*ennomos*) to speak in the Assembly, since you have long ago left the ephebes, and have been enlisted in the *lexiarchikon* of the twelve gods, and are nearly in the Council of Kronos, so stop playing the baby with us and tell us what you think already, without shame at speaking in the assembly as an "unbearded youth" – especially when you have such a long and full-bearded son in Asklepios![232]

It is unclear how much weight should be put on this parody, in which Lucian draws on contemporary and Classical practice indiscriminately. At any rate, the point of Momos' remarks is not really whether Apollo has fulfilled a set of legal requirements that entitle him to speak in the Assembly, but that it is absurd for him to claim (as he does in the preceding lines) that he is too young to legally address the Assembly. Insofar as the ephebate is presented as a qualification, it is only one alongside being "enlisted" (ἐγγεγραμμένος) in the *lexiarchikon* register (not otherwise attested in the Roman period).[233] Along with the right to speak in the Assembly, Lucian mentions service on a Council; it has been proposed that going through the ephebate was necessary in order to serve on the Council of Five Hundred. In support of this, Geagan noted that a high number of Councillors in the Imperial period are attested as former ephebes. However, many Councillors are not otherwise attested and Woloch has put forward demographic arguments suggesting that the number of people in the Roman period who served on the Council at some point in their lives would have exceeded the number who went through the ephebate.[234] The note on admission criteria to the Council in Marcus Aurelius' letter to the Athenians (*SEG* 29.127 ii, ll. 94-102 = Oliver 1989, no. 184) makes no reference to such a requirement, stating only that Councillors had to be freeborn. Finally, prosopographic evidence from Athens yields many examples of prominent citizens who are not attested as ephebes, most notably Herodes Atticus, his father Atticus, and his son Regillus, who are known to have undertaken the ephebate in Sparta rather than Athens.[235] Holding multiple citizenships was common among the Athenian elite, so it is unlikely that Herodes' family were the only prominent Athenians who underwent

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[231] See sect. 4.3. For the Hellenistic period, see Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, esp. 81-86, 401-6; Lambert 2012, 87-89.

[232] σὺ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἤδη ἔννομος εἶ δημηγόρος, πρόπαλαι μὲν ἐξ ἐφήβων γεγονώς, ἐγγεγραμμένος δὲ ἐς τὸ τῶν δώδεκα ληξιαρχικόν, καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ Κρόνου βουλῆς ὤν· ὥστε μὴ μειρακιεύου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λέγε θαρρῶν ἤδη τὰ δοκοῦντα, μηδὲν αἰδεσθεὶς εἰ ἀγένειος ὢν δημηγορήσεις, καὶ ταῦτα βαθυπώγωνα καὶ εὐγένειον οὕτως υἱὸν ἔχων τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν: Luc. *Zeus Trag*. 26.

[233] cf. Whitehead 1986, 35, n. 130.

[234] Geagan 1967, 74-76; Woloch 1971, 744, cf. n. 259 below. Geagan follows Dow 1958, 436 in further proposing that the increase in ephebes in the early third century AD resulted from the expansion of the Council to 750 members at an uncertain date, but perhaps ca. 230 AD.

[235] A. J. S. Spawforth, *ABSA* 75, 1980, 203-20; Ameling 1983, ii, no. 70.

the ephebate in a city other than Athens.[236] On the whole, it seems unlikely that completing the ephebate was a requirement for exercise any civic rights.

The idea that non-citizen ephebes received citizenship on graduation was proposed by O. Reinmuth, Ch. Pélékidis, and M. J. Osborne for the late Hellenistic period, because Athenian naturalisation decrees cease ca. 130 BC, around the same time that the ephebate was opened to foreigners (in or before 122/1 BC). Osborne also identified four non-citizen ephebes attested subsequently as citizens.[237] However, further evidence has invalidated these prosopographic arguments and there is growing consensus that the ephebate was not a route to citizenship in the Hellenistic period.[238] For the Roman period, there is one example of a Milesian/*epengraphos* who later appears with citizenship and three examples with citizen descendants, as follows:

- Zopyros son of Eraseinos of Gargettos, *epengraphos* in *IG* II^2 2033+2064, l. 46 (120s AD), and member of the Council of 500 in *Agora* XV 331 (138/9 AD).
- Titus Flavius Synegdemos, Milesian in *IG* II^2 1996, l. 90 (87/8 AD?), father of Titus Flavius Synekdemos of Marathon, ephebic gymnasiarch in *IG* II^2 2024, l. 16 (111/2 AD).
- Kosmos son of Agapetos, Milesian in *IG* II^2 2026A, ll. 23-4 (115/6 or 116/7 AD), probable ancestor of Kosmos son of Agapetos of Akamantis in *IG* II^2 2051, l. 44 (144/5 AD).
- Attikos son of Pollianus, *epengraphos* in *SEG* 12.123, l. 134 (170s-190s AD), probable ancestor of Claudius Atticus Pollianus, secretary of the Council in *SEG* 34.136 (ca. 230 AD) and his homonymous son, Councillor in *Agora* XV.491, l. 26 (231/2 AD).

As noted above, *IG* II^2 2051 (144/5 AD) includes the non-citizen ephebes in the tribal cohorts, while in *IG* II^2 2033+2064 (120s AD?) and *IG* II^2 2034 (early ii AD?) the *epengraphoi* bear demotics. The above-listed Zopyros of Gargettos derives from one of these unusual lists and his citizenship may be a product of whatever special circumstances led to those *epengraphoi* being listed with demotics.[239] It is not necessary to conclude that the other cases achieved their citizenship as a result of participation in the ephebate. There are several counterexamples of Milesians/*epengraphoi*, who remained non-citizens after completing the ephebate, such as Artemas son of Demetrios, who was an *epengraphos* in *IG* II^2 2068, l. 160 (155/6 AD) and who funerary inscription (*IG* II^2 9431) indicates that he died as a Milesian. *Epengraphoi* whose descendants are themselves attested as *epengraphoi* are also fairly common. One example is Moschos son of Moschos, Milesian in *IG* II^2 2024, l. 63 (111/2 AD) and his probable son, Euporos son of Moschos who appears in turn as an *epengraphos* in *IG* II^2 2044, l. 138 (139/40 AD). The case of Telesphoros, who remained a Milesian while serving as a *hypopaidotribes* alongside Abaskantos, is also suggestive,

[236] Alcock 1993, 78.
[237] Reinmuth 1948, 218-19; Pélékidis 1962, 187-96; Osborne, *Naturalization*, 105-7, 144-45, 166-68.
[238] Byrne 2003, 11 n. 33; Perrin-Saminadayar 2004b, 67-91; Oliver 2007, 287-88; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 470-74.
[239] Woloch 1971, 745

though we have no definite evidence that he had undertaken the ephebate.[240] It thus seems more likely that some *epengraphoi* were honoured with grants of citizenship over the course of their lives, than that they automatically received citizenship on completing the ephebate.

4.3. Elitism, hierarchy and exclusivity

One of the key questions in scholarship on Athens in all periods is the role of institutions in the relationship between elites and non-elites, in expressing or suppressing hierarchies of status. Roman Athens was essentially an oligarchy, dominated *de facto* and *de jure* by a narrow aristocracy of wealth and descent. While authority was ultimately vested in the People in the Classical period and (at least nominally) in the Hellenistic Age, in Roman Athens it was shared by the Areopagos Council, the Council of 600 (later 500), and the People. Of these, it was the Areopagos, whose membership was restricted to former archons, that held the greatest prestige and seems to have taken the leading role in government. "Areopagite" gradually developed into a hereditary social status with special privileges, akin to the Roman Senatorial and Curial orders.[241] "Good birth" (*eugeneia*) became a publicly celebrated civic virtue, as did possession of a rhetorical education (*paideia*) that was open only to the wealthy.[242] The most prestigious priesthoods became more strictly hereditary than they had been in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and were often held by the same narrow elite which held the highest political offices.[243] Over the course of the first two centuries AD, nearly all members of this narrow elite gained Roman citizenship.[244] At the same time, Athens' heritage was an important source of prestige in this period and democratic ideas and rhetoric remained an important part of that heritage.[245] Members of the elite were expected to justify their pre-eminence by spectacular benefactions to the community.[246] The elite was not a united group – on several occasions in the second century AD feuds between its members had to be submitted to Imperial arbitration.[247] Nor was it a closed group – old families faded away and newcomers leveraged wealth or connections into pre-eminence.[248] There was a large sub-elite that lacked the resources to play a dominant role in their own community, but nevertheless possessed some political and economic means. This group was included in civic institutions (in subordinate roles) and imputed the same civic virtues as the elite (to a lesser degree). Individual members of the

[240] Baslez 1989, 24-27; Byrne, *RCA*, p. 229. Cf. Woloch 1971, 744-45.
[241] Geagan 1967, 41-91; J. H. Oliver *GRBS* 22, 1981, 83-88; Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2017, 11-56, 159-80. See *IG* II^2 1990 with notes on AIO.
[242] Lambert 2012, 89-92; Webb 2017.
[243] Aleshire and Lambert 2011; Lambert 2012, 89-92. Less prestigious priesthoods were not restricted to this class: Camia 2014, 139-48, which parallels the distinction between *kosmetai* and *sophronistai* advanced below.
[244] Byrne, *RCA*, pp. xi-xvi; Balzat 2019, 217-36. Some Athenians outside the elite also achieved Roman citizenship, including large numbers of freedmen. In 212 AD Caracalla extended Roman citizenship to all free men in the Empire.
[245] See *AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17 with notes.
[246] Quass 1993; Zuiderhoek 2009, with vast further bibliography.
[247] See *SEG* 29.127, with Oliver 1970; *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 15, with notes on Herodes Atticus.
[248] See *IG* II^2 1990 on AIO with note on Tiberius Claudius Novius, cf. n. 272 below.

sub-elite could rise to fill gaps created in the dominant elite by emigration and mortality.[249] Like Athens as a whole, the ephebate was generally an elitist and exclusive organisation in the Imperial period, as Éric Perrin-Saminadayar and Hans-Ulrich Wiemer have stressed, particularly in comparison with the Classical institution.[250] However, some aspects of it were inclusive, even egalitarian, and it offered opportunities for individuals outside the highest ranks of the elite to gain prestige and perhaps achieve upward social mobility.

After the fourth century BC, the Athenian state no longer covered the ephebate's costs.[251] Ephebes were not allowed to earn money by working or speaking during the ephebate (Artem. *Onir.* 1.54) and they thus needed sufficient wealth to pay for food, clothing, and accommodation for the whole year. These costs must have presented a barrier to poor Athenians participating in the ephebate. However, other factors may have ameliorated these costs. Most of the largest expenses of the ephebate were paid for by the wealthy as liturgies (e.g. oil by the gymnasiarchs) and thus entry fees may not have been high, if they existed at all.[252] Benefactions may also have helped with individual expenses. Herodes Atticus' donation of cloaks has already been discussed (sect. 3.1). The post-Sullan ephebic decree, *IG* II^2 1043, ll. 64-65 (37/6 or 36/5 BC), honours a wealthy ephebe for "keeping his fellow ephebes unencumbered and exempt from fees (*anepibaretous kai aneisphorous*)." Wealthy benefactors provided banquets for the whole cohort on important occasions (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, ll. 59-64, 89-95). The *philoi* lists show ephebes constructing patronage networks by paying for inscriptions of their friends and fellow ephebes (see sect. 1.2); they may also have been willing to help with their friends' living expenses. The *kosmetai* sometimes paid the cost of ephebic liturgies when no one else could; they may also have covered costs of individual ephebes, as occurred in the Hellenistic period (e.g. *IG* II^2 1009, ll. 39-41). There were also some distributions from civic funds. From the late second century AD, the sebastophoric fund made a small distribution of money to all the ephebes to cover the cost of their journey to Plataia (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, ll. 38-44). In the third century AD, the ephebes were included in the distribution from the Eleusinian endowment at the Mysteries (*AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 17, ll. 27-31, 34-36).[253] Thus, while a wealth cap on participation in the ephebate undoubtedly existed, it may not have been exorbitant.

In fact, the evidence discussed in section 1.3 shows that the ephebic cohorts in the Imperial period usually ranged between 100 and 250 ephebes, with an average figure of around 105 citizens and 55 *epengraphoi*. This is very high, second only to the late fourth century BC (335-317 BC), when the ephebic cohort varied between ca. 450 and ca. 600 individuals. By contrast, in the early Hellenistic period (267-167 BC), numbers varied from 20 to 55 ephebes per year. During the late Hellenistic period (167-88 BC), the total number of ephebes ranged between ca. 70 and 179, with a growing proportion of foreigners over

[249] Spawforth 2012, 192-204, discussing the eagerness of members of this group to join the *genos* of the Amynandridai (*SEG* 30.120), on which see also Aleshire and Lambert 2011. Cf. Zuiderhoek 2009, esp. 113-53 on civic virtues and social mobility in Asia Minor.
[250] Perrin-Saminadayar 2004a; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 256-59; Wiemer 2011, 499-510.
[251] Gauthier 1985, 159-61; Henderson 2020, 201-5.
[252] Hin 2007, 150-52.
[253] Cf. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 381-99; Geagan 1967, 163-86.

time, which complicates the analysis since they are not exactly analogous to the Milesians/*epengraphoi* of the Imperial period (see section 4.2).[254] At the end of the Post-Sullan period, *IG* II^2 1963 (13/2 BC) lists around sixty names, with six out of twelve tribes preserved, suggesting a cohort of around 120 citizen ephebes.[255] The *philoi* lists *IG* II^2 1969-1971 indicate a similar level of participation in 45/6 AD (see sect. 1.2), while the size of the cohort in *IG* II^2 1996 from the reign of Domitian shows participation at the same level as in the second and third centuries AD. Throughout the Imperial period, then, participation was higher than it had been in the Hellenistic Age and second only to the late Classical period. A similar trend toward high participation has been observed in the ephebates of other, smaller Greek cities in this period.[256]

However, the population of Athens was not static from the Classical Age through the Imperial period. M. H. Hansen placed the male citizen population in the late fourth century BC at 30,000. It is likely that the cohort of 18-year-old men in this population would form ca. 2.5% of the total male population (i.e. 750).[257] This would mean that in the fourth century BC, around two-thirds to four-fifths of citizen youths were going through the ephebic programme. The proportion in the Imperial period is harder to calculate, since there have been no detailed studies of the Athenian population at this time. Saskia Hin cites estimates by Ian Morris and other unnamed scholars of between 10,000 and 20,000 for the total "inhabitants" of post-Classical Athens.[258] If these estimates are correct, they imply a population of between 4,250 and 8,500 free men (i.e. citizens and non-citizens, subtracting a slave population of 15%), thus an 18-year-old cohort of 105-210. The ephebic catalogues themselves show that the lower figure is impossible and the higher figure would indicate far higher levels of participation than even in the late Classical period. This suggests that the population estimates cited by Hin are too low. Other evidence supports this. Participation in the Assembly and the Council and numbers of funerary inscriptions suggest that the citizen body was smaller than in the Classical period, but not dramatically so, and that the population remained roughly the same size in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[259] Resolving this issue is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. However, if the male citizen population was ca. 20,000 (i.e. two-thirds of the Classical population), there would have been about 500 18-year-old male citizens each year and the average cohort of 105 citizen ephebes would have represented around a fifth of eligible citizens. If it was 15,000 (i.e. half the Classical number), then 375 were eligible and the cohort represents a quarter (These

[254] Hansen 1988, 3-6; Friend 2019, 95-100; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a, 59, 267; Henderson 2020, 33-35, 359-60.
[255] Schmalz 2008, 47.
[256] Hin 2007, 150-54.
[257] Hansen 1985, 30-69, 91-94; Hansen et al. 1990, 27; Akrigg 2019, 30-32 for age profile and 38-88 for methodological caveats.
[258] Hin 2016, 235
[259] Attendance at one first-century BC Assembly was 3,600, about two-thirds of fourth-century attendance: Hansen et al. 1990, 28. From the second century AD, double terms on the Council become much more common and third/fourth terms occasionally occur, even though the Council's size had been reduced from 600 to 500 members: Geagan 1967, 75-76. Even if all councillors served three terms, 5,000 individuals would have served in a thirty-year period: Woloch 1971, 743. Funerary epigraphy: Hansen et al. 1990, 25-44; D. Grigoropoulos, *G&R* 56, 2009, 164–82.

figures exclude the *epengraphoi* as non-citizen; if they are included in the figure for the "male citizen population", the proportions are 42% and 56% respectively). Thus, although only a minority participated in the ephebate, it was a substantially larger minority than that which dominated the chief magistracies and the Areopagos. Prosopographic study of the regular citizen ephebes in the ephebic catalogues also suggests that they were drawn from outside the office-holding elite. Most of the 74 regular citizen ephebes in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, are not otherwise attested, and none belonged to families that held higher office than membership of the Council of 500.[260] Inclusivity was in the interests of the elite figures who managed the ephebate, since a large cohort lent prestige to its leaders. *IG* II^2 2048, a herm honouring the *kosmetes* of 140/1 AD, stresses the high number of ephebes in his year. The effort that the *kosmetai* put into listing all the ephebes and as many staff as possible in the ephebic catalogues indicates that the size of the cohort redounded to the *kosmetes*' credit.

Ephebes were not all included to the same degree; as Hans Ulrich Wiemer has emphasised, the ephebate's model of Athenian society was hierarchical.[261] The inscriptions showcase hierarchies within the ephebate, with the ephebes who held magistracies or performed liturgies having precedence over the mass of citizen ephebes, who in turn had precedence over the non-citizen *epengraphoi* (cf. sect. 4.2). This hierarchy was probably mirrored in the order that ephebes marched in processions, in their seating arrangements, etc. However, the hierarchy and elitism of the ephebate were balanced to some degree by other features of the institution. Although some ephebes received more prestige than others, all ephebes received acknowledgement in the ephebic catalogues. The collective identity of all the ephebes as a group of peers was emphasised by the fact that all ephebes wore the same *chlamys* and by the use of collective names like *kestrophoroi*, *aleiphomenoi*, and *synepheboi* (*kestros*-bearers, oil-smeared ones, fellow ephebes).[262] It was common in Athens and other Greek cities in the Imperial period for disbursements of money to be limited to a certain elite group or for elites to receive more, but when the sebastophoric fund and the Eleusinian endowment distributed money to the ephebes, they all received the same sum (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, ll. 38-45).[263] As a collective, they were celebrated as the embodiment of the community's ideals, traditions, and hopes for the future (see sect. 3). Whenever they honoured their *kosmetai*, teachers, and fellow ephebes they asserted some degree of collective agency. This co-existence of hierarchical and inclusive aspects is typical of gymnasium-culture in the Greek East in this period. It helped resolve the dissonance between the egalitarian civic ideology that cities had inherited from the Classical period and their stratified realities.[264]

The key opportunity that the ephebate provided for gaining prestige and prominence – service as an ephebic liturgist – framed status as a reward for providing clearly defined

[260] See *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, with commentary and notes. In *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5, identifications are hampered by the regular omission of demotics, but include one *kestrophylax* and one councillor (*AIUK* 4.3B (BM), p. 35 n. 113).
[261] Wiemer 2011, 499-507; Hin 2007, 150-54. On hierarchisation, cf. Zuiderhoek 2009, 86-109.
[262] cf. Friend 2019, 87-94.
[263] Zuiderhoek 2009, 98-105. Cf. n. 253.
[264] Cf. Zuiderhoek 2009, 91.

benefits to the whole group, and permitted any citizen ephebe with the means to do so to compete for status with the scions of the noblest families. However, only the wealthy had such means. Moreover, the most prominent ephebes tended to be related to their *kosmetai*, who used the ephebate to vault their sons into public prominence early.[265] Although the sons of *kosmetai* are already encountered in cohorts from the Hellenistic period,[266] they were more prominent in the cohort and their personal relationship to the *kosmetes* was presented more explicitly in the Roman period. From the late second century AD onwards, the leading role in erecting honorific herms for the *kosmetai* tends to be taken by their own sons, allowing them to associate themselves with their father's successes. For example, in *IG* II^2 3769 (240s AD), a pair of brothers honour their father for his service as *antikosmetes*, as well as his victories in Panhellenic games, his *cursus honorum*, and his (and thus their own) noble descent. The flexible age limit of the ephebate allowed wealthy families to enrol a number of sons in a single year (cf. sect. 0.2). This enabled families to advertise their wealth and internal unity. In *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 (195/6 AD), for example, ephebic general Publius Aelius Cornelius of Pallene and ephebic *basileus* Publius Aelius Pheidimos of Pallene are probably relatives of the *antikosmetes* Publius Aelius Isochrysos of Pallene and members of the family of Publii Aelii of Pallene whose members held multiple archonships and Eleusinian priesthoods in this period and claimed descent from Konon, the fourth-century BC general.[267] Between them, the two Aelii performed six of the year's ephebic liturgies. The family thus dominates the ephebic catalogue as they must have dominated the lives of the year's ephebes. This co-ordination in the ephebate continued after graduation; Isochrysos, Cornelius, and Pheidimos appear together again at the top of a list of *prytaneis* in *Agora* XV 447 around a decade later. The only figure in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10 who matched the prominence of the Aelii was Philistides, the gymnasiarch for the whole year and co-funder of the *naumachia* with one of the Aelii. His father, uncle, and grandfather had been eponymous archons; he was the year's ephebic archon and would hold the adult position in due course (ca. 225 AD).[268] Both figures show how the ephebate helped perpetuate the pre-eminent position of elite families over time.

Not all the opportunities for prominence offered by the ephebate were limited to this highest, wealthiest elite. The annual boards of *sophronistai* established in the reign of Hadrian were prestigious positions (see sect. 2.1), listed near the head of the ephebic catalogues, occasionally setting up commemorative monuments (e.g. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 7) and receiving herms like the *kosmetai* (e.g. *IG* II^2 3735). Their sons were usually not ephebic liturgists, but tend to be listed first within their tribal cohorts. Like the *kosmetai*, the *sophronistai* were treated as incarnations of a key civic virtue (*sophrosyne*) which the ephebes were expected to learn. Their service probably involved a significant outlay of time, in order to monitor the ephebes, but it is not clear that it necessarily involved the outlay of any money. Prosopographic study helps clarify their backgrounds. In *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, six of the twelve *sophronistai* and *hyposophronistai* are attested

[265] The same phenomenon is seen in Imperial ephebates in other *poleis*: e.g. *IG* V.2, 50 (Tegea); *IG* XII Suppl. 646 (Chalkis).
[266] e.g. *IG* II^3 1, 1176, ll. 50-56, 92-93 (203/2 BC).
[267] For this family, see Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 12-19.
[268] Byrne, *RCA*, p. xv, 509-10.

elsewhere, but exclusively as members of the Council of 500 or as the relatives of other *sophronistai*. The cohort contained eleven sons of *sophronistai*, generally listed first in their respective tribe. None of them possessed Roman citizenship, whereas most of the Athenians who held high office in the second and third centuries AD did. A survey of individuals bearing the *nomina* Aelius, Claudius, and Flavius listed in Byrne *RCA* reinforces the impression that the *sophronistai* came from outside the core elite. Out of 695 Athenian citizens listed with those *nomina*, there are only fourteen *(hypo)sophronistai*. Of these, only five are attested in any other role – three as Councillors or relatives thereof, one as a member of the ephebic staff, and one as the father of an ephebic gymnasiarch (Claudius Epaphrodeitos, *IG* II^2 2245, l. 171 of 254/5 AD). Thus, the holders of these positions were not drawn from the bottom of the social spectrum, but nor were they generally from the same level as the *kosmetai* and the ephebic liturgists. In the Classical period, the *sophronistai* were elected by the ephebes' fathers in conjunction with the Assembly (*Ath. Pol.* 42.2). Whether this method was used in the Roman period or not, the resulting board of *sophronistai* derived from a similar social class to the citizen ephebes as a whole.

In a similar manner, the ephebate also provided an opportunity to receive honour for expertise, time, and effort, rather than wealth, to the members of the ephebic staff (see sect. 2.2). A particularly notable example of this is Abaskantos son of Eumolpos of Kephisia, in office as *paidotribes* for thirty-four years from 136/7-169/70 AD and attested in no other public role. During that time, he clearly became a fixture of the ephebate. His name and year of tenure appear prominently, alongside that of the *kosmetes*, on most ephebic inscriptions from that period, including private dedications like *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 7. Probably in 156/7 AD, he received an honorific monument from the ephebes and the Areopagos (*IG* II^2 3737), like those granted to *kosmetai*. There is clearly a disparity, in that *kosmetai* received that honour invariably for a year's service, while Abaskantos received his monument extraordinarily, probably in honour of his twentieth year in post. But the value Abaskantos placed on this role and the recognition he earnt from it is clear from his grave stele (*IG* II^2 6397), "Abaskantos son of Eumolpos of Kephisia, may he live, *paidotribes* of the free children." He may also have used the ephebate to build family prestige. His son or freedman, Telesphoros the Milesian's position as *hypopaidotribes* has been mentioned above (sect. 4.2). An Abaskantos son of Abaskantos of Kephisia who served as *kosmetes* at the end of the second century AD might also be a son, drawing on the *paidotribes*' legacy to achieve the position (*IG* II^2 2127).[269] Abaskantos was exceptional and the *paidotribes* was the most prestigious of the ephebic staff positions, but there are some parallels for his success. One Zosimos set up a dedication or received a statue in his role as ephebic *didaskalos* (*IG* II^2 3751, 177-200 AD), showing it too was considered a position worth celebrating. Straton son of Kithairon of Acharnai, secretary (191/2-215/6 AD) also held an unspecified priesthood from 195/6 onwards (*AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10), showing that he enjoyed a moderate level of status. The inheritance of staff positions within a family is common.[270] The fact that the whole ephebic staff were listed in the ephebic

[269] Follet 1976, 206-26.

[270] e.g. Nikias son of Antigonos of Pallene, *hoplomachos* of *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5 (43-46 AD) was father of Sostratos son of Nikias of Pallene, *hoplomachos* of *AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 2 (ca. 80 AD).

catalogues – usually before even the most prominent ephebes and often with the number of years they had served – indicates a desire to reward service with social prestige.

Finally, part of the value of the athletic and oratorical contests that the ephebes engaged in was that they measured individual virtue in a manner that appeared objective and independent of ancestry or wealth.[271] *IG* II^2 2119, an ephebic catalogue of 191/2 AD, allows us to assess the extent to which this idea was a reality, since it includes a list of that year's victories: a total of 112 victories across six festivals (the victors in another 45 events are lost), three torch-races, and the *naumachia* (as well as the "race to Agrai" which was won by "all the ephebes"). In total, the surviving list gives 41 victors (most won multiple events), as follows:

Table 6: Ephebic victors in *IG* II^2 2119

	Number of victories	Number of individual victors	Total ephebes in the cohort[a]
Ephebic archons and liturgists	39	12	21
Citizen ephebes (non-liturgists)	73	31	ca. 50-70
Epengraphoi	0	0	ca. 30
Total	112	41	ca. 100-120

[a] The total size of the cohort of 191/2 is unfortunately not preserved, so these totals are estimated from the known cohorts of the 190s and 200s AD.

It appears that the *epengraphoi* were barred from participation in individual events, but that around half of the remaining ephebes would enjoy at least one victory in the course of the year. The rich ephebes who served as liturgists and archons had a better chance of securing a victory than the regular citizen ephebes. It is likely that they had received more training, especially in oratory, and only they could afford costs of the *naumachia*. But even for them, success in these contests was not a foregone conclusion; the ephebic archon of the year, Aurelius Alkamenes appears only once in the list of victors, delivering a special oration (i.e. not actually a victory) at a festival he had funded. All citizen ephebes thus seem to have had a realistic prospect of achieving victory, and thus social prestige, from their competitions.

Theoretically, then, the ephebate could have enabled upward social mobility, especially for families with money but outside the established elite, since the positions of prestige were ostensibly open to any citizen and there were a range of less expensive positions that might have been used as stepping stones.[272] In practice, it is difficult to identify clear cases of such mobility. Any example in which a family appears to rise to

[271] Van Nijf 2008, 215.

[272] On social mobility, see K. Hopkins, *Past & Present* 32, 1965, 12-26; Zuiderhoek 2009, 133-50; Tacoma 2015, 125-46; *Social Dynamics* 2017, with much further bibliography.

prominence could be attributed to gaps in our evidence. One example might be the aforementioned Abaskantos and his sons. Another may be Chrestos of Marathon, who first appears as a regular citizen ephebe without Roman citizenship and with no known antecedents in the late second century AD (*IG* II^2 2123, ll. 21-22). In 219/20 AD he was a *sophronistes* (*IG* II^2 2223, l. 25), as was a relative in 215/6 AD (*IG* II^2 2208, l. 20). Finally, he achieved the position of *kosmetes*, probably in 234/5 AD (*IG* II^2 2235). Chrestos was prevented from using the position to promote his son Apphianos when the latter died at the start of the year, but the loss was commemorated with two honorific monuments for Apphianos granted by decree of the Areopagos (*AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 16, *Agora* XVIII 145), thereby acknowledging the family's public relevance. So far as we can tell, it was Chrestos' contributions to the ephebate that had given him this public profile.

Services to the ephebate could lend an up-and-coming Athenian a public profile because, as we have seen, the ephebate was an institution of central importance to Athens in the Imperial period. Throughout the first three centuries AD, large numbers of young male residents of Athens enrolled each year, not because participation was required in order to achieve citizen status or other legal privileges, but because it was socially desirable. A new *kosmetes* and board of *sophronistai* were found each year to oversee the ephebate and the ephebic staff actually grew over time. Based in the centre of the city and marked out by their cloaks, the ephebes must have been a distinctive feature of the cityscape, even when they were not competing in festival games, marching in processions, or guarding the Assembly. Furthermore, the ephebate played a central role in articulating ideals of free manhood, Athenian identity, and the continued relevance of Athens' Classical heritage. Although grounded in the Athenian past, the idea of Athens that the ephebate presented differed from that presented by its Classical predecessor. It emphasised Athens' friendship with the Imperial power, modelled a hierarchical social structure, and celebrated the wealth and family ties of the sons of the Athenian elite, as they launched their public lives. But it also gave all ephebes an opportunity to participate in civic life and to be seen to achieve the standards of physical and moral excellence laid down by Theseus and the victors of Marathon.

5. CATALOGUE OF ATHENIAN EPHEBIC INSCRIPTIONS (80s BC–AD 264)

The dates below indicate the year in which the Archon took office (i.e. 163 AD = 163/4 AD). The archon-dates are those given by Byrne *RCA*, Schmalz, and AIO, except when otherwise noted. Lists that are too fragmentary to determine what type of inscription they are, are referred to as "fragments" or "lists of names." D-K = "St. Demetrios Katephores"

IG **II³ 4**	***IG*** **II²**	**Wilson 1992**	**Other reference**	**Monument Type**	**Inscription Type**	**Museum no. [find spot]**	**Year**	**Archon**	***Kosmetes***	**Relief**
370	2991a		*Agora* XVIII 130	Base	Dedication: Mellephebes to Muses	Ag. I 191 [Agora]	Early i BC	Philemon		
			I Rhamnous 200	Graffito	*Philoi* list[273]	Rhamnous I 503 [Rhamnous]	i BC?			
			I Rhamnous 201	Plaque	*Philoi* list	Rhamnous I 1021 [Rhamnous]	i BC?			
			SEG 19.97	Stele	Ephebic decree[274]	Ag. I 5131 [Agora]	i BC?			
375			*Agora* XVIII 131, *SEG* 37.135	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Hermes	Ag. I 4117 [Agora]	80s			
	1006, 1039		*SEG* 22.110; 38.117; *AIO Papers* 11B, no 1	Stele	Ephebic decree and catalogue	EM 4193, 4208, 5259, 7368, 7638-7641, 7643, 8032, 10341	79	Apollodoros	Hedylos Stratonos Lamptreus	
376			*SEG* 36.267, 41.174, 51.188, 54.16, 55.308, Lupu, *NGSL* 4	Stele	Dedication: Ritual regulation for Pan and Nymphs	Marathon Λ 231 [Marathon]	61	Theophemos		
377	2992			Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor	EM 8407	60			

[273] The identification of *I Rhamnous* 200-201 as ephebic inscriptions is uncertain.
[274] For the date, see Tracy, *ALC* p. 253.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
378			*Agora* XVIII 132, *SEG* 21.685, 60.219	Base	Dedication: *Tamias* to Hermes	Ag. I 5738 [Agora]	59	Leukios		
379			*SEG* 60.217	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor	Ath. Eph. BA 1439 [Roman Agora]	59			
	3016			Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *tamias*	[Piraeus]	59			Crown
			Hesperia 4, 1935, 177, 43	Stele	Honorific: Ephebes for *tamias*	EM 12756 [Acropolis, North slope]	59			Crown
			Hesperia 3, 1934, 39, 27	Stele	Honorific: Ephebes for *paidotribes*	Ag. I 328 [Agora]	59-34			
380	2993			Base	Dedication: Gymnasiarch to Hermes	EM 8406	55	Aristoxenos		
381				Base	Dedication	Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 2661 [between Kyrrhestou-Erechtheos and Adrianou st]	55?			
382				Base	Dedication: Lampadarch to Hermes	Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 2367 [Adrianou St]	53	Diodoros		
383			*Agora* XVIII 133	Base	Dedication: Lampadarch to Hermes	Ag. I 123 [Hephaistou St]	50? 49?	De-		

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
384	2989		Schmalz 97	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Hermes	EM 2840	Mid-i BC			
	1965, 3730		Schmalz 48, 98, *SEG* 17.53, *AE*, 1970, 123, 5	Stele	Ephebic decree and catalogue[275]	EM 3744, 8431	45-40			
	1961		Schmalz 47, *SEG* 34.153		Ephebic decree and catalogue	Pesaro Museum	45-40			Three crowns
	2463		Schmalz 49		List of names	EM 3132	45-40			
			SEG 59.169	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Ag. I 7545 [Agora, late Roman fill]	ca. 45-40			Three crowns
386			*Agora* XVIII 136, *SEG* 21.686, 60.218	Base	Dedication: Lampadarch to Hermes	Ag. I 6577A [Agora]	44	Leukios Rhamnousios *neoteros*		
	1041		*SEG* 17.33, *AIO Papers* 11B, no 2	Stele	Ephebic decree and catalogue	EM 7668-69 [D-K]	43 or 42	Polycharmos		Crown
	1042		*AIUK* 4.2 (BM), no. 16, *AIO Papers* 11B, no 3		Ephebic decree and catalogue	EM 7606 [Acropolis], BM 1864, 0220.21 [near D-K]	40-39			
387	2994			Base	Dedication: Lampadarch to Muses	EM 8724 [Plaka]	38-37	Menandros		
	1043 with add p. 671		*SEG* 22.112, 30.81, 38.119, 49.130, *AIO Papers* 11B, no 4	Stele	Ephebic decree and catalogue	EM 4197, 10342 [D-K]	37-36			

[275] For the dating of this and the following three inscriptions, see Daly 2009, 409-12 and S. Follet, *BE* 2010, no. 230.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
388	2995		Schmalz 99, *SEG* 59.192	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Hermes	EM 2676	37-36	Kallikratides		
390			Schmalz 100, *SEG* 38.176	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Hermes	Ath. Eph. M 743 [North Agora]	36, 34 BC, or mid-i AD	Asklepiodoros		
391			*SEG* 55.262		Dedication: Lampadarch	Lost [near D-K]	35	Theopeithes		
392	1966	E.019	Schmalz 52, *SEG* 55.264	Base	Dedication: Victor/Lampadarch	EM 3583	35-18 BC			
385	3151		Schmalz 91	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor	EM 8409	30-20 BC?			
393	2996	E.001	Schmalz 93	Base	Dedication: *Agonothetes* to Apollo	EM 12395 [Acropolis, north slope]	25-18 BC	Diotimos Halieus		
	3262, 4725			Base	Dedication: *Agonothetes* to Augustus Caesar "the New Apollo"	EM 4561, 2844, 4929, 3130	21 BC?			
	1025, 1040		*SEG* 22.111, 54.198, 59.132, *AIO Papers* 11B, no 5	Stele	Ephebic decree and catalogue	EM 7608, 7609, 7610, 5246 [Panagia Pyrgiotissa]	ca. 20 BC			
394				Base	Dedication: Lampadarch	Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 41 [Plaka]	ca. 20 BC			
	1962	E.074	Schmalz 51	Fragment	List of names	EM 8537	20-10 BC			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
399			Schmalz 92, *SEG* 50.196, 54.304	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Apollo (*pareutaktoi*)	Aph. Eph. M 4135	19-17 BC?			
395	2997	E.003	Schmalz 94	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Hermes	EM 8616 [D-K]	17 BC	Apolexis		
	1963	E.076	Schmalz 53	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10039 [D-K]	13 BC	Zenon	Menekles Theophemou Kydathenaieus	
401	3001	E.025	*AIUK* 4.5 (BM, forthcoming)	Base	Dedication: Gymnasiarch	BM 1816, 610. 202	Late i BC			
402	3002	E.020		Epistyle	Dedication: Gymnasiarch	In situ [city wall, corner of Menandrou and Pl. Theatrou]	Late i BC			
396	2998	E.002		Base	Dedication: Torch-race victors (*pareutaktoi*)	EM 10734 [Acharnian Gate]	Late i BC			
397	2999	E.003	Schmalz 95	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victors (*pareutaktoi*)	EM 8408 [Lykeion]	Late i BC			
398	2875		*SEG* 19.192, 39.203	Base	Dedication: Epimeletes of Lykeion	Ath. Eph. M 2453 [St Nikodemos]	Late i BC			
400			*Agora* XVIII 134, *SEG* 19.200	Base	Dedication: Lampadarch	Ag. I 2928 [Agora]	Late i BC			
	1964	E.075	Schmalz 50	Stele	List of names	EM 6157	Late i BC		Argaios	

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
403			*SEG* 63.161	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Hermes	Aph. Eph. ΠΛ 522 [Adrianou St]	Late i BC-early i AD			
404			*Agora* XVIII 135	Base	Dedication?	Ag. I 1875 [Agora]	Late I BC-early I AD			
			Φόρος *Meritt*, 118-19, 3	Stele	List of names	Roman Agora store 896 [near D-K]	Late i BC-early i AD			
	1978	E.080		Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 3640	Early or mid-i AD		… Dositheou Pambotades	
407				Base	Dedication: Lampadarch	Kerameikos I 96 [Kerameikos]	i AD			
408	2883			Base	Dedication: Gymnasiarch	Ath. Eph. PA 1881 [Roman Agora]	i AD			
409	3003a		*Agora* XVIII 110	Base	Dedication: Gymnasiarch? Lampadarch?	Ag. I 491 [Agora]	i AD			
410			*Agora* XVIII 140, *SEG* 14.116	Altar	Dedication: Torch-race victor	Ag. I 3835 [Agora]	i AD			
			Agora XVIII 137	Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor?	Ag. I 4275 [Agora]	i AD?	…		
			Agora XVIII 139, *SEG* 19.159	Column	*Philoi* List	Ag. I 2713 [Agora]	i AD			
			Agora XVIII 141, *SEG* 21.634	Graffito	*Philoi* List	Ag. I 6092 [Great Drain, Agora]	i AD			
			Agora XVIII 142	Stele	*Philoi* List?	Ag. I 3345 [Agora]	i AD			

IG II³ 4	*IG* II²	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	1973b	E.096	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.) no. 8	Stele	List of names	AN C 2.56 [Agora]	i-ii AD			
			Agora XVIII 144	Stele	Fragment	Ag. I 3295 [Agora]	i-ii AD		…	
		E.079a	*Hesperia* 30, 1954, 22,14	Fragment	List of names	Ag. I 2418 [Agora]	i-ii AD			
	2181	E.079		Fragment	List of names	EM 4167	i-iii AD			
	3731	E.072		Herm	Honorific: *Polis* for ephebe	EM 1884 [D-K?]	i-iii AD			
			Ta Athenaika 14, 1959, 10, 24		Ephebic catalogue	?	i-iii AD			
389	1967	E.081	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 4; *SEG* 56.214	Stele	Dedication: Ephebes to Hermes	AN C 2.55	36	Rhoimetalkes		
	2071	E.186		Stele	Dedication or ephebic catalogue[276]	EM 890	37-40			
	1989	E.092	Schmalz 55, *SEG* 34.155	Stele	*Philoi* List[277]	EM 5288, 3066 [D-K]	39, 40	Diokles	-kles Marathonios	
	1968	E.094	Schmalz 61	Block	*Philoi* List	Lost	41-54	Mithridates	… -okratou Rhamnousios	
	1973a	E.085	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 5, Schmalz 62	Plaque	*Philoi* List	AN C 2.56	41-54	Metrodoros	Dionysiodoros Dionysiodorou Phlyeus	Vase
	1974	E.086	Schmalz 63	Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 10748	41-54	Kallikratides	Nikosthenes	
	1988 = 2264	E.087			Fragment	EM 4345 [D-K]	41-54			

[276] Wilson 1992 (with Kirchner and Follet) dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) because the phrase ἐν [ἄρχοντι... is characteristic of that period, but (i) an equally plausible restoration would be ἐν [τῷ ἐπὶ... , like *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 4, and (ii) the first line reads [ἀγ]αθῇ [τύχῃ] Γαίου Σεβα[στοῦ...] which places the inscription in the reign of Gaius Caligula (37-41 AD).

[277] Wilson 1992, 202-203 dates to the reign Nero.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	1976	E.089		Stele	List of names	EM 8454	41-54		Theodoros (Dionysiou)	
	1977	E.090		Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 3655	41-54		Theodoros Dionysiou	
	1975	E.088	Schmalz 57	Stele	List of names	EM 215 [near D-K]	ca. 42	Lysiades	-ai- Xystou Marathonios	
	1969	E.082	Schmalz 58	Stele	*Philoi* List	Columbia Univ., Pap. and Epig. no. 475	45	Antipatros	Kleon (Menestheos Azenieus)	
	1970	E.083	Schmalz 59, *SEG* 34.154	Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 8640, 3850	45	Antipatros	Kleon Menestheos Azenieus	
	1971	E.083	Schmalz 60	Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 3648	45			
	1972	E.095			*Philoi* List?	EM 9657 [D-K]	Mid-i AD			
	1979	E.097	Schmalz 64	Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 8455 [St Athenasios, Psyri, NE Plaka]	Mid-i AD	[De]mosthenes	… Di-	
	1980	E.091	Schmalz 56	Stele	*Philoi* List?	EM 3646	Mid-i AD			Crown
	1982	E.098		Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 4002	Mid-i AD			
	1983	E.099		Herm	*Philoi* List	EM 5150	Mid-i AD			
	1985	E.101		Column	*Philoi* List	EM 5432	Mid-i AD			
	1986	E.102		Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 8557	Mid-i AD			
	1987	E.103		Living rock	*Philoi* List	In situ [Acropolis, east of Thrasyllos' Cave]	Mid-i AD			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	Add. 1987a	E.104		Beam	*Philoi* List	Lost [near Tower of the Winds]	Mid-i AD			
	1984	E.100		Stele	*Philoi* List	Lost [north of Stoa of Attalos]	Mid-i AD			
	1991	E.105	Schmalz 54	Stele	List of names	EM 2885	Mid-i AD	[Diot]imos [of Besa]?		
		E.106	*Hesperia* 29, 1960, 59, 92	Herm	*Philoi* List	Ag. I 2178 [Agora, east end of South Stoa]	Mid-i AD			
		E.107	*Hesperia* 30, 1961, 20, 12	Capital	*Philoi* List	Ag. I 2713 [Agora]	Mid-i AD			
			Hesperia 61, 1992, 381-84	Stele	Honorific?	Louvre MA 833	Mid-i AD			Ephebe with palm, vase, herm, trainer
			Agora XVIII 138, *SEG* 19.158	Herm	*Philoi* List	Ag. I 3178 [Agora]	Mid-i AD			
		E.108	*Agora* XVIII 143, *SEG* 21.621	Column	*Philoi* List	Ag. I 6445 [Agora]	Mid-i AD			
		E.109	Νέον Ἀθήναιον 3, 1958/60, 6-7, 2	Herm	*Philoi* List	Acropolis Museum?	Mid-i AD			
			SEG 18.58	Herm	*Philoi* list	?	Mid-i AD			
405	3004	E.005			Dedication: Torch-race victors, Attalis[278]	Lost	Mid-late i			

[278] For the date: Wilson 1992, 25.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2189	E.110		Stele	List of names	EM 6161	Mid-i-mid-ii			
	2273	E.111		Stele	List of names	Lost	Mid-i-mid-ii			
	2274	E.112		Stele	List of names	Lost [near Metropolis]	Mid-i-mid-ii			
	2275	E.113		Stele	List of names	Lost [D-K]	Mid-i-mid-ii			
	2009, 2010	E.114	*SEG* 13.51	Stele	List of names	EM 3702, 3697, 3866, 4158, 8545	Mid-i-iii			
	2011	E.115		Stele	List of names	EM 4647 [Tower of the Winds]	Mid-i-iii			
	2287	E.116		Fragment	List of names	Lost	Mid-i-iii			
		E.117	*Agora* XV 338	Fragment	List of names	Ag. I 1841 [Agora]	Mid-i-iii			
		E.118	*Agora* XV 349	Fragment	List of names	Ag. I 2369 [Agora]	Mid-i-iii			
	1992	E.006	Schmalz 66	Stele	Honorific: *Synephebes* for torch-race victors	Squillace, Italy?	55-65	Leukios	Antiochos	2 crowns; 2 boys with torches
	1990	E.093	Schmalz 65; *SEG* 37.127	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8653 [D-K]	61	Thrasyllos	Epiktetos Epiktetou Eupyrides	
	1998	E.127		Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 8457 [D-K]	75 or 96	Aiolion	Demetrios Demetriou Sphettios	
	1993	E.119	*AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 2	Fragment	Ephebic catalogue?	BM1816, 0610.335	ca. 80	…		

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	1994	E.120		Fragment	*Philoi* List	EM 8453 [D-K]	ca. 80	…	A…	
	1995	E.121			*Philoi* List	EM 8456 [Roman Agora store 874]	ca. 80	…	… Anaphlystios	
	2000			Fragment	Fragment	EM 9649 [Asklepieion]	81-96	Mou-		
	1996	E.124		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10343 [D-K]	87?		Straton Stratonos Epikepheisios	
	2178	E.122		Fragment	List of names	EM 3662	88-iii			
	2282	E.123		Fragment	List of names	Lost	88-iii			
	1997	E.125		Stele	Honorific?	EM 9647 [Asklepeion]	91	Tribellius Rufus	T. Flavius …	Ship (part)
406	3009	E.007		Stele	Dedication: Gymnasiarch	Maffeiano 27 [Library of Hadrian]	95	Theon	Dionysios	Palm; Vase
	7671		*SEG* 26.242	Stele	Honorific?	Lost	98-117			Youth holding bough
	2030	E.126		Herm?	*Philoi* List	Lost	100	L. Vibullus Hipparchos	Eukrates Hermiou Phylasios	
	2006	E.128		Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 8527 [D-K?]	Late i		-ou ek Koiles	
	2007	E.129		Stele	*Philoi* list	EM 3781	Late i		…	
	2008	E.130		Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 8518, 4196	Late i	Dionysodoros		
411	3005	E.008		Altar	Dedication: Torch-race victor	Maffeiano 115.55 [Roman Agora]	Late i			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
412	3006	E.009		Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor (Attalis)	Lost	Late i			
413	3007	E.010		Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor	Lost [Little Metropolis]	Late i			
	2257	E.131	*SEG* 12.139	Stele	List of names	EM 3666	Late i-early ii			
	2271	E.190		Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	Lost	Late i-ii			
	2004	E.132		Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 8523	Late i-early iii			
	2169	E.133		Block	List of names	EM 8552	Late i-early iii			
	2175	E.134		Stele	List of names	EM 2175	Late i-early iii			
	2185	E.135		Stele	List of names	EM 3633, 4171	Late i-early iii			Lost (2 feet survive)
	2258	E.136		Stele	List of names	EM 3615ab	Late i-early iii			
	2285	E.137		Fragment	List of names	Lost [Salamis, Ag. Miras]	Late i-early iii			
		E.079a	*Agora* XV 490	Fragment	List of names	Ag. I 3606 [Agora]	Late i-early iii			
	2027	E.162		Fragment	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 3010	Early ii			
	2033, 2064	E.157		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 382, 3591	Early ii			
	2034	E.160		Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3674	Early ii			
	2035	E.161		Stele	List of names	EM 2768, 2913	Early ii			
		E.163	*Horos* 4, 1986, 41, 3	Fragment	List of names	Lost	Early-mid-ii			
			SEG 21.625	Herm	List of names	Ag. I 6884 [Agora]	ii			
	2143	E.225		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 2687	ii-iii		… Palleneus	
	2177	E.315		Stele	List of names	EM 3632, 4185	ii-iii			
	2182	E.164		Stele	List of names	EM 4127, 4169 [D-K]	ii-iii			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2184	E.165		Stele	List of names	EM 4157	ii-iii			
	2187	E.316		Fragment	List of names	EM 3147	ii-iii			
	2188	E.166		Stele	List of names	EM 8555	ii-iii			
	2262	E.265		Fragment	Ephebic catalogue?	Lost	ii-iii			
	2263	E.266	*SEG* 26.197	Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	Lost [Propylaia]	ii-iii			
	2277	E.267		Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	Lost [D-K]	ii-iii			
	2279	E.317		Fragment	List of names	Lost [D-K]	ii-iii			
	2284	E.318		Fragment	List of names	Lost	ii-iii			
	3732	E.052	*SEG* 12.153	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 5683 [Acropolis]	ii-iii	Flavius Iakchagogos Agrylleus	… Sphettios	Shield
	3752=2013	E.054	*SEG* 30.151	Herm	Honorific: for *kosmetes*	EM 2104	ii-iii		Leukios	
	3753	E.055	*SEG* 30.152	Herm	Honorific: for *sophronistes*?	Lost	ii-iii			
	3754	E.056		Herm	Honorific: for deceased ephebe	EM 10306	ii-iii			
	3756	E.062		Bust on pillar	Honorific: Son for *kosmetes*	EM 2953	ii-iii		Hermeias (Theodorou?)	
	3757	E.057		Herm	Honorific: for *kosmetes*?	Lost	ii-iii		Antonius Helenos Marathonios?	
	3758	E.016		Herm	Honorific: for ephebic victor	EM 10356 [D-K]	ii-iii			Crown
	3759	E.058		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*?	EM 8628	ii-iii			
	3767	E.060		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	EM 9599	ii-iii		Kallippos Antiphon?	

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3772	E.061		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	Lost	ii-iii			
			SEG 14.100	Stele	List of names	Ag. I 3393 [Agora]	ii-iii			
			SEG 14.101	Stele	List of names	Ag. I 3886 [Agora]	ii-iii			
		E.167	*Hesperia* 29, 1960, 61, 111	Herm?	List of names	Ag. I 3092 [Agora]	ii-iii			
		E.168	*Hesperia* 32, 1963, 42, 47	Herm	List of names	Ag. I 6884 [Agora]	ii-iii			
	2032	E.138		Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 8466 [D-K]	107?	Flavius …	… Phylasios	
	2037	E.140	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 6	Block	Honorific: Ephebe for *kosmetes*	AN C 2.54	108	C. Julius Casius Steirieus	A. Pontius Nymphodotos Azenieus	
	2017	E.139	*SEG* 37.128	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	NM 1469 [D-K]	109	Flavius Pantainos Gargettios	Eirenaios Leukiou Kydathenaieus	Ephebes crown *kosmetes*, amphorae
	2024	E.142		Herm	*Philoi* List	EM 10360 [D-K]	111	Hadrian	Dositheos Herakleidou Pambotades	
414	2025	E.021		Plaque	Dedication by *Synstephanoi*	EM 8463 [D-K]	111		Dositheos Herakleidou Pambotades	
	2023	E.143		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for son of *kosmetes*	EM 10340 [Monastiraki, Ag. Eirene]	112-114	Didius Secundus Sphettios	Archikles Archikleous Lakkiades	

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
415	3008	E.022		Herm?	Honorific	EM 4876	112-114	(Didius) Secundus Sphettios		
	2022	E.144	*SEG* 32.210	Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 8459-8462, 4057, 3803 [D-K]	113-115			Lost (3 feet visible)
	2026A	E.146		Herm	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10323, 10323a, 1868 [D-K]	115-116	Flavius Macrinus Acharneus	Menekrates Menekratous Eupyrides	3 crowns, palm
	2028	E.145	*AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 3	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	BM 1816, 0610.162 [House of English consul, near D-K]	110-120			
416	3010	E.023		Block	Building inscription	EM 12388	117-138		Heliodoros Dionysiou Sounieus	
	2002	E.147		Stele	List of names	EM 4666, 4666a-b	After 117			Bird
	2150	E.148		Herm	*Philoi* List	EM 8525	After 117		… Aelius Philo-Marathonios	
	2172	E.149		Herm	List of names	EM 4104	After 117			
	2261	E.150		Stele	List of names	EM 3146	After 117			
	2291	E.151	*SEG* 26.179	Fragment	List of names	Lost	After 117			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2018	E.152		Stele	*Philoi* List	EM 10040 [D-K?]	ca. 120	Zopyros Dionysiou Argylethen	…	Ephebes crown *kosmetes*
	2019, 2072	E.155a		Herm	List of names	EM 8469, 3737, 3883 [D-K]	ca. 120			
	2020	E.155	*SEG* 31.140, 32.211	Stele	List of names	Louvre MA 842, EM 8464	ca. 120			
	2021	E.027		Herm	Honorific: Polis and ephebes for *kosmetes*	NM 384 [D-K]	ca. 120	Fulvius Metrodoros Sounieus	Heliodoros Heliodorou Peiraieus	
	2029	E.153		Stele	Honorific: Ephebes for gymnasiarchs	EM 8645	ca. 120			
	2031	E.154	*SEG* 3.262	Stele	List of names	NM Θ69	ca. 120			Bearded bust, within wreath
	2167, 2473	E.156		Stele	*Systremma* list?	EM 6147, 3664, 8549 [D-K?]	120-130			Ship
	3745	E.032		Herm	Honorific: for *kosmetes*	EM 3634	120-130	D. Junius Patron Berenikides	Da- … Oethen	
	Uninscribed				Ephebic catalogue	NM 1468 [D-K]	120-140?			Ephebes crown *kosmetes*; hydria; ship
	2038	E.141	*SEG* 12.112	Stele	Fragment	EM 3675	ca. 125			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3744	E.031		Herm	Honorific: Areopagos for *kosmetes*/secretary	NM 387 [D-K]	ca. 125-135, 174?	Claudius Lysiades[279]	Onasos Trophimou Palleneus	
	3736	E.041		Herm	Honorific: *Polis* for *kosmetes* or ephebe?	EM 10358 [D-K]	After 125		Eisidoros Eisidorou Marathonios?	
	3735	E.028		Herm	Honorific	EM 2013	After 125			
	3733	E.029		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for ephebic archon	EM 10374	126	Herodes Atticus	*Iakchagogos* Dionysiou Marathonios	
	3734	E.030	*SEG* 26.243	Stele	Honorific: Ephebe for a friend	EM 8432, 9983	126	Herodes Atticus	*Esthlos* Iakchou *hieropolis*	Amphora, crown, palm
	2040	E.158	*SEG* 24.156, 32.212	Herm	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 3256, 4017 [D-K]	127	Memmius [Peisan]dros Kollyteus		
	2041	E.159		Base	Honorific: *kosmetes* and ephebes for Hadrian	EM 10368 [D-K]	128-130	Claudius Domitianus Bes(aieus)	Apollonios Aphrodisiou Acharneus	
	2059=2267	E.170	*SEG* 26.170, 28.194	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10042, 3686 [D-K]	136, 138 144, 147			
	2073	E.169	*SEG* 12.118	Stele	List of names	EM 3652, 3598	136-16			

[279] Byrne, *RCA*, 157-58, 164-65, 509, 538 distinguishes two archonships held by individuals called Claudius Lysiades, one dating to ca. 125-135 (this inscription) and one dating to 174/5 AD or thereabouts (*IG* II^2 3609). This is because he follows Graindor 1934, 270-71 and Follet 1976, 276 n. 8 in dating *IG* II^2 3744 to the reign of Hadrian, for which there seems to be no firm basis.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2042	E.171		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 9653 [near Hadrian's Library]	138? 141?			
	2001, 2046, 2248	E.183		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8458, 8520, 9649, 9650 [D-K]	138?			Ship
	2058	E.185		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 9652 [near Hadrian's Library]	138-161			
	2077	E.187		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 395	138-161		Apollonios	
	2084	E.188		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	NM Θ70	138-161			
	2170, 2179	E.172		Stele	List of names	EM 3727, 8556	138-161			
	2211	E.189	*SEG* 28.193, 59.176	Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 2224	138-161			
	2120g	E.176		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8536 [D-K?]	138-iii			
	2156	E.173		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	NM. Denmark	138-iii			
	2168	E.174	*SEG* 12.129	Stele	List of names	EM 8148	138-iii			
	2240	E.175	*SEG* 12.135	Stele	List of names	EM 4164	138-iii			
	2270	E.182		Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	Lost	138-iii			
		E.179	*Hesperia* 29, 1960, 36, 43	Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	Ag. I 4213 [Agora]	138-iii			
		E.177	*Hesperia* 29, 1960, 63, 106	Fragment	List of names	Ag. I 4595 [Agora]	138-iii			
		E.180	*Hesperia* 30, 1961, 254, 53	Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	Ag. I 5735 [Agora]	138-iii			
	2044	E.181		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	NM 1484 [D-K]	139	Flavius Alkibiades Paianieus	Archelaos Apolloniou Peiraieus	Ephebes crown *kosmetes*

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3738	E.034			Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	Lost [House of Venaldes]	139		Archelaos Apolloniou Peiraieus	
	3773	E.035			Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	Lost [Acropolis, St. Georgios]	139?		Archelaos (Apolloniou Peiraieus?)	
	2047	E.191		Stele	Honorific: *Systremma* for *kosmetes sophronistai*, and *paidotribes*	EM 3001, 8467	140	Ti. Claudius Attalos Sphettios	Eirenaios Eirenaiou Paianieus	Shield, crowns, amphora
	2048	E.036		Herm	Dedication: *Kosmetes*, son, and fellow ephebe	Lost	140	Ti. Claudius Attalos Sphettios	Eirenaios Eirenaiou Paianieus	
	2069, 2138, 2162, 2166, 2045, 2093, 2061, 2165, 2173, 2288, 2078, 2171	E.192	*SEG* 28.198, 29.152A	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3051, 3563, 3593, 3629, 3644, 3649, 3562, 3707, 3746, 3748, 3800, 3812, 3824, 3848, 3852, 3855, 3903, 4137, 4166, 4175, 4209	ca. 140		… Gargettios	
	3739	E.037		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	NM 385 [D-K]	141	P. Aelius Phileas Meliteus	Sosistratos Sosistratou Marathon.	
	2049	E.193		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8641 [D-K]	142			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3740	E.038		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	NM 386 [D-K]	142		Claudius Chrysippos Phlya	Crown, two palms
	2050	E.194	*SEG* 24.191	Stele	Ephebic catalogue[280]	EM 12554 = NM 1483 [D-K]	143	P. Aelius Vibullius Rufus	Dionysios Dionysiou Azenieus	Ephebes crown armed figure
	2051	E.184	*SEG* 21.623	Shield	Ephebic catalogue[281]	EM 8642 [D-K]	144?	Syllas	Alkidamos (Cholleides)	
417	3011	E.024			Dedication: *Kosmetes*' sons to "Zeus Soter of Ephebes"	Lost	144?	Syllas	Alkidamos (Cholleides)	
	2052	E.195	*SEG* 26.172	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10041 [D-K]	145		Athenaios (Alexandrou Rhamnousios)	
	2054	E.196		Stele	Ephebic catalogue? *Kosmetes'* dedication?	EM 8468 [D-K]	145			
418	2053	E.011			Dedication: Torch-race victor to "the gods in the stadium"	Lost [near D-K]	145			
419	2055	E.197		Stele	*Systremma* list	EM 9651 [Acropolis north slope, near D-K]	145	Flavius Arrianos Paiania	Athenaios (Alexandrou Rhamnousios)	
	2152, 3395	E.039= E.198	*SEG* 26.171, 28.195	Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *antikosmetes*	EM 3734, 3741, 3755, 3798	145	Flavius Arrianos Paianieus	Athenaios (Alexandrou Rhamnousios)	

[280] On the relief decoration, see n. 55.
[281] On the date, see n. 212

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3741	E.040		Herm	Honorific: People for *kosmetes*	EM 10302 [D-K]	145		Athenaios Alexandrou Rhamnousios	
	2043	E.199	*SEG* 28.196	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3641	146	(T.) Flavius … [Euonymeus]		
	2057	E.200	*SEG* 28.197		Honorific: Ephebes for *sophronistai*	Lost [Ag. Kosmas and Damianos]	146	T. (Flavius)… [Euony]meus	…-ous Berenikios	
	2148, 2105, 2101, 2107, 2174, 2164, 2276	E.234	*SEG* 12.120, 26.177, 31.141, 59.171	Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for instructors[282]	EM 3993, 8482-8484, 8494, 8524, 8548 [D-K]	148, 176	Aristokleides Philisteidou Peiraieus	Aphrodeisios	
	2142	E.223	*SEG* 32.214, 59.172	Stele	*Systremma* list?	EM 3592, 3597b	148, 176			
	2065	E.201	*SEG* 48.179, 59.173	Triangular base	Ephebic catalogue	Villa Riccardi, Florence; Vieille Charité, Marseilles; Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 2223 [Plaka]; EM 8643, 8644 [D-K]	150	Aelius Ardys	Soteles Bakchylou Hestiaiothen	
	3742	E.042	*SEG* 32.213	Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for kosmetes	EM 9596, 4016	150	(Aelius) Ardys	Soteles Bakchylou Hestiaiothen	
	2036	E.219		Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 4151	Mid-ii			

[282] For the dating of this and *IG* II^2 2142 to 148 AD, see E. Kapetanopoulos, *Newsletter of the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* 12.1, 2008, 4-6.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2062	E.220	*SEG* 12.117	Stele	List of names	EM 459 [near Metropolis]	Mid-ii			
	2070	E.221		Stele	List of names	EM 3874	Mid-ii			
	2074	E.224		Stele	List of names	EM 2668	Mid-ii			
	2075	E.222		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3742, 4056	Mid-ii			
	2163	E.227		Stele	List of names	EM 8550 [D-K]	Mid-ii-early iii			
	2080	E.226		Stele	Fragment	EM 3923 [D-K]	Mid-ii-iii			
	2067	E.202		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10345 [D-K]	154	Praxagoras Meliteus	Athenaios Aristoboulou Kephisieus	
	2068	E.203		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10043 [D-K]	155	Popillius Theotimos Sounieus	Tryphon Diomedous Pallene	
			R. Pitt, *Anthony Askew* (forthcoming), n. 130		Dedication?	Lost	155	Popillius Theotimos Sounieus	Tryphon Diomedous Pallene	
	3737	E.043		Block	Honorific: Ephebes and Areopagos for *paidotribes*	Louvre MA 130 [House of Venizelos]	156	Lykomedes	P. Aelius Theophilos Sounieus	
	3771	E.044		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	Lost [near Tower of Winds]	156	Ly[komedes]	Demetrios	

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2056=2286, 2063, 2079	E.204		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8471, 3810, EM 3651 [D-K]	158	T. Aurelius Philemon Philaides	Statius Sarapion Cholleidai	
420	3012	E.012	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 7	Plaque	Victory dedication: *Sophronistes* to Herakles	AN C 135	158		Statius Sarapion Cholleidai	Reclining Herakles
	3743	E.045		Base	Funerary dedication	Lost	158	T. Aurelius Philemon Philaides	Statius Sarapion Cholleidai	
	2082	E.178		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3297	ca. 160			
	2085	E.207		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Louvre MA 190 [Plaka]	161	Memmius Memmiou *epi Bomo* Thorikios	C. Julius Casianus Apollonios Steirieus	
	2083	E.206		Base	Ephebic catalogue[283]	EM 10375 [D-K]	161-212			
	2280	E.208		Fragment	List of names	Lost	161-212			
	2099, 2100, 2121, 2154, 2157	E.209	*SEG* 26.173, 31.142	Herm	Ephebic catalogue	EM 565, 8149, 8551, 8538, 8541 [D-K]	162, 164			
	2086	E.210	*SEG* 21.622, 26.174	Herm	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10361 [D-K]	163	Philistides	Claudius Herakleides Meliteus	

[283] Possibly to be united with *IG* II^2 2122 (179/80 AD), see Byrne, *RCA*, p. 528.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2087	E.211		Stele	*Systremma* list	NM 1466 [D-K]	163	Philistides	Claudius Herakleides Meliteus	Shield; ship
422		E.212	*Agora* XVIII 190, *SEG* 14.142, 30.150	Fragment	Dedication?	Ag. I 2711 [Agora]	163, 196-200	Philisteides		
	2088	E.213	*AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 4	Fragment	Ephebic catalogue	BM 1864, 0220.101	ca. 163			
	2090	E.216		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10042 [D-K]	165	Sextos Phalereus	L. Herennius Cornelius Attikos Azenieus	
421	3013	E.013		Base	Dedication: Torch-race victor	EM 8404 [Panagia ton Kleiston]	165	Sextos Phalereus	L. Herennius Cornelius Attikos Azenieus	Palm; vase
	2135	E.217		Stele	Fragment	EM 3670	165-iii			
	2015, 2094	E.218	*SEG* 12.110, 53.191	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 505, 10378 [D-K]	166			
	2060, 2089a-i, m-o, 2098, 2155, 2289, 2290	E.228	*SEG* 12.115	Herm	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3637, 3659, 3672, 3673, 3679, 3722, 4131, 4138, 8472-8479, 8540 [D-K]	167?			
	2097	E.230		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	EM 10363 [D-K]	169	Anarchy after Tineius Ponticus	Eisidotos Karpodorou Phyle	

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3749, 3760	E.046	*SEG* 26.244	Herm	Honorific: ephebes and Areopagos for *antikosmetes*	EM 9591, 9595 [D-K]	169	Anarchy after Tineius Ponticus	… Eisidotos Karpodorou Phylasios	
	2095	E.231		Stele	List of names	EM 4165 [D-K]	ca. 170			
	2102, 2134, 2212	E.235	*SEG* 26.176	Herm	Honorific / ephebic catalogue?	EM 3030, 3851, 8495, 8539, 10035/6	ca. 170			
	2144	E.229		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3701, 3856, 3860, 8544	ca. 170			
	2136, 2159, 2160	E.232	*SEG* 12.123	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3657, 3730, 8547	170s-190s			
	2120	E.233	*Polemon*, 1949, 20-23, 3	Stele	Victor list?	EM 2500, 4148, 4162, 4176, 4179, 4180, 4182, 4186, 4195, 4200, 4205, 8027, 8528-8534	170s-190s			Torch-race
	2103	E.236		Base	Ephebic catalogue; Honorific: Polis for *kosmetes*	EM 10376	173	Veisius Peison Meliteus	Aurelius Philon Peiraieus	
	2045, 2061, 2069, 2078, 2093, 2138, 2162, 2166, 2165, 2171, 2173, 2288	E.192	*SEG* 29.152b	Stele	Ephebic catalogue; Council decree	EM 3051, 3562, 3563, 3593, 3629, 3644, 3649, 3707, 3746, 3748, 3800, 3812, 3824, 3848, 3852, 3855, 3903, 4137, 4166, 4175, 4209	175	[Claudius Herakleides] (Meliteus)	[Attikos Charetos] Gargettios	

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2104	E.214	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 9	Stele	*Philoi* list	AN C 2.53	175	Claudius Herakleides Meliteus	Attikos … Gargettios	
		E.215	*AE*, 1970, 121, 2	Stele	List of names[284]	EM 3482, 3680, 3868	175		(Attikos Charetos) Gargettios	
			Sourlas 2015	Shield	List of Theseidai[285]	Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 2326 [House of Venizelos]	175			
	3751	E.049		Block	Dedication?: *Didaskalos*	EM 8435 [D-K]	177-200			
	2122[286]	E.238	*SEG* 35.130	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 9648, 9655, 13443 [Roman Agora]	179			3 figures = *sophronistai*
	2247, 2250, 2484	E.237	*SEG* 14.97	Stele	*Systremma* list	EM 3565, 3713, 8516 [D-K]	179	Scribonius Capito E[leuseinios]	Mem- … Phalereus	
	3770	E.048		Herm	Honorific: Ephebes for *kosmetes*	EM 10354 [D-K]	179	Scribonius Capito	(Mem- … Phalereus)	
	2066, 2205	E.246		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8470, 8493 [D-K]	182-195			
	2128	E.240		Stele	Ephebic catalogue (recycled funerary stele)	EM 10045 [D-K]	184	(T.) Flavius Sosigenes (Palleneus)	Lakrateides Eutychidou Azenieus	Rosettes (from earlier use)

[284] Follet 1976, 224-5 dates this to the same year as *IG* II^2 2078 (then dated to 164/5, now to 175/6 AD).
[285] Sourlas 2015, 303-4 dates this to the same year as *SEG* 29.192b, because four ephebes appear in both.
[286] Possibly to be united with *IG* II^2 2083 (161-212 AD), see Byrne *RCA* p. 528.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2129	E.241			*Systremma* list	Lost	184	(T.) Flavius Sosigenes Palleneus	Lakrateides Eutychidou Azenieus	
	2268	E.242			Victor list?	Lost	184			
	2269	E.243			List of names	Lost	184			
	2291a	E.151	*SEG* 50.155		Ephebic Decree: Transcript of protreptic speech	EM 2097 [near Hephaistion], EM 3028, 3862, 9505-9510 [near Tower of the Winds]	184	T. Flavius Sosigenes Palleneus	Lakrateides Eutychidou Azenieus	
	2111/2112	E.245		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3647, 9654, Marbury hall frag. [Acropolis]	185	Philoteimos Arkesidemou Eleousios	M. Julius Zenon Marathonios	
	2110, 2133, 2255[287]	E.244		Herm	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 8485, 8491, 8544	186	[C. Fabius Thisbianos? Mara]thonios	Eisarchos Amphiou ex Oiou	
	2113	E.247		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10346 [D-K]	187	Ti. Claudius Bradouas Atticu Marathonios	Alexandros Marathonios	Shield
	2114	E.014			Victor List	Lost	187	Ti. Claudius Bradouas Atticu Marathonios	Alexandros Marathonios	
	3750	E.050		Herm	Honorific: Son for *kosmetes*	EM 10487	187?		Alexandros	

[287] The association of these fragments by M.T. Mitsos, *AE* (1972) 59-60 no.4 is accepted by Wilson, and Byrne, *RCA*, p. 529, but has the odd consequence that two different individuals separately claim responsibility for erecting the inscription: the *kosmetes* in *IG* II^2 2110 and an individual ephebe in *IG* II^2 2133+2255.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2116	E.249		Stele	Ephebic catalogue[288]	Lost [D-K]	188?	[Commodus?]		
	2117	E.249		Herm	*Philoi* List	EM 8486	188?			
	2115	E.248		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Louvre MA 206 (same stone as *IG* II^2 2132)	189?			
	2118	E.015		Fragment	Dedication: Victorious brothers at Philadelpheia	Lost	189?	Menogenes	Marcellus	
	2119	E.252		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10348 [D-K]	191	C. Pinarius Proklos Hagnousios	T. Flavius (Demetrios)	
			Hesperia Supp. 8, 1949, 217, 8	Herm?	Honorific: sons for *kosmetes*	Lost [House of Mr Tomasos]	191		(T. Flavius) Demetrios	
		E.016a	*SEG* 21.639		Honorific?[289]	Lost	191			
			SEG 59.174	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 2370 [near D-K]	192?			
	2125	E.254	*RBPH* 52, 1974, 60-61	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8645 [D-K]	193	Ti. Claudius Dadouchos Meliteus	C. Julius Casius …	
	2081	E.205		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3645	193?			

[288] For date in Commodus' archon-year, see n. 204. The unusually named ephebe, Kyklobolos, appears in *IG* II^2 2116 and 2117, suggesting that they belong to the same year.
[289] For the date, see E. Kapetanopoulos, *RBPH* 52, 1974, 70-71 no. 14

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2131, 2191, 2192	E.255	*AIUK* 4.3B (BM), no. 5, *SEG* 18.55	Shield	Ephebic catalogue	BM 1805, 0703.232 [Church of Stauromenos], EM 8492 [D-K], EM 3891	194		Alkamenes [Lamptreus]	
	2130	E.257	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 10, *SEG* 42.140	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	NM 1470 [D-K], ANC 2.56 [House of Venaldes]	195	C. Helvidius Secundus Palleneus		Shield, ephebes training with Herakles; ship
	2186=2265	E.258	*SEG* 13.52	Fragment	Fragment	EM 4168	195			
	2125	E.256		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8487 [D-K]	196-200			
	2127	E.253		Stele	*Systremma* list	EM 8490 [D-K]	196-200	Philisteides Philisteidou Peiraieus	Abaskantos Abaskantou Kephiseus	
	2132	E.259		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Louvre MA 103 (same stone as *IG* II^2 2115)	196-200			
	2207	E.274		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8498 [D-K]	196-210			
	2203, 2224	E.261	*SEG* 18.56, 21.626, 26.180	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Ag. I 6242, EM 3566, 3661, 3667, 3745, 3750, 3895, 4029, 8515 [Agora, D-K]	197?	*hiereus* An-Sphettios	Eukarpides Ekpaglou Berenikides	

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2124	E.262		Stele	*Systremma* list	EM 8488 [near temple of Serapis]	199?	Flavius Straton	Ti. Claudius Dadouchos Meliteus	
	2123		*SEG* 12.121		Ephebic catalogue	Lost	Late ii			
	2137	E.263		Herm	Honorific: ephebe	EM 8558, 8559	Late ii			
423	3164		*AIUK* 4.5 (BM, forthcoming), *SEG* 38.176	Stele	Dedication: Torch-race victor to Hermes and Herakles	BM 1816, 610.289	Late ii			Lost, except for feet
	3748	E.047		Base?	Honorific: Father and *Synedrion* for ephebic archon	EM 10324 [D-K]	Late ii			
	3747	E.051		Herm	Dedication to Herakles Kalliphron	EM 1853	Late ii			
		E.073	*AE*, 1971, 26, 15; *SEG* 26.246	Stele	Dedication: Victor/agonothetes	Acropolis ΒΠΕΡ 341 [Ag. Sophia, "Final Roman wall," south of Acropolis]	Late ii		Rufus	
		E.264	*Hesperia* 3, 1934, 59, 47	Stele	List of names	Ag. I 498 [Agora]	Late ii			
	2081ab, 2254	E.251		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3739, 3669	Late ii-early iii			
	2106	E.239		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Lost	Late ii-early iii			2 ephebes, holding oar and crown
			SEG 21.624	Fragment	List of names	Ag. I 5735 [Agora]	Late ii-early iii			
	2204	E.268		Stele	Fragment	EM 52	Early iii			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
		E.053	*SEG* 26.245, 30.149	Herm	Honorific: Son for *kosmetes*[290]	EM 460	Early iii		Julius … [Diod]otos Marathonios	
		E.282	*Hesperia* 3, 1934, 58, 46	Fragment	List of names	Ag. I 486 [Agora]	Early iii			
		E.301	*Hesperia* 23, 1954, 247, 25, *SEG* 34.130	Stele	List of names	Ag. I 3603 [Agora]	Early iii			
			SEG 59.175	Herm	Honorific: for *agonothetai* and systremmatarchs	Ath. Eph. ΠΛ 2225	Early iii			
	2126	E.312		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8646	iii			
	2281	E.313		Stele?	List of names	Lost [near "Anakeion"]	iii			
	2283	E.314		Stele?	List of names	Lost	iii			3 crowns
			Hesperia 2, 1933, 411, 33; *Hesperia* 4, 1935, 186-88	Herm	List of names	EM 2761, 12738 [Agios Nikolaos]	iii			
	2193	E.269		Herm	Honorific: Sons for *Kosmetes*	EM 10367 [D-K]	201	C. Quintus Himertos Marathonios	Tryphon Theophilou Hybades	
	2194, 2195	E.270		Herm	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 8496, 13445 [Odeion, Ag. Apostolous]	201			
	2196	E.271		Herm	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 9656 [north slope, Acropolis]	201			
	2202	E.260		Herm	Fragment	EM 3665	201			

[290] Date based on identification of the *kosmetes* as grandson of *kosmetes* in *IG* II^2 3744 (174/5 AD): Follet 1976, 54, 454; J. H. Oliver, *ZPE* 37 (1980), 97-98.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2197	E.272		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8497 [D-K?]	202	Anarchy after C. Quintus Himertos	Eirenaios Eirenaiou Marathonios	
	2199	E.273		Herm	Honorific: Son for *kosmetes*	EM 10365 [D-K]	203-207	C. Casius Apolloniou Steirieus	Eleuseinios	
	2201	E.275		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 8647 [D-K]	210?	Fabius Dadouchos Marathonios	M. Dionysodoros Chollides	
425	3015	E.017		Stele?	Dedication: Crowned *agonothetes*	Lost	ca. 210		Ploutarchos Acharneus	4 crowns; palm
424	4949		*SEG* 21.810	Urn	Dedication: Ephebic Hegemon	Acropolis	211-225			
	2209	E.278		Herm	Dedication: *Prostates*?	EM 3638 [D-K]	211-241			
		E.277	*Hesperia* 30, 1961, 254, 54	Fragment	Fragment	Ag. I 5681 [Agora]	211-241			
		E.280	*Hesperia* 22, 1953, 179, 3, *SEG* 12.137	Herm	List of names	EM 13151 [near D-K]	After 212			
		E.281		Stele	List of names	Louvre MA 128	After 212			
	2208	E.276		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	NM 1465 [D-K]	215	Aurelius Dionysios Dionysiou Acharneus	Aurelius Dositheos Dositheou Pambotades	Ephebes crown *kosmetes*; amphora; 2 wreaths; 2 ships

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3763	E.064		Herm	Honorific: Ephebe for *kosmetes*	Lost	215		(Aurelius Dositheos) Dositheou Pambotades	
	3755	E.063	*SEG* 30.153, 41.147	Herm	Honorific: Demos for ephebic archon	EM 458 [Near the Metropolis]	215?			
	2016, 2180, 2216, 2221, 2222	E.283	Mitsos 1971, 1	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3726, 8503, 8526, 8543, 8546, 8648 [D-K]	216			
	3764	E.065		Herm	Honorific: Ephebic archon/son for *kosmetes*	EM 10488 [Hadrian's Library]	217?		Aelius Apollonios	
	2223	E.286	*SEG* 40.163	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10351	219		P. Aelius Septimius Steirieus	
	2225	E.285		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Lost [D-K]	220s			
	2226, 2253, 2479	E.287	*SEG* 26.184	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3635, 3703, 3715, 3717, 3855, 3884, 4122-4126, 4128, 4142, 4152, 4153, 4160, 4190, 8504-8509 [D-K]	221-229			
	2039, 2076, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2151, 2198	E.288	*SEG* 26.185, 26.189	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 1953, 3635, 3639, 3703, 3717, 3724, 8522 [D-K, Roman Agora]	224, 227, 230			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
		E.289	*AE*, 1973, 90, 3; *SEG* 26.247, 41.146	Herm	Honorific: Ephebic archon for *kosmetes*?	EM 4018, 4077	221-231		M. [Aurelius Eu]karpides [Eu]karpidou Bereneikides	
	2218, 2219, 2260	E.291	*SEG* 13.54, 26.186	Base	Ephebic catalogue / Honorific: Son for *kosmetes*	EM 1858, 4177, 8030 [D-K]	221-231		Flavius Apollonios A-	
	2145, 2146, 2149, 2200, 2206, 2210, 2228, 2249, 2266[291]	E.284, 290, 292	*SEG* 26.187, 40.166	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM, 3564, 3568, 3572, 3618, 3653, 3704, 3815, 3869, 4155, 4163, 4170, 4187, 4204, 8489 [D-K]	222	Aurelius Melpomenos		
		E.284		Stele	Ephebic catalogue		222			
		E.292		Stele	Ephebic catalogue?		222			
	2227	E.293		Stele	*Philoi* list	EM 8502 [D-K]	224-236			Crown
	2109	E.279		Herm	Dedication / honorific: *Kosmetes*	EM 8480, 8481 [D-K?]	ca. 225	Aurelius Philistides Philistidou Peiraieus	Claudius Polyzelos Acharneus	
	2229, 2256	E.294	*SEG* 12.138, 26.183	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3573, 3576, 3708, 3716, 3721, 4139, 4161,13449 [near D-K]	ca. 225			

[291] For the unification of these fragments, see Byrne *RCA*, 533.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
			SEG 21.627	Fragment	Ephebic catalogue?	Ag. I 5681 [Agora]	ca. 225			
	2233, 2236, 2259	E.295	*SEG* 26.190	Herm	Ephebic catalogue / honorific: for *kosmetes*	EM 8511ab, 3658, 3732, 8546 [D-K]	225-232			
	2232	E.296	*SEG* 26.188	Fragment	Fragment	Louvre MA 1780	225-236			
	3762	E.066		Herm	Honorific: Sons for *kosmetes*	EM 10333 [D-K]	227?		Ti. Claudius Heliodoros Acharneus	
	2108	E.298	*SEG* 12.134, 19.163, 26.191, 40.164	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3736, 4135, 13146 [D-K]	228-236		Aurelius M[elpomenos Antinoeus?]	
	2005, 2237	E.300		Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3841, 8519, 8651 [D-K]	231-236		M. … Ari]stoboulo[s A]ristobo[ulou]	
	2161, 2231, 2487	E.302		Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 3626, 3723, 3729, 8521 [D-K]	ca. 231-235	Lysandros		
	2234	E.297		Herm	Fragment	EM 8512 [D-K]	233-241			
	2235	E.302	*SEG* 26.194, 39.189, 41.110	Stele	Ephebic catalogue[292]	EM 8649, 8650, 3894 [D-K?]	234-235	… Epiktetou Acharneus	M. Aurelius Chrestos Apphianou Marathonios	

[292] Dated to 30th Panathenaic year: Byrne, *RCA*, 534, with Shear 2012.

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	3765	E.067	*AIUK* 11 (Ash.), no. 16	Herm	Honorific: Polis and ephebic officials for son of *kosmetes*	AN C 2.61	234-235		Aurelius Chrestos Apphianou Marathonios	Cloak
			Agora XVIII 145	Base	Honorific: Areopagos for son of *kosmetes*	Ag. I 673 [Post-Herulian wall, near library of Panaitios]	234-235		Aurelius Chrestos Apphianou Marathonios	
	2230	E.299	*SEG* 26.192	Stele	Ephebic catalogue?	EM 1967 [near Tower of the Winds]	237	Casi[anus *hierokeryx* Steirieus]		
	2242, 2486	E.306	*SEG* 29.195	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 3757, 8652a-8654 [D-K]	237	Cas[ianus *hierokeryx* Steirieus]	[Ven]tid[ius] … Phylasios	
	2241	E.068	*SEG* 62.85	Herm	Honorific: Ephebic archon for …	NM 388	237	Casianus *hierokeryx* [Stei]rieus		Cloak
	2239	E.307	*SEG* 41.111	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10353 [D-K]	239-240	*hiereus* Flavius Asklepiades	M. Aurelius Kallippos Lamptreus	
	3766	E.069		Herm	Honorific: for *kosmetes*	EM 3766	238-240		M. Aurelius Kallippos Lamptreus	
	2238	E.304		Fragment	Fragment	EM 8512, 8514	238-264			

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
	2213, 2220, 2214, 2215	E.308		Herm	Ephebic catalogue / Honorific?	EM 3559, 3650, 3700, 3788, 8499, 8500, 8501	239-254			
	2243	E.309	*SEG* 26.196, 33.157, 41.112	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10037 [D-K]	240, 244, 248, 252	Aurelius Laudicianus	Mestrius …	
	3768	E.070		Herm	Honorific: *Systatai* and People for a systremmatarch	EM 8631	240, 244, 248, 252			
	3769	E.018	*SEG* 33.191	Herm	Honorific: Sons for *antikosmetes*	EM 10334	240, 244, 248, 252			
	2244	E.305	*SEG* 12.136	Stele	Fragment	EM 8514 [D-K]	Mid-iii		Aureli[us ... Charmi]dou Athmoneus	
	3014	E.071		Herm	Honorific	EM 5842 [Acropolis]	Mid-iii			
	3746	E.033		Stele	Funerary Dedication: Ephebes for synephebe	NM 2123	Mid-iii		Eukrates Eukratous Phylasios	Ephebe with shield, cloak
	2245	E.310	*SEG* 62.86	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	EM 10038 [D-K]	254-255	L. Flavius Philostratos Steirieus	C. Calpurnius Proklos Hermeios	Athena bust, amphorae; ephebe in ship

IG II^3 4	*IG* II^2	Wilson 1992	Other reference	Monument Type	Inscription Type	Museum no. [find spot]	Year	Archon	*Kosmetes*	Relief
		E.311	*SEG* 33.158	Stele	Ephebic catalogue	Ag. I 231 [Agora, ancient wells]	263, 267	T. Flavius Mondon Phileinou Phlyeus	Aurelius Aphrodeisios Aphrodeisiou Sphettios	Shield, 2 amphorae

FIGURES

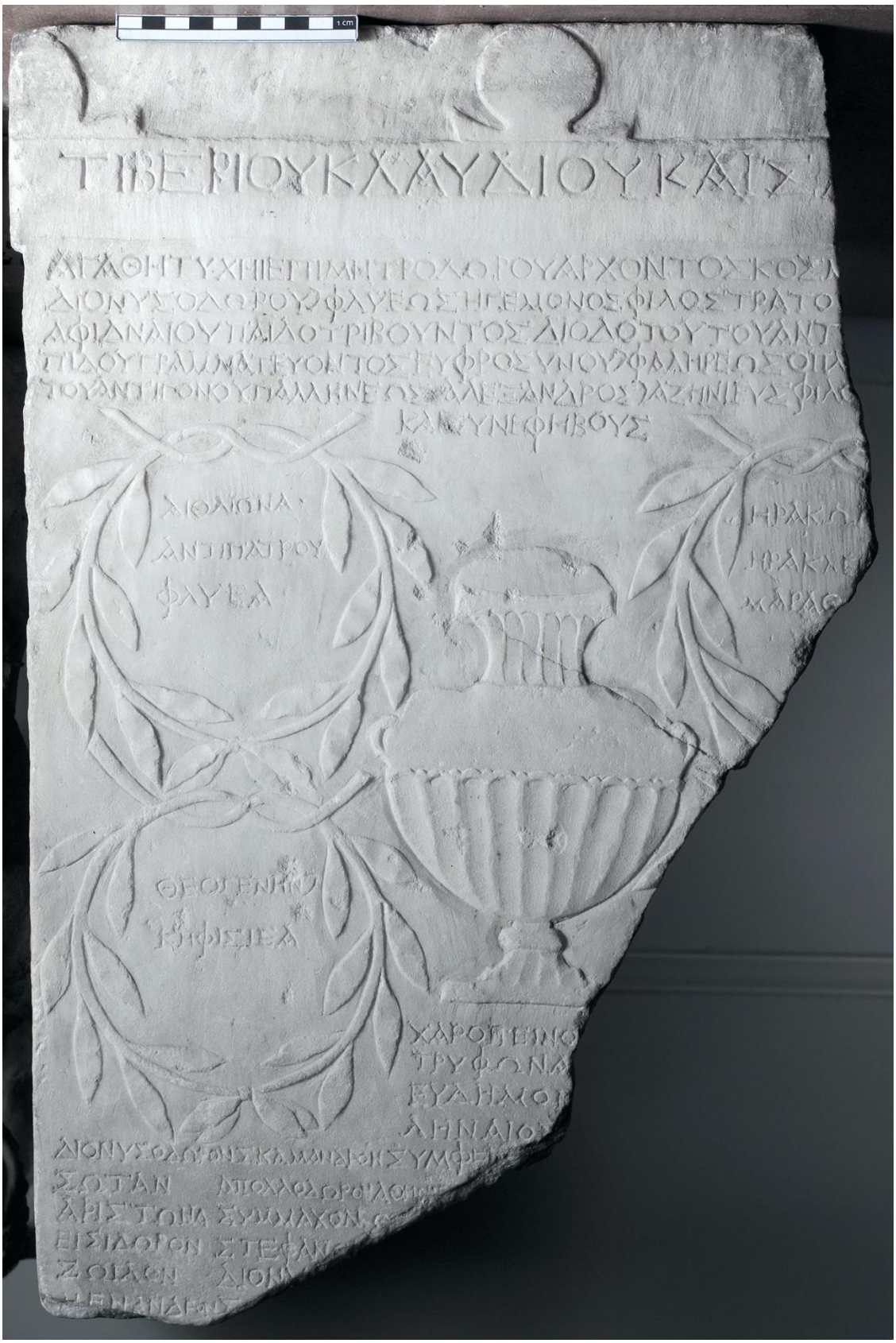

Fig. 1. *IG* II^2 1973a = AIUK 11 Ash. 5 = AN C 2.56: *Philoi* List of Alexander of Azenia, 43/4-46/6 AD. © Ashmolean Museum.

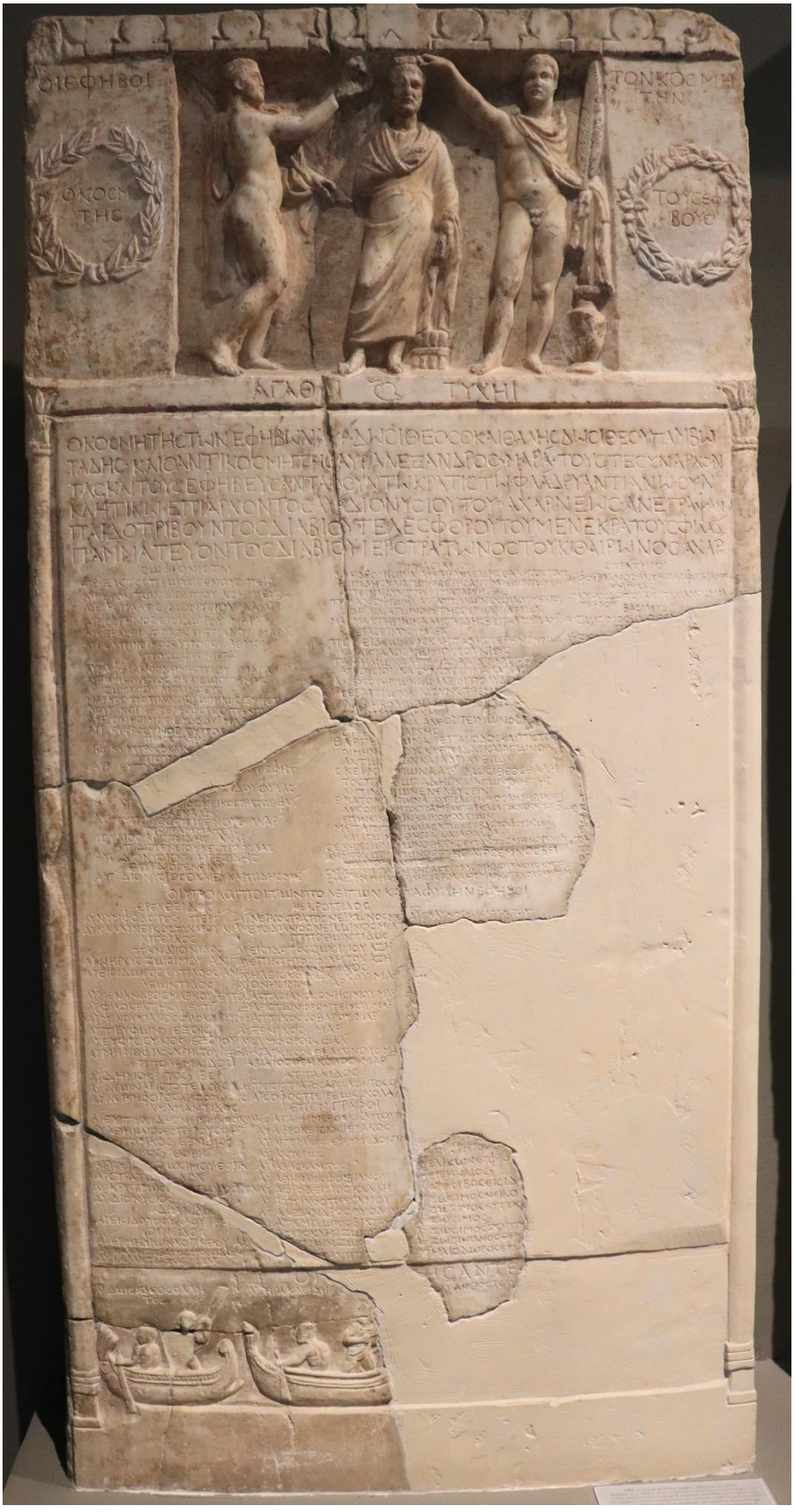

Fig. 2. *IG* II^2 2208 = NM 1465: Ephebic catalogue, 214/5-215/6 AD. The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Resources Fund. (Law 3028/2002).

Fig. 3. *IG* II^2 2208 = NM 1465: Ephebic catalogue, detail of ephebes crowning the *kosmetes*, Aurelius Dositheos Thales of Pambotadai, 214/5-215/6 AD. The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Resources Fund. (Law 3028/2002).

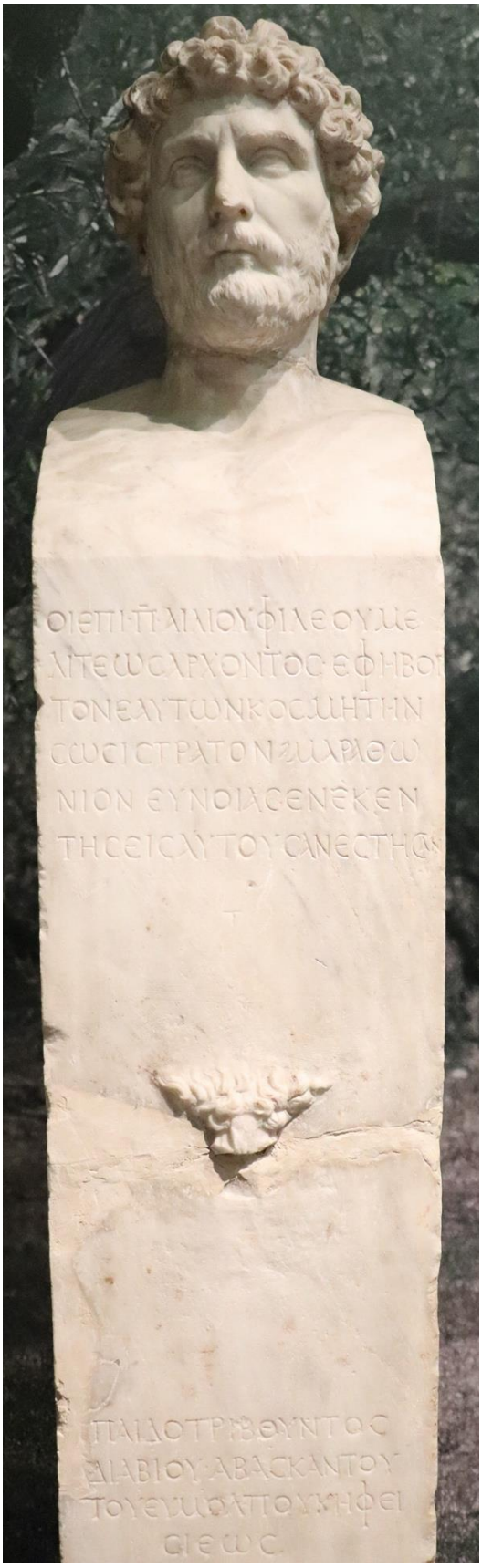

Fig. 4. *IG* II^2 3739 = NM 385: Honorific herm for the *kosmetes*, Sosistratos of Marathon, 141/2 AD.

Fig. 5. *IG* II^2 2087 = NM 1466: *Systremma* list of Aurelius Demosthenes of Sphettos and Eleutherios of Kyrteidai, 163/4 AD. The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Resources Fund. (Law 3028/2002).