

THE GYMNASION IN THE HELLENISTIC EAST  
MOTIVES, DIVERGENCES, AND NETWORKS OF  
CONTACTS

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
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by

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## ABSTRACT

Dorothea Stavrou, *The gymnasium in the hellenistic east: motives, divergences, and networks of contacts.*

This thesis is a socio-cultural study of the Greek *gymnasion* in the Hellenistic period: its development, the factors that underpinned its adoption, and the role of native educational practices in that process. Focusing on the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, it presents a parallel study of the *gymnasion* in each. It investigates the motives behind its adoption, the differences between *gymnasia*, the networks of contacts that were constructed through them, and their impact on the opening up of the institution to non-Greeks.

Chapter 1 sets out the research framework and presents the findings of recent scholarship on the *gymnasion* and on the participation of non-Greeks. It gives an account of the sources, the problems of the evidence, the methodology, and the research questions.

Chapter 2 begins with an account of the types of cities and other settlements that fostered the institution of the *gymnasion*, highlighting how their diversity influenced its diffusion and maintenance. Next the military and cultural roles of the *gymnasion* are reviewed and conclusions drawn about the variety of educational programmes it offered and its role as a unifying element in elite society.

Chapter 3 presents the network of interpersonal relations created in *gymnasia*. The first section presents rulers' policy and demonstrates the variable picture of royal benefaction and communities' reciprocation of royal goodwill. The next examines the internal community of the *gymnasion*, the roles of gymnasiarchs, and relations between various groups of participants.

Chapter 4 examines the participation of non-Greeks and the impact of Greek education upon non-Greek communities. It proposes a new approach to the *gymnasion*, viewing it as a continuation of pre-existing concepts of education. It views the cultural borrowings and common educational elements among ancient civilizations as laying the foundation for a cultural bridge between Greeks and non-Greeks in the *gymnasion*.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>List of tables</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of figures</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of maps</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of abbreviations</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Maps</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Aims of the thesis	1
1.2. The Eastern <i>Gymnasion</i> : place and practice. A chronological and geographical setting	4
1.3. Outline of the data and Methodology	6
1.4. Recent scholarship and approaches	21
<b>Chapter 2. The diffusion of the <i>gymnasion</i> in the Hellenistic East and its role in the eastern communities</b>	<b>28</b>
2.1. Cities, settlements and populations in the Hellenistic kingdoms	28
2.1.1. Seleukid kingdom	28
2.1.2. Ptolemaic kingdom	34
2.1.3. Conclusion	38
2.2. The role of the <i>gymnasion</i> in the eastern Hellenistic communities	39
2.2.1. Military education in the <i>gymnasia</i>	40
2.2.2. Intellectual education	55
2.2.3. Religious festivals and the <i>gymnasion</i>	60
<b>Chapter 3. Interpersonal relations in the <i>gymnasia</i> of the East</b>	<b>74</b>
3.1. The kings' attitude towards the <i>gymnasia</i>	74
3.1.1. The Ptolemies and their <i>euergesiai</i> towards the <i>gymnasia</i>	76
3.1.2. The Seleukids and their <i>euergesiai</i> towards the <i>gymnasia</i>	92
3.1.3. The benefactions of the Attalids towards the <i>gymnasia</i> —a brief account	98
3.1.4. Concluding thoughts about the royal benefactions towards the <i>gymnasia</i>	100
3.2. Internal dynamics of the <i>gymnasia</i>	104
3.2.1. Gymnasiarchs as benefactors of the <i>gymnasia</i>	105
3.2.2. Gymnasiarchs in the cities of Asia Minor	106

3.2.3. Gymnasiarchs in Egyptian territory	119
3.2.4. Gymnasiarchs in Ptolemaic military possessions outside Egypt	121
3.2.5. Concluding thoughts about social relations within the eastern <i>gymnasia</i>	128

## **Chapter 4. Non-Greeks and the Hellenistic *gymnasion*: native traditions and new practices in the East** **130**

4.1. The influence of Greek <i>paideia</i> and of the <i>gymnasion</i> in the non-Greek population of the East from fourth century BC onwards	131
4.1.1. Asia Minor	132
4.1.2. Syria and Phoenicia	144
4.1.3. Ptolemaic Egypt	165
4.1.4. The Near East	172
4.1.5. A brief account of the Greek educational legacy in the East after Seleukid rule	185
4.2. Native educational traditions	186
4.2.1. Introduction	187
4.2.2. Educational features and athletic training in pre-Hellenistic Egypt	187
4.2.3. Educational features and athletic training in pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamia	199
4.2.4. Educational features and athletic training in the pre-Hellenistic Persian empire	204
Conclusion to 4.2	206
4.3. Resistance to Greek education	209
4.3.1. Egyptians	210
4.3.2. Jews	215
Conclusion to 4.3	220

## **Conclusion** **221**

## **Appendix: Tables** **233**

Table 1. Kings' benefactions and reciprocations	234
Table 2. Gymnasiarchs and citizens as benefactors of <i>gymnasia</i>	243

## **List of works cited** **253**

## LIST OF MAPS

Map 1. Greece	xii
Map 2. Asia Minor.	xiii
Map 3. Syria-Phoenicia and Cyprus.	xiv
Map 4. Egypt.	xv

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. Benefactions of gymnasiarchs towards the <i>gymnasia</i> during the Hellenistic period (classification by century).	9
Fig. 2. Timeline of benefactions of Hellenistic kings towards <i>gymnasia</i> .	11
Fig. 3. Royal houses and benefactions.	12
Fig. 4. Chronological distribution of royal benefactions towards <i>gymnasia</i> during the Hellenistic period.	100
Fig. 5. The allocation of royal benefactions towards the <i>gymnasia</i> .	104
Fig. 6. Domains of gymnasiarchs' benefactions towards <i>gymnasia</i> .	113
Fig. 7. Honouring bodies and gymnasiarchs.	116

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Kings' benefactions and reciprocations.	234
Table 2. Gymnasiarchs and citizens as benefactors of <i>gymnasia</i> .	243

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations follow *OCD*<sup>3</sup> = S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition), Oxford, New York, 1996.

<i>AA</i>	Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJPh.</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AM</i>	see <i>MDAI (A)</i>
<i>Anc. Soc.</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>Arch. Pap.</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> . Berlin, Leipzig, 1900
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , pub. in <i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunden (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden)</i> . Berlin, 1892-1937
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd ed. (1961-; 1st edn. 1923-39)
<i>Carie I</i>	L. Robert and J. Robert, <i>La Carie: histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques. II: Le Plateau de Tabai et ses environs</i> . Paris, 1954
<i>Chiron</i>	<i>Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>CID IV</i>	J. Bousquet, <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. Les Comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle</i> . Paris, 1989
<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh, <i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin, 1828-77
<i>Claros</i>	Robert, J. and Robert, L. <i>Claros. Décrets hellénistiques I</i> . Paris, 1989
<i>CPJ</i>	V. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, A. <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . Cambridge, 1957-64
<i>DAW 1897</i>	R. Heberdey and F. Kalinka, <i>Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien</i> . Wien, 1897
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>EKM I</i>	L. Gounaropoulou and M.B. Hatzopoulos, Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (μεταξὺ τοῦ Βερμίου ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποτάμου), Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας, τόμος Α'. Athens, 1998
<i>Ét.Anat.</i>	L. Robert, <i>Études anatoliennes: recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure</i> (Études orientales publiées par l'Institut français d'archéologie de Stamboul, 5). Paris, 1937
<i>FD III</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes III. Épigraphie</i> (5 vols). Paris

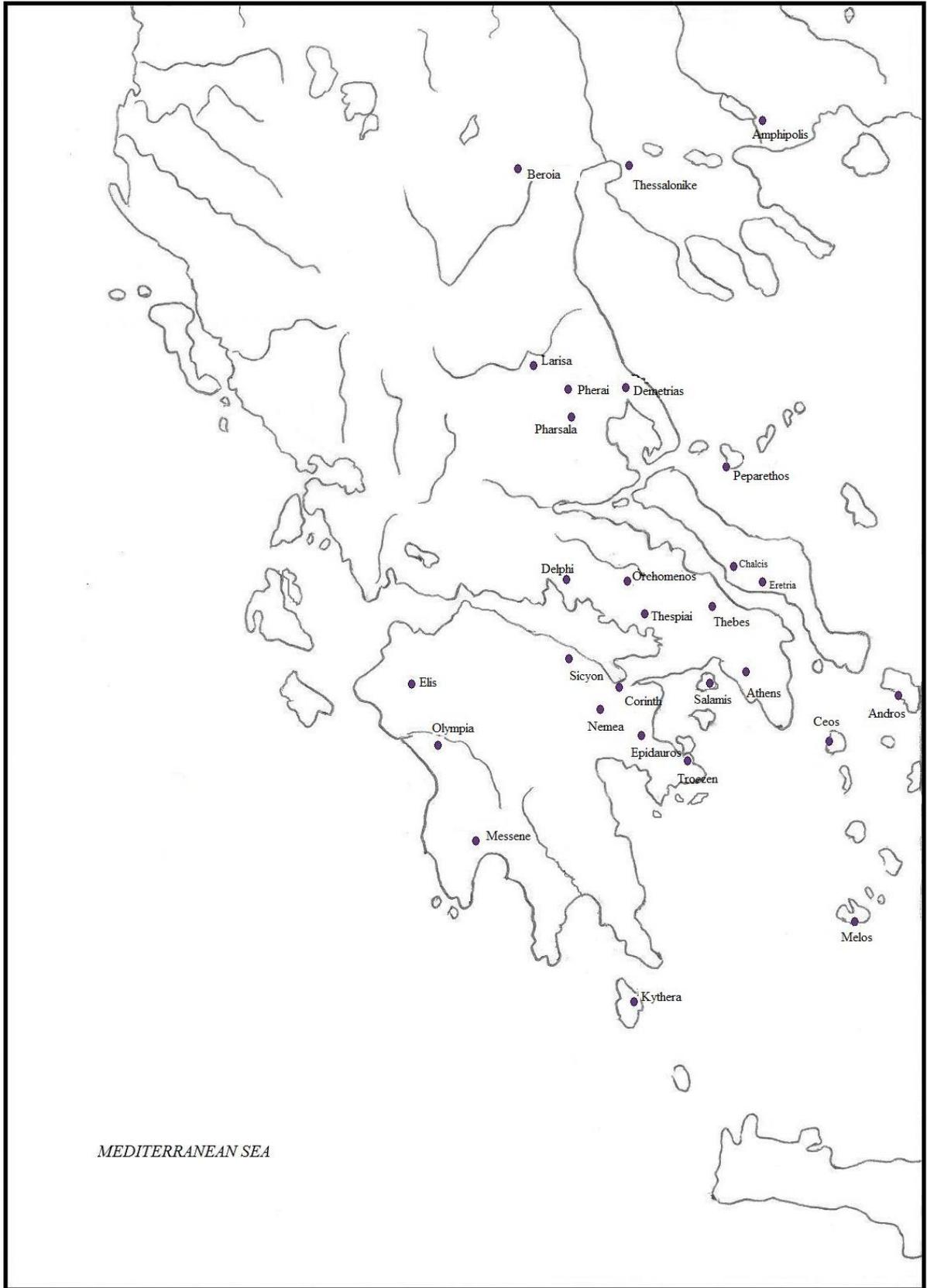
- FGrH* F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin, 1923-58
- Hellenica* J. Robert, J. and Robert, L. *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie et de numismatique et d'antiquité grecques*. Limoges, 1940
- Holleaux M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, I-VI. Paris, 1938-68
- I.Alex.* É. Bernand (ed.), *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque*. Cairo, 2001
- I.Cos* M. Segre, *Inscrizioni di Cos* (Monografie della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiani in Oriente 6). Rome, 1993
- I.Cret.* M. Guarducci (ed.), *Inscriptiones Creticae: opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*, i-iv. Rome, 1935-50
- I.Delos* F. Durrbach and P. Roussel (eds), *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris, 1926-1937
- I.Delta* A. Bernand (ed.), *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*. Cairo, 1970
- I.Didyma* R. Rehm, *Didyma II, Die Inschriften*. Berlin, 1958
- I.Eg.Syène* A. Bernand, *De Thèbes à Syène*. Paris, 1989
- I.Ephesos* H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et al. (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 8 vols. Bonn, 1979-81
- I.Erythrai* H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai I*. Bonn, 1972-73
- I.Fayoum I* É. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum I*. Leiden, 1975
- I.Fayoum II-III* É. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum II-III*. Cairo, 1981
- I.Iasos* W. Blümel (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. Bonn, 1985
- I.Ilion* P. Frisch (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. Bonn, 1975
- I.K. Estr.Orient.* F. Canali de Rossi, *Inscrizioni dello estremo oriente Greco, un repertorio*, *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bd. 65. Bonn, 2004
- I.Kios* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kios*. Bonn, 1986
- I.Kition* M. Yon (ed.), *Kition dans les textes, Kition-Bamboula V*. Paris, 2004
- I.Kourion* T.B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*. Philadelphia, 1971
- I.Kyme* H. Engelmann (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. Bonn, 1976
- I.Louvre* É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecque d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre*. Paris, 1992
- I.Magnesia* O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin, 1900
- I.Magnesia am Sipylos* T. Inken (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos*. Bonn, 1978

- I.Metropolis* B. Dreyer and H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Metropolis I. Die Dekrete für Apollonios: Städtische Politik unter der Attaliden und im Konflikt zwischen Aristonikos und Rom*. Bonn, 2003
- I.Milet I* A. Rehm and P. Herrmann, *Inschriften von Milet I*. Berlin, New York, 1928/1997
- I.Mylasa* W. Blümel (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Mylasa I and II*. Bonn, 1987-88
- I.Olymp.* W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin, 1896
- I.Pergamon I-II* M. Fraenkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. Berlin, 1890-1895
- I.Perge* S.von Sahin (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Perge*. Bonn, 1999
- I.Priene* F. Hiller von Gaertringen (ed.), *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin, 1906
- I.Prose* *La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, 2 vols. Paris, 1992
- I.Sardis* W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Sardis. Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions I*. Leiden, 1932
- I.Sardes II* P. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II* (Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IVe Section de l'École pratique des hautes études III. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 15). Genf, 1989
- I.Sestos* J. Krauss (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones*. Bonn, 1980
- I.Smyrna I* G. Petzl (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Smyrna I*. Bonn, 1982
- I.Smyrna II* G. Petzl (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Smyrna II*. Bonn, 1990
- I.Tralleis* F.B. Poljakov, *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis*. Bonn, 1989
- ID* F. Durrbach (ed.), *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris, 1926-37
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1873-
- IGRR* R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (3 vols). Paris, 1906-27
- IK* *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Bonn, 1972-
- JÖAI* *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
- Lois sacrées* F. Sokolowski (ed.), *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris, 1955
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. 1928-
- McCabe, Halikarnassos* D.F. McCabe, *Halikarnassos Inscriptions: Texts and Lists*. Princeton, 1991
- McCabe, Priene* D.F. McCabe, B. Ehrman and R. Elliott, *Priene Inscriptions, Text and List* (The Princeton Projects on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, The Institute for Advanced Study). Princeton, 1987

- MDAI* *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (A): Athenische Abteilung (1876- ) (B): Bagdadische Abteilung (I): Istanbulische Abteilung (K): Kairoische Abteilung (R): Römische Abteilung (1886- )
- Michel, *Recueil* C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Brussels, 1897-1900
- Milet I 9* A. Rehm, 'Inschriften', in A. von Gerkan and F. Krischen (eds), *Milet I 9. Thermen und Palaestern*. Berlin, 1928
- Nouveau Choix* Institut Fernand-Courby, *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris, 1971.
- OGIS* W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig, 1903-1905
- OMS* L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta, Épigraphie et antiquités grecques*, I-VII. Amsterdam, 1969-90
- P.Tebt.* *Tebtunis Papyri*, 1902-76
- P.Cair. Zenon* C.C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Zenon Papyri*, 4 vols. Cairo, 1925-1931
- P.Enteuxeis* O. Guéraud, 'Ἐντεύξεις: requêtes et plaints adressés au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C. Cairo 1931-32.
- Paton-Hicks* W.R. Paton and E.L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*. Oxford, 1891
- PCPS* *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
- RC* C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. London, 1934
- REG* *Revue des études grecques*
- Salamine xiii* J. Pouilloux, P. Roech, and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, 'Salamine de Chypre xiii', *Testmonia Salaminia 2. Corpus épigraphique*. Paris, 1987
- SB* F. Preisigke, F. Bilabel and E. Kiessling, E. (eds), *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*. Strasbourg, Berlin etc. 1913
- SEG* *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* (1923- )
- Syll.*<sup>3</sup> W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3rd ed.). Leipzig, 1915-24
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Vienna, 1901-
- Tituli Calymnii* M. Segre and J.P. Carratelli, *Tituli Calymnii*. Bergamo, 1952
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

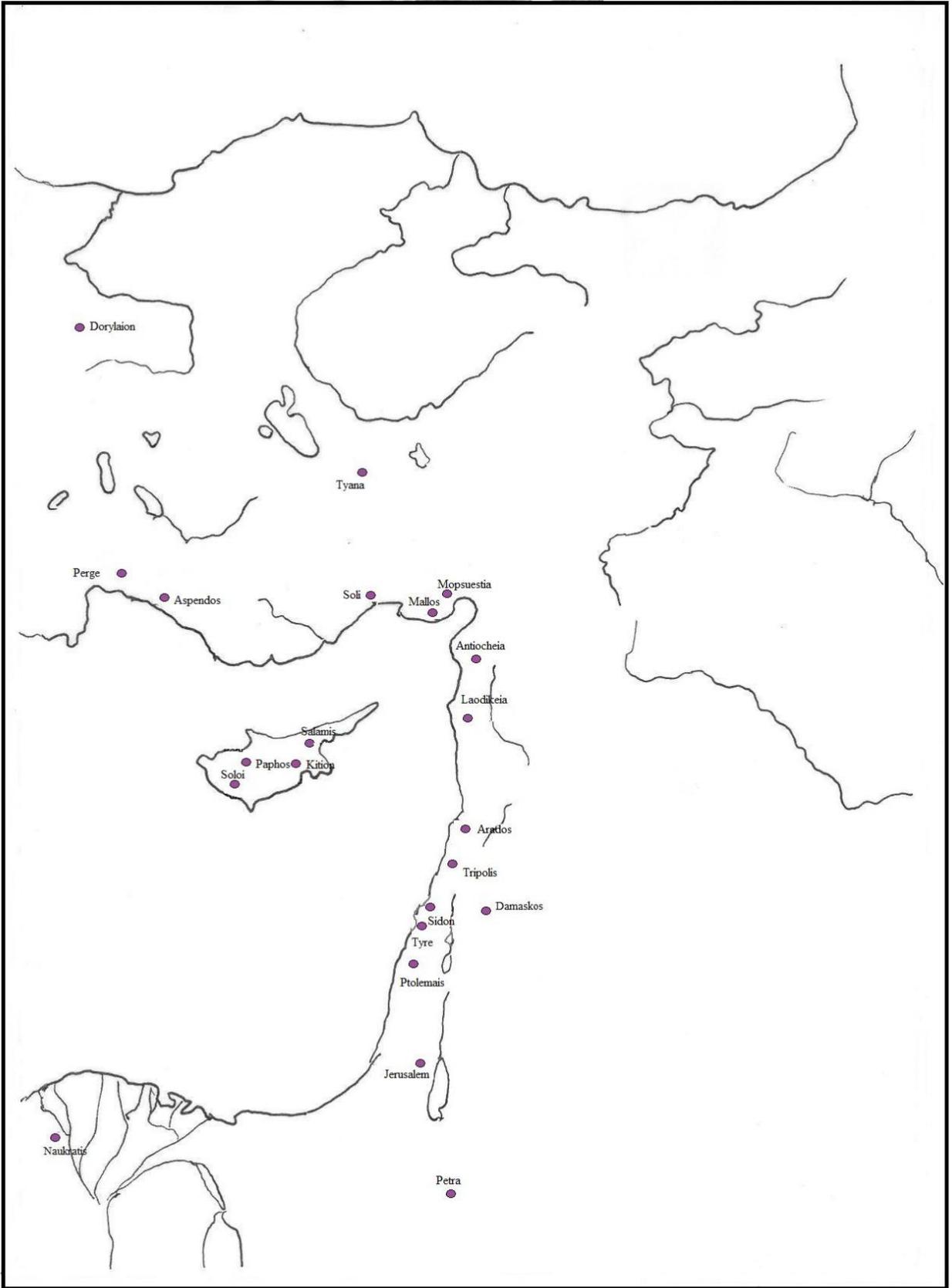
## MAPS

Bullets indicate *gymnasia* and the existence of officials and participants concerned with the institution from the 4th to the 1st century BC.

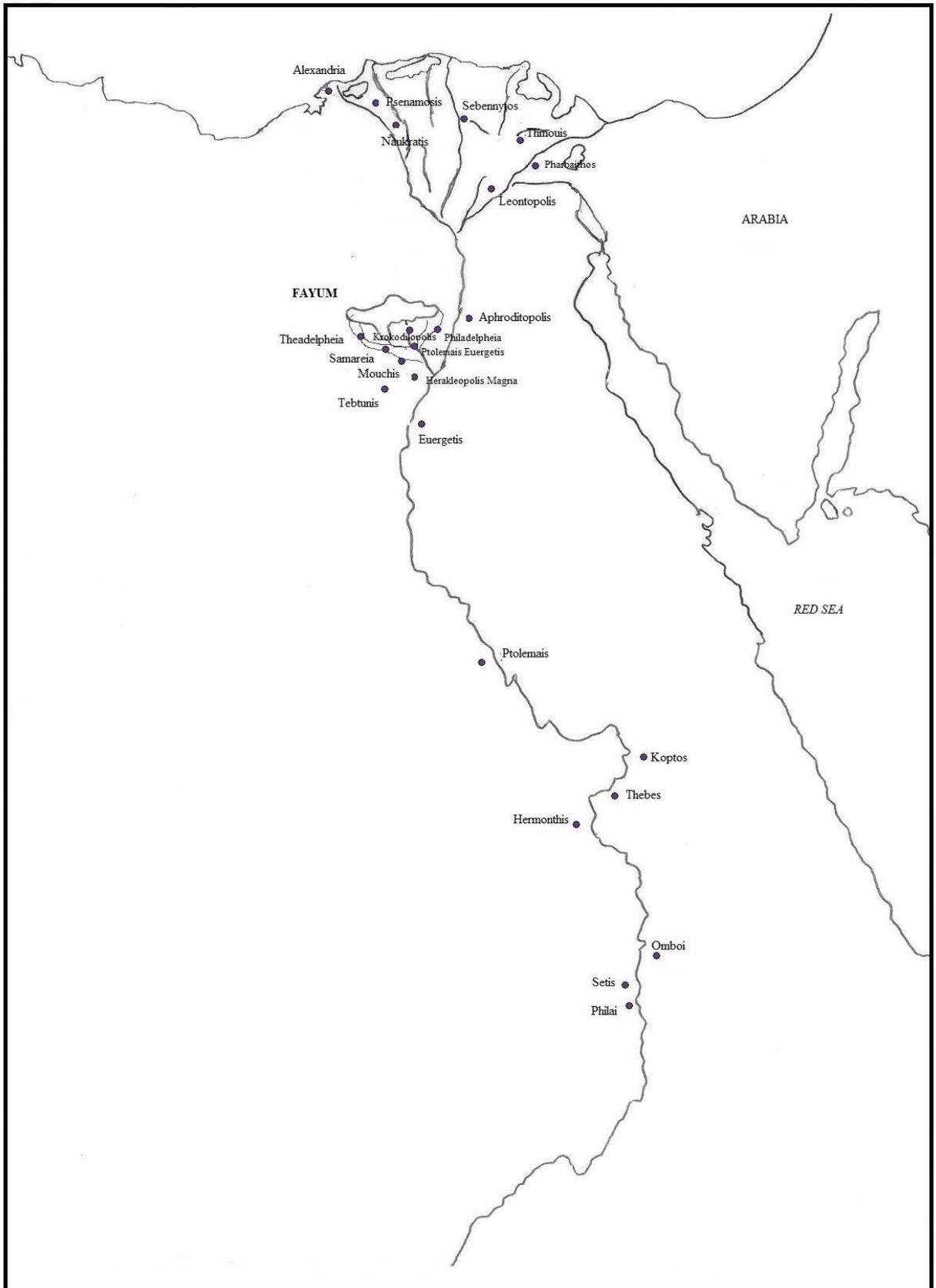


Map 1. Greece.





Map 3. Syria-Phoenicia and Cyprus.



Map 4. Egypt.



## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The *gymnasion* was one of the most prominent institutions of Greek civilization. During the Hellenistic period the *gymnasion* was established as a significant component of the Greek way of life and was diffused in the East from Asia Minor to Afghanistan and in the South to Egypt and Cyrene. As is well known, the *gymnasion* was linked with the athletic and military training of free young and mature free men and their participation in athletic, religious and intellectual activities and festivals. Although the bulk of our information about the function of the *gymnasion*, its practices, officials and its participants is based on the Athenian model (e.g. Plato *Lysis* 203a-211a; *Laws* 794d-796d; Aischines *Against Timarchos* 9-12; Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 42; *Politics* 1337a-1339a), we cannot assume that this institution remained unchanged during its diffusion in the rest of the Greek world (Delorme 1960; Kah 2004). In the Hellenistic East the *gymnasion* was established in *poleis*, settlements and villages, in places where the Greco-Macedonian element was lively. In the first chapter I seek to show that the *gymnasion* represented the distinctive character of the community where it existed, in particular in places where Greco-Macedonians and native populations co-existed.

### 1.1. Aims of the thesis

The dissemination of the *gymnasion* in the Hellenistic East became a field of investigation among scholars from the second half of the twentieth century. Many studies focused on various aspects of the Hellenistic *gymnasion*: as architectural form and as a place of young men's athletic, military or intellectual education (Delorme 1960; Launey 1949-1950; Pélékides 1962; Gauthier 1993), as a civic institution (Kennell 2006; Skaltsa 2009), as an institution that could also exist out of the civic frame (Gauthier 1995; Kah 2004; Paganini 2011).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All dates are BC unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> For further analysis on recent scholarship see section 1.4. Recent scholarship and approaches.

This thesis proposes a different approach to the *gymnasion*. In contrast to previous studies, it compares the development of the *gymnasion* in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms and aims to examine how the socio-cultural factors that existed in these kingdoms influenced the ‘opening’ of the *gymnasia* to non-Greeks and how the native educational traditions and practices interacted with that process.

In the following discussion of the subject I will study in a new light how regional variations, the military or cultural role of the institution, royal policies and civic and social attitudes gradually transformed the *gymnasion* in the East, in some cases, into a less exclusive institution. This thesis moves a step further compared to previous scholarship by raising the question whether or not the *gymnasion* can be perceived as a continuation of concepts of education that existed earlier in the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia. Through the study of Greek and native educational features we will examine whether the common characteristics or the synthesis of cultural features of different civilizations can be considered as a cultural bridge between Greek and non-Greek participants in the *gymnasion*.

In being replicated all across the East, the Hellenistic *gymnasion* was established according to the peculiarities of each community (city, village, settlement). The multi-ethnic environment of the Seleukid and the Ptolemaic kingdoms, the different conditions that existed in the *gymnasia* diachronically as well as the cultural theories of the last decades about the viewing of civilizations as part of a continuous process of change (Sewell 2005: 44) permit us to study this institution as a socio-cultural entity. External policies and internal dynamics constructed networks of contacts in the *gymnasion* of the East among kings, citizens, and local elites, both Greek and non-Greek.

In the examination of the *gymnasion* many issues arise: how and by whom it was established, what factors underpinned its adoption, and what its impact was on Greeks and non-Greeks in western Asia and Egypt. In order to present the interpersonal relations that were created in the eastern *gymnasion* and its socio-cultural impact on the communities of the East, I have divided my study into four chapters as follows:

The first section of Chapter 1 presents the questions that this thesis aims to answer, as well as the main points that this study deals with (1.1). The next section sets the time and place of my research (1.2). The third section presents an outline of the nature of the evidence, its limitations, and the methodology adopted (1.3). The last section offers a presentation of the recent scholarship, the approaches to the development of the Hellenistic *gymnasion* and the relations between Greeks and non-Greeks in the East (1.4).

In Chapter 2 I present an analysis of the distinct and varied circumstances that existed in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms and of the way in which they influenced the establishment of the *gymnasia* in these kingdoms (2.1). After that I examine the roles (military, athletic, intellectual, and religious) of the *gymnasia*, which varied depending on the needs of the *gymnasion* as well as its impact on the communities where it existed (2.2).

Chapter 3 deals with the initiatives that the Seleukids and the Ptolemies took in order to support the maintenance and the dissemination of the *gymnasion*. It also analyses the motives that are revealed through them (3.1). Next, we observe the role of the officials, citizen-benefactors, age-groups, groups of foreigners or mercenaries in the maintenance and development of the *gymnasion* of the East. In this chapter the *gymnasion* is portrayed not only as an institution that became an important component of the cohesion of the community, but also as a field of negotiation among the aspirations of the participants (e.g. elite, age-group, non-Greek-group, mercenaries) and a way for them to increase their recognition and their status (3.2).

Chapter 4 is devoted to the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasion*. The first section deals with the way in which the native (non-Greek) population of the East (e.g. Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia, Near East) approached Greek *paideia* (during the 4th c. onwards) and their relation with the Hellenistic *gymnasia* of the East (4.1). The next part goes further in trying to point out common educational features that native educational traditions of ancient Mediterranean civilizations (e.g. Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Persian) shared with the training that the participants in the *gymnasion* received (4.2). In the third section of the chapter we observe the negative

feelings of some members of the native populations of the East either towards the *gymnasion* or towards Greek culture. The aim of this section is to show who opposed this Greek institution and why, and the impact of this attitude (4.3).

## **1.2. The Eastern *Gymnasion*: place and practice. A chronological and geographical setting**

The institution of the *gymnasion* as a distinctive element of the Greek way of life was incorporated gradually from the fourth century onwards in the structures of the cities of East. The cities of Asia Minor where the Greek presence was lively included *gymnasia*. In fourth century Ephesos there were *gymnasia* where men trained themselves (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.16-18; *Agesilaos* 1.25-27) and at Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 21) there were athletic venues (such as *palaistra*, running track) that were part of the *gymnasion*. According to our evidence, some cities of Asia Minor established their *gymnasia* a little later, in the third century, such as Halikarnassos (*JÖAI* 11: 53-56, no. 1, 275-250 BC) where a *gymnasion* for the young men and a *palaistra* for the children are attested.

From the second century the *gymnasion* became an indispensable institution of every *polis* and was located within the *polis* landscape near the *agora* and public buildings. In that period the *gymnasion* already had a well-defined appearance (Delorme 1960: 441-443).<sup>3</sup> A *gymnasion* was a complex of buildings that consisted of a *palaistra* with various rooms according to the needs of the participants, a covered running track (*xystos*), an open-air running track (*paradromis*) and a *stadion* (such as the *gymnasion* of Olympia) (Delorme 1960). Although the *gymnasion* had a well-defined appearance, in some cities (particularly in great centres of Hellenic culture, such as Pergamon) we notice splendid constructions with many rooms and facilities for the participants. The *gymnasion* complex of Pergamon was built on the south slope of the city during the second century (Pirson 2007). It extended over three levels connected by stairways. This complex had three open courts, a *xystos*, two baths, many rooms, shrines and statues, and a small theatre. The colossal *gymnasion* of Pergamon was connected with

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<sup>3</sup> The civic character of the *gymnasia*, their military and/or cultural role and their significant contribution in the social life of the cities could explain their introduction in the city plan (von Hesberg 1995; Skaltsa 2008).

the Attalid policy of supporting Greek arts and education and represented the dynasty's aim to exalt their capital as a centre of Greek civilization like Athens and Alexandria (Kosmetatou 2003).

The evidence from the Hellenistic *polis* of Asia Minor and the East demonstrates that not all *gymnasia* had the same function. On the contrary, through the years they acquired multiple functions. They were constituted to be places where intellectual activities took place and became the training ground of military or athletic performances and celebrations, a place of gathering and socialisation for the participants or a place for leisure activities (Petermandl 2013: 239). It is an oversimplification to argue that all *poleis* or settlements adopted similar practices regarding the running or programme of the *gymnasion* (Schuler 2004: 175). As we will observe in the second chapter, the location of a *gymnasion* (in a *polis* or a settlement), the aims and the needs of its founders or benefactors, and its officials or participants determined the programme and the running of the institution.

In the East the *gymnasia* in the *poleis* were usually civic institutions run by civic authorities.<sup>4</sup> They were connected with the activities of different age-groups of the city (*paides*, *ephebes*, *neoi*, *andres* and *presbyteroi*) and they became a very good source of information about the social and political relations that were constructed within the civic community (e.g. the stratification of society, the relations between different social classes)(Kennell 2012; Fröhlich 2013; van Bremen 2013) (Chapter 3).

Apart from the *gymnasia* that were established in the *poleis*, there were others that were established in non-Greek towns or settlements by officials, soldiers and settlers. In these places, with loose civic structures or none, the *gymnasia* followed a different path aiming to support the Greek element (e.g. the *gymnasia* of rural Egypt) but also to allow non-Greek indigenous cultural elements to be introduced into their practices. Their

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<sup>4</sup>We could not argue that all the *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic *poleis* functioned under civic authorities from the beginning of this era. Other *gymnasia* acquired their civic status earlier (e.g. IG XII 5.647) and others later, like that of Beroia (gymnasiarchal law). Sometimes the officials were appointed by the civic bodies (e.g. *demos*), whereas others by some age-groups (e.g. *neoi*). For the evolution of the *gymnasion* as a civic institution in the 2nd c. and its variation see Gauthier (1995: 9-10).

function and organization reflected each time the needs of the communities where they existed and the interests of officials and participants (e.g. the *gymnasion* of Thera, the *gymnasia* of Cyprus, the *gymnasia* of rural Egypt).

During its expansion the institution of the *gymnasion* became a pole of attraction for non-Greeks, especially soldiers, members of the local elite and people who wished to ascend the ladder of the hierarchy in the new kingdoms. As we will observe in the third chapter, this procedure became feasible mainly because of a series of attitudes during the Hellenistic period, especially from members of the Hellenistic dynasties as well as from officials and members of the civic or local elite. Chapter 4 will add to our study a third parameter that facilitated the entry of members of non-Greeks into the *gymnasion*, that of the attitude of non-Greeks towards Greek culture and the similar educational features of indigenous cultures and Greek.

The present thesis is a socio-cultural study of the diffusion of the *gymnasion* in the East that focuses on its development from the third to the first century. We will study the practices and the political, social and cultural milieu in the East and we will analyse the networks of communications that were created among the people that were linked with the *gymnasion* (e.g. kings, officials, participants, Greeks and non-Greeks). The time limits of my research are extended in Chapter 4 in order to reveal the similarities and differences between the pre-Hellenistic indigenous educational traditions (of the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Persian civilizations) and the Greek *gymnasion*.

The area of my study extends from Asia Minor to Afghanistan and from Sestos to Cyrenaica and Egypt. This vast area under scrutiny gave me the opportunity to investigate not only the discrepancies among the *gymnasia* within different Hellenistic kingdoms (e.g. Seleukids, Ptolemies) but also the attitudes of different ethnic and cultural entities towards it.

### **1.3. Outline of the data and Methodology**

The quantity of evidence we have does not allow us to paint a detailed picture of all the *gymnasia* that existed in the East or a comparative study of all the eastern *gymnasia*. This thesis, however, presents for the first time a parallel demonstration of the diffusion of the *gymnasion* in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms in order to reveal the

peculiarities in each kingdom and the networks of contacts that were constructed. As we already pointed out, this study is a socio-cultural approach to the eastern *gymnasion* that also takes into consideration the local traditions of the indigenous populations that lived in the recently conquered areas.

The information that we have about the Eastern *gymnasia* refers to it as a physical infrastructure, as a set of practices (e.g. educational, military, religious, celebrations) and as an institution where social interaction among people (e.g. participants, officials, teachers, kings, non-Greeks) took place. We cannot argue that there is evidence about all these categories for every *gymnasion*. We often assume the existence of a *gymnasion* even though there are no known archaeological remains of a building. From the content of inscriptions, papyri or from literary documents we can, in many cases, safely infer the existence of a *gymnasion*. Reference to the officials of the *gymnasion*, or to age-categories that participate in it (*ephebes*, *neoi*, men, elders), or to the athletic, military, intellectual activities that took place in it let us surmise the existence of a *gymnasion* (e.g. *I. Priene* 35, 3rd c.). Sometimes the reference to some parts of the building of the *gymnasion* or to sanctuaries of Hermes and Herakles (the god protectors of the *gymnasion*; e.g. *I. Louvre* 13) in primary sources reveal its existence in the area, even though we have no other evidence about it (e.g. *I. Fayoum* II 103; *I. Prose* 40; 41). The fragmentary nature of our sources, especially from the early Hellenistic *gymnasia* or from certain areas (e.g. Egypt), makes the reconstruction of the gymnasial life very difficult; we are therefore obliged to speculate about their function and their role. Very few *gymnasia* are well-attested in both archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

It is very important to note that in the course of time our sources about the *gymnasia* have gradually increased as new epigraphical evidence was published, new archaeological excavations took place and new testimonies came to the light providing us with substantial information about this institution. The main body of our primary sources date mostly to the second and first century. The present study gathers information from literary texts, inscriptions, papyri, archaeological finds and cuneiform texts in order to present: a) the diffusion and role of the *gymnasion* in the East and b) the socio-cultural implications of the institution. Such an approach will cast light on the

circumstances and the processes that facilitated the introduction of non-Greeks into the *gymnasion* and their attitude towards this institution (Chapter 4).

As this thesis deals with an extensive area, geographically and historically the problems of the data vary. In order to demonstrate the problems that I faced during my research I will present these by geographical area. I will begin with the best attested territory, that of Asia Minor and I will continue with western Asia and the Egyptian territory. In the last section I will refer to the peculiarities of the sources that we have about the native pre-Hellenistic educational and athletic traditions.

Asia Minor is a very well-attested area. The rich epigraphical corpus from the cities of Asia Minor, the archaeological finds and the literary sources<sup>5</sup> provide us with substantial direct and indirect information not only about the function of the *gymnasia* (e.g. physical infrastructure, practices, officials, and teachers) but also about the social, economic and cultural interactions. Although each *gymnasion* probably had similar characteristics, in the cities of Asia Minor the prosperity of each city, its size, its inhabitants and the socio-political conditions that existed determined the number of the *gymnasia* as well their appearance (humble or luxurious), their size, their programme, their amenities and their use by certain age-groups (e.g. the *gymnasion* of Pergamon).

It is difficult to reconstruct the function of every *gymnasion* of the *poleis* of Asia Minor diachronically. The synthesis of the majority of our sources that date to the second and first century could be used as a basis for discussion of how the *gymnasion* functioned during this period, the role of the local elite and of non-Greeks in it. It is important to avoid generalisations as in each city the circumstances were different (e.g. Priene, Heraklea by Latmos), the needs of the local elite changed overtime and there was no

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<sup>5</sup>The literary texts had only sporadic references to the *gymnasia*. Greek and Roman authors such as Polybios, Pausanias, Diodoros, Strabo, Appian, and Plutarch often refer to various aspects of the Hellenistic world but not to the Greek *gymnasion*. Their references to the Hellenistic *gymnasion* are irregular and probably had to do with the nature of their writings or the field of their interests. Despite the limitations of our sources about the *gymnasia*, they give us significant knowledge of the political, social and economic conditions in which the *gymnasion* was established.

homogeneity in the attitude of the inhabitants of a given *polis* towards the introduction of non-Greek population into civic life (Chapter 3).

This study is based mainly on epigraphic attestations and on literary documents and it focuses mainly on the socio-cultural aspect of the eastern *gymnasion*. In Asia Minor the bulk of our information (from a sample of sixty-seven inscriptions) derives from a) dedications of officials and members of the *gymnasia* to the gods related to the *gymnasia* (which constitute thirty per cent of our sample) and from b) honorific decrees or dedicatory inscriptions on the bases of statues for officials or teachers in the *gymnasia* (e.g. gymnasiarchs, hypogymnasiarchs, *paidonomoi*, *paidotribai*, ephebarchs), or benefactors of the institution (e.g. kings, dynasts, private benefactors) (which constitute seventy per cent of our sample). The study of the honorific inscriptions (decrees and honorific statues) from *poleis* of Asia Minor demonstrates that this habit increased from the second half of the second century onwards, giving us valuable information about the role of benefactors, officials and participants in the *gymnasia* (Chapter 3). The relations between those honoured, who benefited the *gymnasion*, and the recipients of benefactions and honouring bodies (e.g. *demos*, age-groups [ephebes, *neoi*, elders], *aleiphomenoi* and foreigners) allow us to examine the *gymnasion* as a field of negotiation among the aspirations of the officials and of the participants and as a tool of propaganda for the local elite (Chapter 3) (**Fig. 1**).

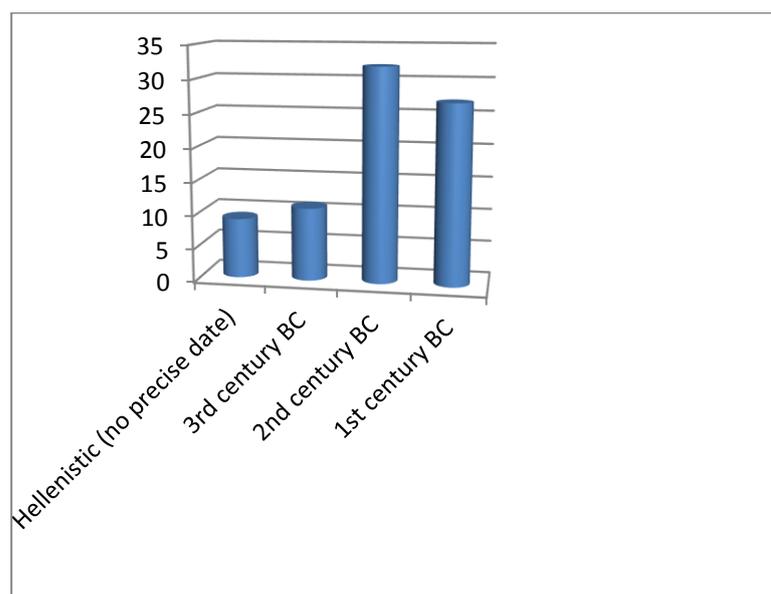


Fig. 1. Benefactions of gymnasiarchs towards the *gymnasia* during the Hellenistic period (classification by century).

Apart from our evidence that relates to the citizens, officials or participants in the *gymnasia* who honoured private benefactors, a category of inscriptions and documentary evidence exists where the participants in the *gymnasion* and the citizens honoured the royal benefactors (e.g. decreeing sacrifices and festivals, athletic competitions, processions, *gymnasia* named after the king). We have little direct evidence about the royal benefactions towards the *gymnasia* and the majority of them belonged to the Attalids (out of nineteen known direct royal benefactions towards Greek *gymnasia* the Attalids carried out twelve benefactions dated mainly from 197 to 146). On the other hand, we observe that the number of honours in response to royal benevolence is significantly larger than that of known royal benefactions (**Figs. 2, 3**). The cities approached the kings, worshipped them and created political alliances by connecting their *gymnasia* and their practices with them. This study gives us the opportunity to combine the evidence at our disposal and examine the attitude of the Seleukids and the Ptolemies towards the *gymnasion*. We will also discuss the policies of the cities towards this institution and the central administration. Such an approach will reveal the motives, the initiatives and the network of political alliances that was created between the kings, the local nobility, the *poleis* and settlements (Gauthier 1985; 1996) (Chapter 3).

As the main subject of this thesis is the participation of non-Greeks in the Eastern *gymnasia*, the above approach will reveal the conditions, the attitudes and the policies that paved the road for it. The kings' attitude towards the *gymnasia*, their policies about the participation of non-Greeks in the Greek way of life, as well the policies of the civic elites towards them influenced the introduction or not of non-Greeks to the *gymnasia* of Asia Minor (Chapter 3).

In this study we will observe the heterogeneous behaviours towards the introduction of non-Greeks. Some gymnasiarchs, especially in the late Hellenistic period, allowed or supported the introduction of non-Greeks into the *gymnasia* and of those who had no right to anoint themselves (as the gymnasiarch Zosimos at Priene: *I. Priene* 112; 113; 114; dated to 1st c.). Our information about the introduction of non-Greeks is restricted mainly to the late Hellenistic period, and does not concern all the Greek *poleis* of Asia

Minor. Each *polis* had its own policy and the introduction or not of non-Greeks into its structure was part of its political goals and the aims of the leading class. This is clear from the fact that, although there is evidence for the introduction of people that had no right to anoint themselves in the *gymnasion* from the end of the third century and the beginning of the second century (such as the Panathenaia festival of the *koinon* of Athena Ilias at Ilion by gymnasiarchs Kydimos and Antikles; *I. Ilion* 2, end of 3rd c.; *SEG* 53.1373, first half of 2nd c.), the bulk of our information about the participation of non-Greeks in the rest of the cities of Asia Minor is dated to the second half of the second century and the first century.

The participation of non-Greeks in the civic *gymnasia* as ephebes or as officials demonstrates an opening up of the *gymnasia* of some *poleis* to a particular group of inhabitants (e.g. Roman *negotiatores* or *mercatores*) (D'Amore 2007). These men belonged to the non-Greek elite of the *poleis* that lived and worked in it without having the right to participate in the Greek way of life. Because of their social and economic position in the Greek *poleis* the Romans wished to integrate into the Greek way of life in order to pursue their ambitions. We have no direct evidence that explains the reasons for this introduction of non-Greeks into the *poleis*' institutions, but we could suggest that because of the political and economic circumstances and the emergence of Roman power some non-Greek groups that had the means and the influence could pressure the civic body for more rights and thus for participation in the *gymnasion*.

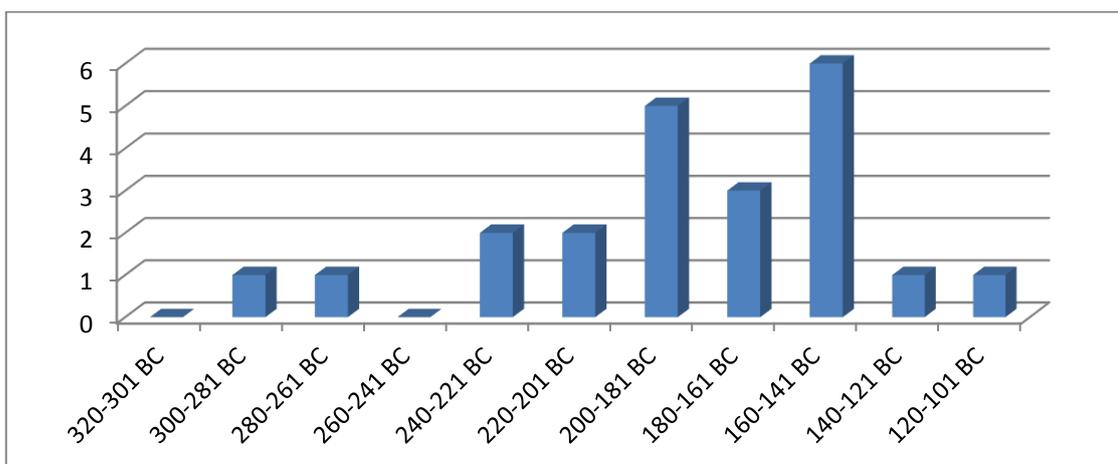


Fig. 2. Timeline of benefactions of Hellenistic kings towards *gymnasia*.

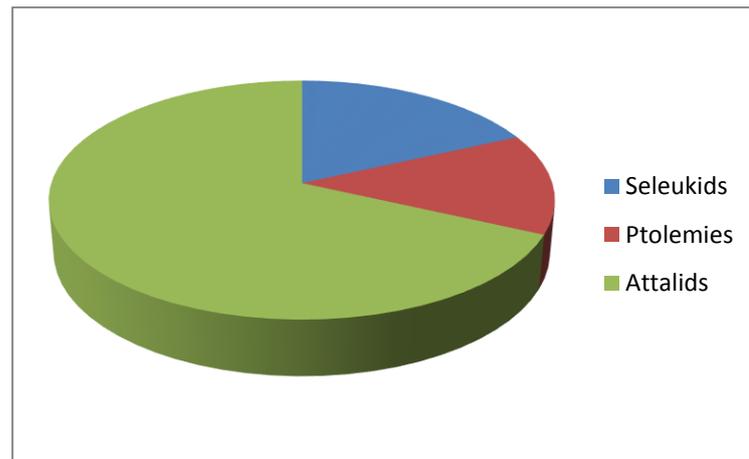


Fig. 3. Royal houses and benefactions.

Beside the well-documented *gymnasia* of Asia Minor there are others about which our knowledge is limited or partial and whose function we are unable to reconstruct based only on one source of information. Those *gymnasia* were mainly situated away from the important political and economic centres of Asia Minor. The names of officials such as a gymnasiarch or/and the names of ephebes and participants in the *gymnasion*, or the reference to practices that were linked with the *gymnasion* sometimes are considered to be enough evidence to speculate about the existence of the institution in the area. In other cases such as that of Tyriaion in Phrygia, the inscriptions give us valuable information about the status of the city, the synthesis of the population and of the actions that took place in order for the *gymnasion* to be established. From the letters from Tyriaion we are informed about the petition of Greek and non-Greek inhabitants of the settlement to Eumenes II (197-160 BC) in order to acquire the status of *polis* for their city (i.e. civic offices and *gymnasion*) (Jonnes and Riel 1997).

For the rest of western Asia our evidence varies. In cities like Babylon and Seleukeia on Tigris our information about life in the *gymnasion* is partial and based mainly on epigraphic material and on cuneiform texts. According to a chronicle fragment dated to 163/2 BC, the *politai* of Seleukeia had the right to anoint themselves with oil (van der Spek 2009: 108). Although there is no direct evidence for the existence of a *gymnasion* in the area, anointing with oil is connected with the participation in the *gymnasion*. On the other hand, in the city of Ai Khanoum in Baktria there are archaeological finds that have been identified as a *gymnasion*. A statue of two young men (Straton and Triballos) from the area of the *gymnasion* that depicts an official or a teacher of the *gymnasion*

(Veuve 1987; Bernard 1987), with an inscription on its base (dated in the mid-3rd c.) (Robert 1968: 420) dedicated to the gods protectors of the *gymnasion*, reveals a lively existence of Greek culture in the area. The fact that the remains of the *gymnasion* are dated to around 150 BC and the statue and the inscription to the mid-third century may suggest the existence of some infrastructures of *gymnasion* at an earlier period (despite the absence of archaeological finds dated to that period)(Mairs 2006:120). The Greek and Thracian names of the inscription (although there is no indication of ethnic origins for the young men) reveal the composition of the participants of the *gymnasion* of Ai Khanoum in an earlier phase.

To sum up, as far as our evidence about Asia Minor and the rest of western Asia is concerned, we observe that the honorific decrees and the dedicatory inscriptions are our main sources of information. This kind of evidence reflected the official view of the practices that took place in the *gymnasion* as these we interpreted by the central administration, the civic officials or the Greek elite. This could be explained by the place of the *gymnasion* in the *poleis*. The *gymnasion* was part of civic life and of the everyday life of the Greek citizens. Its practices were a way to safeguard Greek culture and tradition in the Hellenistic kingdoms. For the Greco-Macedonians, *gymnasion* was a 'second Agora', as Robert (1966: 422) rightly pointed out. These inscriptions were a way to commemorate the civic deeds and benefactions towards the *gymnasion* (from members of the royal family, officials or citizens), to demonstrate the loyalty of the citizens towards their city and the kings and to use as a tool of political influence of the local elite. The introduction of non-Greeks in the context of these civic inscriptions (as a group of inhabitants, as officials or as participants), mainly during the second and first century, demonstrates that they were a significant part of society. Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence about their feelings towards the *gymnasion*; but their increasing presence in it in some cities of Asia Minor demonstrates a change in the policy of the *poleis*, of civic elites and of non-Greeks.

Now we will present the data that we have about the Egyptian territory (e.g. dedications to the kings, dedications to Hermes and Herakles, honours for benefactors and founders of *gymnasia*). In this area there were three Greek cities, Naukratis, Alexandria and Ptolemais that had the characteristics of a typical Greek *polis* (e.g. civic structures,

*demes*, assemblies, councils) and their citizens lived according to the Greek civic life. Our information from these *gymnasia* is scanty apart from the decree that we have about the *gymnasion* of Ptolemais Hermiou, where we can observe the function of the *gymnasion* and the rules of admission of new members into it (*I.Prose* 27, 104 BC).

The majority of the Greco-Macedonian population lived in the rural country in settlements and villages dispersed throughout Egyptian territory (e.g. Delta, Arsinoite nome, Upper Egypt). This could be easily explained because the Ptolemies granted land within Egyptian territory to Greek mercenaries in order to support their presence in the area. This attitude gave the opportunity for the *gymnasion* to be introduced into the countryside of Egypt and for the Greco-Macedonians to live according to the Greek way of life. This diffusion of the *gymnasion* in the countryside is attested mainly in inscriptions and papyri (e.g. *I. Prose* 40; *SB* I 1106).

The function of these rural *gymnasia* is peculiar. Their organization and function did not follow that of civic *gymnasia* (e.g. public institutions within the urban landscape, the majority directed by civic officials) (Delorme 1960: 260) and thus it is difficult to make a detailed comparison with those. We could not argue that there is uniformity in the Ptolemaic *gymnasia* as each of them depended on its local circumstances, and had its own rules and function. This variability is reinforced by the policy of the Ptolemies to allow private initiative in the establishment and the running of the *gymnasia*. According to our epigraphic evidence (honorific inscriptions), some wealthy members of the royal entourage offered money or land in order for *gymnasia* to be established, while officials granted money for the good functioning of the *gymnasia* (e.g. *I. Fayoum* I 8; *I. Eg. Syène* 189). In these rural *gymnasia* Greek culture influenced and was influenced by the Egyptian milieu. This process was linked with the policy of the Ptolemies towards non-Greek inhabitants of the kingdom.

We could argue that the approach of the Ptolemies towards non-Greeks was different from that of the Seleukids. The Ptolemies granted privileges (e.g. tax exemptions) to the members of a distinct group of population that was called ‘Hellenes’. This group, apart from Greco-Macedonians, included non-Greeks of various ethnic backgrounds as long as they lived according to the Greek way of life, were educated according to Greek

tradition and culture or had an occupation related to the Ptolemaic administration. The privileged status of Hellenes distinguished them from the rest of their ethnic group, although this does not mean that they abandoned their tradition and beliefs (e.g. a Jew could be part of the Jewish *politeuma* and at the same time participate in the Greek life style and thus be considered a Hellene). This status gave to some non-Greeks the opportunity to move in two different culturally environments and switch codes of communications (Clarysse 1995; 2006). Our information about the co-existence of the Greek and the non-Greek element derives mostly from the villages of the Egyptian territory. We could argue that where civic infrastructures were absent the Greek and non-Greek elements came into close contact by acquiring a more flexible network of influences (e.g. marriages, onomatology, or selective adaptation of cultural practices) (Chapter 4).

This duality created a peculiar identity that was expressed differently depending on the circumstances. According to our evidence, the majority of the people that participated in the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* bore Greek names and probably within them there could be non-Greeks that adopted Greek names (Fischer-Bovet 2014). It is not safe to argue that the Greek name reveals the Greek identity of a person because an ethnic Egyptian could change the name of his son in order to fit in the new cultural and political milieu and thus participate in the new status quo and become a Hellene. On the other hand, in our evidence we observe Egyptian names among the officials or participants of the *gymnasion* (e.g. as the gymnasiarch Anoubis, son of Arabos: *SB* I 3460, uncertain date; or as a man named Sarapammon from the *gymnasion* of Philadelphieia, *P.Ryl.* IV 589, 2nd c.) (Paganini 2011: 197 and note 532). Moreover, one of the groups of ex-ephebes (named *hairesis*) was named after an Egyptian, that of ‘Paraibatos’ (*Bull. Soc. Alex.* n.s. vii (1929), 277, no. 3). We cannot argue that the name of a person is necessarily an indication of the degree of their Hellenization and I believe that it cannot be considered sufficient evidence on its own. The use of Greek names by non-Greeks hampers the analysis of the data and particularly that of the ethnic origins of the persons who participated in Greek *paideia*, the Greek *gymnasion* and the Greek way of life (Clarysse 2006; Paganini 2011).

The peculiar status of Greco-Egyptian identity is also revealed in the religious life of the *gymnasion*. Sometimes the Greek gods of the *gymnasion* (Hermes and Herakles) were combined with the local gods. In the Fayum area (*I.Fayum* III 200, 201) the ex-ephebes worshipped the Egyptian crocodile god Souchos (*I.Fayum* III 200, 201) and Soknebtynis (*I. Fayum* III 202), the gods protectors of the area within the Greek *gymnasion*. We may say that this syncretism reveals the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural communities that existed in the Egyptian countryside where the Egyptian and the Greek element had close relations living together (e.g. intermarriages) and participating in the Ptolemaic army. Some Egyptians chose to participate in the Greek way of life and brought with them the worship of their traditional deities. This attitude combines the Greek and non-Greek cultural elements by creating a mixture of identities in multi-ethnic communities. We should keep in mind that in Ptolemaic Egypt the status of Hellene gave an opportunity to the non-Greek population to move in different cultural environments without melting the Greek and non-Greek cultural features together.

To sum up, our information about the Ptolemaic *gymnasia* derives mainly from two primary sources, inscriptions and papyri. From honorific decrees where founders and officials of the *gymnasia* were honoured by participants and ex-participants in the *gymnasia* we draw information about the status of these officials and how they used the *gymnasion* in order to reinforce their position and influence (e.g. *I.Prose* 41). The rich corpus of papyri gives us information about some actions that had to do with the *gymnasia* (e.g. dedication to the kings, petitions, financial administration, struggles about the possession of the *gymnasion*, private letters). This source of information deals with the problems and activities of the *gymnasion* and the relations of people connected with this institution (e.g. *P.Enteuxeis* 8). Based on the above evidence we should say that the institution of *gymnasion* is not always attested directly in the documents. Sometimes the reference to the participants or practices that took place in the *gymnasion* or the deities that were linked with the *gymnasion* can be used as evidence for the existence of a *gymnasion* in the area (e.g. *I.Eg.Syène* 189, 135 BC; *I. Fayoum* II 103, 104; 150/49 BC).

Having in mind the difficulties and the peculiarities of the area under scrutiny and the complications of the data have chosen to present and analyse the evidence at my

disposal in a thematic order (e.g. Chapter 2 presents the role of the eastern *gymnasia*; Chapter 3 the initiatives and the motives for the development and the maintenance of the institution) by making a parallel presentation of conditions in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. The evaluation of the available evidence, the parallel analysis and the synthesis of the data reveal the peculiarities and the divergences of each kingdom, the role of individuals or groups (e.g. kings, local elites, participants, and non-Greeks) and the impact of the *gymnasion* on Eastern communities (cities or other settlements).

This method aims to show the distinct character that the Hellenistic *gymnasion* had and to reveal its different aspects without making misleading generalisations. This approach leads us stage by stage to investigate the adaptation and the development of the *gymnasion* in Egypt and in western Asia and the factors that facilitated the ‘opening’ of the *gymnasion* to some non-Greeks.

Although my study is focused on the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, I will refer sporadically to mainland and insular Greece and to Pergamon, in order to provide a more complete picture of the *gymnasia* and of the networks of contacts between their participants.

Now I will proceed to present the attitudes of the non-Greeks towards the *gymnasion*. As we already mentioned, in cities and other settlements in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms Greeks and non-Greek often lived together, married and participated in the Greek way of life. We cannot argue that all non-Greek inhabitants of the Hellenistic kingdoms had a similar attitude towards the Greek cultural elements. Unfortunately, our sources about their participation in gymnasial life is based mainly on Greek sources (inscriptions or papyri) that reveal their role as ephebes and officials, as soldiers-participants of the *gymnasion* or as former trainees of the *gymnasion* that formed a distinct social group in the community. These attestations give us a biased point of view of the participation of non-Greeks because they demonstrate primarily the way of life of the local elite and that of the Hellenes. Those men from the indigenous population that had the means to finance their participation in the *gymnasion* and to promote their interests could make dedications to Greek gods or to the kings and demonstrate their

devotion to the new political and cultural status more easily than the rest of the non-Greek population.

By studying the different attitudes of non-Greek towards the *gymnasion* we may say that we observe different stages of acculturation as far as their degree of Hellenization is concerned. The recent years the term 'Hellenization' has been the subject of long discussions among scholars (Alcock 1994). It is important to define first 'Hellenization' and then 'acculturation'. We consider 'Hellenization' to be the process through which the individuals or groups of people adopted the Greek way of life and considered themselves Greeks. By the word 'acculturation' we refer to the cultural process and the mutual cultural changes that took place in different groups of people or individuals in contact within multi-ethnic and multi-cultural environments (Berry 2005; 2008).

In the Hellenistic East the diversity of the conquered milieu and the multiplicity of socio-cultural procedures that were constructed in it created a heterogeneous environment that is difficult to define with the strict term 'Hellenization'. I believe that the reasons for the cultural contacts (e.g. conquest, immigration, travel, and commercial reasons), the aims and the ambitions of Greeks and non-Greeks, the economic, political and cultural status and the psychological factor of individuals or groups of people as well as the location of the interaction (e.g. where there is a lively Greek element as in the Fayoum area the cultural contacts between Greeks and Egyptians were multiple, unlike these in Upper Egypt where we have only a sporadic presence of Greeks) determine the degree of acculturation of the members of the communities that interacted with each other. These parameters created a complex environment in the East where the degree of Hellenization can only be perceived as a complicated procedure. Each group of persons or individuals that lived in different parts of the kingdoms had their distinct ethno-cultural identity and tradition, belonged to different social groups and had their own aims and ambitions. If to these factors we add the personal element, individual attitudes and objectives then we could assume that in the Hellenistic East it is not safe to try to generalise about the degree of Hellenization.

The Hellenistic kingdoms extended to areas with a strong political and cultural background (as Egypt, Levant, and Anatolia). For the native population the acceptance

or rejection of the cultural features of the conquerors and the degree of their assimilation depended on the circumstances, social status, political ambitions and personal aims. Some native inhabitants chose to maintain their own cultural tradition and to combine it with elements of the Greek way of life; others avoided participation in new practices and even confronted them. In this study we will observe (in Chapter 4) that even the rejection of aspects of Greek culture took many forms and is attested among certain indigenous groups or individuals (e.g. priests, local elites).

The eastern cultures that interacted with each other had a long tradition of commercial and cultural interchanges from the pre-Hellenistic era. Thus the cultural flexibility that some individuals demonstrated in the Hellenistic period was not something strange to Mediterranean civilisations. The commercial and cultural relations of Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian merchants, craftsmen and noblemen with the Greeks from the eighth century onwards created an environment of fruitful interchange of practice on many levels (e.g. visual art, architecture, religion, burial practices, literature) (Karetsou 2000; Phillips 2008; Griffith 2015a, b). These civilisations had their own particular practices, knowledge, symbols and traditions. The mobility of some members of these societies and their willingness to adopt foreign practices introduced elements from abroad into the native traditions. Although the interchange of practices affected many aspects of cultural life, this study will focus on the educational traditions and practices of the native Mediterranean civilisations. The institution of the Hellenistic *gymnasion* was a unique phenomenon of the ancient Mediterranean world that derived partly from a set of practices (athletic, military and religious) attested long before the Hellenistic era (as we will observe in Chapter 4).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>The athletic competitions, the festivals and banquets in which young men participated in the Hellenistic *gymnasia* are attested (e.g. in Greek literature and visual art) from an early period (eighth and seventh centuries). In Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there are literary descriptions of athletic-military practices and games (e.g. chariot race, archery, spear throw, wrestling). Young aristocrats and soldiers participated in combats or athletic competitions during funeral games (*Iliad* 23.257-897) or celebrations (*Odys.* 8.97-417) in order to demonstrate their fitness and physical strength (Griffith 2015b: 26-32). We cannot argue that the references to athletic competitions in the Homeric epics represent a detailed description of sporting activity, but the prominent role of sports in the everyday life of Greeks and their interest in athletics is clear (Perry 2013: 58-59). As Perry (2013: 54) points out 'the exact relationship between literary depictions of sport and historical realities remains an open question'.

From the Bronze Age to the Archaic period and onwards (1800-450 BC) the constant commercial and cultural relations between the Greek population with eastern Mediterranean civilizations influenced Greek culture and education. Eastern elements were incorporated, adopted at different times by the Greeks and gradually became apart of Greek tradition and culture (e.g. visual art, architecture, literature, religion). In Chapter 4 I will try to find similar educational, athletic or military practices among the civilisations of the eastern Mediterranean by gathering information from a very extensive time span and from a vast area. It is important to note that we cannot speak either about an undisrupted cultural procedure (between the Bronze Age and the Hellenistic period) or about a complete or representative corpus of evidence, since our evidence is often sporadic.

The investigation about this period is problematic as our information is often partial. For example, as regards the Bronze Age, visual art and some scribal attestations from Linear A and B tablets (from Cretan and Mycenaean civilizations) are our only evidence about literary education. This data could be compared with the rich corpus of evidence (especially from cuneiform texts) that we have about Mesopotamian cultures (e.g. Sumerian, Babylonian) and Egypt. The practices of Mesopotamian school, *Eduba*, as well as the Sumerian and the Egyptian scribal traditions give us information about the social status of educated men, the existence or not of schools, the role of palaces, of priests and of the elite in the instruction of young men. On the contrary, Greek sources reveal an informal training of scribes that mostly kept practical records (great knowledge of the system of weight and measures) (Griffith 2015b: 28-29). We do not have any direct evidence about the social status of the scribes (even if we assume that they had a close relation with the kings as official record holders), details about their education or about the existence or not of official training (Griffith 2015a; 2015b).

In order to approach better the role of literary and athletic /military education in the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean and the formation of a common background, in Chapter 4 I have used the comparative method of investigation. I have selected from a geographically, culturally and historically heterogeneous area a distinct cultural aspect, specifically education (athletic/military and intellectual), and I have used it in

order to find common educational patterns in the eastern traditions. The similar educational patterns and practices in the eastern cultures and in Greek *paideia* created the frame within which the Hellenistic *gymnasion* was diffused and functioned in the East.

#### 1.4. Recent scholarship and approaches

In the twentieth century the *gymnasion* became the field of research of many scholars who focused each time on different aspects of *gymnasion* (e.g. its architectural form, its athletic/military practices, the *gymnasion* as intellectual centre, as a location of socialization of Greek element) (Forbes 1929; Nilsson 1955; Delorme 1960; Marrou 1965; Giovannini 1993). The oldest work that gathers material for the *gymnasia* of the ancient Greek world from the archaic to the roman period is that of Delorme (1960) *Gymnasion: études sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'Empire romain)*. This work gives valuable information about the place of the *gymnasion* in Greek society, its function and organisation, as well as its architectural form. It was the first work that collected the existing evidence from archaeological sites, epigraphic texts and documents and presented *gymnasion* as a civic institution that was connected with cultural and social life. We must keep in mind that the work of Delorme and his conclusions were based on the existing evidence of his time. Now we have new epigraphic evidence at our disposal (e.g. the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia, the ephebarthic law of Amphipolis or the *stèle* of Tyriaion) that contributes to the better understanding of the function of the *gymnasia* and allows us to view them in a different light.

Some years later than Delorme's work, the monograph of Pélékides (1962) *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ*, devoted to the Athenian *ephebeia* from the Classical period to Roman times, presents the institution of Athenian *ephebeia*. A well-documented area, such as Athens, provides the author with a substantial amount of evidence. In this work *gymnasion* is viewed as the training ground of young men where a variety of practices was taking place (athletic, intellectual, religious). Through this study the cultural and social impact of the Athenian *gymnasion* and the gradual introduction of non-Greeks into it are revealed.

Our knowledge of the function of the *gymnasia* was based mainly on the Athenian model until the important epigraphical evidence from Beroia and Amphipolis came to light. The detailed analysis of the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia in 1993 by Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (*La Loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia*) casts light on the function and practices of the Macedonian *gymnasion*. Through this inscription the rights and the obligations of the gymnasiarch, the function and the organization of the *gymnasion* as well as the criteria for entry to the *gymnasion* are presented. This inscription allows us to understand that the Athenian model of *gymnasion* does not fit in each case. Both the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia and the ephebarchic law of Amphipolis (BE 1987, 704) describe in detail the practices of *gymnasion* in second-century Macedonia. The civic and military character that is revealed in these inscriptions permits us to observe how the Macedonian *gymnasion* functioned, its peculiarities and its objectives.

A different kind of evidence from Tyriaion at Phrygia came to add new elements in the legal frame within which *gymnasion* functioned (Jonnes and Riel 1997). The petition of the inhabitants of Tyriaion to Eumenes II to grant their city the status of *polis* and to provide them with the institutional frame for the establishment of a *gymnasion* (Kennell 2005:16) reveals the civic character of the *gymnasion*. The fact that among the Greek envoys (Αντιγένης, Ὀρέστης) to king Eumenes II was one man with a Gaulish name (Βρέννος) implies the co-existence of Greeks and non-Greeks in the city (Chaniotis 2002: 105; Jonnes and Riel 1997: 11-12) and the importance of the establishment of the *gymnasion* for the inhabitants of the city regardless of their origins.

During the Hellenistic period, as becomes clear from Gauthier's (1993) article 'Notes sur le rôle du gymnase dans les cités hellénistiques', different parameters influenced the function and nature of the *gymnasia* and how it was adapted to the needs of each community. He argues that sometimes the cities could not afford the expenses for the maintenance of the *gymnasion* and relied on private *euergesiai* (benefactions); that the content and the formation of the institution was different from one city to another; and that the existence of private *gymnasia* and the introduction of foreigners into it depended on each city's policy. Gauthier thus demonstrates the variability of the *gymnasia*.

In Asia Minor the situation was complex. The *gymnasia* of the Greek *poleis* during the Hellenistic period gradually acquired civic status and were supervised by public officials. We could not argue that a standard pattern existed for the function of the *gymnasia* in every *polis*. The different socio-political and economic conditions of the *poleis*, their relations with the central administration, the role of the elite, and the existence of non-Greek elements in the *poleis* were some of the parameters that allowed the variability of the *gymnasia*. All these parameters could differentiate one *polis* from another, but they could also change diachronically even in the same *polis*. This has become explicit from the change of the attitudes of the *poleis* and the civic elite towards non-Greeks (e.g. Romans) and those who had no right to anoint themselves (e.g.metics) in the late Hellenistic period. Through our epigraphic evidence it is revealed that this phenomenon did not occur simultaneously in every *polis* (e.g. at Themisonion, at Magnesia, at Sestos, at Priene). As we will observe in Chapter 3, such processes demonstrate that the *gymnasion* is not a static institution; on the contrary, it reflected each time the dynamic milieu of the community where it was established.

The variability of the *gymnasia* in the Hellenistic world was presented in a work of collected papers which had been delivered in a symposium in Frankfurt (2001). In 2004 Kah and Scholz edited the delivered papers in *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*. This work exemplifies how archaeological discoveries and epigraphical or papyrological evidence during the second half of the twentieth century and the body of the bibliography on the subject have created new approaches to the gymnastic institution by viewing *gymnasion* from various standpoints. Gehrke agrees with Gauthier (1993) about the existence of different kinds of *gymnasia*, while Gross-Albenhausen (2004) poses the question whether the *gymnasion* could be considered an institution that promoted integration or segregation in the newly conquered areas of the Hellenistic East.

Skaltsa (2008) in her thesis, *Hellenistic Gymnasia: The Built Space and the Social Dynamics of a Polis*, approaches the *gymnasion* as a civic institution (in mainland and insular Greece as well as in Asia Minor). She examines the differentiation of civic *gymnasia* and their role in the *poleis*. Her study explicitly shows the complex and dynamic picture of the civic *gymnasia* that were influenced each time by political,

social and economic parameters, and moves away from a common ‘model’ of *gymnasion*.

As far the cities and settlements of Syria are concerned, many works refer to the political, social and economic condition of this region as it was a disputable area between the Seleukids and the Ptolemies (e.g. Bagnall 1976; Grainger 1990; 1991; Cohen 2006). Although there is epigraphic evidence about the participation of young Syrians in the *gymnasia* of ‘Old Greece’ and especially in the Athenian *ephebeia* (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2314; 2316; 2317; 960; 1960; 1006; 1008; 1009; 1011; 2986; 1028; 1043; *SEG* 15. 104; 39. 187; 2nd /1st c.), the best-known *gymnasion* in Syrian territory is that of Jerusalem. According to I and II Maccabees, the Jewish high priest Jason, who belonged to the Hellenized party of the Jews, asked the permission of king Antiochos IV to let the Jews return to their ancestral law (I Mac. 1.11), to grant their city the status of *polis* and to establish a *gymnasion* in the city. Once again (as in the case of Tyriaion) the *gymnasion* was connected with the status of *polis* and the civic infrastructures. But in this case, as we will analyse in Chapter 4, we are dealing with a *gymnasion* that was established in a city with non-Greek population with a long, strong religious tradition and practices.

The influence, or otherwise, of Greek culture upon the Jewish monotheistic tradition and the role of the Greek *gymnasion* has attracted the interest of many scholars. Tcherikover (1959) believes that the life of Jews in the Hellenistic community meant compromising their beliefs. Others have supported the existence of relations between Greco-Macedonians in several aspects of their communal life that led to the inevitable influence of Greek culture (Hegel 1974; 1980; 1989). Some, it is true, believe that this influence had little impact and was restricted to a few members of the Jewish community (Feldman 1993; Millar 1983; 1987). Gruen, however, argues that while Hellenism helped the Jews shape and establish their own identity, the influence of Greek culture on some Jews did not mean their total assimilation and they certainly did not need to compromise their beliefs (Gruen 2001; 2002). Kasher (1976) argues that some Jews participated in a ‘special’ *gymnasion* that respected their beliefs and traditions, thus to a ‘Jewish *gymnasion*’. On the other hand, Kerkeslager (1997), based on papyrological material (*CPJ* 3.519), rejects this position and mentions the presence

of Jews in the *gymnasion* of Alexandria. Rajak (2002) underlines that Greek culture and its relation with the Jewish identity were not static and monolithic; they were altered and formatted depending on the circumstances.

Apart from the bulk of our evidence that belongs to the *gymnasia* of insular and mainland Greece and those of Asia Minor and Jerusalem, few studies have been done about the rest of the Greek world. As far as the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt are concerned, the scholarship is limited. Brady's 1936 article ('The Gymnasium of Ptolemaic Egypt') was the first attempt to describe the function and organization of the Ptolemaic *gymnasion*. More recently, in 1996 Cribiore has given a detailed description of literacy and educational practices in Greco-Roman Egypt. Cordiano in 2001 (*La ginnasiarchia a Cirene*) describes the institution of the *gymnasion* in a region away from the administrative centre of the Ptolemies and its specific character. The 2011 thesis of Paganini (*Gymnasia and Greek Identity in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt*) provides us with an in-depth case-study analysis of the diffusion and the development of the gymnastic institution in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt. Paganini makes a detailed analysis of the function of gymnastial life in Egypt from the Hellenistic to the early Roman period and aims to demonstrate that we cannot support the idea of a unifying picture of the *gymnasion* in Egypt. Based mainly on papyri and inscriptions he shows how the *gymnasia* of the Egyptian territory, whether situated in the *poleis* or in the countryside, were influenced by many parameters (e.g. the decisions of the central administration, the members of the royal entourage, the local elite, the different regional needs, the socio-economic situation and the aims and ambitions of certain individuals).

Now we move to the eastern part of the Hellenistic world. The study of the relations between Greek culture and eastern civilizations had become for many years one of the major points of interest for historians of the East. The integration or segregation of Greek culture in the Hellenistic kingdoms has become a point of controversy among scholars. Brady (1936), Bingen (1975), Lewis (1986), Briant (1990), Legras (1999), Habermann (2004), Bringmann (2004), van der Spek (2005), Moyer (2011) are only some of the scholars that have taken part in this discussion and either argue that Greek culture was specific only to an exclusive number of the population, or believe that there was a lively interaction of cultural elements between the Greek and non-Greek

elements. The new archaeological finds, as well the new cultural theories about viewing civilizations as part of a continuous change (Sewell 2005), allow us to approach the subject of segregation or integration of Greek culture differently.

Before the decipherment of cuneiform tablets in the nineteenth century, scholars believed in the superiority of Greek culture over those of the indigenous populations of the East on the basis of Greek sources (Droysen 1833-1885). The decipherment of the tablets changed that. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White in 1987 (*Hellenism in the East*) and in 1993 (*From Samarkhand to Sardis*, with Sherwin-White as first author on this occasion) underline the oriental character of the Seleukid kingdom. From this point onwards scholars have tried to find a more moderate approach that combines the Greek and eastern cultural elements (Rollinger 2001; Mairs 2008; van der Spek 2009; Monerie 2012).

Each ethnic group (Syrians, Phoenicians, Jews, Egyptians, Thracians, Babylonians) had its own distinct identity based on genealogical inherited characteristics and on cultural features (e.g. language, customs, common past, religious practices) (Sparkes 1998: 3-5). The interaction among various ethnic groups added elements to the mosaic that constituted ethnic identity. Malkin (2001: 12) observes that ethnic identities in the ancient world must be viewed in a more nuanced way and not simply as elements that promoted dichotomy and segregation. In the multicultural environment of the Hellenistic kingdoms, contact between Greek and non-Greek populations was inevitable, as a plethora of ethnic groups co-existed and interacted. In a world that developed continuously and in which the relocation of populations was a common feature, very often populations with the same origins lived under different circumstances and thus the ethnic groups cannot be considered as unified political and social entities that lived in a specific area. This allows us to speak of the emergence of a plurality of identities in accordance with the multiple roles which each group of people or each person played within the social structure and the conditions in which they lived (Burke and Stets 2009; 139).

I believe that life in the dynamic environment of the Hellenistic East, where interchanges of ideas and practices among different ethnic groups were taking place,

produced a variety of approaches towards Greek culture. The Hellenistic *gymnasion*, as a predominant feature of the Greek way of life in *poleis* or settlements in the East became a channel of cultural communication. As we will observe in Chapter 4, the adaptation, refusal or rejection of Greek cultural practices by non-Greeks took many forms (e.g. open rejection, neutrality, adaptation of some features, switching codes of communication). They fluctuated and changed in the East, thus revealing the variability of conditions and the non-static character of the eastern *gymnasion*.

## CHAPTER 2. THE DIFFUSION OF THE *GYMNASION* IN THE HELLENISTIC EAST AND ITS ROLE IN THE EASTERN COMMUNITIES

The present chapter deals with the factors that determined the development of the *gymnasion* in the East and its role in the communities where it was established. The three parameters that will be studied in this chapter are the diverse circumstances that existed in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, the way that these peculiarities influenced the establishment and the running of the *gymnasia*, and the role (i.e. cultural, military) of the *gymnasia* in the communities in which it existed.

### **2.1. Cities, settlements and populations in the Hellenistic kingdoms**

The Seleukids and the Ptolemies had a variety of lands and populations under their rule. In order to establish their power in the newly conquered territories they had to take into consideration not only the Greco-Macedonians that lived in, or followed them in, the conquered territories,<sup>7</sup> but also the social, economic, and political milieu that existed in these areas as well as the traditions and cultures of the native populations (Rowlandson 2003: 256-257).

#### **2.1.1. Seleukid kingdom**

The Seleukid kingdom inherited most of the Persian Empire. It was an extensive Hellenistic kingdom that included during its existence territories such as Asia Minor, Syria-Phoenicia, Mesopotamia, Media, Parthia, Baktria and Sogdiane.<sup>8</sup> It was difficult to control or to keep intact for a long period because for many years it was the

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<sup>7</sup>The Greco-Macedonian settlers, soldiers and professionals of various occupations (e.g. merchants, craftsmen) lived and worked in cities and settlements of the eastern part of the Hellenistic world along with various non-Greek groups constructing a peculiar framework of cultural interaction (Green 1990: 313; Wheatley 2009: 61).

<sup>8</sup>The extent of the Seleukid kingdom is revealed through Appian's narration in *Syrian Wars* 9.55.

battlefield between the Successors. Internal and external threats caused frequent changes in the borders of the kingdom which affected its consistency.<sup>9</sup>

The Greek population in many territories of the Seleukid kingdom pre-dated the Hellenistic era, especially in the shores of Asia Minor. In the cities of the coast of Asia Minor after the Persian rule and Alexander's conquest the Greek element had to cope with the rivalries among Alexander's successors. The cities' autonomy, freedom and survival in the newly established kingdoms became a field of political and diplomatic negotiations between the cities' authorities, the members of the upper class (e.g. high ranking officials like *epistatai*)<sup>10</sup> and the kings (Cohen 1995: 23-24; Ma 2000: 244-245; Billows 2003: 192; 198; 209-13). Although the Greek-type *poleis* had the right to self-govern, to appoint their governmental instruments and to have their own institutions, their independence was conditional and on each occasion depended on the political circumstances (Ma 2000: 150-174; Strootman 2011: 144). In the dynamic Hellenistic environment the variability of political spheres of influence among the Hellenistic monarchs, dynasts, cities and elites constructed a strange political milieu, in which the boundaries of action were unclear.<sup>11</sup> Although being self-governed (autonomous)<sup>12</sup> and free was a *sine qua non* for the existence of the *poleis* of Asia Minor, they had to adjust their expectations to royal policies, to honour the kings and to negotiate with them about privileges granted to the city. On the other hand, in order for the kings to impose their power in the field of diplomacy, they benefited the cities by giving privileges, promised to support them (such as the support towards civic institutions like the

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<sup>9</sup>From the mid-3rd to the 2nd c. some of the indigenous population gradually ceased to be loyal to the Seleukids. Bactria and Parthia in 250 and 248 respectively were no longer part of the Seleukid kingdom. Kilikia, Pisidia, Phrygia and Caria were never held effectually by the Seleukids (Bubenik 1989: 49).

<sup>10</sup>For the role of *epistatai* (as officials appointed by the king or as civic officials) in the *poleis*' society and in the negotiation with the kings see Hatzopoulos (1996); Hammond (1999); Ma (2003: 192).

<sup>11</sup>The royal benefaction towards the Greek cities became a struggle of political dominance over various parts of the Greek world. The kings protected and supported the autonomy and freedom of the *poleis* and the Greek way of life; at the same time they tried to improve their royal power, status and influence through their benefactions or promises of benefactions (e.g. Miletos and the promise of Antiochos I: *I.Didyma* 479, early 3rd c.; Miletos and the promise of Eumenes II: *SEG* 36, 1046, 2nd c.) (Dmitriev 2005: 38-40).

<sup>12</sup> For the limits of the autonomy of Hellenistic *poleis* see Billows 2003: 209-210.

*gymnasion*), received honours and the establishment of royal cult and they negotiated with the city officials the conditions of their benevolence (Ma 2003: 181-183). Chaniotis (2003: 440) argues that the cities, in order to achieve the support they needed, encouraged royal benefactions by constructing an image of inferiority for them and an image of supremacy for the royal benefactors. Shipley (2000: 77-78) believes that the cities were not always in need, but that during the Hellenistic period a relation of reciprocal dependency between the cities and the kings was created. This is clear from the example of Herakleia by Latmos (*SEG* 37. 859, 196-193 BC) where king Antiochos III allowed the citizens to use the revenues from local harbour taxes for the maintenance of their *gymnasion*. In order to show their gratitude, the citizens fulfilled their financial obligations towards the king (Ma 2003: 186).

Apart from the old cities of Asia Minor, the Seleukids had under their rule newly founded cities and settlements within their kingdom. In these settlements the Greco-Macedonians lived according to their way of life and at the same time safeguarded the area (Cohen 1995:63; 64-71; 418-419). These settlements strengthened the Greco-Macedonian presence and were situated in vital economic and militarily strategic positions (Bubenik 1989: 49; Cohen 1995: 2006: 81-84; Burstein 2008: 68-69).

The Greco-Macedonian settlers had various occupations (soldiers, officers, merchants, craftsmen) and belonged to various social classes (e.g. from members of the aristocracy, officials and courtiers, to middle class merchants and lower class soldiers) (Green 1990: 313-315). In the settlements the Greco-Macedonians coexisted with the non-Greek population. Arrian (4.4.1; 4.22.5) mentions that in the settlements coexisted the Greek mercenaries and anyone of the non-Greek indigenous population who wanted to live there (Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων καὶ ὅστις τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐθελοντῆς μετέσχε τῆς ξυνοικήσεως). Some of the mercenaries who lived in the settlements were retired soldiers (ἀπόμαχοι). In these settlements the Greco-Macedonians continued their religious and athletic life as in their own home towns (θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος αὐτῶ καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ποιήσας). It is important to note, however, that the establishment of the Greek institutions in the military settlements varied. Diodoros (18.7.1) mentions that during Alexander's reign and for some years after him, some

colonies did not have Greek institutions, with unpleasant consequences (Cohen 1995: 69).

Some Seleukid rulers (especially Seleukos I and Antiochos I) followed Alexander's example (who secured Media by establishing a number of Greek cities around it [Pol. 10.27.3-4]) (Cohen 1995: 63), and founded cities in order to protect and secure the newly conquered areas, especially near the borders of their kingdoms (Cohen 2013: 335-338). The most well-known and well-attested example of a Greek city in the borders of the Seleukid kingdom is that of Ai-Khanoum. Its founder was probably Antiochos I who protected it with a strong fortification wall (Martinez-Sève 2014: 270). The finds from the city of Ai-Khanoum beside the Oxus River in central Asia (Afghanistan) reveal that it was significantly populated and that the city had all the necessary amenities for the Greek way of life (e.g. theatre, *gymnasion* and library). The Greek inscriptions found in the area attest the spread of *koine* as official language of the government and the replacement of Aramaic (Walbank 1981). Beside the Greek element in the city there were architectural and religious features such as the temple, the administrative centre, the religious practices that followed the tradition of the Persian Empire (Mairs 2008: 22). Although the Greek element was prominent in the city we can observe an affiliation with the local cultural tradition. As we will observe in Chapter 4, in the city of Ai-Khanoum there was a synthesis of native with Greek cultural elements.

To live in the borders of the kingdom was not always an easy thing. The Seleukids encouraged and supported settlers not only to create cities and settlements following the tradition of their Greek homelands but also to introduce to them institutions of the Greek *polis* (Martinez-Sève 2014: 272-274; 278-279). The rebellion of the Greek colonists against Perdikkas because of the lack of Greek *agoge* and *diata* in the upper satrapies was not forgotten (Cohen 1995: 69).

Οἶδ' ἐν ταῖς ἄνω καλουμέναις σατραπείαις κατοικισθέντες Ἕλληνες ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ποθοῦντες μὲν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ δίαιταν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐξερριμμένοι, ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπέμενον διὰ τὸν φόβον, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἀπέστησαν.

The Greeks who had been settled by Alexander in the upper satrapies, as they were called, although they longed for the Greek customs and manner of life and were cast away in the most distant part of the kingdom, yet submitted while the king was alive through fear; but when he was dead they rose in revolt.

(Diod. 18.7.1, translation Loeb Classical Library)

The phrase ‘cast out (ἐξερριμμένοι) in the borders of the kingdom’ reveals that establishment of settlers in the colony was not a deliberate action on the part of the settlers, who had to live in a colony away from home, surrounded by hostile neighbours in a difficult territory. This situation led to two revolts in 326/5 and 323 (Iliakis 2013: 183). Although these revolts were the outbreak of a general instability, particularly after Alexander’s death, they did not succeed because of the diversity of the colony’s inhabitants (Iliakis 2013: 190-194). According to Diodoros, the lack of Greek education and way of life (Ἑλληνικὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ δίκαιαν) was the cause of the revolts and particularly of the second. Beyond this, many circumstances contributed to the revolt such as the political instability, the hard conditions of living, the dangerous environment in the eastern frontiers and the uncertain loyalty of the settlers (Iliakis 2013: 180-193).

We could argue that this incident alerted the Hellenistic kings to the possible danger of revolt in their colonies (Cohen 1995: 69). The kings’ provision to the Greco-Macedonian settlers of the necessary means for their endurance (economic support, provision of allotments of lands, favourable behaviour for the establishment of Greek institutions) in the periphery of the kingdoms and the settlers’ loyalty to them are the two most important factors in the establishment and the maintenance of a colony. The Hellenistic kings had in mind the extent of their kingdoms and the mosaic of the inhabitants that lived in them, and thus they supported and encouraged the private initiatives of the establishment of the institutions of a Greek *polis* (Burstein 2008: 68-69). The most known example of that behaviour comes from Tyriaion where the community of Greek and non-Greek inhabitants ask king Eumenes II (197-160) to grant Tyriaion with the status of a *polis* (i.e. civic offices and *gymnasion*). Eumenes II gave his consent to do so and took measures (like Antiochos III in the case of Herakleia by

Latmos) in order to finance the supply of oil to the *gymnasion* from specific revenues (Chaniotis 2002: 105; Jonnes and Riehl 1997: 1-29).

Some of the Seleukids in order to secure strategic parts of their kingdoms populated them with settlers loyal to them. Seleukos I founded Antioch on the Orontes at the end of the fourth century (its position was close to trade routes) and populated it with Greco-Macedonian inhabitants of nearby settlements (Grainger 1990; Cohen 1995: 63-65; 2006: 81; Austin 2003:129). At Dura-Europos Seleukos I established a garrison on 'royal land', settled Greco-Macedonians in it (Isidore of Charax, *Parthian Stations* 1) and granted them allotments of land (Kosmin 2011: 59). This settlement that was situated close to the Euphrates gave the opportunity to the Greco-Macedonians to control the area. Unfortunately, our evidence about the life of settlers is scanty and makes it difficult to reconstruct a detailed picture of their way of life (Kosmin 2011:55-56). Antiochos III (between 212 and 205) moved two thousand loyal Jews and their families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia and established them at strategically placed settlements in Lydia and Phrygia <sup>13</sup>(Cohen 1995: 63-64; 212-213). Under the reign of Antiochos III and his son Antiochos (*OGIS* 233; Austin 1981: no 190; Austin 2003: 129) a number of inhabitants from Magnesia on the Maeander settled at Antioch in Persis. These movements of population were part of the Seleukid policy to control the areas, to acquire loyal subjects in order to have a source of recruitment and to eliminate the danger of a possible revolt (Cohen 1995: 63-71). Unfortunately, our information about these third century settlements is limited.

The Hellenistic kings knew that the Greco-Macedonian element was a minority in the vast Hellenistic kingdoms and did not try to convert native traditions (Cohen 1995: 66; Austin 2003: 128). As we will examine further in Chapters 3 and 4, most of the kings displayed a tolerant attitude towards local cultures and traditions and allowed their co-existence with the Greek cultural elements and institutions (Weber 2007; 2010). For some members of the indigenous population (especially those of the local elite) the *gymnasion* became a pole of attraction and a way to fulfil their personal ambitions, to

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<sup>13</sup>Joseph. *AJ* 12.149.

participate in the new political conditions and to gain more profits and power (as the Hellenised Jews) (Grainger 1991: 81-82; Hauben 2004: 31).

The *gymnasion* and *ephebeia* in the East became a way for the *poleis* of Asia Minor to strengthen the bonds between their citizens and to express civic identity and ideology. For the Greco-Macedonian settlers, who lived away from the civic structures and followed the Greek way of life, *gymnasion* was the means to express their ‘sense of shared identity’ in the new territories (Burstein 2008: 69). In these colonies the affiliation of the Greek and non-Greek element constructed the conditions for their cultural interaction. The *gymnasion* in these areas became a place where the Greek way of life was combined with local social and religious practices.

### 2.1.2. Ptolemaic kingdom

In Ptolemaic Egypt the situation was different. The topography of Egypt, the number and the composition of the population, the well-structured Egyptian administration (bureaucracy) and society, and the native culture and tradition created a different frame within which the establishment of Greek-type *poleis* and settlements took place.

The Greek presence in Egypt, as in the Seleukid Empire, pre-dated the Hellenistic era. In the sixth century Pharaoh Amasis (Hdt. 2. 152-154) used Greek mercenaries as his personal guards. He supported the Greek presence in his kingdom by establishing the Greek mercenaries in Naukratis, a colony that soon became a trade and commercial centre that delivered goods from East to West (Bubenik 1989: 48). During his reign and after his inducement Egyptian boys learned the Greek language in order to become interpreters. This practice existed until Herodotos’ times.

After Alexander’s conquest a large number of Greek and Macedonian soldiers came to Egypt to support the newly conquered territory. The Ptolemies wanted to provide sustenance for their troops and (given the small number of Greek-style cities in Egypt)<sup>14</sup> they distributed the soldiers throughout the *nomoi* (districts of administration) on *kleroi*

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<sup>14</sup>Naukratis (which existed before the Hellenistic period), Alexandria (founded by Alexander) and Ptolemais Hermiou (founded by Ptolemy I).

(allotments of land), in exchange for military service. The new settlers mainly lived in small groups in *nomos* capitals, in villages in the area of Fayoum and in other villages throughout Egypt. Because the majority of the military settlers lived outside *polis* structures, the Greco-Macedonians preserved the original designation of their ethnic origin or citizenship (Launey 1987: 676-8; Burstein 2008: 72).

Therefore it is important to note that the Greco-Macedonians and the non-Greeks that lived in the kingdom brought with them the distinct character of their homelands (Landvatter 2013: 17). In the second century and especially in the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145)<sup>15</sup> we observe that soldiers that lived in military colonies were divided into *politeumata*<sup>16</sup> depending on their ethnic origins (Honigman 2003:66-67). Honigman (2003: 67) argues that the first generation of soldiers became permanent mercenaries of the Ptolemaic army by receiving allotments of land. Their permanent residence and their division into *politeumata* gave the mercenaries a sense of unity, a common identity and a reason to remain in this territory as loyal supporters of the king (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 294). In the Ptolemaic kingdom there were the *politeumata* of the Boeotians, Kretans, Kilikians, Idumaeans, and Jews (Cohen 2006: 62). It is worth noting that there was fluidity in the boundaries of the *politeumata*. There were diversities within the same ethnic group and the criteria of belonging to a *politeuma* were sometimes not well defined (Honigman 2003: 68, 87; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 295).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>According to the *Letter of Aristeas*, the *politeumata* existed during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. This statement, however, is ‘a case of projection of conditions obtaining in the days of the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* back onto the time when the Septuagint was, allegedly or not, translated’ (Honigman 2003: 69).

<sup>16</sup> ‘*Politeumata*’ consisted mostly of people of the same ethnic origin living in a larger community. These people were allowed to follow their own laws provided they were not in conflict with those of the larger community. In the 2nd c. in Alexandria there were ‘*politeumata*’ of various ethnicities (Paganini 2011: 45). Fischer-Bovet (2014: 292) mentions that the ethnic borders of the *politeumata* were not as distinct as most scholars used to believe (e.g. Launey 1949/50). New evidence from the function of the *politeuma* of Jews in Herakleopolis suggests the connection of *politeumata* with associations of soldiers (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 291).

<sup>17</sup>Honigman (2003: 87) demonstrates that the Jews of Alexandria and those of Herakleopolis did not belong as a whole in a *politeuma*; but there were exceptions.

Apart from various ethnic groups that lived and acted in the Egyptian territory, there were also the natives that naturally constituted the majority of the kingdom's population. Fischer-Bovet (2014: 161-162 note 6) underlines the fact that literary sources and papyri (e.g. Plutarch *Demetrius* 5; Diodoros 19.80-85) reveal the participation of Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army from the third century onwards. From the second century in the Egyptian *chôra* the number of Egyptians who were granted allotments of lands because of their military service as *machimoi* or as *hippeis* in the Ptolemaic army increased (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 253). Egyptians living in the settlements trained and fought side by side with soldiers of various ethnicities (e.g. Jews, Persians, Thracians, Greco-Macedonians) (*OGIS* 130).

In Egypt there were *gymnasia* not only in the Greek cities but in the capitals of the *nomoi* and the villages (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 281). Some of them had a cultural role while others had a military character.<sup>18</sup> The *gymnasia*, apart from being places for training young boys (ephebes), developed into centres of social, cultural and religious life for young men (*neaniskoi*) and adults who graduated from them (after one year of ephebic training) and joined the associations called *hoi ek tou gymnasiou* ('those from the *gymnasion*') (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 282). These associations had strong socio-cultural and religious agendas and supported royal rule (Rostovtzeff 1941: 1059; Paganini 2008). The establishment of *gymnasia* in cities and villages of Egypt attracted the interest of non-Greeks. From the third century onwards some non-Greeks (probably the wealthiest among them) were gradually introduced into the life of the *gymnasia* because it was a way to participate in the Greek way of life in the communal life of the city or settlement and to acquire benefits and privileges in the administration of the Ptolemaic kingdom (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 283-284; 299).<sup>19</sup> Ethnic origin as a criterion

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<sup>18</sup>The *gymnasia* of the cities had a combination of athletic/military and civic role and were combined mainly with the right of citizenship but the *gymnasia* of the *chôra* of Egypt had military character as they were founded by military settlers and were the training place of soldiers of the Ptolemaic army (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 282).

<sup>19</sup> In Chapter 4 I will make a detailed account on the ethnicities that participated in the Ptolemaic *gymnasia* as well as the role of the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* as a place of interaction between people of different ethnic origins.

for admission to the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* faded in favour of high socio-economic status.

It has long been known that in the *gymnasion* of the Ptolemaic *poleis* ‘the best of the inhabitants of the city’ could participate, as shown by an example from Ptolemais (*SEG* 8. 641, 104 BC). According to the inscription, the *boule* decided to introduce into the *gymnasion* 15 new members, from the best inhabitants of the area. These men would also receive citizenship.<sup>20</sup> The new citizens had to give a specific amount of money to be used for the erection of statues in the *gymnasion* (Paganini 2011: 124-125). There is no reference to the ethnicity of the participants, but only to their capability and indirect information about their high socio-economic status. Criteria like the eminent social and economic status of the future participant seem to have great importance for the participation in the *gymnasion* of the Ptolemaic cities and settlements (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 289-290).

In Ptolemaic Egypt Greek identity was connected with the Greek language and legislation (Thompson 2001: 301-316; Burstein 2008:73-74). All non-Greeks who could speak Greek, use the Greek practices such as the legal system or the educational institutions (e.g. *SEG* 18.702, 3rd c.; *Prose sur pierre* 15, 3rd c.), and could work in the kingdom’s administration were considered Hellenes regardless of their ethnic origins. Thompson mentions that the term ‘Hellene’ had to do with the superior tax status in Egypt in which non-Greeks and some prominent Egyptians were included if they adopted some features of Greekness, such as education, language, religion, naming practice, and membership in the *gymnasion* (Thompson 2001: 310). Even Jews were sometimes considered part of the Greeks despite their religious beliefs (Clarysse 1994: 193-203; Thompson 2001: 310). Landvatter (2013: 9) argues that for the Ptolemies the term ‘Hellenes’ had social, economic, and work-related connotations and that it was not connected with ethnic origins. Fischer-Bovet (2015: 8) suggests that ‘the Hellenistic rulers did not aim at ethnic supremacy but simply at political supremacy to reach their

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<sup>20</sup> In the *poleis* of Ptolemaic Egypt ‘all members of the gymnasium were citizens or became citizens when accepted as members. All male citizens were ephebes for one year when they turned fourteen and in theory they remained members of the gymnasium even if they did not become soldiers’ (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 282).

socio-economic goals'. This policy allowed the population of various ethnic origins and members of native elites to become Hellenes, to participate in the administration, in the Greek way of life and to support the Hellenistic kings. We shall examine these suggestions later.

As we shall observe in Chapter 4, with time the increasing number of settlements in the *chôra* of Egypt, the grants of allotments of land to Greek and non-Greek soldiers (including the Egyptians), the co-existence of people from different origins in settlements, the mixed marriages, the incorporation of non-Greeks into the Greek lifestyle or into civic life created the frame within which the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* functioned (Rowlandson 2003: 256-259). The bond between the participants in the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* was Greek culture combined with local cultural, social and religious elements.

### **2.1.3. Conclusion**

In this section we have examined the various conditions and peculiarities that existed in the multi-ethnic Hellenistic kingdoms of the Seleukids and the Ptolemies. In order to support the cohesion of their kingdoms and to pursue their political and financial goals the kings had to support the Greco-Macedonian element and its institutions. At the same time they had to respect the local ethnic groups, their traditions and customs, and to collaborate with the local elite.

In the Seleukid kingdom many cultural features of non-Greek entities that lived in that territory were combined with Greek cultural elements. This created an amalgam of practices, as in the case of Ai-Khanoum. Greek culture continued to be the distinctive public culture of the Seleukid kingdom despite the synthesis of cultural elements. The Ptolemies preferred to introduce to the Greek life style those non-Greeks who had received a Greek education and could live and behave according to the Greek way of life (Hellenes) without rejecting the combination of local social and religious practices with the Greek ones. We will refer further to these points in Chapter 4.

The integration of the non-Greek element into the *gymnasion* was reinforced in the Ptolemaic kingdom by the numerous settlements that were dispersed throughout

Egyptian territory and the cleruch system that the Ptolemies pursued for their soldiers. This policy promoted the co-existence of the Greek and the non-Greek element as well as the integration of non-Greeks into the Greek way of life. On the other hand, we have observed that the Seleukids had in their possession mainly *poleis*, and to a lesser extent settlements and garrisons that were established in strategic points of their kingdom. As we will observe in Chapter 3, every *polis* of Asia Minor had its own distinctive policy for the integration of the non-Greek element into its structure. In the other settlements the situation was different. Although the Seleukids had fewer (and less well documented) settlements than the Ptolemies, we could say that Greeks and non-Greeks soldiers or *katoikoi* lived together and interacted with different cultural elements and practices.

In both kingdoms, in the areas that were away from the rigid civic structures the integration of the Greek and the non-Greek element became more feasible. Settlers, soldiers from different ethnic backgrounds and members of the local elites were integrated into the Greek life style.

## **2.2. The role of the *gymnasion* in the eastern Hellenistic communities**

In the previous section we set the frame of our study and noticed the peculiarities of the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdom. Now we will proceed to study the role of the *gymnasion* in Hellenistic society. As the *gymnasion* was a distinctive institution of civic life and a bearer of civic ideology, I will focus primarily on the *gymnasion* in the Hellenistic *poleis*. The aim of this section is to demonstrate the different roles that the *gymnasia* (military or cultural) played in the *poleis*. Such an approach allows us to observe how the nature of the *gymnasia* influenced the introduction of non-Greeks into the *gymnasia* of *poleis* and the attitude of the Greeks towards them.

As mentioned in the introduction, the *gymnasion* in the Hellenistic world developed into a place where free young men trained daily according to the programme of the institution. The well attested fourth-century Athenian *ephebeia* reveals the combination of activities that were taking place in the *gymnasion*. Athletic and military training, participation of the ephebes in ceremonies and rituals and preparation for their role as

citizens was the main education that the Athenian ephebes received in the *gymnasion* (*Const. of Athens* 42) (Pélékidis 1962: 266-267; Kennell 2015: 174). From the third century onwards intellectual activities (such as lectures on literature and philosophy) were added to the taught lessons and non-Greek young men were introduced into the Athenian *ephebeia* (Pélékidis 1962: 184-196; Kennell 2015: 177). The situation was not the same everywhere. In the last decades of the twentieth century the discoveries of the ephebarchic law of Amphipolis (24/23 BC) and the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia (2nd c.) presented a different aspect of the *gymnasion*, the military orientation of the Macedonian *gymnasion* of the Antigonids (Gauthier 1993; Hatzopoulos 2001).

The *gymnasion* was diffused in the East and followed the Greco-Macedonian population in the newly conquered areas. We can assume that there was no uniformity in the nature and the function of the *gymnasion*. The variety of locations where the *gymnasia* were established (within the Seleukid or Ptolemaic kingdoms, *gymnasia* in *poleis*, towns or settlements), the different political and economic circumstances and the incorporation of different groups into the life of the *gymnasion* (e.g. settlers, soldiers, Greeks or non-Greeks) influenced the nature, the function and the organization of the institution.

### **2.2.1. Military education in the *gymnasia***

According to our epigraphic evidence, the military character of a *gymnasion* was demonstrated in three main categories: the lessons that the young men were taught in it (e.g. archery, throwing the javelin, launching the catapult, horse riding: *Const. of Athens* 42), the games and celebrations that were taking place in the *gymnasion* (*I. Sestos* 1, 133-120 BC), and the prizes that the young men received for their skills and virtues (prize for *euexia* [good health and strength], for *eutaxia* [good behaviour], for *philoponia* [diligence] (e.g. Tralleis: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1062, 2nd/1st c.; Samos: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1061, 2nd c.) (Chankowski 2010: 322-330). During the Hellenistic period many *poleis* faced military dangers or became the locations of military clashes, and many military garrisons and settlements were dispersed throughout the conquered areas. Unfortunately, our evidence for the military training of young men in the *gymnasia* is significantly disproportionate and dates mainly from the second and first century.

As noted at the beginning of this section, the military role of the *gymnasion* is attested in some activities of the fourth century Athenian *ephebeia*. Athenian military training of ephebes was combined with other cultural and religious activities, and was limited to the practice of weapons and to guard duties (Pélékidis 1962; Hatzopoulos 2004:94; Kennell 2015: 174). This orientation of the Athenian *gymnasion* demonstrates that the main purpose of the Athenian *ephebeia* was not the training of ephebes in the tactics of war or fighting in *phalanx*. As Hatzopoulos argues, the Athenian ephebes were light-armed soldiers with guard duties and their training reflected the Athenian ideology about the nature of *ephebeia* (2004: 95). Our knowledge of more systematic military training of young men increased after the discovery of the ephebarchic law of Amphipolis and of the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia (*BullEpigr.* 1987, 704; Gauthier 1993: 173-176; Hatzopoulos 2001: 137). The complete absence of any intellectual activity in the Macedonian *gymnasion* and the focus on the training of young men in athletic and military preparedness demonstrates the military character of the Macedonian *ephebeia* and the Macedonian *gymnasion* (Gauthier 1993: 174-175).

In the Hellenistic world the continual military clashes and wars between the Diadochoi and later rulers, the invasions by foreigners (e.g. Gauls) and the danger from pirates in the islands increased the need for well-trained soldiers either for the defence of the cities or as soldiers of the royal army (Chankowski 2004). In this section I will present the military role of the *gymnasion* in the *poleis* of Northern Greece (e.g. Beroia and Amphipolis) and Thrace (e.g. Sestos), in the *poleis* of insular Greece (e.g. Eresos, Koresia, Samos), in the *poleis* of Asia Minor (e.g. Tralleis, Erythrai, Kyanai). I choose these *poleis* (although some of them did not belong to the Seleukid or Ptolemaic kingdom) because they are close to the area under scrutiny and may reveal the way in which the military nature of the *gymnasion* functioned in the *poleis* of the eastern part of the Greek world. Because evidence for the military nature of the *gymnasia* is sparse and does not date from the same period I will present each case separately. The aim of this section is twofold: first, to observe whether or not the military character of *poleis'* *gymnasia* accommodated urgent military needs of the city and, second, to examine to what extent foreigners could be introduced to them. Having it as my aim to focus on the *gymnasia* of *poleis* in this section, I will leave aside the situation in the military settlements and garrisons (e.g. in Ptolemaic possessions inside and outside Egypt). I

will study the specific character of these multi-ethnic communities and the function of their *gymnasia* in the following chapters.

#### BEROIA AND AMPHIPOLIS

The gymnasiarchical law of Beroia (Gauthier 1993: 35; Cormack 1977: 40, 2nd c.), provides us with a substantial amount of information about the education of ephebes and *neoi* at the *gymnasion* of the city (Gauthier 1993). According to the law, the ephebes between 18 and 20 years of age practised javelin-throwing and archery every day.<sup>21</sup> After their twentieth year the ephebes became *neoi*.

The same education is mentioned in the ephebarchic law of Amphipolis (*Ergon* 1984, 22-24; *BullEpigr* 1987, 704, 24/23 BC) according to which the ephebes were trained by a *paidotribai* and three instructors (javelin-thrower, archer, and riding teacher) (Gauthier 1993: 69-70; *SEG* 43.122; Albanides 1998: 164). The young men practised javelin-throwing, archery, slinging, stone-throwing, riding and throwing the javelin on horseback (τοξεύειν, ἀκοντίζειν, σφενδονᾶν, λιθάζειν, ἵππεύειν, ἀκοντίζειν ἀφ' ἵππου).<sup>22</sup> They were obliged to attend their courses every day from morning to noon.

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<sup>21</sup>*EKM* I.Beroia 1, side B. ll. 10-12 ἀκοντίζειν δὲ καὶ τοξεύειν μελετάτωσαν οἱ τε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ οὐκ ὑπὸ τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν.

<sup>22</sup>We observe a similar education in the description of the *ephebeia* of the 4th c. by Aristotle. The author (*Const. of Athen.* 42) mentions the existence of teachers (*didaskaloi*) for the four branches of warfare: *hoplomachia*, archery, javelin and the launching of the catapults. Several inscriptions attested that military training is widespread throughout the Hellenistic world e.g. Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 766, 3rd c.; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 900 and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1008, 2nd c.); Kyaneai (*DAW* 45.1 28, 28, 2nd c.); Keos -Koresia (*IG* XII 5. 647, 3rd c.); Samos (*IG* XII 6.179, 200 BC); Sestos (*I.Sestos* 1, 2nd c.); Pergamon (*MDAI(A)* 35, 409–13, 1st c.). As far as the militaristic ephebic education is concerned, Hatzopoulos (2001: 135; 2004: 92-93) argues that we must distinguish the education that the young men received in Macedonia and Boiotia (*I. Thespies* 29 – 1 l.12-16... διδάξονθι τῶς τε παιδᾶς κῆ τῶς νιανίσκως τοξευόμεν κῆ ἀκοντιδδέμεν κῆ τάδδεσθη συντάξις τὰς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, 250-240 BC) because it is based not only on the practice in weapons (such as in Athens, Teos, Samos), but also on learning to fight in the field and the tactics of war. The other Greek ephebes received military training but their obligations were restricted to guard duties at the frontiers of their cities and to take part in the ceremonies of the cities (Hatzopoulos 2004: 94). Chankowski pointed out that the tradition and the needs of each city determined the role of the *ephebeia* (2010: 320-321).

Their progress was tested every month through contests of learning, good behaviour (εὐκοσμία), orderliness or military discipline (εὐταξία), diligence (φιλοπονία), good health/fitness (εὐεξία), and race.<sup>23</sup>

The formation of military qualities of young men in Macedonian cities is revealed also through the prizes that the young men received in order to display the civic virtues in front of the citizens. Prizes for *euexia*, *eutaxia*, *philoponia* (side B ll.71-75: εὐταξία, εὐεξία and φιλοπονία) were awarded by the Beroian *gymnasiarch* not only to ephebes but also to *neoi* up to thirty years old during the celebration of Hermaia (Chaniotis 2005: 50-1). During this festival, which was very common<sup>24</sup> in the life of the *gymnasia*,

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<sup>23</sup>Three of the prizes attested in the inscription, εὐταξία, εὐεξία and φιλοπονία of the young men existed in many places of the Greek world and demonstrate the importance of the good behaviour of the young men : *I. Sestos* 1: 1. 83 ἔθηκενδὲ ... ἄθλα... εὐταξίας καὶ φιλοπονίας καὶ εὐεξίας (133-120 BC); *SEG* 29.806 Euboa – Chalkis, 120-100 BC, l. 9: εὐταξίας καὶ φιλοπονίας καὶ εὐεξίας; Samos *IG XII* 6 1:181; 183 (ca. 200 BC) εὐταξίας, εὐεξίας, φιλοπονίας; *I. Tralleis* 106; 107 ἄθλα εὐταξίας (3rd and 2nd c. respectively ; Halikarnassos (*ABSA* 1955, 100 n.8) ἄθλα εὐεξίας (Hellenistic); Erythrai (*I. Erythrai* 81) ἄθλα εὐταξίας, εὐεξίας and φιλοπονίας (ca.100 BC).The great care of the citizens for the good behaviour and the loyalty of young men is revealed through the office of the Athenian *sophronistes* who was responsible for the prudence (Athens: *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1156, 1st c.) and the moral behaviour of the ephebes. The εὐταξία was connected with the military discipline and was the prerequisite for a powerful army and city (Isoc. *Paneg.* 115). Diligence (φιλοπονία) was the thorough active involvement of someone with an action such as the exercises that the instructors demanded from the ephebes in order to be well-trained (*I. Sestos* 1, 2nd c.) see Crowther 1991: 301-304.

<sup>24</sup>The law of Beroia (side B ll. 46-58) offers a complete and detailed image of one of the most important celebrations of the city, the Hermaia. During the festival of Hermes that took place in the month of *Hyperberetaios* the *gymnasiarch* sacrificed to Hermes and awarded as prizes a weapon and three others for fitness (*euexia*), good discipline (*eutaxia*) and hard training and diligence (*philoponia*) for those up to the age of 30 years old. At the Hermaia the *gymnasiarch* would also hold a torch race of the boys and young men. He had also the duty to supervise the competition and to punish those who break the rules (side B, ll. 67-71; Austin 1981: 205). The same practice we observe in *Sestos* (*I. Sestos* 1, 2nd c.); *I. Delos* 1948 (ca. 137/6 BC); Lesbos (*IG XII*, Supp. 122, 209-204 BC); Euboa (Eretria: *IG XII*.9, 234, ca.100 BC); Pergamon (*MDAI* (A) 32. 273, 10; ca. 133 BC). For the importance of this celebration in other cities see Kontorini (1989: 170-171) and Gauthier (1995: 576-585).

torch races took place where the winners were lighting up their torch from the altar of Hermes, one of the protector gods of the *gymnasion*. For the city of Beroia the torch race was not a celebration of the city but a celebration of the *gymnasion* in which only ‘free’ people that were selected by the gymnasiarch could participate. Unfortunately, the law of Beroia does not mention details of the conduct of the competition and the number of competitors. The law reports briefly the obligation of the gymnasiarch to organise two races, one for the boys and one for the *neoi*. It also mentions the sacrifices to Hermes and the feast and drinking which follow (Aneziri 2004: 249-250). The daily military practice of Macedonian young men was in accordance with the traditional military education of Macedonia,<sup>25</sup> and reveals the military character of the *gymnasion* and its primary aim, which was the formation of professional soldiers who could be part of the royal army (Chaniotis 2005: 83; 88-95; 52-53; Gauthier 1993; Hatzopoulos 2001). Who had the right to participate in this military education? The criteria<sup>26</sup> with which the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia provides us demonstrate that those who were freed men<sup>27</sup> and their children, those who had bad physical condition,<sup>28</sup> those who lacked decent behaviour and way of life,<sup>29</sup> or mental condition, and those who practised

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<sup>25</sup>For the military Macedonian rituals and celebration of *Xandika* see Hatzopoulos (1989: 90-92). For the participation of 15-year-old boys in the campaigns of Diadochoi see Hammond 2000: 269- 271.

<sup>26</sup>Law of Beroia (side B lines 28-30) excludes those that were socially or physically inferior.

<sup>27</sup>The freedmen and their children were excluded from the life of the community. Some inscriptions from Thera (*IG XII.3. 1294*, 2nd c.), Andros (*IG XII 5.721*, 1st c.) and Koresia of Keos (*IG XII 5.647*, 3rd c.) reveal the opposite picture: the freedmen and their families were part of their communities and they were invited to participate in the celebration of the cities. From the inscriptions we cannot tell if they had the right to participate in the life of the *gymnasion* and in the contests that were held during the celebrations (Gauthier 1993: 80).

<sup>28</sup>The word ἀπάλαιστρος existed in some inscriptions that concerned the provision of oil to a group of people that was excluded from the life of the *gymnasion* (Thessaly [Demetrias: Polemon 1 (1929), 126, 423], 2nd/1st c.); Magnesia Sipylou [*TAM V.2. 1367*- imperial period?]). The law of Beroia indicates a group of people that did not have the physical capability to receive the military training or did not want to participate in it (Gauthier 1993: 83-84).

<sup>29</sup>Those who did not have a decent way of life were excluded from the *gymnasion*. Gauthier (1993: 84-85) mentions that the word ἡταιρευκώς had to do with male prostitution. He mentions the speech of Aeschines (*Cont. Timarch.* 1.29) in order to reveal that the cities condemned (ὑβρεῖ πεπρακότα) such an immoral behaviour.

a variety of jobs in the agora (e.g. merchants, craftsmen, workers)<sup>30</sup> were excluded from the *gymnasion*.

The law of Amphipolis adds one more criterion, that of fortune. The law informs us that when a boy was 18 years old and his family had a fortune of thirty *mnai* (3,000 drachmas) he had the right to register in the *ephebeia*. According to Hatzopoulos (2001: 137 n.3), this amount of money is higher than the 2,000 drachmas that was asked from the citizens of Athens by Antipatros in 322 (Diod. 18.18. 4-5; δραχμῶν δισχιλίων) or that of 20 Alexandrian *mnai* that Ptolemy determined for the citizens of Cyrene in his *diagramma* (SEG 9.9: 1. 9, μνῶν εἴκοσι Ἀλεξανδρείων, end of 4th c.). An unedited inscription (law or *diagramma* of Kavala) from the museum of Kavala (Hatzopoulos 2001: 105-6; 123-27; 164) informs us that the required sum of money for future ephebes was 2,500 drachmas, showing that there was no common policy about the exact amount of money that was prerequisite for the entrée into the *ephebeia*. From the above information we can assume that in these two cities the criterion of age and fortune created social elites which had the right to receive intensive military training. Although in Beroia the socially and physically inferior inhabitants of the city were excluded from the *gymnasion*, the criterion of fortune does not appear in our evidence.

Tataki (1998: 431-2) argues that Beroia in the second century was an important athletic centre, where athletes (from other Macedonian cities and from Greek *poleis* such as Mytilene, Abydos, and Lampsakos and especially Alexandria) came to compete and use the *gymnasion* and the *palaistra* as training places. These competitions did not only have an athletic character, hence the reference to κίθαρωδοί in them (Beroia: *EKM* 1 Beroia 140, 200-150 BC) (Tataki 1998: 432). These competitions probably allowed the

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<sup>30</sup>Tataki (1998: 425) mentions that the exception of merchants/craftsmen reveals ‘a social group with restricted social rights similar to that in neighbouring Thessaly, at Sparta and at Gortyna’. According to her, this social exclusiveness may ‘reflect Aristotle’s views about physical labour’ and his hesitation to give citizen status to a merchant or a craftsman. She believes that the Beroian *gymnasion* had an ‘elitist’ character (Tataki 1998: 426). I believe that the Macedonian *gymnasia* were fields of military service where a distinctive number of inhabitants could be introduced. Each city determined its unique criteria of entry to the city’s *gymnasion* (e.g. there are different criteria for entry to the *gymnasia* of Beroia and Amphipolis) and through these the different policies of the cities towards this institution were revealed.

city to have more flexible rules for the *gymnasion* in which athletes and citizens used the infrastructures of the city. The way that each city managed the institutions of *ephebeia* and *gymnasion* was part of its policy, tradition and needs.

Based on the criteria of exclusion in Macedonian *gymnasia* one might assume that their military character could be connected with the tradition of the aristocratic conservative martial *ethos* of Macedonian society (military tradition and promotion of martial skills, exclusion of the mentally or physically incapable, exclusion of merchants or craftsmen). We should also keep in mind that in the Hellenistic period the needs were different. The Macedonian *gymnasion* of the second century constituted a civic institution that provided athletic and military training exclusively to its participants. The well-trained Macedonian young men could serve as soldiers of their cities or could be recruited as soldiers in the Macedonian army (Gauthier 1993; Hatzopoulos 2001). I believe that the restrictions upon participation in the case of the Macedonian *gymnasia* had to do with the nature of Macedonian *ephebeia* and corresponded to the local tradition. The Macedonian *gymnasion* was a place where athletic training and military service were taking place. It was not only a preparatory military institution, but also a place where young men learned the tactics of war. The criterion of fortune that the ephedarchic law of Amphipolis adds to the context of participation in the *gymnasion* could reveal that these wealthy young men were destined to be high-rank soldiers or officers of the civic or royal army.<sup>31</sup> We must underline that the military *diagramma* of Philip V discovered in Amphipolis, which recalls some parts of the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia, reveals the importance of military affairs (e.g. organization of the army) for the well-being of the kingdom (Hatzopoulos 1993; 2001). The military nature of the Macedonian *gymnasion* was in accordance with royal ordinance. Each city, Beroia or Amphipolis, had on the one hand to respect royal orders and on the other hand to act according to the civic will and demonstrate through its laws the uniqueness of its community.

The lack of intellectual education (there is no mention of teachers such as *grammatodidaskaloi*, *mousikodidaskaloi*, rhetors or sophists) in the programme of the Macedonian *gymnasion* reveals its military/athletic orientation, without excluding the

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<sup>31</sup>For the criterion of fortune in the ranking of the Macedonian army see Hatzopoulos (2000: 835-836).

possibility that literary or musical education took place outside the frame of the *gymnasion*. From the above evidence we may conclude that the aim of the Macedonian *gymnasion* was the formation of capable and well-trained soldiers. This intention was connected with the imposing need for soldiers, due to the expansion of the Macedonians in Asia and Egypt. In the Macedonian *gymnasia* the future soldiers of the royal army were trained (Chankowski 2009: 97). Foreigners were welcome to participate in the *gymnasion* as long as they were ‘freeborn’ and respected the city’s way of life, tradition, and values.

#### SESTOS

Our next example comes from the city of Sestos (*I. Sestos* 1, 133-120 BC), a city of Thrace that was under Attalid rule but faced the danger of Thracian invasions and hostile actions from other enemies (*I. Sestos* 1: ll. 18-19 [ἐ]ν ἐπικινδύνῳ καιρῷ γενομένης διὰ τε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γειτνιούντων τῶν Θρακῶν φόβον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰφνιδίου περιστάσεως). The training of young men of this city is attested indirectly through an honorific inscription from the citizens of Sestos to the gymnasiarch, Menas. As our evidence about the *gymnasion* of Sestos is scanty I will try, through the actions of gymnasiarch, to gather information about the nature of the *gymnasion* and the attitude of citizens towards the introduction of foreigners in their community and in their *gymnasion*.

According to the honorific decree, Menas received many civic posts: he was ambassador of the city to the kings and to the Romans, he held positions of trust and he was appointed royal priest (*I. Sestos* 1: ll. 10-16; 20-26; 66-68). During his career he did the best for his city. Menas held the office of gymnasiarch twice and helped his city when it was in need and impoverished because of external dangers and warfare (*I. Sestos* 1: l. 54-58; Chaniotis 2005: 123).<sup>32</sup> During his office as gymnasiarch, Menas

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<sup>32</sup>*I. Sestos* 1: l. 54-58: ‘...he accepted his duty (as gymnasiarch) in difficult circumstances; for we had been worn out for many years because of the incursions of the Thracians and the wars which were engulfing the city, in the course of which everything in the fields had been carried off, most of the land was not sown, and the dearth of crops which recurred continuously reduced the people publicly and every individual citizen privately to penury...’ (trans. Austin 1981: no 215).

acted in favour of his fellow citizens. He financed sacrifices, he introduced athletic/military contests, he financed building works in the *gymnasion*, and he provided also scrapers and oil for the anointment of participants of the *gymnasion*. He was also responsible for the prizes at all the competitions (Il.78-79 τιθεὶς ἄθλα πάντων τῶν ἀθλημάτων τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις). The integrity of the gymnasiarch and his devotion to the prosperity of his city inspired the young men of the city. He urged them to work hard, to be trained in weapons and to compete in martial virtues such as *euexia*, *eutaxia* and *philoponia*.

As we mentioned earlier, the acquisition of practical skills in weaponry (e.g. *hoplomachia*, archery, throwing the javelin, running),<sup>33</sup> of martial virtues (*euexia*, *eutaxia* and *philoponia*) and contests in them existed in many *poleis* in the Hellenistic world (e.g. Athens, Beroia). In the case of Sestos the gymnasiarch Menas not only benefited his fellow-citizens but also urged young men to acquire military qualities because of the dangers that the city faced on its borders. The support of Menas for the *gymnasion* of Sestos was significant. He tried to make the *gymnasion* of the city a well-functioning institution that not only prepared the young men physically but also taught them to work hard and to behave with dignity. His own career as ambassador (to the king and to Rome), as official, as soldier and priest (*I.Sestos* 1: l. 10-16; 20-26; 66-68) reveals that he knew well the benefits of a well-trained citizen-soldier (who could serve either as a civic soldier or a mercenary, as a holder of civic office in the administration). Menas did not care only about the military preparedness of young men. In the decree there is an allusion to the lectures that took place in the *gymnasion* without further information about them. We may assume that these lectures were in literature, philosophy or rhetoric as many cities introduced this kind of lectures into their *gymnasia* (Kennell 2015: 177).

The fact that Menas undertook the demanding office of *gymnasiarchia* and used part of his own fortune to support his fellow citizens (aiming to produce a well-functioned

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<sup>33</sup>Chankowski (2010: 328) mentions that in the inscription from Sestos the contests of running, javelin-throwing, and archery seem to be more common than that of *hoplomachia* (only in the last contest of the year is there a reference to it).

*gymnasion*) demonstrates that he was willing to work hard to achieve his goals. His example presumably encouraged young men to imitate him and to work harder in order to be well-qualified citizen-soldiers for the benefit of their city.

Unlike the *gymnasion* of Beroia (which was strictly athletic/military, introduction to the *gymnasion* being limited to a certain group of people and the participation of foreigners in the institution being only inferred indirectly), at Sestos the situation was different. According to the honorific decree of Sestos, at the *gymnasion* of the city the ephebes and *neoi* received military training combined with a continuous effort for the achievement of military skills and qualities. The lectures offered in the *gymnasion* gave the young men the opportunity to ameliorate their intellectual level and to acquire rhetorical skills. Although the programme of the *gymnasion* of Sestos seems to be mainly militaristic, the addition of intellectual activities reflected the global education that the gymnasiarch hoped to provide for the inhabitants of his city.

As far as the admission of foreigners to the *gymnasion* is concerned, through the honorific decree (lines 28-30) we are informed that the gymnasiarch took care not only of his fellow-citizens but also of other inhabitants and foreigners residents of the city. Through his actions he ‘...[extended] his beneficence even to the foreigners who have admission to the *gymnasion*...’ (l.73-74), ‘...he invited to the sacrificial rites all the members of the *gymnasion* and the foreigners who share in the common rights’ (l.84-85).<sup>34</sup> From the above passages the participation of foreigners in the life of the *gymnasion* is revealed.<sup>35</sup> Another passage informs us that apart from them there were other foreigners that could not participate in the *gymnasion*, but the gymnasiarch introduced them to the communal life of the institution (‘...on the last day [of the contest] he offered a sacrifice and invited to the sacrificial rites not only those who have

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<sup>34</sup>I. Sestos 1: ll. 29-30 τῶν πολιτῶν [καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων ξένων, περιτιθεὶς τὴν ἐκ τῶν ξένων εὐφημίαν τῇ πατρίδι; l.74...κοινὴν ποιούμενος τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τοῖς ξένο[ις τ]οῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ ἀλείμματος; l. 86... ξένους τοὺς μετέχοντας τῶν κοινῶν.

<sup>35</sup>The foreigners who were introduced in the civic life and awarded with the right of citizenship could belong to members of the royal troops that came to support the defence of the city from external enemies. There are similar cases such as that of Samothrace and of Phokaian Lilaia (Chaniotis 2002: 106 no. 55).

access to the *gymnasion* but all the others as well, giving the share in the sacrificial rites even to foreigners' (lines 65–67, trans. Austin 1981: no. 215). From the honorific decree we can assume that the foreigners were considered part of the city's community and were welcome to participate in communal life. Such an action reinforced civic unity but also augmented the reputation of the gymnasiarch and the city (1.30 περιτιθεὶς τὴν ἐκ τῶν ξένων εὐφημίαν τῆι πατρίδι: 'conferring on his native city the good reputation (he enjoyed) with the foreigners', trans. Austin 1981: no 215).

The training in weaponry and the acquisition of the martial skills that the young men received at Sestos is in accordance with the continuous danger that the city faced in its borders. These young men could serve in defence of their city and become a source of recruitment for the royal army. The addition of lectures in the area of the *gymnasion* reveals a multi-directional education which aimed at the formation of military and political skills. In this city the foreigners constituted a large part of society. The fact that some of them had civic rights and were participants in the *gymnasion* reveals their significant role in civic life. The gymnasiarch's gesture of including the foreigners, who had no civic rights, in the banquets that followed the sacrifices, demonstrates that they too were considered part of the community. We may suggest that because of the continuous military clashes, the loss of many lives and the impoverishment of the territory the city may have introduced foreigners into its citizen-body in order to increase its population. A favourable attitude towards the foreigners could lead to future alliances between the city and their native lands.

#### INSULAR GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

##### *Eresos, Koresia, Samos*

Moving south to insular Greece we examine three *poleis* (Eresos, Koresia and Samos) where there is evidence for the military nature of their *gymnasia*. For these *gymnasia* we are informed mainly from epigraphical evidence such as honorific decrees and ephobic lists because our information from literary sources is absent.

At Eresos on Lesbos (*IG XII Suppl.* 122, 209-204 BC) the gymnasiarch Aglanor took thorough care of the affairs of the city, the *neoi* and those who participated in the

*gymnasion* (τῶν ἀλειφομένων, τῶν παραγινομένων εἰς τὸν τόπον). He financed the competitions of *neoi* and their prizes using his own money (Il.18-19 δαπανάσας ἐκ τῶν [ἰ]δίων καὶ πλέονα εἶς τε ὄπλα καὶ διαδρόμαις). The inscription attests that the gymnasiarch at his own expense led the *neoi* and those who would like to join them to the borders<sup>36</sup> of the city where the instructors of weapons organized demonstrations and military exercises (Il. 20-22: ἐξαγάγ[ων] δὲ τοῖς νέοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς θέλοντας ἐπὶ τ[ἄ] ὄρια τᾶς χώρας καὶ ἐπιδείξαις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δ[απα]ναμάτων). There is no detailed information about the education that the young men received apart from the military and athletic character of the contest (running and *hoplomachia*) and the demonstration. The gymasiarch Aglanor was responsible for the financing of the Hermaia and the banquet that followed the celebrations in which all the participants in the *gymnasion* took part (Il.24-25 ποιήσαις δὲ καὶ Ἑρμ[ε]ια καὶ ἐστίασαις τοῖς ἀλειφομέν[οις]).

An inscription from Koresia on Keos dated to the third century (*IG XII. 5 647*) regulates the responsibilities of the gymnasiarch and the education of the *neoteroi*. It determines that the gymnasiarch must organize the celebrations of *lampas* by the *neoteroi* and take care of the training of the *neoteroi*. Three times per month he must accompany them to the borders of the city where they practiced in javelin-throwing, in archery and in catapult (Il. 25-26 ἐξάγειν εἰς μελέτην ἀκοντισμοῦ καὶ τοξικῆς καὶ καταπαλταφείας τρὶς τοῦ μηνός). If anyone refuses without reason to participate in these demonstrations they should be fined. During the aforementioned celebrations, apart from running the *neoteroi* also participated in contests of javelin-throwing, in archery and in catapult. The prizes for the winners of the competitions and those who would take the second place would be bows, arrows, quivers, javelins, helmets. From this inscription the military character of the ephebic training is revealed. However, once again our information is limited, and we do not know the everyday training of the

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<sup>36</sup>In the inscriptions about the Athenian *ephebeia* (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006; 1011*) dated to the 2nd c. we are informed that the ephebes marched with their weapons to the borders of their city as part of their training in order to visit the local sanctuaries and to have knowledge of the borders of their city (Chankowski 2010: 324-325).

ephebes in the *gymnasion* of Koresia. We must point out that in this inscription there is a reference to boys who trained with weapons (javelin and bow) and participated in celebrations and contests like the *neoterói* (ll. 33-34 ...παίδων ἀγῶνα καὶ διδόναι ἄθλα παιδὶ τοξότηι κρεῶν μερίδα, ἀκοντιστῆι παιδί).

Some lists of victors in contests that took place in the *gymnasion* of the island of Samos (*IG XII, 6 1:179; 181; 182; 183; ca. 2nd c.*) reveal the military fields in which the young men (ephebes and *neoi*) were trained: there is running, javelin-throwing, archery, catapult, *hoplomachia* (fight with shield and spear), *thyreamachia* (oval shield and knife) and stone-throwing. In the inscription *IG XII, 6 1: 182* (ca. 200-150 BC) it is attested that some contests took place every month in the Samian *gymnasion* (l. 2 κατὰ νομηνίαν ἐκάστου μηνὸς τοῦ ἔτους). These contests did not include prizes for stone-throwing or prizes for *euexia*, *eutaxia* and *philoponia*. These events took place once annually, probably in the contests at the end of the year. In a list of victors from the Hermaia games (*IG XII, 6 1: 173*, mid-2nd c.) there is a reference to *paides* (boys) who competed in running and wrestling. This reveals that the *paides*, ephebes and *neoi* trained in the Samian *gymnasion*, but their everyday educational programme is difficult to reconstruct.

### *Cities of Asia Minor*

In some cities of Asia Minor military training was part of the education that the young men received in the *gymnasia*. We cannot argue that the military nature of these *gymnasia* was similar to that of the Macedonian *gymnasia*. For the *poleis* of Asia Minor our evidence about the military role of the *gymnasion* is limited.

In the second century the young men of Teos were trained to throw the spear and to shoot arrows as part of their light-armed duties and to handle heavy weapons (*hoplomachia*) as part of their heavily armed training (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 578) (Kennell 2015: 179). In the well-known inscription from Teos the benefactor Polythrous determines the salaries of the instructors of *paides* and ephebes; among them are an archer, a javelin-thrower and an instructor of weapons (*hoplomachos*) who has to teach young men for at least two months (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 578: l. 28). The salary of the teachers will be 250 drachmas for

the teacher of the javelin and 300 for the teacher of archery (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 578: ll. 25-26). They will be responsible for the training of young men for the entire year. The fact that the salary of a teacher of *hoplomachia* was covered only partly from the benefaction of Polythrous and its duration was restricted reveals the high cost of this training. If the citizens wanted their sons to have an annual training in *hoplomachia* they had to cover this expense from public resources (Chankowski 2010: 327).

Although the military training of Teian ephebes had similarities with that of the ephebes of Amphipolis (e.g. archery, javelin throwing, use of weapons; Gauthier 1993: 161-163), in the inscription from Teos there is a reference to intellectual activities as well. According to the honorific inscriptions from the *gymnasion* of Teos (*CIG* 3085; 3087; dated to 2nd c.), we are informed that in the *gymnasion* of the city there participated ephebes, *neoi* and others (οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ γυμνασίου). According to the inscription (*CIG* 3059, 2nd c.) the gymnasiarch was responsible for the training of young men and the *paidonomos* for the education of children. Polythrous supported financially his fellow-citizens, thus contributing to a good level of education for the children of his *polis*. Teos was a *polis* that often became a field of military clashes, of external threats from pirates and of political changes.<sup>37</sup> Polythrous' help was in accordance with the specific circumstances that Teos had to cope with.

Two inscriptions from Tralleis (*I. Tralles* 106; 107; 1st c.) with lists of *neoi* and *andres* (men) who are winners of competitions, refer to prizes for running, *euexia*, javelin-throwing and archery. An honorific decree from Kyanai in Lycia (*DAW* 45.1 28.28, 2nd c.) that praises the benefactor of the city Anticharis mentions the military contests of the city (ll. 11-12: ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀκοντιστ[ῶν] καὶ τοξ[ο]τῶν καὶ [π]ε[λ]ταστῶν). A list of winners from Erythrai (*I. Erythrai* 81, ca. 100 BC) mentions together ephebes and prizes for *philoponia*, *euexia*, *eutaxia*, archery, javelin-throwing, *hoplomachia* and a student with a prize of *polymathia*. This is probably an indication that in the city of Erythrai the ephebes received both military training and intellectual education.

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<sup>37</sup> For further discussion about piracy and external threats during the Hellenistic period see De Souza 2002.

From the above inscriptions we have limited knowledge about the programme of their *gymnasia*. The athletic/military contests that were held in the *gymnasia* and the celebration of Hermaia give us limited information about the everyday educational programme of the *gymnasia*. This suggests that we have the frame through which the *gymnasia* functioned, but not a complete picture of them. The military-athletic education of youths that we observe in the inscriptions prepared young men to become diligent citizen soldiers (light or heavily armed), ready to defend their city in local wars or against external dangers (e.g. pirates, invasions of non-Greeks) and to participate in the royal armies.

#### CONCLUSION TO 2.2.1

In this section we have observed that some cities, like the Macedonian cities of Beroia or Amphipolis, had a military tradition that was reflected in the training at their *gymnasia* and developed into an intensive military service. This training aimed to create well-prepared citizen-soldiers who could defend the borders of their city or participate in the royal army. As far as the Macedonian *gymnasia* are concerned, King Philip V determined (by his *diagramma*) the general frame within which the *gymnasia* would function. Each Macedonian city, in the laws that concerned their *gymnasia* and the education of their inhabitants, added its own perspective and its own unique character. On the other hand, in the cases of insular and coastal cities we have observed that they had no military traditions such as the Macedonian cities did. They had military training that developed according to the circumstances and the needs of the community. The external threats the *poleis* had to face (e.g. pirates, invasions, and wars) or the expansive policy of some cities (e.g. Samos) led the citizens to introduce and develop the military training in their *gymnasia* and to determine the role of their young men (e.g. patrol duties, light-armed soldiers). As Chaniotis (2005: 51) rightly argues, the similar features that we observe in the military training were based mainly on mutual influence among the *poleis* rather than on common military origins. From our evidence we have observed that the military training in the aforementioned *poleis* was not something static and similar.

The presence of foreigners in these *gymnasia* was also in accordance with each city's policy. We observe that in the *gymnasion* of Beroia the presence of foreigners is referred to indirectly, but at Sestos the foreigners were inhabitants of the city and some of them had civic rights. There is a direct attestation of their participation in the *gymnasion* of Sestos as well as in the communal life (e.g. banquets that followed the athletic contests) of the city. We may suggest that these foreigners came to the city in order to support its defence (as in the cases of Samothrace or Phocaeon Lilaia) (Chaniotis 2002: 106). Due to the depopulation of the area because of the wars (*I. Sestos* 1), the inhabitants of Sestos could give their consent for the acquisition of civic rights by foreigners, and the wealthy gymnasiarch Menas included them in the gymnasial life in order to support the cohesion of society.

The model of military training was diffused in the Hellenistic East, apart from the *poleis*, in towns and villages and fulfilled the needs of the communities where it was established. The majority of our evidence about the participation of foreigners in the military *gymnasia* comes from the garrisons and the settlements that were dispersed throughout the Hellenistic world. In the next chapters we shall study the function of these *gymnasia* as well as the ethnic composition of their participants.

### 2.2.2. Intellectual education

We have already observed that the *gymnasion* was connected with the athletic and military activities and competitions of *paides*, ephebes and *neoi*. From the third century onwards intellectual activities (such as literature and philosophy) were gradually introduced into the training programme of the *gymnasion* (Pélékides 1962: 266-267). In this section we will examine the literary education that young men received in the cities of Asia Minor as well as the intellectual lectures that were delivered in the *gymnasion*.

Teos in the late third and early second century was a great cultural, artistic and religious centre (Corso 1997: 396). An inscription from Teos (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>523, 2nd c.) informs us that the young men participated in examinations of physical education in the *gymnasion* and music competitions in the *bouleuterion*. Another inscription from the same city (*CIG* 3088, 2nd c.) mentions musical, artistic, and rhetorical competitions (ἀνάγνωσις,

πολυμαθία,<sup>38</sup>ζωγραφία, καλλιγραφία, ψαλμὸς, κιθαρισμὸς,<sup>39</sup>ῥυθμογραφία, μελογραφία, τραγωιδία, κωμωιδία). Apart from the variety of taught lessons the high level of literacy of the citizens is demonstrated also by the existence of a library in the city (*SEG* 2.584).

Two victors' lists in boys' competitions from Ephesos and Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Ephesos* 1101, 188-160 BC; *I. Magnes.* 107, 2nd c.) add information about the lessons taught in the cities of Asia Minor. Apart from the athletic training, the children in Ephesos were educated in letters, painting, music and in Magnesia on the Maeander mathematics, song, paintings, and music (Delorme 1960: 323; Scholz 2004: 110). At Priene the gymnasiarch Zosimos hired a teacher of letters (τοῖς ἐκ φιλολογίας γραμματικόν-*I.Priene* 112) for the education of young men.

The existence of many fields of education in the training of boys and ephebes was not something strange to the habits of Greco-Macedonians. A combination of athletic and literary education is mentioned in the victors' lists from the Hermaia games in Samos (*IG XII*, 6 1: 173, 2nd c.), in the victors' list from the competitions that took place in the *gymnasion* of Chios (*CIG* 2214, Hellenistic?), and in the honorific decree for the *paidonomos* Chrysippos from Mylasa (*I. Mylasa* 909, Hellenistic?).

In some cities the *gymnasion* became a location where young men received higher education. In fourth-century Athens philosophers instructed their students in the *gymnasia* of the *polis* (e.g. Plato at the Academy, Aristotle at the Lyceum and Antisthenes at Kynosarges). In this period higher education did not have an official character. Philosophers, teachers of literature and poets frequented the *gymnasia* in order to deliver lectures in which benevolent auditors participated (Isokr. *Panath.* 18: ἀγελαίων σοφιστῶν καὶ πάντα φασκόντων εἰδέναι...; *Panath.* 33: διαλέγοντο περί τε

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<sup>38</sup>In a list of winners of contest that took place in Erythrai (*I. Erythrai* 81) there is a mention of a prize for *polymathia*.

<sup>39</sup>The teaching of music is well-referred to also in other cities of the Hellenistic world: Kos (Paton-Hicks 59 – ca. 2nd/1st c.: 1.3 νικάσας ... δια κιθαρισμῶι παῖδας); Chios (*CIG* 2214, Hellenistic? list of *paides*, ephebes and *neoi* in athletic and intellectual education).

τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως). As time passed the schools of philosophy, oratory and literature were accepted by the *poleis* as part of their civic education (*IG II/III*<sup>2</sup> 1039; 1040) (Delorme 1960: 317-318; 322; Scholz 2004: 124). In Athens, in the late second century (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>1028, 1029), the ephebes could attend philosophical lectures (*ἀκροάσεις*) throughout the year (Kennell 2015: 177).

In Samos during the third century the peripatetic philosopher Epikrates Demetriou from Herakleia taught for a long period at the *gymnasion* of the *polis* and allowed poor citizens to participate in his lectures (*MDAI [A]* 1919, 29-30, no 14) (Delorme 1960: 319). The *gymnasion* of Delphi was also a centre of higher education. At the beginning of the first century the teacher of Greek letters Menandros Daidalou from Akarnania stayed for a long period in the city and refused to be paid by the citizens for his lectures (*FD III* 3.338) (Delorme 1960: 320).

It was common practice for non-local teachers in the Hellenistic period to go to other cities and to instruct the young men or citizens. From one inscription from Kolophon we learn about a teacher named Ptolemaios who spent a lot of time in the *gymnasia* of Smyrna and Rhodes (*SEG* 39.1243, ca. 130-110 BC); from another inscription of the same city we are informed about a teacher named Menippos who taught at Athens (*SEG* 39.1244, ca. 120/119 BC). The city of Kolophon honoured these teachers because of their *paideia* and the high quality of education that they gave to their students. Philosophers were well travelled in the Greek world and delivered lectures (*akroaseis*) at the *gymnasia* (Scholz 2004: 123). Diogenes Laertios (5.37) mentions that Theophrastos from Eresos taught in Athens and had 2,000 students in his auditorium (εἰς τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ πρὸς δισχιλίους). The philosopher Bion (Diog. Laert. 4.53) went from city to city (διὰ τοῦτο πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἤμειβεν) and delivered lectures of philosophy, music and geometry. The philosopher Anaxippos from Delos went to Delphi in order to teach his doctrines (*FD III* 1.106, 3rd c.). Historians also used to travel and to deliver lectures. Aristotheos son of Nikotheos from Troizen, Neanthes son of Milesios from Ilion, and Ioulios Theopompos son of Artemidoros from Knidos went to Delphi during the second and first centuries (*FD III* 3.124; *FD III* 1.429; *FD III* 4.145) (Delorme 1960: 321). In the second century the historiographer Bombos, an

Aiolian from Alexandria Troas, delivered lectures in the *gymnasion* of Larisa (*BCH* 59 (1935), 55).<sup>40</sup> The teacher of Greek letters Dioskourides son of Dioskourides from Tarsos went to Knossos (*ID* 1512, 2nd c.). An epic poet from Skepsis delivered lectures at Delphi (*FD* III 1.273) (Delorme 1960: 320-323; Scholz 2004: 123-124).

The introduction of philosophical schools in the *gymnasia*, the advanced level of education that they offered, and the continual travels of scholars of that period in order to diffuse their knowledge gave the opportunity to foreign teachers to participate in the ‘civic education’ of the cities and to transform it from an education based on the tradition of the city to an education based on the values of Greek education (Gauthier 1993: 8). Kennell, observing the evolution of *ephebeia* in the late Hellenistic period, argues that it was aimed more at the formation of well-educated elite citizens that could serve as diplomats for the benefit of their city rather than at citizens-soldiers (Kennell 2015: 181).

According to the epigraphical and literary evidence, only free-born young men had the right to participate in public education.<sup>41</sup> Gauthier (1995: 8) believes that ‘ce n’était pas la qualité de “citoyen”, mais l’adhésion de jeunes “libres” aux valeurs de l’éducation à la grecque qui constituait le sesame ouvrant les portes du gymnase’. This practice is revealed in the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia (2nd c.) where it is mentioned that slaves, freedmen and their sons, *apalaistoi*, *paiderastai* and those who practiced a vulgar trade are excluded from the *gymnasion* (*SEG* 27. 261 and *SEG* 43. 381).

There is no restriction for the participation of foreigners in the city’s education so long as they have the money to cover the expenses for their education and respect the doctrines and the values of Greek way of life and Greek tradition. The gymnasiarch

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<sup>40</sup> The honorific decree of Larisa for Bombos refers to συγγένεια καὶ φιλία (kinship and friendship) between Alexandria Troas and Larisa (Delorme 1960). Chaniotis (2009: 262) mentions that the ‘historical lectures ... deal either with contemporary history (‘collective memory’ in the narrow sense of the world) or with narratives of legend and early history, which contribute to the construction of an identity (i.e. with ‘cultural memory’).

<sup>41</sup>*I. Delos* 1503, dated to 148/147 or 146/5); Athens *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 896, dated to 186; Miletos *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 577; Ephesos *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 578; Aisch. *Tim.* 1.9.

Menas from Sestos (*I. Sestos* 1, ca. 133-120 BC) allowed foreigners and everyone among the *pepaideumenoι* (those who had Greek education) who wanted to attend the lectures delivered in the city's *gymnasion* (ll. 74-78: καὶ τοῖς ξένο[ις τ]οῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ ἀλείμματος, προσηνέχθη δὲ φιλανθρώπως καὶ τοῖς τὰς ἀκροάσει[ς] ποιησαμένοις πᾶσιν).

The word ξένος (foreigner) has a double meaning. First, it signified the citizens of another Greek type *polis* or settlement that had Greek origins and came for their own reasons to another Greek-type city; second, non-Greeks (indigenous or not) that wanted to participate in the Greek way of life. Based on the epigraphical evidence we observe that many men of Greek origins travelled and studied in other Greek *poleis*. Young men stayed in various cities of the Greek world in order to attend lectures delivered by scholars and frequented the *gymnasia* and the *palaistra* (*I. Lampsakos* 8) in order to participate in the Greek way of life. As far as the non-Greek population is concerned, their presence in the *gymnasia* and in their intellectual life is attested only in decrees that honoured the officials of the institution (e.g. *I. Sestos* 1).

On the other hand, there is more evidence for their participation in athletic games (*BCH* 103, 1979: 97-98; Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 41, 1967: 14-32). The degree of non-Greek assimilation and the adoption of a Greek name made it difficult to distinguish them from men of Greek origins (Albanides 2006: 195; 225-226). We must note that from the first century onwards many scholars of Roman origins visited Greek cities either as teachers or as students (Scholz 2004: 123-24).

#### CONCLUSION TO 2.2.2

Based on the information from the above inscriptions, we learn that in at least some instances any free man who would like to improve his knowledge could participate in some open lectures in the *gymnasia*. This mentality is close to the will of the philosopher Theophrastos (Diog. Laert.5.52) who offered his garden and the adjacent houses to anyone who would like to study philosophy and to discuss with other students about philosophical issues, or the philosopher who, as we saw, lectured at Samos and did not charge the poor (*IG XII.6* 1:128, Hellenistic) (Scholz 2004: 114-124).

Morgan argues (1998: 271) that in the Hellenistic period ‘besides teaching practical skills literate education provided learners with a quantity of cultural information and repertoire of values which proclaimed that they belonged to the ruling elite’. Intellectual life was connected with the city and its civic identity, but the limits of this identity widened, especially in the last centuries of the Hellenistic period. Civic educational identity was transformed into a Greek identity through education that transcended the borders of the *polis*. The *gymnasia* of cities that were important cultural, religious or commercial centres (e.g. Athens, Delos, the Greek cities on the coasts of Asia Minor) attracted the interest of teachers and foreigners who wished to participate in the Greek way of life and in Greek *paideia*.

We have observed that some young men were educated in various educational centres away from their homeland; teachers of many disciplines travelled in the Hellenistic world and delivered lectures (*akroaseis*) in different cities; and the participants in these lectures could be not only citizens but also foreigners (Greeks who did not belong in the citizen body or non-Greeks) who had been educated according to the doctrines of Greek education (*pepaideumenoi*). All these facts show that Greek education adapted to the multicultural Hellenistic environment and did not remain static and limited to the civic borders.

### **2.2.3. Religious festivals and the *gymnasion***

The *gymnasion* apart from being a place of military/athletic training and a location where several intellectual activities took place was an institution connected with the religious life, festivals and celebrations of the city or other form of settlement where it was located. A variety of civic decrees announce honours to the gods, to the kings, to the officials and benefactors. Some decrees refer to the establishment of festivals, determine the details of the celebrations and the people who were entitled to participate in the city’s ceremonies (citizens or non-citizens) (Chaniotis 2013: 25).

According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1328b 5ff), the city’s religious practices, festivals and celebrations constituted an indispensable component of society and were considered

important elements of public life<sup>42</sup> (Chaniotis 2011: 36). The ephebes as a distinct civic age-group that consisted of young men, the future citizens of the city, participated in the city's religious life<sup>43</sup> and especially in celebrations and religious ceremonies (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1042 I.14 (fragment c): τῶν τε τελετῶν ἀπασῶν ὧν πάτριον ἦν, 1st c.) that were held in the *gymnasion*. These ceremonies included processions and sacrifices in honour of gods, heroes and kings, participation in torch races as part of the Hermaia and other public celebrations (commemoration of important events) as well as in funeral processions in honour of the city's benefactors (Mikalson 1998: 292).

In the first part of this section I will present the cults of the *gymnasion* that were promoted by the city as a way to exhibit its own past and tradition and to demonstrate its uniqueness. In the second section we will observe the addition of new forms in the religious practices of the *gymnasia* of *poleis* or those of settlements such as the worship of the Hellenistic kings or the introduction of non-Greek deities in the *gymnasion*.

## POLIS, TRADITION AND FESTIVALS

### *Hero-cults and festivals*

From the most attested institution of *ephebeia*, that of Athens<sup>44</sup>, we are informed (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 42.3) that at the beginning of their training the ephebes made the tour of the temples of the city and sacrificed to the gods-protectors and the heroes of the

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<sup>42</sup>Some elements reveal the public character of civic festivals: the day of the festival was set up by each community; the programme of the celebrations (i.e. processions, sacrifices, contests and banquets: *I. Magnesia* 98, 197/96 BC) and the officials who were responsible for them were often public officials; usually public funds covered the expenses; the participants belonged to every age-group and gender; civic festivals were connected with the cultural life of the city and commemorated the city's important events and tradition (Chaniotis 2011:5-6).

<sup>43</sup> Although the connection of young men with civic religious practices began with the specific ceremonies that each *polis* had for the passage of youths to maturity, I will not mention them in this thesis because my aim is to observe the role of religion after the period of this initiation and particularly when the young men participated in the *gymnasion*. For further discussion on the participation of different age-groups in the religious festivals of the *polis* see Kennell 1999:252-254.

<sup>44</sup> The Athenian *ephebeia* and the training (athletic/military, intellectual or religious) of Athenian young men became a paradigm that was followed by many Hellenistic cities (e.g. cities of Ionia). This is the reason that we refer to the Athenian practices although this study is focused on the Hellenistic East.

city under the supervision of their officials. According to Rhodes (1981: 505), the purpose of this tour was to inspire a sense of devotion to the cults of Athens in the ephebes. Pélékidis (1962:111; 211-256) mentions that the ephebes visited the temples of the Akropolis, the temples of Agora and probably the temple of the *eponymos heros* of their tribes.<sup>45</sup> An Athenian decree (*SEG* 29.116) dated to 214/3 informs us that the ephebes, acting according to the laws of the city, participated in the Eleusinian mysteries and in the torch race of the Hermaia. They also took part in processions to Salamis, in the processions in honour of the personification of Democracy and in contests in the name of the local hero.<sup>46</sup>

The Athenian *ephebeia* provides us with a detailed picture of the celebrations and rituals in which the ephebes participated. A number of inscriptions (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006; 1008, 1011, 1028, 2nd c.) mention the participation of Athenian ephebes in civic festivals like the one of Artemis Agrotera on the sixth of Boedromion (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>1006, dated to 2nd c.)<sup>47</sup> during which the ephebes came in contact with the glorious past of their city by commemorating the battle at Marathon (Mikalson 1998: 243-248; Chaniotis 2005: 237). According to the inscription *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006, the ephebes participated in a series of rituals and sacrifices connected with the protector gods and heroes of the city and with the location of important battles. The Athenian ephebes sacrificed to Athena *Nike*, accompanied sacred objects to Eleusis and the statue of Athena Pallas to Phaleron, and honoured Theseus by participating in the Theseia. They also competed at the Epitapheia (celebration for the war dead). The starting point of the races was the *Polyandreion* at

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<sup>45</sup>From the 4th c. onwards there are several attestations of participation of the Athenian ephebes in religious celebrations. The first one (dated to 4th c.) is a dedication of the ephebes and the *sophronistes* of Aiantis (Reinmuth no 6.) to hero Mounichos for a victory in a torch race. From an *anathema* of the Leontis tribe we are informed that the *sophronistes* and the ephebes honoured the tribal hero Leos (Reinmuth1971: no 9).

<sup>46</sup>*SEG* 29.116, 214/3 BC: ll. 10-20 ...ἔθυσαν δὲ κ[α]ὶ τὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ [ἐκαλλιέρησαν ἀκολούθως] το[ῖς] νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμα[σι].... κ[α]θηκούσης ἐν Σαλαμ[ῖνι]... τεῖ Δ[η]μοκρατία τὴν πομπὴν ἐπόμπευσαν.

<sup>47</sup>*IG* II<sup>2</sup> ll. 8-18: ...ἐπόμπευσαν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέραῖ ...πα[ρ]αγενόμενοι δὲ [ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι πολυ]...καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἀμφιάρων καὶ ἰσ[τόρησαν] τὴν γερονεῖαν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων τοῦ ἱεροῦ [κ]υριεῖαν καὶ θ[ύ]σαντες ἀπῆ[λ]θον αὐθ[ημερὲ] εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώρ[αν].

Salamis, the war monument for the dead). They participated in the *Aianteia* and sacrificed to Zeus *Tropaios*, they paid tribute to the dead soldiers of Marathon and they visited the sanctuary of Amphiaraos (Mikalson 1998: 292; Chaniotis 2005: 237-239; Casey 2013: 425). The participation of the ephebes in these rituals and celebrations was determined according to the laws and the decrees of the *demos* (κατὰ νόμους καὶ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου). It promoted the ‘transmission of cultural memory and identity to the youth’ (Chaniotis 2005: 237) and was a ‘source of civic pride’ (Casey 2013: 429).

The establishment of a legendary hero-cult and festival by the citizens reveals the connection of the community with the hero and the glorious past of the city. The cult of heroes or ‘semi-gods’ moved between the present and the past, between the mortal and the immortal world. Their cult was a remembrance of the glorious distant past. Young men participating in sacrifices and processions in honour of the heroes became part of this tradition and claimed a piece of it (Potter 2003: 418). Local heroes were often associated with the *gymnasia* of their cities: examples include Akademos at Athens (Nilsson 1955: 64-67), Kylarabis at Argos (Paus. 2.22.8-10), Hippolytos at Troizen (*IG* IV 754) and Iolaos at Thebes of Boiotia (Paus. 9.23.1) (Delorme 1960: 339).

Like the Athenian ephebes who participated in the Eleusinian mysteries<sup>48</sup> (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1008, 2nd c.), the ephebes at Pergamon also participated in similar celebrations, the Kabeireian festivals (*Iv P* II 252, 2nd/1st c.: γίγνεσθαι τῶν μυστηρίων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς Καβείροις; *MDAIA* (A) 29 (1904) 152.1, 1st c.). The epigraphical evidence from Pergamon shows that the gymnasiarch allowed the young men of the *gymnasion*, the citizens, the elders, the foreigners, the Romans and the free-born children to participate in the common meals (δεῖπνον) which follow the rites that were taking place at the Kabeireia (Aneziri 2004: 255).<sup>49</sup> The participation in common meals strengthens the sense of collectivity and the unity among the members of a community.

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<sup>48</sup>For the Eleusinian Mysteries as part of the Athenian religious tradition see Sourvinou-Inwood 2003 and Clinton 2003.

<sup>49</sup>*MDAIA* (A) 29 (1904) 152.1: τοῖς τε γὰρ μεταλαβοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς [Καβειρίοις γενομένων ἱερῶν δεῖπνον παρέσχεν καὶ τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις] ἐν τῷ τῶν νέων γυμνασίῳ καὶ πολίταις καὶ ξένοις καὶ τῆι

A decree of the *boule* and *demos* of Magnesia on the Maiander that concerned the festivals of Zeus Sosipolis (*I. Magnesia* 98, 197/96 BC) mentions the sacrifice of a bull to the god and the procession that consisted of elders, priests, magistrates, ephebes, *neoi*, *paides*<sup>50</sup> and those who won at the Leukophryene games and at other *stephanites* contests. In this inscription we notice that the *paides*, the ephebes and the *neoi* were considered part of the community and participated in the city's celebrations along with the other citizens (Chaniotis 2005).<sup>51</sup>

A number of decrees (e.g. *I. Priene* 104; 108; 99) mention the presence of ephebes in funeral processions in honour of benefactors of the city.<sup>52</sup> The funeral processions demonstrate to the citizens that the *euergetai* of the city were honoured alive or dead and their life had to be an example for the remaining citizens and for the future citizens in order to live in accordance with the laws of their community and to work for its prosperity (Delorme 1960: 340-341; Aneziri 2004: 268-270).<sup>53</sup>

Another type of celebration in which the ephebes participated is the anniversaries of important events. An example is the procession that Antioch near Pyramos established in order to commemorate the truce between the city and the neighbouring city of

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γε[ρουσίαι καὶ ...καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν πᾶ]σιν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις παισίν.

<sup>50</sup>*I. Magnesia* 98: l. 36: ...συμποπέειν δὲ τήν τε γερούσιαν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς τε κληρωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους καὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ τοὺς παῖδας.

<sup>51</sup>For the importance of the presence of the young men in some ritual and ceremonial events of the *poleis* see Kennell 1999.

<sup>52</sup>*I. Priene* 108, 129/100 BC: ll. 370-375: ...τε ἐφήβους καὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ τοῦ[ς στρατηγούς] μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ὅπ[ως ἐ]πιφανοῦ[ς]; *I. Priene*, 99 – 100 BC: ll. 18-23: .. ἀκολουθῆσαι δὲ τῆι ἐκφορᾷ τῆι Ἰθρασβούλου τόν τε γυμ[α]σίαρχον μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας πάντας.

<sup>53</sup>For the gradual devaluation of the hero-cult after the Classical period see Ekroth (2007: 100-114).

Antioch near Kydnos<sup>54</sup> (Chaniotis 2005: 53). Participants in the procession included the priests, the magistrates, the winners of the *stephanites* contests, the gymnasiarch with the ephebes and *neoi*, the *paidonomos* and the children. Once again it is likely that the participation of young men in this civic event strengthened the bonds between the members of a community and created a collective identity that differentiated the participants from the ‘others’ (Chaniotis 2005: 53; 240; 2011: 15).

From the aforementioned evidence we can observe that the religious practices that were held in the *gymnasia* of the *poleis* of mainland and insular Greece and Asia Minor appear to have promoted the construction of civic unity and cultural memory for the young men (future citizens).

#### *Gods as protectors of the gymnasium*

Hermes and Herakles were the tutelary gods of the *gymnasion*. In some cases (e.g. Chalkis [Delorme 1960: 339], Sebennytyos [SB I 1106]) the *gymnasia* were named after them. Hermes was connected with the transition from *ephebeia* to maturity and Herakles was connected with athletic training and competitions (Launey 1987: 864). Both of them were celebrated in the entire Greek world, even in the most distant Greek colonies. Evidence exists about Odessos (*IG Bulg.* I<sup>2</sup> 44; 45, 1st c.) in the Pontic region, Pharbaithos (*SB I.* 1664, end of 2nd c.) and Theadelphia (*Fayoum II* 103, 150/149 BC) in Egypt, Arados in Syria (Robert, *Études Anat.* p.79, 1st c.), and Tauromenion in Sicily (*IG XIV* 432). Both gods were connected with the *gymnasion*: they were the *κατὰ παλαιστράν θεοί* (Pergamon, *MDAI (A)* 32 (1907) 257, 8, 1st c.) and the *καθιδρυμένοι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ θεοί* (*I.Sestos* 1, 133-120 BC) (Aneziri 2004: 248-251). According to the descriptions of Pausanias (I. 19.3; VI 23.3), shrines and statues of Hermes and Herakles existed in the *gymnasia* where the young men worship the gods. Unfortunately our knowledge about their cult is limited to some religious practices (e.g. the torch races) (Delorme 1960: 339-340).

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<sup>54</sup>*SEG* 12.511, ca. 140 BC: ...θυθῆναι δὲ τῆι τε Ἀθηνᾶι καὶ Ὀμονοίαι ἑκατέραι δάμαλιν χρυσοκέρω[ν] συμπομπεῦσαι δὲ τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ τὴν συναρχίαν καὶ τοὺς νενικηκότα[ς] τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας καὶ τὸν γυμνασίαρχον μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων καὶ τὸν παιδονόμον μετὰ τῶν παίδων.

The torch race constitutes one of the most important parts of the celebration of Hermaia that took place in the *gymnasion* and the young men were entitled to participate in this.<sup>55</sup> According to Robert (*BE* 1962: 248), the Hermaia were organized more often than the Herakleia (Chalkis: *IG* XII 9, 952; late 2nd c.), but there were often combinations of these two celebrations (Thera: *IG* XII 3.331, 153/2 BC; *I.Sestos* 1: 133-120; Tenos: *IG* XII 5, 818, 2nd c.; Halikarnassos: *ABSA* 1955.100, Hellenistic; Pergamon: *Iv P* II 3, 197-159 BC).<sup>56</sup>

The gymnasiarchical law of Beroia (*SEG* 27. 261, 2nd c.) offers to the study of the institutions a detailed image of the Hermaia (Chaniotis 2005: 50-51).

(During the festival of Hermes) the gymnasiarch shall hold the Hermaia in the month of Hyperberetaeus (the last month of the year); he shall sacrifice to Hermes and offer as prizes a weapon and three others for fitness (*euexia*), good discipline (*eutaxia*) and hard training (*philoponia*) for those up to the age of 30.... The winners will wear crowns on that day<sup>57</sup> and everyone will be allowed to wear a headband, if he wishes. At the Hermaia the gymnasiarch will also hold a torch race of the boys and of the youngsters. He had also the duty to supervise the competition and to punish those who break the rules (side B, ll. 67-71). The gymnasiarch shall appoint from among those on the spot three lampadarchs in the month of Gorpiaeus, and those who have been chosen shall supply oil to the youngsters, each for ten days. He shall also appoint three lampadarchs of the boys; those who are chosen shall supply oil/ for the same number of days.

(side B, ll. 71–75; Austin 1981 no 118)

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<sup>55</sup>In Athens the ephebes participated in torch races in many celebrations such as the Panathenaia, Theseia, Epitaphia, Hephaisteia and Prometheia. For the importance of Hermaia and torch races in other cities see Kontorini (1989: 170-171 no 75) and Gauthier (1995: 576-585).

<sup>56</sup>Based on epigraphic evidence we observe the widespread religious practices in honour of Hermes and the diversity of regions where these practices were taking place (e.g. Beroia: *SEG* 27. 261, 2nd c.; Odessos: *IG Bulg.* I<sup>2</sup>44; 45, 1st c.; *IScM* (Scythia Minor- Istros) 59, 2nd c.); Amorgos Minoa: *IG* XII 7.235, 2nd/1st c.; Mantinea *IG* V.2. 267, 1st c.?; Mylasa: *I.Mylasa* 421- Hellenistic?; Pergamon *MDAI* (A) 32 (1907) 273.10, after 133 BC) and Herakles (Rhodian Peraia 109, 2nd c.; Hanisa: Mb Berlin 1880: 646, 2nd c.; Pergamon: *MDAI* (A) 33 (1908) 406, 35, after 129 BC; Delos *IG* XI 1061, 172-167 BC; Syme – *IG* XII 3. 1270, 2nd c.) (Aneziri 2004: 248-250).

<sup>57</sup>The expression ‘of that day’ probably means that the days of the celebration were more than one.

During the Hermaia the young men competed in *euexia*, *eutaxia*, *philoponia* and participated in the torch race (the torch was lighted up from the altar of Hermes [Syll.<sup>3</sup>671 A]). The celebration ended with the crowning of the winners. In Beroia the torch race was not a celebration of the city but a celebration of the *gymnasion* in which only ‘free’ people among the participants in the *gymnasion* (παρ’ ἐκάστου τῶν φοιτῶντων) that were selected by the gymnasiarch could participate. The law mentions the obligation of the gymnasiarch to organise two races, one for the *paidēs* (boys) and one for the *neoi*, the sacrifices to Hermes and the feast and drinking which follows the festival (Aneziri 2004: 249-250). This celebration is very common in the Greek world. At Sestos (*I. Sestos* 1, 133-120 BC) the gymnasiarch Menas organized celebrations and contests to honour Hermes and Herakles at his own expense and set up weapons as prizes for four disciplines: long run, *eutaxia*, *philoponia*, *euexia*. Menas as gymnasiarch and benefactor of his city chose to include in the celebrations not only the citizens but also those foreigners who participate in civic life in order to have equal rights as members of a community. Celebrations for Hermes and prizes for young men are also attested at Kos (*ED* 145, 2nd c.; *ED* 215, 1st c.), at Chalkis (*SEG* 29. 29, 120-100 BC), at Sestos (*I. Sestos* 1, 133-120 BC) at Teos (*CIG* 3087, 3rd/2nd c.), at Pergamon (*IvP* II 252, 2nd/1st c.; *MDAI* (A) 32 (1907) 273, 10, ca. 133 BC) and in many other places, thus forming a commonly accepted tradition in the Greek world about the gods-protectors of the *gymnasion* (Aneziri 2004: 249-250).

It is important to note that there were also private initiatives and honours to the gods of the *gymnasion*. Gymnasiarchs, hypo-gymnasiarchs, ephebarchs and lampadarchs, officials that had a significant role in the running of the *gymnasion*, dedicated *anathemata* to the gods<sup>58</sup>. Young men who won in competitions that took place at the *gymnasion* honoured the gods-protectors of the *gymnasion* and made dedications to them, thus showing their respect and devotion (e.g. Delos: *IG* XI 4. 1160, 300-250 BC; 1162, mid-3rd c.; Pergamon: *MDAI*(A) 33 (1908) 401.26 ll. 3-5, Hellenistic?; Egypt: *Mus. du Louvre* 12, early Hellenistic?) (Aneziri 2004: 249-250).

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<sup>58</sup>Ceos: *IG* XII 5, 620, 3rd c.; Amorgos(Aegiale): *IG* XII 7, 422, 1st c.; Halikarnassos: *EA* 4, 1984, 82 no 1, 1st c.; Erythrai: *ZPE* 38, 1980, 153-154, 1st c.; *I. Priene* 182, 3rd c.; *Fayoum* (Arsinoe) 1.21, 2nd/1st c.; *Fayoum* (Theadelphia) 2.103, 150/49 BC.

The cult of Hermes and Herakles and the celebrations for the god-protectors of the *gymnasion* was common in the Hellenistic world. The *gymnasia* of Greek-type cities and colonies seem to have had the same celebrations for the gods-protectors of the institution, and also the same games and prizes for young men. This homogeneity probably derived from the sense of common ancestry and tradition and from the awareness of the common cultural past that transcended the borders of the *poleis* and gave to the cult of the gods a Panhellenic aspect. The ascent of Alexander to the throne of Macedonia probably reinforced the cult of Herakles because the Argeads (the Macedonian royal house) were attached to their prestigious ancestral line that went back to Herakles (Hdt. 5.22; 8.137-9; Thuc. 2.99.3) (Potter 2003). Alexander as ‘king emphasized his connection to a divine, or at least glorious heroic, past not only through his own ancestry but also through his conduct’ (Scheer 2003: 218). We could suppose that although the Greco-Macedonian element lived in a multi-cultural background, they kept the tradition of their ancestors as a symbol of their uniqueness and as part of their ethnic-collective identity.

#### *Poleis and other gods related to the gymnasia*

The diversity and the unique character of the religion of each *polis* is demonstrated from the various gods that were honoured and worshipped in the *gymnasion* of each city and settlement apart from Hermes and Herakles. We mentioned earlier that the *gymnasion* was a multifunctional institution (cultural, athletic, and military) and its role depended on several factors (local, regional, and kingdom). This situation allowed the introduction of some gods and goddesses in the *gymnasia*. Gods associated with the kings (e.g. Seleukids-Apollo, Ptolemies-Herakles and Zeus, Attalids-Zeus), gods and goddesses protectors of arts, of hunting, of children’s health are some of the deities that were honoured in the *gymnasia* beside the cult of Hermes and Herakles.<sup>59</sup>

In the *gymnasia* of Miletos (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 577), Teos (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 578), Athens (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 3002), Delos (*IG* XI 4, 1151; 1152; 1154; 1156) and Loryma at the Rhodian Peraia (*I. Rhod. Per.*

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<sup>59</sup> Clay (1977: 264 n. 2) in his substantial article about the *gymnasion* inventory from the Athenian Agora gives a detailed picture of the gods and goddesses that were connected with the *gymnasion*. For the statues of the gods in the *gymnasion* see also Ma 2008.

Blumel 10) existed cults of Apollo and the Muses (Delorme 1960: 338-339; Aneziri 2004: 250). Statues of the Muses (*SEG* 26.139) and *anathemeta* for them (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 2986; 2991) from the future Athenian ephebes existed in an Athenian *gymnasion* (Clay 1977). At Chios (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 959) the children, the *neoi* and the ephebes of the city honoured Herakles and the Muses (Aneziri 2004: 252). At the *gymnasion* of Letoön at Xanthos there was also a shrine dedicated to Zeus *Soter* (Gauthier, *REG* 109 (1996): 2-3). At Athens (*SEG* 26.139) and Halikarnassos (*SEG* 16.647) Artemis and Herakles were worshipped. According to Athenaios (*Deipnosophistai* 13, 561), Eros was the god of friendship and liberty and ensured the safety of the city. At the *gymnasion* of Pergamon there was a *temenos* for the worship of the Eros and Anteros. According to a decree from Pergamon (*MDAI* (A) 33, 1908, 381-383, it is dated to 133), the ephebes of the city honoured the gods and participated in athletic competitions (Delorme 1960: 338; Aneziri 2004: 252-256).

Another god that was connected with the *gymnasion* was Asklepios. The Athenian ephebes honoured Ajax and Asklepios at Salamis (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 1011) and at Pergamon the *paides* and ephebes honoured Asklepios (*IGR* 4.482, 2nd/1st c.). Sometimes the *gymnasia* were named after gods like the *Olympieion* at Megara (*IG* VII 31), the *Lykeion* at Epidauros (*IG*<sup>2</sup> IV 1), the *gymnasion* of Eros at Samos (Athen. 13.561a), the *Asklepieion* at Smyrna (Phil. *Vit. Soph.* II 26.2), the *palaistra* of Naukratis that was dedicated to Apollo (*SB* I. 355) (Aneziri 2004: 254).

The variety of the gods that co-existed with Hermes and Herakles in the *gymnasia* of the cities of the Greek world demonstrates the uniqueness of each city. Tradition and the will of the citizens determined which gods would be worshipped in the *gymnasia* and which rituals would accompany their cult. The participation of citizens in various festivals and in religious processions and sacrifices for the god-protectors of the city strengthens the unity of the civic body.

#### *Religious practices, gymnasia and ruler cult*

In the Hellenistic world the *gymnasia* were connected with the royal cult and often the young men participated in rituals, sacrifices, processions, celebrations and contests in honour of the kings.

The Hellenistic kings connected themselves with the gods in order to establish their power and legitimate their rule. The Seleukids linked themselves with Apollo, the Ptolemies with Herakles and Zeus, and the Attalids also with Zeus (Potter 2003: 414). But beyond this, kings were also recipients of divine honours and ruler-cult. The kings benefited the cities in several ways (exemption from taxation, *asylia*, *autonomia*, donations of money). In order to reciprocate the good will of the kings and to secure their political and financial existence and gain future profits the cities (especially with the initiative of local elites) established a ruler-cult (Shipley 2000: 89). This cult was modelled after the gods' cult. The citizens honoured the kings, sacrificed to them and participated in processions, athletic and musical competitions. If the ruler was alive then these celebrations took place during his or her birthday; if the king was dead the festival was celebrated on the anniversary of the death (Chaniotis 2003: 434-436; 2011). Some *gymnasia* were named after their benefactors.<sup>60</sup> In others the king's anniversary was celebrated each year or each month.<sup>61</sup> These celebrations included processions,<sup>62</sup> sacrifices,<sup>63</sup> and athletic competitions (Delorme 1960: 344-346; Aneziri 2004: 262-268).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Iasos had an 'Antiocheion' and a 'Ptolemaion' (Robert, *Ét.anat.*, p. 452; *AGIBM.*, 925, b, l. 40); Athens had a 'Ptolemaion' (Paus. I.17.2); Eresos had a *gymnasion* dedicated to members of the Ptolemies (*IG XII sup.* p. 35 no 122).

<sup>61</sup>Pergamon honoured Attalos III (*I.Perg.*246); Eresos honoured the Ptolemies (*IG XII sup.*p.35 no 122); Kolophon honoured Athenaios son of Attalos I (Holleaux, *Études*, II, p.51); Kos honours members of the Attalid and Ptolemaic royal houses (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, 165); Antioch on the Orontes honoured Ptolemy III (Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 281 and 288).

<sup>62</sup>Andros in honour of the Attalids (Ameling no 230 p.254); Kos in honour of members of the Attalid and Ptolemaic royal houses (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, 165).

<sup>63</sup> Andros in honour of Eumenes II or Attalos III (Ameling no 230 p.254); Eresos in honour of Ptolemies (*IG XII sup.*p.35 no 122); Kolophon in honour of Athenaios son of Attalos I (Holleaux, *Études*, II, p.51); Pergamon in honour of Eumenes I and Attalos III (*OGIS* 267, *OGIS* 764); Thyateira (Lydia) in honour of the Attalids (Robert, *Études anat.*, p.176); Psenamosis in honour of the Ptolemies (*SEG* 8.529); Ilion in honour of king Seleukos I (Robert, *Ét.anat.*, p. 172-173).

<sup>64</sup>Alexandria (Austin 1981 no 219); Thera (*IG XII* 3, 331 l. 22-23); Eresos (*IG XII sup.*p.35 no 122); Pergamon (*I.Perg.*246); Kolophon (Holleaux, *Études*, II, p.51); Kos (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, 165); Ilion (Robert, *Ét.anat.*, p. 172-173); Samareia (*P.Enteuxis*, I. pp. 20-27, no. 8).

An important piece of information that demonstrates the connection between the education of young men and the royal cult comes from Kos. According to the calendar of the Koan *gymnasion* (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1028 and *I.Kos Segre ED 45B*, 2nd c.) that is dated approximately to 156-145, sacrifices and processions were the most important part of everyday life for the youngsters. In this inscription there are references to: the sacrifice to Zeus and Athena, the procession to *Nike*, the Poseidoneia (the festival in honour of Poseidon), the festival of Apollo and sacrifices to Apollo *Kyparissios* and the Twelve Gods, sacrifices for Dionysos, the procession for the Muses, the Pythocleia (a festival for Zeus *Soter* sponsored by the benefactor Pythokles) and processions in honour of Ptolemy VI Philometor, Eumenes II, Attalos I and Attalos II Philadelphos (Sokolowski 1960: 287-288; Filimonos 1989: 152). In this inscription we observe an amalgamation of mandatory sacrifices, processions and rituals that honoured not only the gods-protectors of the city but also mortals. The ruler cult that is mentioned in this inscription is the way that the citizens choose to show gratitude towards the kings-benefactors and a way for the local elite to acquire the favour of the king (Shipley 2000:156-159). The kings accepted the honours probably as a way to patronize the city and to increase their sphere of influence. In the calendar of the *gymnasion* we notice that there is a celebration that is sponsored by a citizen benefactor and included in the official programme of the religious festivals in which the epebes participated. This demonstrates the increasing power of the local elite that used the celebrations as a means to express their influence, their superiority and their personal ambitions. The fact that the last three celebrations were added in the Hellenistic period reveals the change in civic practices during the Hellenistic period and the aggrandizement of the civic rituals according to the conditions and the policy of each city (Potter 2003: 414-416; Chaniotis 2013: 29-30).

In some cities there were statues of the members of the royal family (Apameia of Maiander in Robert *REG*, 52, 1939, p.508, no 400; Alexandria in Austin 1981 no 219) and *naiskoi* dedicated to the kings (Sardeis and the *naiskos* of Laodike in Sardes II 1989 no 2-3; Eresos of Lesbos and ‘*Ptolemaion*’ in *IG XII supp.* p.35 no 122; Pharbaitos and a *naiskos* called ‘*Ptolemaion*’ in *SB.*, I, 1164). The Ptolemies and Seleukids were worshipped as ‘temple-sharing deities’ and received daily libations (Chaniotis 2003: 437). One attestation from Psenamosis (*I.Prose* 40, dated 67 or 64) reveals the existence

of a building (temple) for the worship of the king in the *gymnasion* of Psenamosis (l. 7-8: ... ὅπως γυμνάσιον ποιήσαντες καὶ οἶκον ἄγωμεν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων θυσίας...) (Delorme 1960: 343).

The establishment of ruler cult and officials that performed rituals for the kings is attested for many places (Aneziri 2004: 264-265).<sup>65</sup> Sometimes the kings were connected with the gods-protectors of the *gymnasion*, Hermes and Herakles (Soloï and the cult of Antiochos III in *OGIS* I 230; Ephesos and the cult of Eumenes II in Robert, *REG*, 66 1953, p.169, no. 178).

#### RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE GYMNASIA OF THE PERIPHERY

The situation was different in *gymnasia* in the periphery of the Hellenistic world.<sup>66</sup> The ephebes of the *chôra* of Egypt participated in several groups after their training. The ex-ephebes were divided into groups that were called αἰρέσεις. In the area of Fayoum there were the *hairesis* of Ammonios (*OGIS* 176), the *hairesis* of Asklepiades son of Asklepiades (*OGIS* 178) and the *hairesis* of Paraibatos (*Bull. Soc. Alex.* n.s. vii (1929), 277, no 3). The fact that one of the leaders of the *hairesis* of Fayoum had an Egyptian name, the existence of a *gymnasion* that was called *Osireion* (*SB* 5022), the worship of the gods Souchos (*I.Fayum* III 200, 201) and Soknebtynis (*I. Fayum* III 202), the gods protectors of the area, by ex-ephebes alongside with the traditional god-protectors of the *gymnasion*, demonstrate a synthesis of religious practices in the *gymnasia* of Egypt (Habermann 2004: 341; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 281).

We observe a similar attitude at the *gymnasion* of Ai-Khanoum, where there was no temple of Hermes and Herakles but the gods were worshipped in a Mesopotamian-style temple along with the local gods (Potter 2003: 419; Mairs 2008). This demonstrates the

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<sup>65</sup>Thyateira (L. Robert, *Ét.anat.* p.176); Jerusalem (I Macc. 1,14f; II Macc. 4, 9-14); Kios (*BCH* 1893, 541-542, n.21); Alexandria (Austin 1981 no 219, p.361-362); Ptolemais (*Arch. f. Pap.*, 12, 1937, p. 44); Psenamosis (*SEG* 8.529); Sebennytyos (*SB* I, 1106); Kos (Gardner, *JHS* 6, 1885 p.256, no 12; G.Pugliese Carratelli - M.Segre [1993], *ED* 182).

<sup>66</sup>The role of the *gymnasia* of periphery will be explained in detail in the next chapters. In this section we will refer briefly to a few elements that differentiate them from the *poleis'* *gymnasia*.

tendency of the religious practices in the Hellenistic East that adapted to the local circumstances in order to safeguard its cultural identity and tradition. The connection of these *gymnasia* with Hermes and Herakles gave to Greco-Macedonians a general sense of their ethnic origins. In the *gymnasia* of remote places that functioned out the frame of the *polis*, elements of different civilisations were combined, a syncretism of practices, rituals and traditions.

#### CONCLUSION TO 2.2.3

In this section we have analysed the construction of the sense of collectivity and uniqueness that was established in the Hellenistic *gymnasia* through the participation of young men in religious practices. The individual character of each city and the variation of conditions that existed created a mosaic of religious practices. The civic and religious tradition of mainland and insular Greece and Asia Minor was enriched with new cults. Our study has examined the types of festivals in which the ephebes participated, the network of relations that were created through them (e.g. rituals created on the initiative of the kings or of the *polis*, relations between the citizens) and the degree to which these practices influenced civic cohesion.

The study of the religious practices has provided insight into a multi-faceted community that combined Greco-Macedonian religious tradition with non-Greek cultural and religious elements. The combination of religious practices and the syncretism of cults were possibly connected with a tendency on the part of some members of a community to approach them for several reasons (e.g. in order to establish good relations with the foreign element, to settle in a specific location away from the city or to expand their sphere of influence in the communities where they lived). We may observe that by moving between the present and the past and by balancing continuity and change, the religious practices in most cases established a vibrant channel of communication between the various cultural elements that existed in the Hellenistic world and contributed to social cohesion.

## CHAPTER 3. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN THE *GYMNASIA* OF THE EAST

As we have mentioned in the previous chapters, the Hellenistic *gymnasion* in the East was diffused in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms according to the peculiarities of each kingdom. The *gymnasion* respected the needs of its community and the regional variations. In this section our study will move a step further. I will focus my attention on the networks of communications that were created in the *gymnasion* between the kings, the citizens, the elite, the officials and the participants (Greek and non-Greek). Such an approach will reveal the balance of power that existed in the *gymnasia* of *poleis* as well in those of other settlements and garrisons. We will observe whether and to what extent some practices and behaviours contributed to the introduction of the non-Greek element in the institution.

The first part of this chapter (3.1) will present royal attitudes towards the institution. The motives of royal benefactions towards the *gymnasion* will be analysed. Through this approach it will be revealed whether or not the education of young men *per se* was part of the royal policy and whether their attitude left an open space for the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasion*. The second section of this chapter (3.2) will examine the internal dynamics that arose through the function of the *gymnasia* not only within the *poleis*, but also in settlements and garrisons. In order to study the network of communication that was created within the *gymnasion* I will focus my study mainly on the attitudes of the gymnasiarchs (officials responsible for the running of the *gymnasion*) and of the participants. In this section it will be revealed where and when the *gymnasion* allowed the entry of non-Greeks into it and what was their role in them.

### **3.1. The kings' attitude towards the *gymnasia***

Among the various kinds of royal benefactions towards the *poleis* (e.g. tax exemptions, financial support, erection or maintenance of public buildings), there were those that were addressed to the *gymnasia*, the training place of the ephebes, the future citizen-soldiers of the cities (Bringmann 1993: 10-18; Bringmann 2000). The Hellenistic city

had to face a number of military dangers. The defence of its territory along with the warfare and the military training of the youths became an integral part of its politics. The protection of the city's territory was the main duty of the inhabitants of every free and autonomous *polis* and a way of demonstrating their devotion to the city's tradition, its past, present and future (civic identity). The citizens were trained from a young age as soldiers and learned the art of war from military specialists (e.g. cavalymen, archers) (Chaniotis 2005: 21). The existence of the city's army depended on several factors such as the size of the city, the sufficiency of men for recruitment, the direct or indirect control of the king, and the existence of a garrison and mercenaries (Chaniotis 2005: 23; 68-71). One of the most important factors was the financial condition of the city, because a great amount of money was needed for the training and the support of a city's army and the defensive constructions for its protection. The cities were sometimes unable to fulfil their financial obligations; for this reason they relied upon the financial contributions of kings, rich citizens or foreigners (Billows 2003: 211-212).

For the kings the maintenance of civic institutions of the *poleis* and of the Greek way of life was part of their policy. *Euergesiai* (benefactions) towards the Greek *poleis* could create positive feelings for the kings, strengthen the loyalty of the citizens towards them and create favourable conditions for future negotiations and alliances with the city and the Greco-Macedonian element (Bringmann 1993: 15; Ma 2003: 180-183). If we approach the *gymnasion* as an institution that fostered the training of well-trained citizen-soldiers and as well as a subject of royal benevolence we could claim on the one hand that a strong civic army could be a threat to the kings' rule; but on the other hand the receipt of a royal gift towards the *gymnasion* or a tolerant royal policy towards them seems to have had many benefits. A civic army could be used as a local force towards the city's external threats, as a way for the city to declare its uniqueness; on the other hand, this civic army could be used as a source of recruitment for the royal army and strengthen the ties between the *polis* and the king (Chaniotis 2005: 23; D'Amore 2007: 171). In this way the city was responsible for its defence and the kings were not obliged to use the royal army for local conflicts.

The relations between the Hellenistic kings, the *poleis*, the elites and the participants in the *gymnasion* took many forms. Our information is based mainly on epigraphic and

literary evidence and focuses on the *gymnasia* as objects of royal donations (both in cash and in kind). This section, divided into three sub-sections (3.1.1-3.1.3), provides us with information about the benefactions of the Ptolemies, the Seleukids and the Attalids (the last only briefly, as this study focuses on the Ptolemaic and Seleukid kingdoms) towards the *gymnasia*. It views benefactions as part of the network of communication between kings, citizens, elites, officials, and participants.

### **3.1.1. The Ptolemies and their *euergesiai* towards the *gymnasia***

The Ptolemaic benefactions and the honours given by the citizens and the participants in the *gymnasion* towards the king are generally distinguished into three spheres of action: the first was addressed to the *gymnasia* of Greek *poleis* that were under the direct or indirect control of the Ptolemies; the second had to do with the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic garrisons; the third focused on the *gymnasia* of the Egyptian territory.

#### A) THE *GYMNASIA* WITHIN THE FRAME OF GREEK *POLEIS*

##### *Athens*

The Ptolemies, like the Seleukids, in the first half of the third century started to support Athens' fight against the Antigonids and their expansionist policy with troops, money and supplies (Pausanias 1.10. 2-4) (Kralli 2000: 118-120). We observe Athenian citizens and Ptolemaic officials (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 650, 290/89 BC; IG II<sup>2</sup> 682, 276/5 BC*) being used as mediators between the city and the kings in order to ensure the materialization of the kings' decisions (Strootman 2003: 6). Ptolemy III (246-222) promised to protect Athens in a turbulent political environment. In order to reward this decision the Athenians dedicated his statue at Delphi, named a tribe after him and established a royal cult (Mikalson 1998: 178-179). At that time (224/3) according to Pausanias (1.17. 2), Ptolemy III financed the building of a *gymnasion* that received his name. In 224/3 the Athenians and especially gymnasiarch Theophrastos (*SEG 25. 157*) acted according to the *demos*' policy and established in the city athletic competitions named after the king (Ptolemaieia) (Mikalson 1998: 179-180). From the above evidence we could argue that the decision of Ptolemy III to finance a *gymnasion* in Athens was part of a political negotiation between the king and the city. It is likely that the promotion or the support of Greek education *per se* was not the real motive of the king. Ptolemy III wanted to finance a civic institution that had great importance for the Athenians, as this city was

an important cultural and intellectual centre (Casey 2013: 432).<sup>67</sup> Ptolemy's gift increased royal reputation and glory.

### *League of Islanders and Delos*

In the third century the fight between the Antigonids and the Ptolemies expanded to the control of the Aegean Sea. In this period the League of Islanders was established for the defence of islands in the wars among the Diadochoi. During its political existence this League became an ally first of the Antigonids and later of the Ptolemies and honoured the Hellenistic kings with cults and festivals (Billows 1997: 220-221; Constantakopoulou 2012). In the third century the Ptolemies, by guaranteeing the freedom of the cities (Merker 1970: 141-160), acquired great honours from the cities of insular Greece (i.e. statues, golden wreath, festivals, and cult) and recognition of Ptolemaieia of Alexandria as equal to the Olympic games (Constantakopoulou 2012: 55-56; 65 note 35). In order to acquire the benevolence of the king, the cities gave to the Ptolemaieia of Alexandria equal value as the Olympic Games<sup>68</sup> knowing the efforts of the Ptolemies to establish the capital of their kingdom as a cultural centre (Erskine 1995).

The centre of honorific actions of insular Greek cities towards Hellenistic kings was mainly Delos, an island of great religious and economic importance. The interest of the Ptolemies in the island of Delos remained constant even before 167, when Delos was declared by the Romans as a free port and was under Athenian domination. This is revealed through a dedication of Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter II (111/0) to Apollo, to the Athenian *demos* and the *neoi* found at the *xystos* (this inscription was probably situated at the main entrance of the *xystos*) at the north-eastern *gymnasion* of Delos (*I.*

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<sup>67</sup> For the importance of Athens as a cultural and intellectual center and for the educational role of the *gymnasion* (e.g. lectures, library) see Casey 2013.

<sup>68</sup> *IG XII*, 7.506, ll. 7-8; 10-22: ...ὄν τίθησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος τῶι πατρὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι ἰσολύμ[π]ιον ... καὶ θυσίαν ποιεῖ τῶι πατρ[ί] καὶ ἀγῶνα τίθησιν ἰσολύμπιον γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν (3rd c.). *CID* 4.40; *FD III.4.357*, ll. 14-15: ...τῆς τεθύσιας [μετέχειν τῶι βασι]λεὶ Πτολεμαίωι τοὺς Ἀμφ[ικ]τύο[νας, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπο]δέχεσθαι ἰσολύμπιον (262/1 BC). For king Ptolemy's appeal for the Ptolemaieia of Alexandria to be considered as isolympic Games see Hazzard (2000: 53-55).

*Delos* 1531; Passart 1912: 429; Delorme 1960: 151).<sup>69</sup> Skaltsa (2008: 185-186), referring to Moretti (2001), argues that the north-eastern *gymnasion* was constructed with the contributions of Athenian benefactors and the *xystos* financed by the king Ptolemy IX. This gift was one of the few direct *euergesiai* of the Ptolemies towards the *gymnasia*. A royal action like this demonstrates the interest of the Hellenistic kings in promoting their reputation and prestige in great cultural and religious centres of Greece (Bringmann 1993: 11).

### *Kos*

From the beginning of the Age of Successors *Kos* had been an independent state with a flourishing political, cultural and economic life and an ally of the Ptolemies. The location of the island, in the south-eastern Aegean Sea near the coast of Asia Minor, and the prosperous socioeconomic conditions prevailing there at the time positively influenced the relations of *Kos* with the Hellenistic kingdoms and with the dynasts. In the third century many Koan intellectuals and physicians, such as Theokritos, Philitas, Xenokritos, and Praxagoras left *Kos*, drawn by Ptolemy Philadelphos' patronage to settle in Alexandria (Fraser 1972: 305-335).

The connection of the Koan *gymnasion* with Hellenistic rulers is revealed through an inscription called the 'Calendar of the Koan *gymnasion*' dated ca. 156-145 (*I.Cos* 43; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1028). This document forms a catalogue, which gives us valuable information about the monthly activities of the Koan *gymnasion* and its connection with the Hellenistic kings. In this document we observe the existence of sacrifices and processions for the Hellenistic rulers (Attalos I (241-197); Eumenes II (197-159); Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145); Attalos II Philadelphos (160-138) (Sokolowski 1960: 287-88; Filimonos 1989: 152). The appearance of royal cults, festivals and processions in the Calendar of the Koan *gymnasion* is probably connected with royal donations to it or with royal benefactions to the *demos* of *Kos*.

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<sup>69</sup>*ID* 1531: Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Σωτήρ... Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῖς νέοις (111/0 BC).

A fragment of a Koan decree dated to 250 (*SEG* 5.847; *Chiron* 33: 226, no 13) mentions the existence of an *Alexandreion* and a *Ptolemaieion* (l. 8: ... Ἀλεξ[α]νδρείωι καὶ Πτολεμαίειωι..) in the city. Although from the epigraphic evidence it is not clear if these establishments were sanctuaries dedicated to the kings (Alexander and Ptolemy I) or *gymnasia*, Bosnakis (*Chiron* 33: 226-228) connects the *Ptolemaieion* with the Koan *gymnasion*.

A Koan inscription (Gardner 1885: 256; Peek 1969: 13) of the second century attests a Ptolemaic cult for Ptolemy V Epiphanes or Ptolemy VI Philometor in the Koan *gymnasion* of *neoi*. The most interesting element of this cult was the dedication of a gilded throne. In Ptolemaic Egypt the empty, golden-plated throne (Launey 1949/50: 855-56; Picard 1959: 413-414) with the depiction of the double horn of Amalthea has been associated with Ptolemaic royal power; the royal cult of the Ptolemies is organized around it. The double horns of abundance allegorically reflect the shared power of kings and queens of Egypt. Most of the times this throne was situated in the *Ptolemaieion*, a small temple that was located in the *gymnasion* and consecrated to the cult of the Ptolemies.

The citizens or the participants in the *gymnasion* used to erect in the area of the *gymnasion* statues of kings benefactors, and little chapels for the royal cult. They also used to name festivals, athletic competitions, and *gymnasia* after them (Filimonos 1989: 152; Launey 1949/50: 853-869). Unfortunately, the preserved inscriptions leave us unenlightened about the specific *euergesiai* or donations of the Hellenistic kings and dynasts to the Koan *gymnasion*; the altars, sacrifices and processions of youths in honour of the kings and dynasts connect the *gymnasion* with the kings only indirectly. This suggests that there was mostly a vivid interest of the citizens in connecting their *gymnasion* and its celebrations with the kings rather than a favourable policy of the kings towards the Koan *gymnasion*.

### *Rhodes*

The same situation is observed in one of the *gymnasia* of Rhodes, probably<sup>70</sup> a *Ptolemaieion*,<sup>71</sup> where a cult of Ptolemy I was established. Ptolemy I was the first king

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<sup>70</sup>For a different approach on the subject see Papachristodoulou (1988: 203).

among the other Hellenistic kings to be worshipped like a god in a Greek city (Morelli 1959: 66). According to Pausanias (1.8.6.), the Rhodians named Ptolemy I ‘Soter’ because of his help during the siege of the city by Demetrios Poliorketes. Once again from the existing evidence it is unclear if the Ptolemies benefited the *gymnasion* or the education of Rhodes *per se*. It is important to note that other kings like Hieron and Gelon (Polyb. 5.88.5), after the earthquake that destroyed part of the city and its walls (224), donated to the city seventy-five talents of silver for the provision of oil for the *gymnasion*. Eumenes II (197-159) donated 280,000 *medimnoi* of grain to the city of Rhodes. The Rhodians sold the grain and lent out the money. The consequent interest would be spent on the salaries of trainers and teachers of Rhodian boys (Polyb. 31.31.1).<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, Ptolemy III supported the city of Rhodes with money, timber for ships and 12,000 *medimnoi* of grain for Rhodian public games and sacrifices (Polyb. 5.89).<sup>73</sup> There is no direct reference to Ptolemaic benefactions towards the *gymnasia* or Rhodian education.<sup>74</sup> It is more probable that the citizens gave Ptolemy’s name to their *gymnasion* in order to honour him because of his assistance towards the

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<sup>71</sup>Diodoros (20.100.3-4) mentions that ‘in the case of Ptolemy since they wanted to surpass his record by repaying his kindness with a greater one, they sent a sacred mission into Libya to ask the oracle at Ammon if it advised the Rhodians to honour Ptolemy (304 BC) as a god. Since the oracle approved, they dedicated in the city a square precinct building on each of its sides a portico a square (600 feet) long, and this they called the Ptolemeum’. The translation is from Loeb. For the *Ptolemaieion gymnasion* see Filimonos (1989); Kontorini (1989).

<sup>72</sup>Apart from the aforementioned dynasts, many kings, (among which are Antigonos Dason, Seleukos II, Ptolemy III, Prousius, Mithridates and some dynasts such as Lysanias, Olympichos, and Limnaios), contributed with their donations to the relief of the Rhodian people. The immediate response of the Greek world allowed the Rhodians to rebuild their city and to reorganize its economic, military and social life. It seems that the royal contributions were not based on humanitarian motives but on the hard economic interests of the States and kingdoms, which were involved in the commercial activities of Rhodes. For the danger of a widespread economic crisis after the tremendous earthquake that severely damaged the city of Rhodes see Berthold (2013: 50). For the island of Rhodes as an important economic center of the Hellenistic world see Gabrielsen (1999).

<sup>73</sup> For the use of grain instead of money for royal benefactions see Bringman (2006).

<sup>74</sup>Papachristodoulou (1986: 265-271), referring to a Rhodian decree about the Rhodian library of the *gymnasion*, connects the kings and dynasts that were mentioned in the decree with Polybios’ account about the generosity of Hieron and Gelon towards the *gymnasion* and the care of Eumenes II for the education of the Rhodian boys. There is no mention of the Ptolemies as benefactors of Rhodian education.

city or because they wished to establish alliances and political ties with the Ptolemaic royal house.

### *Eresos*

During the third century Lesbos was under Ptolemaic rule (Lanciers 1991: 72-73).

There is no evidence for Ptolemaic gifts to the *gymnasia* there. At Eresos there was a *gymnasion* that was called ‘*Ptolemaieion*’ and the city organized celebrations (athletic competitions, sacrifices) in honour of the Ptolemies (*IG XII suppl. 122, 209-204 BC*).<sup>75</sup>

In the same century we observe that athletic competitions and sacrifices in honour of the Ptolemies and Herakles took place in Methymna on Lesbos (*IG XII suppl. 115, 267-260 BC*).

### *Iasos*

The same attitude of honouring the Ptolemies can be observed in the city of Iasos, which was an ally of the Ptolemies in the third century and became incorporated in the Seleukid territory after 197 (Bagnall 1976: 89; 92). Although the exact date of the establishment of the *gymnasia* of Iasos is not clear we observe that the city had two *gymnasia*, the *Ptolemaieion* (*I. Iasos 98, 1st c.*)<sup>76</sup> and the *Antiocheion* (*I. Iasos 93, 1st c.*),<sup>77</sup> which coincides with the different alliances or occupation of the city by different Hellenistic kings (Bagnall 1976: 92). According to our evidence, there is no attestation of royal gifts towards those *gymnasia*, so probably the favourable attitude of the Ptolemies and the Seleukids towards the city forced the citizens or some members of the Iasian community to honour the dynasts by naming the *gymnasia* after kings.

According to the aforementioned inscriptions from Iasos, we are informed that the *Ptolemaieion gymnasion* was a place of training for the ephebes and *neoi* and the *Antiocheion* was a place for the training of the elders of the city. The absence of

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<sup>75</sup>*IG XII suppl. 122 ll. 5-15 ...ἐπιμελήθεις τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πτολεμαῖον ὄρθως ... καὶ ἐπιμελήθεις... ἄγνωνος ...μετὰ τῶν ν[έ]ων καὶ τῶν ἀλειφομένων θυσιάσας ... καὶ ἐστιάσας ἐν τοῖς Πτολεμαείοισι... (209-204 BC).*

<sup>76</sup>*I. Iasos 98: 1.36 ... [στήσαι δ]ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰκόν[α γραπτὴν] ἐν τῷ γυμ[νασίῳ τῷ] Πτολεμαίῳ.*

<sup>77</sup>*I. Iasos 93: ll.22-23 ... ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τό[πῳ τοῦ] Ἀντιοχείου.*

ratification from the *boule* and *demos* of the honorific decrees of these age-groups, the self-running of their *gymnasia* (as they had their own officials) and the naming of their *gymnasia* after the king likely demonstrate the presence in the city of a civic elite that would like to approach the royal houses in order to gain profit and support.

The existence of two *gymnasia* in the same city for different age-groups demonstrates the high economic and political status of the city (which justifies the interest of different royal houses for the city) (Curty 2015: 149).

### *Halikarnassos*

Halikarnassos was under Ptolemaic rule from 280 to 195 (Bagnall 1976: 94). In this period is dated an inscription<sup>78</sup> according to which the citizens of Halikarnassos appeal to the king for the construction or the repairs (ἐπισκευασθῆι) of the *gymnasion*. The king sent ambassadors to the city to announce his consent for that action (Ameling 2004: 133). There is no reference to the king's financial support. According to the inscription, the city was responsible for finding financial resources for the repairs or the constructions of the *gymnasion*. This action demonstrates that the *gymnasion* was a civic institution under the supervision of the king but that the city was responsible for its maintenance. Bagnall argues that the permission of the king had to do with the 'close supervision of municipal finance... [that was] typical of Ptolemaic administration in Caria' (1976: 95); but based on our evidence it is uncertain to what extent the *gymnasion* of Halikarnassos was under the influence of royal financial policy.

### *Priene*

As regards the *gymnasion* of Priene there is a reference to the kings' interference in the construction of the building of the *gymnasion*, although it is unclear who promised this benefaction and why it did not take place. At *I. Priene* 108 (an honorific decree of the *boule* and *demos* for Moschion Kydimou, a citizen benefactor of the city) there is

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<sup>78</sup>Decree of *boule* and *demos* for the building of a *gymnasion*: *JÖAI* 11, 56-61, no 2-3: ὅπως ἂν τὸ γυμνάσι[ον τὸ Φιλίππειον] ἐπισκευασθῆι, ἐπει[δὴ βασιλ]εὺς Πτολεμαῖος πρεσ[βευσ]αμένης τῆς πόλεως συνεχώρη[σεν ὅπως ὅπως οἱ νέοι] ἔχωσιν γυμνάσιον καὶ [οἱ παῖδες ἀνακτ]ήσωνται τὴν παιδικὴν [παλαίστρα]ν ἢ νῦν οἱ νέοι χρῶνται, δε [δόχθαι τῶι] δήμωι ἐπισκευάσαι (3rd c.).

reference to an earlier period, when certain kings (without indication of their names)<sup>79</sup> had ordered (ἐπαγγέλλω)<sup>80</sup> the construction of a *gymnasion* in the city. The kings were unable to fulfil their promises (i.e. the building of the *gymnasion*: *I. Priene* 108) and Moschion with his brother gave three thousand drachmas towards the building of a *gymnasion* (ll. 39-41: ... εἰς τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου κατασκευάσματος ἔδωκε μετὰ τὰ ἀδελφοῦ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας). This initiative was considered a great and glorious action for the city (ll.116-117: ... θεωρῶν [μέγα] τι καὶ ἔνδοξον τῇ πόλει περιεσόμενον εἰς [ἀεί, εἰ] ἀναλάβοι ταῦτα). In this inscription the difficulties of the kings to fulfil their obligations towards a city and the replacement of royal benefactions by donations made by rich citizens becomes evident.

#### B) EGYPT'S EXTERNAL POSSESSIONS (CYPRUS, THERA AND CYRENE)

##### *Cyprus*

In Cyprus there are attestations of the existence of *gymnasia* (Mitford 1953; 1959; 1960; 1961; Bagnall 1976: 67; Paganini 2011: 152-54). There is no evidence for benefactions by the Ptolemies towards the *gymnasia* of Cyprus, but only dedications to the Ptolemies from members of the *gymnasia*. An inscription from Kition (*I. Kition* 2014, dated 246-221) refers to a dedication of a statue of Ptolemy III Euergetes who was protector (προστάτης) of members of the *gymnasion* (οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου). In Paphos (*SEG* 20.198, dated 197-193) the same group of people (οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου) honour the *archisomatophylax* (the head bodyguard) for his devotion to Ptolemy III. The presence of mercenaries in some honorific or dedicatory inscriptions from the *gymnasia* of Kition and Paphos and the absence of references to a civic magistracy in them could indicate

<sup>79</sup> Robert (1937: 85 n. 2) argues that the promise for the construction of the *gymnasion* made by the kings of Egypt, of Syria and of Kappadokia. Bringmann (1993: 12 n.19) mentions the names of Orophernes of Kappadokia, the Seleukids Demetrios I and Demetrios II and Ptolemy IV as probable benefactors of the *gymnasion*.

<sup>80</sup>*I. Priene* 108; McCabe 1987, Nr. 66: ll.111-117 'Ψηφισαμένου τε τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τοὺς [πρό]τερον χρόνους κατασ[κε]υὴν [γ]υμνασίου κατὰ πόλιν] καὶ ταύτης μὴ δυναμένης λαβ[εῖν σ]υντέλειαν [διὰ τὰς μεταπτώσεις τῶν εἰς τὸ προδεδηλωμένον ἀν[άλω]μα ποησαμένων ἐπαγγελίαν βασιλέων, θεωρῶν [μέγα] τι καὶ ἔνδοξον τῇ πόλει περιεσόμενον εἰς [ἀεί, εἰ] ἀναλάβοι ταῦτα...' (129-100 BC).

that the attested *gymnasia* functioned outside the frame of the city (Bagnall 1976; Paganini 2011: 154). According to Mitford (1960: 111), especially as ‘in the early and middle Hellenistic times... [this group of people (οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου)] were predominantly soldiers, either military settlers or mercenaries of the garrison’ (Mitford 1960: 111). This fact is reinforced by a catalogue of contributors of oil supply from Paphos (*SEG* 20. 174, dated 224/3) that had similarities with the list of mercenaries of Thera who provided their *gymnasion* with oil (Paganini 2011: 154).

Some inscriptions dated from the early second century onwards reveal that at Cyprus existed also *gymnasia* that functioned within the frame of the cities and their participants honoured the kings because of their benevolence towards their cities. At Chytroi (Mitford 1937: 33-34) the lampadarch of the *paidēs* honoured the kings and gods Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra, Hermes, Herakles and the *boule* of Chytroi. In another inscription from Salamis (*SEG* 25.1057, dated 2nd c.) the ephebes and οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου honoured Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra for their benevolence towards the city. As the οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου could be identified as soldiers or mercenaries of the Ptolemaic army that were stationed in the area, we could argue that through these dedications the participants of the *gymnasion* showed devotion and loyalty to the royal house (Bagnall 1976: 48; 54-56). Moreover, the citizens honoured and worshipped the members of the royal family in order to acquire support and to strengthen the bonds between them and their cities.

The above information reveals that the citizens, the soldiers and the high officials supported the *gymnasia* of the island and approached the Ptolemaic royal house by their dedication; it also shows that it was the gymnasiarchs, the officials, and the citizens, not the kings, that took the initiative for the benefactions.

### *Thera*

Now we will proceed to another *gymnasion* that functioned outside the frame of the city and belonged to the Ptolemaic garrison stationed on the island of Thera (Schuler 2004:

177).<sup>81</sup> In an inscription (*IG XII 3.327*) dated to 164/3-160/59, there is a reference to a decision of the Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-145) (Gauthier 1993: 8; Ameling 2004: 135 no. 38) to use the revenues of some confiscated lands of the island for the provision of oil in the *gymnasion* and the expenses for the sacrifices.<sup>82</sup> In the same inscription we are informed that beside the king's *euergesiai* some of the soldiers (Il.4-5...τῶν ἐν Θήραι ... στρατιωτῶν) financed the repairs that took place within the *gymnasion* (Il.142-145: οἶδε εἰσήνεγκαν τὴν γενομένην δαπάνην εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ γυμνασίου). The participants in the *gymnasion* were named *aleiphomenoi* (ἀλειφόμενοι, the anointed) and elected their own gymnasiarch<sup>83</sup> who was responsible for the administration of the *gymnasion*. Among his other responsibilities was the embellishment of the athletic competitions that had already been organised and dedicated to Hermes and Herakles in the name of king Ptolemy (Il. 22-24 ...πολλῶι προεστάτησεν τούς τε τῶι Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τιθεμένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας) as well as the provision of prizes to the winners. From the existing evidence we observe that this *gymnasion* had its own organisation and was self-sufficient. There is no reference to civilians as participants in this *gymnasion*. This seems to make it clear that this *gymnasion* was addressed to soldiers (adults) and it was a place of military training, of athletic competitions and religious practices (e.g. sacrifices) (Paganini 2011: 151-152; Chaniotis 2002: 110). The king's benefaction towards this *gymnasion*, the participants and the competitions that took place in it in the name of the king reveal the military/athletic role of this *gymnasion* as a training place of the royal army. Paganini (2011: 151-52) mentions that this institution was probably also used as a recreational

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<sup>81</sup>For the status of the *gymnasion* of Ptolemaic garrison of Thera see Delorme (1960: 82-85) and Gauthier (1993: 8). For the second *gymnasion* of Thera see Launey (1987: 847-848), Chankowski (2010: 169-172) and Curty (2015: 73-81).

<sup>82</sup>*IG XII, 3.327, ll. 13-16: τὰ ἀνειλημμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκονόμου εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν χωρία... ἀφ' ὧν τὰς προσόδους ἀπέφαινεν γίνεσθαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Πτολεμαϊκὰς [δραχμὰς] ὅπως ἔχωσιν εἶς τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὸ ἄλειμμα δαπανᾶν.*

<sup>83</sup>Baton was gymnasiarch from 158/7 to 154/3: *IG XII, 3.331, ll. 1-3 ...ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐπειδὴ Βάτων Φίλωνος πρότερον μὲν ἐφ' ἔτη δύο προχειρισθεὶς γυμνασίαρχος προεστάτησε ἐνδόξως; ll. 32-33 ... γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τὸ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον καὶ πέμπτον.*

place for the soldiers (organisation of festivals and banquets). It is important to note that the gift of the king towards this *gymnasion* was disconnected from the promotion of Greek education. However, his actions reveal his intention to acquire loyal soldiers and to support an institution that was important for the maintenance of the Ptolemaic garrison.

### *Cyrene*

We observe a different policy of the Ptolemies in the *gymnasion* of Cyrene where the former military tradition of Cyrenaeans (*SEG* 46. 2198) was probably introduced into the frame of the *gymnasion* by Ptolemy I ('Diagramma of Cyrene': *SEG* 9.1, 322/1-308/7 BC). From the description of the Cyrenaean army (*SEG* 9. 46, 47, 48, 49, 50; *SEG* 46. 2198) we observe that the Cyrenaean military units mainly consisted of mature men and an elite corps of young men.<sup>84</sup> Ptolemy's I *diagramma* for the Constitution of Cyrene determined the teachers that would be responsible for the training of the ephebes (*SEG* 9.1: l. 43-44 the *paidotribes*, the teacher of archery, the teacher of horsemanship and the teacher of weapons).

Apart from the 'Diagramma of Cyrene' that refers only to the training of young men there is no archaeological evidence or other testimonies for the existence of a *gymnasion* in the city for that period (end of the fourth century; Bagnall 1976: 29). We could assume that because the Cyrenaeans were colonists from Thera they probably had at this time a *gymnasion* that was placed in an open space for their training as the first *gymnasion* was. The king respected Cyrenaean military tradition and combined it with a

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<sup>84</sup> According to *SEG* 46.2198 the Cyrenaean army is divided into two major parts, the equestrians and the hoplites. In the first part of the inscription, where the equestrian parts of the Cyrenaean army are referred to, there are also the *triakatiarchai* (commanders of the elite-corps of the 300 ephebes) (Kennell 2000: 104; Chankowski 2009: 106). Cordiano (2001: 267-268) believes that the ephebes could not be part of the light-armed troops or part of the hoplites and that they did not constitute a great part of the Cyrenaean army. They were only part of the equestrian forces (The connection of the ephebes with horsemanship is also attested in a relief that depicted a young man on a four-horse chariot and a dedication to Hermes and Herakles (Luni 1976: 245-246)). Their number '300' may refer to the Spartan '300'; the fact that Sparta was related with Cyrene (the Cyrenaeans were colonists from Thera) makes it quite possible that this name was not reflecting the real number of the ephebes but was intending to underline a connection with the glorious past.

more organized form of training.<sup>85</sup> This action reveals his intention to use the local forces of Cyrene as royal auxiliary forces in case he needed them (e.g. in wars, revolts) (Gordiano 2001: 273-277). Even though this action could not be considered as a benefaction of the king towards the *gymnasion*, it sets the frame of an organized training of young men based on Greek educational tradition (Chankowski 2009: 106-108).

The *gymnasion* of Cyrene was erected in the centre of the city in the middle or the second half of the second century. Its name was *Ptolemaieion* (Gasparini 1971: 20). Based on its name we can assume that either the money for its construction was provided by the king (Launey 1949/50: 844, 847, 856 note 4; Delorme 1960: 254, 257) or there was a small temple for the ruler cult in the area of the *gymnasion* (Launey 1949/50: 853-856, 945-951; Delorme 1960: 340-344). The ruler cult may have been established in gratitude for royal favour. In the second century Cyrene had become an area of conflict between Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and his brother Ptolemy VI Philometor. In 146/5 Euergetes reunited the kingdom of Egypt with Cyrene. It is likely that the king gave money for the erection of the Cyrenaean *gymnasion* and the citizens reciprocated his good will by honouring him. Unfortunately we can only surmise about a potential royal benefaction towards the *gymnasion* of the city.

### C) THE GYMNASIA OF EGYPTIAN TERRITORY

In Egypt the kings supported the private initiatives of eminent persons (e.g. officials, friends of the king) or groups of inhabitants for the establishment and the running of the *gymnasia* in the Egyptian territory. There is no direct attestation of Ptolemaic benefactions towards the *gymnasia* within the Egyptian territory, but only references to people of the royal milieu, of officials or *strategoï* who had an important role in their establishment and running.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Chankowski (2009: 107) mentions that ‘cette réforme aurait consisté à adapter l’ancien système éducatif de type dorien au nouveau modèle éphébique qui se diffusait à cette époque dans le monde grec.’

<sup>86</sup>Samareia: *P. Enteuxeis* no 8 (3rd c., the cleruch and *pentakosiarchos* Apollodoros Nagidos established a *gymnasion* and dedicated it to king Ptolemy; Mouchis: *SB* 18. 13837 (3rd c.) – Peukestes built a *gymnasion* in the village Mouchis; Psenamosis: *SEG* 8.529; *SB* 8.529; *I. Prose* 40 (2nd c., Paris the

One of the most important pieces of evidence that reveals the status of the *gymnasia* in Egypt comes from the papyrus of Magdola (*P. Enteuxeis* 8; Jouguet 1927: 381-390) dated to 3rd century. According to this, there was a *gymnasion* at Samareia (in the Arsinoite Nome), founded by Apollodoros Nagidos, a Kilikian cleruch and *pentakosiarchos*, and it had been dedicated to the king Ptolemy (Ptolemy III Euergetes or Ptolemy IV Philopator) (Zucker 1931: 489; Delorme 1960; Habermann 2004: 338-339). When Apollodoros died, Polykleitos became his heir and the owner of the *gymnasion*. Dallos and his wife did not respect the testament of Apollodoros and used the building of the *gymnasion* for their own purposes (unfortunately the passage is fragmentary and we cannot extract any substantial information about it). Under these circumstances Polykleitos asked the king to mediate with his *strategos* in order for the difference to be resolved. The story of this event is narrated by the Macedonian Aristomachos, cleruch and *ogdoëkontarouros* (former soldier that received an allotment of land of 80 *arourai*) who was appointed by Polykleitos to supervise and take care of his property in Samareia including the *gymnasion* (he did construction works and repairs within the *gymnasion* with the consent of *strategos*) (Habermann 2004: 338-339; Paganini 2011: 39-41).

In this letter we need to note two points: the first is the request to settle a private disagreement between the owner or the superintendent of the *gymnasion* with men that trespassed upon the property and the request to the *strategos* to approve the building restorations in the *gymnasion*. The aforementioned letter reveals the private character of the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* (i.e. the *gymnasion* as private property and subject of inheritance, the owner being responsible for its surveillance) and that this institution

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συγγενής of the king and the association of landowners founded a *gymnasion*); Omboi: *I. Th. Syr.* 189 (2nd c.) – an (unknown name) πρώτος φίλος of the king founded a *gymnasion* in the area; Sebennytos: *SB* 1.1106 a (unknown name) priest of the king was erected a *gymnasion* and is honoured by members of the Herakleion *gymnasion* II.3-4...καὶ ἀρχιβουλευτὴν καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κτίστην τοῦ τόπου (Habermann 2004: 338-339). Thmouis (*SEG* 2. 864, 3rd c., Λεωνίδην Φιλώτου Μακεδόνα τῶν πρώτων φίλων γυμνασιαρχοῦντα; *SEG* 8.504, 3rd c., Φιλόξενον Εὐκλείδου Μακεδόνα, τῶν πρώτων φίλων γυμνασιαρχήσαντα.

was under the control of the central administration (i.e. the *strategos*, who, as representative of the king, gave his consent for every repair or construction at the *gymnasion* and had to be informed about the illegal behaviour of a man towards the *gymnasion*). From these points we can observe that there was a mixture of private and public initiative in the maintenance and the running of the Ptolemaic *gymnasia*. A *gymnasion* could be the subject of inheritance and part of a family fortune, but also it needed the consent and the authority of the central administration for its maintenance (Haberman 2004: 339; Paganini 2011: 39-41).

Despite the fact that we have no evidence for Ptolemaic benefactions towards the *gymnasia* of the Egyptian territory and although their foundation was based mainly on private initiatives, they kept strong links with the Ptolemaic royal house. In Egypt, as in the other places under their direct or indirect control, the Ptolemies received honours through the events that were taking place into the *gymnasia*. Many festivals and athletic competitions (Alexandria: Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* v 201 b-f, 202 f-203 e; Austin 1981: 361-362), sacrifices and banquets (Psenamosis: *SEG* 8.529) were taking place in them as part of celebrations for the kings. Statues, royal cult and small temples related to the kings were integral parts of religious life of the *gymnasia* (Ptolemis: *SEG* 8.641; *SB* 5.8031, 104 BC; Psenamosis: *SEG* 8. 529; *I. Prose* 40; Pharbaithos: *SB* 1. 1164).

#### CONCLUSION TO 3.1.1

The Ptolemaic attitude towards the *gymnasia* in areas under their direct or indirect control shows that the relation between their actions and the honours given by the *poleis* is uneven. The aforementioned evidence reveals that in most cases the cities, the officials or the participants in the *gymnasion* took the initiative to approach kings and to honour them in order to achieve their support and protection.<sup>87</sup> Only a few direct Ptolemaic benefactions are attested towards the Hellenistic *gymnasia* and these are addressed mainly to the cities with long cultural and religious traditions, such as Athens

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<sup>87</sup>*Milet* I 3. 139 C (262/260 BC): ll. 47-51 ὀμνύειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς αἰεὶ γινομένους, ἐπειτὰν ἐπ[ικ]ο[σμ]ηθέντες καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα συντελέσαντες ἀπολύωνται ἐκ τοῦ γυμ[α]σίου ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κυρωθεῖσιν καὶ διατηρήσειν τὴν φιλία[ν] καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόν[ους] [α]ὐτοῦ.

and Delos, and to areas where Ptolemaic garrisons were stationed, such as Thera. The fact that the Ptolemies benefited the *gymnasia* of ‘Old Greece’ probably reveals their intention to legitimize their rule in the eyes of the Greeks, to enhance their reputation and to connect themselves with Greco-Macedonian tradition. Their support for the *gymnasia* of their garrisons reveals their intention to strengthen the loyalty and the morale of their troops and to safeguard their conquered areas.

The absence of direct benefaction by the Ptolemies towards the *gymnasia* of Egyptian territory, their supervisory role and the existence of a Greco-Macedonian wealthy elite that established *gymnasia* constructed a peculiar status of the Egyptian *gymnasia* that blended royal and private initiative.<sup>88</sup> Habermann (2004: 339) argues that in Ptolemaic Egypt the initiative and the reasons for the erection of a *gymnasion* were based on private initiative but the building works and its running were based on royal control. The diffusion of *gymnasia* (especially in the *chôra* of Egypt) that was based mainly on private initiatives (of high officials or people from the royal entourage), combined with the fact that the Ptolemies did not have an organized and well-established program for their diffusion but maintained their supervisory role, reveals a complex picture of the *gymnasia* in Ptolemaic territory.

From the Ptolemies’ attitude towards the *gymnasia*, however, we cannot argue that they were not interested in them; but we could mention that it was not part of their economic agenda to support economically the diffusion of this institution.<sup>89</sup> The Ptolemies allowed the private initiative for the establishment of the *gymnasia* because they wanted

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<sup>88</sup>In regard to the Ptolemaic *gymnasia* that functioned out of the civic frame, we observe that the benefactors who belonged to the royal milieu or were officials of the Ptolemaic army replaced the role of wealthy citizens of the *poleis*’ *gymnasia*. From our evidence it is revealed that the character of the *gymnasia* was blended with the kingdom’s administration as the founder or the officials of the *gymnasia* were persons close to the king, it needed royal approval for any changes in them or for the solving of disagreements (e.g. Samareia in Egypt).

<sup>89</sup>As Bringmann mentions the decline of financial support of the kings towards the *poleis*, from about 150, was connected with Rome’s rise as a political power and the change of priorities of the kings (Bringmann 1993: 11). Although our evidence is limited Legras (1999) and Chankowski (2009) mention that the existence of Alexandrian citizens that had received ephebic training reveals that royal initiative in the formation of the education of young men could exist, especially in Alexandria.

to give to the Greco-Macedonian settlers an environment familiar to them to continue their athletic and educational tradition and an institution through which they could demonstrate their obedience and respect towards the royal house (by the royal cult that was established in them, the celebrations and the competitions in honour of the kings). The fact that the private benefactors were Greco-Macedonians from the royal entourage demonstrates their higher status in the Ptolemaic court,<sup>90</sup> their close connection with the kings' decisions and the way that their actions were determined by royal policy. The celebrations, the athletic competitions, the sanctuaries and the statues of kings in the *gymnasia* prove the close relation between the participants in the *gymnasion* and the royal family (Thebes: *SEG* 20.671, 116-108 BC).

The blend of private and public initiative in the Ptolemaic *gymnasia*, the royal policy towards the *gymnasia* and the cleruch system that existed in the *chôra* of Egypt (co-existence of Greek and non-Greek settlers and soldiers) all facilitated the introduction of non-Greeks in the *gymnasion*. The athletic/military role of the *gymnasion* (Chapter 2), and the participation of its members in the royal cult, religious practices and festivals, strengthened the bonds between the inhabitants of settlements and reinforced the interaction between the Greek and non-Greek elements.

In the garrisons of Thera and Cyprus the participation of soldiers of the Ptolemaic army in the *gymnasia*, in religious life<sup>91</sup> and in the role of benefactors of the *gymnasia* (e.g. supply of oil for anointment) was an indication of their integration into the communities of the islands. As Chaniotis (2002: 110) mentions, in these two islands the 'continual Ptolemaic control for very long periods of time [and] the long-term service... [was established] more permanent relations with the natives... more probable than elsewhere'.

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<sup>90</sup>Paganini (2011: 33) gives a very detailed picture of the Ptolemaic court's ranking.

<sup>91</sup> For the participation of soldiers in religious practices and the role of the association of *basilistai* in the royal cult in Thera and Cyprus (*IG* XII 3443, 300-250 BC; *ABSA* 56 (1961) 39, 105, 105-88 BC) see Chaniotis 2002; Fisher-Bovet 2014.

### 3.1.2. The Seleukids and their *euergesiai* towards the *gymnasia*

As far as the Seleukids are concerned, apart from Seleukos I, Antiochos I and Antiochos III, who were great founders and benefactors of the *poleis*, the other members of the royal family made only limited and sporadic foundations and donations towards the cities (Cohen 1995: 413-419; Cohen 2006: 399-402). The Seleukids, like the Ptolemies, encouraged and supported the presence of Greco-Macedonian settlers in their territories. In contrast to the Ptolemaic kingdom, the western part of the Seleukid kingdom had under its rule a great number of old and newly established Greek type *poleis* and settlements. This allowed the institution of the *gymnasion* to be developed in several forms (e.g. as a civic or as a semi-private institution). The gifts of the Seleukids towards the *gymnasia* focused mainly on those of the Greek *poleis* of Asia Minor and on important cities of their kingdom such as Sardeis, Antioch on the Orontes and Jerusalem.

#### A) THE *GYMNASIA* OF ASIA MINOR

##### *Iasos*

As we already mentioned, at Iasos there were two *gymnasia* called ‘*Antiocheion*’ (*I. Iasos* 93, dated to 2nd/1st c.) and ‘*Ptolemaion*’ (*I. Iasos* 98, dated to 1st c.). We observed that these two educational institutions were dedicated to two kings of different royal houses according with the political history of the city and with the benefactions or the promises that the city had received from the members of royal families (Delorme 1960: 343; Robert 1937: 450-54). According to Robert (1937:452), the ‘*Antiocheion*’ was connected with the training of the elders of the city and named after Antiochos I or III. In 199/8 Antiochos III and his wife Laodike III, after the earthquake that destroyed a great part of southwestern Asia Minor, donated money and grain to the city of Iasos (Reger 2003: 344). After 197 when the city passed under the Seleukid rule, Laodike helped the poor families by giving dowries (*I. Iasos* 4; *SEG* 26. 1226, 195 BC) for their daughters (the sale of the grain that the queen donated to the city would provide the needed sum of money for the dowries for ten years) (Reger 2003: 344; Bringmann 2006: 159). In the epigraphical evidence from Iasos dated from 197-187 (*SEG* 40. 960; *OGIS* 237; *SEG* 33. 865) king Antiochos III and his wife Laodike were considered as saviours and benefactors of the city. The inhabitants reciprocated the benevolence of the kings by establishing ruler cult, sacrifices, processions and sacred enclosures for

them. It is probable that one of these honours was naming the *gymnasion* ‘Antiocheion’.<sup>92</sup> This suggests that displays of gratitude towards the kings (*I. Iasos* 4.85-88) demonstrate unity caused by dependency—i.e. a specious unity. The political situation changed with time: the two royal houses benefited the city (but not directly the institution of the *gymnasion*), and the feelings of the elite or/and of the participants in the *gymnasion* followed the political interest of the city and led them to name their *gymnasia* according to the kings that they depended on.

### *Sardeis*

At the end of third century *Sardeis* was captured by Antiochos III. The city was punished by the king because of its stance in the war against Achaios. Among the fines and the punishment was the commandeering of city’s *gymnasion* for the royal troops (Ma 2000: 62). When king Antiochos III departed from the city, he authorized the governor Zeuxis and the financial official Ktesikles to take care of all the matters that concerned the city (e.g. financial fines, reconstructions). This event is attested in a letter of king Antiochos III to the Sardians (dated to March 213). Among other things we are informed about the restoration (τὸ γυμνάσιον ... ἀποκαταστήσαι ὑμῖν) of the city’s *gymnasion* that was used by the Seleukid troops (πρότερον ἐχρηθῆσαι) (Gauthier 1989: no 1; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995: no 260 I; Ma 2000: 284; Skaltsa 2008: 230; Chankowski 2009: 101). According to a Sardian decree and a letter of Laodike to the council and the people of *Sardeis*, the citizens in order to show their respect and their loyalty towards the king, his wife Laodike and their family voted a series of honours (e.g. a sacred enclosure called *Laodikeion*, altar, celebrations, processions and sacrifices) (Gauthier 1989: no2; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995: no. 260 II; Ma 2000: 285-286). In the same period (summer 213) king Antiochos III further supported the city by providing an annual grant of 200 *metretai* of oil for the anointing of young men of the *gymnasion* (τοῖς γὰρ νέοις ἀποτετάχαμεν εἰς ἐλαιοχρίστιον ἀνθ’ ὧν πρότερον ἐλαμβάνετε κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλαίου μετρητὰς διακοσίους ...) (Gauthier 1989: no. 3; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995: no. 260 III and IV; Ma 2000: 287-288). The

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<sup>92</sup>For the connection of elders or of the members of the elite of the *Antiocheion* with the royal houses as a way to approach and to receive a benefaction from them see the section ‘The Ptolemies and the benefaction towards the *gymnasia* (*Iasos*)’.

phrase ἀνθ' ὧν πρότερον ἐλαμβάνετε ('in place of what you were receiving earlier') probably reveals that the city had received a benefaction (a grant) from the Seleukids in an earlier period, probably in 226 when Sardeis was also under the Seleukid rule (Skaltsa 2008: 230).

From the above evidence we observe two important points: the king provided this financial support for the city's *gymnasion* by using money from the royal budget, and his benevolent action was in accordance with the positive attitude of the city towards him. The fact that this grant existed in an earlier period, stopped for a while and continued after the capture of the city and the change of the city's attitude towards the Seleukids reveals not only that the city depended on the political actions of the kings, but also that its institutions (such as the *gymnasion* and its maintenance) depended on royal benevolence (Chankowski 2009:100). The examples of Sardeis and Iasos demonstrate that royal benevolence and royal policy towards the *gymnasia* changed in accordance with the peculiarities of each city and there is no royal unifying policy of benefaction towards them.

#### *Herakleia by Latmos*

Some years later between 196 and 193 Antiochos III supported the city of Herakleia by Latmos by providing among others oil for the anointing of the young men of the *gymnasion* (εἰς ἐλαιοχρίστιον τοῖς νέοις ἀποτάσσομεν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἄλλους μετρητὰς τριάκοντα) (Wörrle 1988: 421-70; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995: no 296; Ma 2000: 340-345). This event is attested in the letter of Antiochos III to the Herakleians and in the letter of Zeuxis to the Herakleians in which we are informed that citizens-ambassadors went to the king Antiochos' representative, governor Zeuxis, to negotiate the financial status of their city (e.g. exemption from taxes, grants of money and grain, oil supply for the *gymnasion*). Oil for anointing was a civic obligation that was based on the city's revenues from local harbour taxes. When the city passed under Seleukid rule (the city was for a long time under Ptolemaic rule) this income became royal and the city asked the king to continue to support the maintenance of the *gymnasion* by using this revenue (Ma 2003: 182-183; 186).

From the above event we observe that in order to negotiate the political and financial status of their *polis* the citizens approached the king and on their own initiative discussed the conditions of their subjugation and asked for support for their *gymnasion*. This event reveals the relations between royal gifts and civic initiatives as well as the commitment of the kings towards the cities and that of the cities towards the kings. The negotiations between the king and the representatives of the cities demonstrate among other things a balance of powers aiming at the good running of civic institutions such as the *gymnasion*. This example seems to have similarities with the case of Sardeis where the king benefited the institution of *gymnasion* according to the circumstances.

## B) THE *GYMNASIA* OF SYRIA

### *Jerusalem*

A typical example of benefaction is the case of the petition of some members of the elite citizens<sup>93</sup> of Jerusalem to king Antiochos IV (174). The Jewish High Priest Jason asked the permission of king Antiochos IV to let the Jews return to their ancestral Law (I Macc. 1.11), to establish a *gymnasion*<sup>94</sup> and *ephebeion*<sup>95</sup> with Antiochos' authority in Jerusalem and to enrol the men of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch (II Macc. 4.7-9). Josephus' (Jewish War 6.44) mentions that Antiochos IV Epiphanes gave 'equality and rights' to the Antiochene Jews. Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 13.120) mentions that Antiochene Jews had the right to use the same oil as the Greeks for their anointing (Tcherikover 1975: 329). The petition of some members of the Jewish elite towards king Antiochos IV was part of the internal quarrels within the Jewish community between the High Priest Onias III and the overseer of the Temple, Simon (Gruen 2003: 266-67). The king accepted the petition, became the 'divine' guardian of the city and supervised the political and economic life of the city (Ma 2003; Gruen 2003: 266-69). The king agreed to the construction of a *gymnasion*, in which the Jews could participate, but he had no

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<sup>93</sup>The role of the 'Hellenizing party' of Jews and their relation with the Greek education will be discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>94</sup>In *Antiquities* (13.241) Josephus mentions that Menelaos, the son of Tobias asked the permission of king Antiochos to erect a *gymnasion*.

<sup>95</sup> The *ephebeion* was part of the *palaestra*. It was a place for the ephebes (youths who just approached the age of military service). Their activities were largely physical and they were under the supervision of the ephebarch or gymnasiarch.

intention of intervening in the quarrel between the members of the Jewish elite or to finance the maintenance of the *gymnasion*, as his political and financial agenda were focused on his expedition against Ptolemaic Egypt (Gruen 2003: 267-269; Gross-Albenhausen 2004: 317-332).

The king supported the petition of some members of the Jewish elite because he was trying to keep loyal subjects in the area. When the Jewish attitude changed and the king did not acquire the military support that he expected during his expeditions against Egypt (170/69 and 168), he punished the disobedience of the Jews (167) by taking extreme and cruel measures. We could suggest that the *gymnasion* and the promotion of Greek education was not the primary concern of the king, but that this institution was used as a political tool of negotiation of powers in the area.<sup>96</sup>

#### *Antioch on the Orontes*

Now we will proceed to a new city that was founded by the Seleukids and was regarded for a considerable time as the base of a royal residence and as the Seleukid capital (Grainger 1990:122-123; Cohen 2006: 80-93).

In 168 king Antiochos IV was informed about the games that the Roman proconsul Aemilius Paullus held in Macedonia, and wished to organize games at Antioch on the Orontes/Daphne that surpassed in splendour and luxury those of the roman official (Polyb. 30.25). To these games Greeks from everywhere were invited (Athen. 10.53.2-3; Polyb. 30.25). According to the descriptions of Polybios (30.26-27) and Athenaios (10.53; 5.46.25-26), the celebrations were magnificent and very luxurious. The celebrations included gladiatorial shows, hunting and many spectacles. During the first

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<sup>96</sup>This Jewish petition had similarities with that of inhabitants of Tyriaion to king Eumenes II (197-159) some years earlier. The inhabitants of the city asked king Eumenes to grant their city with the status of the polis, to have a constitution and their own laws as well as their own *gymnasion*. The king permitted them to have their own *politeuma* and *gymnasion* (Chanotis 2002: 105; Jonnes and Riel 1997: 11-12). For the operation of the *gymnasion* the king determined that a part of the royal revenues from the taxes on sales (τὰ ἀγοραῖα τέλη) be used for the purchase of oil (Jonnes and Riel 1997: 24). In this case the king agreed with the initiative of the inhabitants of the military settlement to establish a *gymnasion* and moreover he supported the institution financially by his own resources (as Antiochos III did in the cases of Sardeis and Herakleia by Latmos) (Chankowski 2009: 100-101).

five days everybody anointed themselves with perfumed oil with saffron from fifteen gold vases and the same number of vases with oil perfumed with cinnamon and nard. The king distributed perfumed oil for anointing in gold vases in the *gymnasion* (Polyb. 30.26: Ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μονομαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσιῶν..... πέντε μὲν τὰς πρώτας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντες ἐκ χρυσῶν ὀλκείων ἠλείφοντο κροκίνῳ μύρῳ). Extravagant processions, sacrifices and banquets completed these celebrations. After the end of the festival Roman envoys came to the city with Tiberius Gracchus to investigate the area of Syria (Polyb. 30.27) (Mango 2004: 274).

From this event we observe that the reason for the king's benefaction was not the *gymnasion per se*. The organisation of this extravagant festival was a way to demonstrate the wealth of his kingdom, to show to the Romans, his political rivalries, the high status of affairs in Syria and to create for himself an image of superiority that could confront Roman power.

#### CONCLUSION TO 3.1.2

As far as the Seleukids are concerned, apart from Antiochos III (who benefited the *gymnasia* of Sardeis and Herakleia by Latmos) and Antiochos IV (who, during the celebrations at the Antioch of Orontes, donated golden vases full of perfumed oil for the anointing of the participants in the *gymnasion* and gave his consent to the establishment of a *gymnasion* at Jerusalem), there is no other direct evidence for Seleukid benefactions toward this institution. The fact that the Seleukid Empire incorporated many Greek *poleis* which were responsible<sup>97</sup> for their own *gymnasia* probably justifies the absence of direct Seleukid benefactions towards this institution. Moreover, the political and financial developments, the internal and external enemies of the Seleukid kingdom, the rise of Rome, the defeat of Antiochos III, and the peace of Apameia (188) created a peculiar milieu that did not let the king focus on the diffusion or the financial support and maintenance of the *gymnasia* of the cities under their rule.

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<sup>97</sup> The responsibility of the running of a *gymnasion* in a *polis* of Asia Minor depended on the status of each *gymnasion* (e.g. civic, semi-private). The elite of each city played a significant role in the evolution of the *gymnasion*. The social structure and the economic strength of each city gave the opportunity to the *gymnasion* to acquire various forms and to be benefited in many ways.

### 3.1.3. The benefactions of the Attalids towards the *gymnasia*—a brief account

In order to illustrate further the sporadic and the inconsistent nature of the benevolence of the Hellenistic kings towards the *gymnasia*, I will refer briefly to the third major Hellenistic kingdom of the eastern part of the Hellenistic world, that of the Attalids. The Attalids' benevolence towards the *gymnasia* materialized mainly between 197 and 146 under the rule of Eumenes II and Attalos II. Apart from the donation of money for the provision of oil for the anointing and for banquets for young men towards the *gymnasion* of Kyzikos by Philetairos (*OGIS* 748, 278/7 BC) and the funding for the heating of the *gymnasion* of Chios by Attalos I (*BCH* 1913: 211-212, dated 201), the great bulk of benefactions of the Attalids took place after 197.

In 197 Attalos I benefited the *gymnasion* of Kos (Schmitt-Dounas 2000: 253) and between 197 and 159 Eumenes II benefited the *gymnasia* of Ephesos (*I. Ephesos* 1101), provided financial support and oil to the young men of the *gymnasion* of Apollonia of Rhyndakos (*SEG* 2.663, dated 186), provided oil to the city of Tyriaion (Jonnes and Riel 1997: 24, 197-159 BC) and promised (ἐπαγγέλλομαι) to provide support for the salaries of the Rhodian teachers (Polyb. 31.31.1, dated 161/0) and financial support for the building of a *gymnasion* in Miletos (*SEG* 36.1046). Attalos II Philadelphos (in 160/159 BC) donated money for the salaries of Delphian teachers of children (Pouilloux, *Choix* no. 13), Attalos II or Eumenes II benefited the *gymnasion* of Andros (Schmitt-Dounas 2000: 254-5; *IG* XII suppl. 250, mid-2nd c.) and Attalos II benefited the *gymnasion* of Kos (159-146 BC). There is evidence from Kolophon and from Aigai in Mysia that refers to benefactions of the Attalids towards the *gymnasia* of their cities, but unfortunately we do not know the name of the kings (Schmitt-Dounas 2000: no. 262a and 357; Ameling 2004: 132-133).

#### CONCLUSION TO 3.1.3

From the evidence for the benevolent actions of the Ptolemies, the Seleukids and the Attalids towards the *gymnasia*, we could easily claim that in comparison with the Seleukids and the Ptolemies the Attalids carried out more benefactions towards the

*gymnasia* (see **Figs. 4, 5**).<sup>98</sup> In general, the Attalids are considered as ‘consummate benefactors who catered to the need of the common man’ (Kosmetatou 2003: 169). During the reigns of Eumenes II and Attalos II and in particular between 197 and 146 we observe a great rise in benevolent actions towards the *gymnasia*. After the battle of Magnesia, the defeat of Antiochos III (190) and the peace of Apamea (188) the Attalids as allies of the Romans received new areas under their rule. In order to establish their power, to secure their position in the area and to increase their influence, they benefited the *gymnasia* of important cities of ‘Old Greece’ (e.g. Athens, Delphi, Kos and Rhodes) and those of Asia Minor (e.g. Ephesos, Miletos).

We could suggest that their benefactions towards the cities and the religious, cultural and financial centres of Greece were connected with their aim of presenting themselves as a legitimate dynasty directly connected with the Argead dynasty of Macedonia (Kosmetatou 2003: 167). The behaviour of the Attalids towards the *gymnasia* is quite different from that of the other dynasties. They actively supported the institution of the Greek *gymnasion* and Greek culture. In a period when the Romans, as allies of the Attalids, intervened in the affairs of the East, the benefactions of the Attalids towards Greek cultural and educational institutions increased. This demonstrates their aim of being considered benefactors and protectors of Greek tradition and culture in order to acquire supporters and allies.

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<sup>98</sup> Out of nineteen known and dated direct benefactions towards Greek *gymnasia* (not counting the reciprocal actions of the cities towards the benevolence of the king nor the consent of the king to civic actions towards the *gymnasia*) the Ptolemies and Seleukids carried out seven benefactions and the Attalids twelve benefactions dated mainly from 197 to 146.

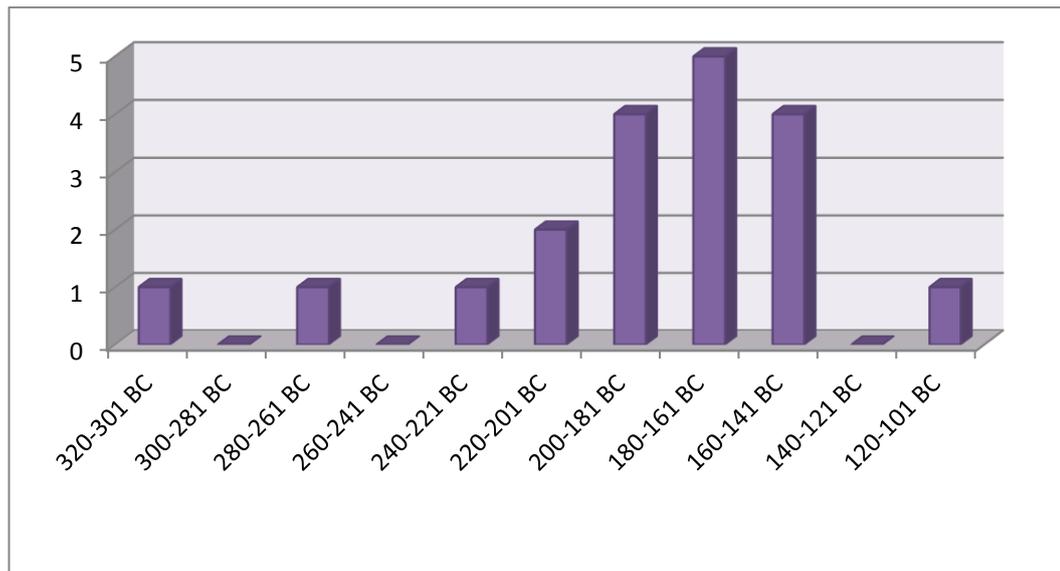


Fig. 4. Chronological distribution of royal benefactions towards *gymnasia* during the Hellenistic period.

### 3.1.4. Concluding thoughts about the royal benefactions towards the *gymnasia*

The Hellenistic *polis*, as already mentioned, had a peculiar status of autonomy. It had to respect the orders and the rules of the central government of the kingdom to which it belonged<sup>99</sup> and at the same time to shape its policies according to internal conditions (e.g. social, economic) as well as to external factors (e.g. relations with other cities, synoecisms, federations, relations with local dynasts).

In this frame of political interactions and negotiations the kings benefited the *poleis*. The relation between kings and benefactions was noticed by Aristotle (*Politics* 1286b) earlier, during Alexander's reign, as an indispensable part of monarchic rule (Lord 2013: 91).<sup>100</sup> Paschidis (2008: 501-502) rightly points out that the Hellenistic *poleis* '... missed no opportunity to stress the obligations of the king, as those stemmed from his role as the benefactors of the city *par excellence*, as the saviour of the city, the champion of the freedom of the cities and of Greek institutions in general'. On the other

<sup>99</sup>According to Ma (2003: 186), state/kingdom identity was created from the administrative actions of the center of the kingdom and represented its ideology. The newly conquered territories became for the Hellenistic kings areas for exploitation and expanding of royal power, sources for recruitment of future soldiers for the royal army and a frame within which they expressed their policies and ideology.

<sup>100</sup> For further discussion about the royal benefactions see Préaux (1978); Gauthier (1985); Ma (2003).

hand the kings wanted to fulfil their duties as benefactors (εὐεργέται) of Greek *poleis*<sup>101</sup> and expressed their generosity either through direct benefactions (e.g. money, grain, privileges) or commitments towards the citizens (e.g. a promise to finance public buildings as in the case of Priene, *I. Priene* 108).<sup>102</sup> Whatever the starting point (king or citizens) of a benefaction, the fact is that this procedure often became a field of negotiation that determined the relations between the kings, the *poleis* and the communities.<sup>103</sup>

The evidence shows that the Ptolemies and the Seleukids carried out at least seven known direct benefactions towards the *gymnasia*. We have seen that the Ptolemies benefited some *gymnasia* of mainland and insular Greece (e.g. Athens, Kos, Delos, and Thera) that were located either in eminent cultural/economic and religious centres or places with Ptolemaic garrisons. On the other hand, the Seleukids performed fewer known benefactions towards *gymnasia* and focused on specific cities (e.g. Sardeis, Herakleia by Latmos, Antioch on the Orontes, Jerusalem). We noticed that in the benevolent attitudes of the kings towards the *gymnasia* we can discern their interest in establishing their influence and securing their supremacy in certain conquered areas. Thus their attitude fluctuated in accordance with the conditions and the location of each *gymnasion* without a systematic and organized policy of promoting this Greek institution.

We have established that the personal motives of the kings and their ambitions and aims influenced their policies towards the cities and their institutions. The relation between the city and the central administration was a negotiable point in the field of politics

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<sup>101</sup> In several honorific decrees of the *boule* and *demos* of Greek cities for the Hellenistic kings there are references to the kings as benefactors (e.g. εὐεργέτης; *I. Iasos* 6, 182 BC, for king Eumenes II); *I. Erythrai* 30, 270/260 BC (king Antiochos I or II); *Milet I* 9.307, 170/69 BC (king Eumenes II); *Anadolu* 9 (1965) 34, 204/203 BC (king Antiochos III and queen Laodike); Gauthier (1985): 49-53.

<sup>102</sup> It is important to note that the first and the second generation of the Diadochoi, trying to establish their power and influence in the conquered territories, benefited or promised benefactions to the cities. This benevolence started to fade in the 2nd and 1st centuries for financial and political reasons. Benefactions by rich citizens replaced those by kings (Gauthier 1985: 55-56).

<sup>103</sup> For further discussion about the 'image' of the Hellenistic kings see Ma 2003: 188-189.

within the kingdom (Ma 2003: 182). The fact that sometimes royal gratitude and benevolence surpassed the borders of their kingdoms and were addressed to *poleis* away from them (e.g. Ptolemy I, Attalos I and Lysimachos benefited Athens and Rhodes) demonstrates a different kind of commitment that the kings would like to foster, a commitment that was connected with the external policy of the kingdoms (political, economic, cultural reasons). As Gauthier (1985: 40-41) points out, many times royal benefactions were not restricted to the subject population (οἱ ὑποτεταγμένοι) but were addressed to the whole population of the cities. He continues by saying that the ideal was the recognition of a king as κοινὸς εὐεργέτης τῶν Ἑλλήνων (common benefactor of all Greeks)<sup>104</sup> (Teos: *Anadolu* 9 (1965), 34, 204/3 BC). As we have pointed out, the royal benefactions towards the *gymnasia* of important Greek religious centres (e.g. Delos) probably demonstrate the personal ambition of the kings to be recognized as powerful and influential in their kingdoms and in the Greek world (Bringmann 1993: 11-16).

According to Billows (2003: 211), the royal benefactions strengthened the Hellenic element and supported the Greek institutions and the Greek way of life. This attitude reinforced the loyalty of the inhabitants of the kingdoms and their ties with the royal houses. But as regards the royal gifts towards the *gymnasia* we cannot argue this because of the limited scale of royal actions towards this institution. On the other hand, we may notice the attitude of citizens, officials and participants in the *gymnasia* who often connected this institution with the kings and honoured them within the frame of the activities of the *gymnasion* (e.g. decreed sacrifices, festivals, athletic competitions, processions in the name of the kings).

Apart from the benefactions towards the *gymnasia*, the citizens benefited from the kings in several other ways (e.g. donations of money or grain, tax exemptions, privileges, autonomy). For this reason the number of honours in response to royal benevolence was significantly larger than that of royal benefactions towards a particular institution such as the *gymnasion* (Appendix, Table 1). We could argue that an attitude like this reveals

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<sup>104</sup> On the consideration of Hellenistic king as κοινὸς εὐεργέτης τῶν Ἑλλήνων see Erskine (1994): 72-76.

that the policy of the cities was to approach the kings in order to secure their city's political and financial existence in a turbulent period and to acquire privileges and alliances. The members of the civic elite had an important role in this procedure. They wanted to support the existence and continuity of civic institutions and to acquire a substantial role in society. They displayed their loyalty to the kings and at the same time supported their city financially. The multiple honours towards the kings strengthened the ties between the cities and their inhabitants with the royal houses and demonstrated their need for support.

Having in mind the political and economic circumstances after 200 and the interference of Rome in the East, it will be wrong to depreciate the kings' role as benefactors. The priorities of the kings and the nature of their benevolence (political, economic, and cultural) adjusted to the new circumstances. For this reason we observed earlier that the Attalids supported the Greek *gymnasion* and culture/education more actively than the other Hellenistic kings. The same could be argued for the cities. The cities in need approached the kings on their own initiative and negotiated their political and financial status (e.g. Herakleia by Latmos). On the other hand, we observe cities such as Miletos which during the Hellenistic period became a field of competition between the Seleukids and Attalids (both royal houses financed the erection of many public buildings in the city e.g. the *gymnasion*, the market hall). Miletos (*I. Didyma* 488, 159/8 BC) received a great amount of grain (worth 160 to 270 talents) from Eumenes II for the building of the *gymnasion*. Since for the construction of the building not all of the money from the sale of the grain was needed, they declined to spend it at once and invested part of it in other domains of the city's life for the benefit of the city (Bringmann 1993: 13-14; 2000:159). An approach like this could reveal that in some cases the cities might consider royal benefactions mostly as actions of political or economic negotiation and support within the frame of civic life, rather than as an action targeted only at the *gymnasion*.<sup>105</sup>

To sum up, according to our evidence, the Seleukids and the Ptolemies did not pursue a strict policy about the diffusion and the function of the *gymnasia* in the East. The royal

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<sup>105</sup> For further discussion about the initiatives of the cities for the use of royal financial or material support see Bringmann 1993; 2000.

policies towards the *gymnasion*, and their tolerant attitude towards the non-Greeks and the participation of non-Greek soldiers in the royal army, created favourable circumstances for the interaction of the Greek and the non-Greek element in the East. Royal attitudes in each case were in accordance with their current policies, with the peculiarities of each region and with the social and political milieu. The participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasia* is mainly attested for the non-*polis* settlements and garrisons of the Hellenistic world and in particular those of the Ptolemies (e.g. Thera and Cyprus). In the next section we will present how the absence of a strict royal policy towards the *gymnasia* favoured private initiatives (in *poleis* and settlements) and to what extent it contributed to the opening of the *gymnasion* to non-Greeks.

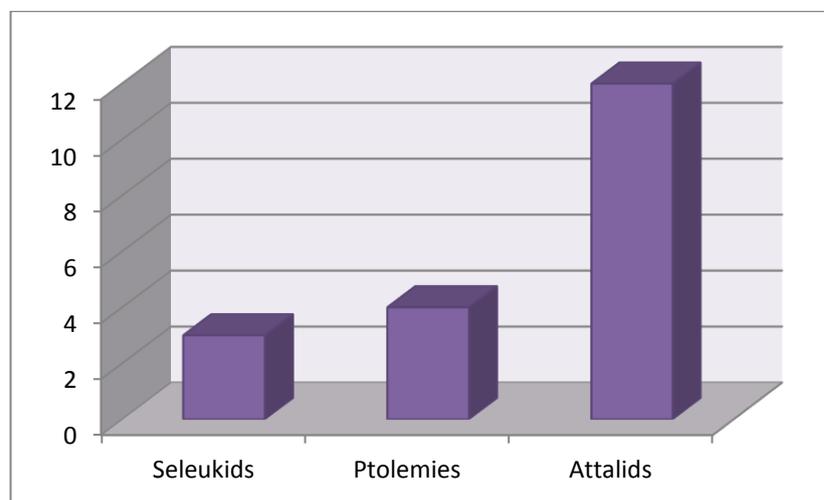


Fig. 5. The allocation of royal benefactions towards the *gymnasia*.

### 3.2. Internal dynamics of the *gymnasia*

As royal benevolence towards the *gymnasia* gradually diminished during the second century, the cities were forced to turn to other financial resources for the funding of their institutions (Gauthier 1985:55).<sup>106</sup> In such economic conditions wealthy and powerful citizens and officials willingly donated great sums of money and benefited their cities (Ameling 2004). In order to study the condition of the Hellenistic *gymnasia* of the East and how they managed to overcome the shortage of royal benefactions

<sup>106</sup>Gauthier (1985:55) mentions that ‘l’eurgésia des rois déclinant peu à peu au II<sup>e</sup> siècle, jusqu’à n’être plus qu’un souvenir, les cites ne peuvent plus guère compter que sur le dévouement des plus riches citoyens’.

towards the *gymnasia* we will focus on the honorific decrees for gymnasiarchs. This source of information is very important about the social dynamics and the networks of contacts that arose in the community of the *gymnasion* (between the officials, the citizens, the age-groups, the foreigners) and provides us with significant evidence about the financial and social conditions of the *gymnasia*.

This section will reveal the attitudes and the motives of the gymnasiarchs, superintendents of the *gymnasia*, and to what extent their attitudes influenced the opening up of the *gymnasia* (in *poleis* or other settlements in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms) to non-Greeks.

### **3.2.1. Gymnasiarchs as benefactors of the *gymnasia***

It was already mentioned in the previous section that the Hellenistic world was characterized by variation in many domains. The same applies to the institution of *gymnasiarchia*, which began as a financial obligation (*leitourgia*) for wealthy men (Xenophon, *Oikonomikos* 2.6), was gradually transformed into a civic office in several Hellenistic cities (Shipley 2000: 98) and continued its existence as a political tool (through benefactions) of some wealthy and eminent citizens (van der Vliet 2011; Ma 2003). In many parts of the East the *gymnasiarchia* surpassed the frame of the city and continued its existence independently in the *gymnasia* of military settlements or in some cities of Egypt. The way in which gymnasiarchs benefited the institution depended on several parameters (the time and duration of the benefaction, the social and economic status of the gymnasiarch, the recipients of the benefaction, the needs of the society or community to which he belonged, and his personal motives). The *gymnasiarchia* was adapted to the various circumstances that arose and reflected the ideology of each city or community in which it existed.

In order to study the interactions that occurred in the *gymnasia* of the East this section is divided into three sub-sections. Firstly we observe the function of the *gymnasion* within the frame of the city, and the relation of officials of the *gymnasion* with their fellow citizens and the foreigners that lived in the city. In this sub-section we refer to the *gymnasia* of the *poleis* of Asia Minor. In the second sub-section we will show the relations that emerged in the *gymnasia* in Egyptian territory. In the third sub-section we

will move a step further and study the *gymnasia* in the Ptolemaic possessions and garrisons outside Egyptian territory. We will also observe the relation between the participants (Greeks and non-Greeks) in the *gymnasia* and their role in the maintenance of the *gymnasion* in the East.

### 3.2.2. Gymnasiarchs in the cities of Asia Minor

In the classical period the *gymnasiarchia* was connected with the financial obligations of some wealthy citizens. Xenophon (*Oikonomikos* 2.5-6) has Sokrates warn the wealthy Kritoboulos that wealthy citizens have duty to benefit many domains of civic life by making sizeable financial contributions for the benefit of their fellow citizens (e.g. sacrifices, dinners, paying for horses, choruses, and gymnastic competitions; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 649, 3rd c.). The benefactor had to perform these actions because he would be blessed by the gods, would safeguard his friends/supporters and would be punished by the city if he did not manage to accomplish them (Xen. *Oikonomikos* 2.6: ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐνδεῶς δόξης τι τούτων ποιεῖν οἶδ' ὅτι σε τιμωρήσονται). The citizens expected their wealthy fellow citizens to support their city financially and to contribute to its prosperity.

In the course of the second century the *gymnasiarchia* (γυμνασιαρχία) gradually became a civic office in many cities of the Hellenistic world. The gymnasiarch was responsible either for the wise use of existing revenues (of citizens or of some age-groups) for the benefit of the *gymnasia* or for using his own money to perform exceptional benefactions (Gauthier 1995: 7-8; Schuler 2004: 172-8; Curty 2015: 9-12) (see **Figs. 1, 6**).

An example that does not come from Asia Minor but presents the frame of actions of a gymnasiarch during the Hellenistic period is that of the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia (*Meletemata* 16 (1993), first third of second c.). According to the law, the gymnasiarch was responsible for expenditure from the funds available to the *neoi* (young men) (1.88: τῶν προσόδων τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀναλίσκῃτω) and would spend from that money for the good running of the *gymnasion*. But when he left office

he was obliged to give a detailed account (ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς λόγους)<sup>107</sup> for his management to the inspectors (ἐξετασταί) (ll. 87-97); if he failed to accomplish his duties with diligence, he should be fined. The gymnasiarch was obliged to exercise a wise economic management of the existing revenues of the *neoi* in order to earn gratitude and be honoured by his fellow citizens (Gauthier 1993: 124-28).

We observe a similar example in the honorific decree for Athenaios son of Sosandros from Pergamon (*AM* 33 (1908), 375 no. 123, 138-133 BC). The benefactor had to handle a sum of money from individual contributions (χορηγία τῶν πλείστων) for the repairs of the buildings of the *gymnasion*, along with his own financial support for the *gymnasion*. Kritios son of Hermophantos from Iasos (*I.Iasos* 93, ll. 6-7, 2nd/1st c.) was honoured by the elders because he handled their revenues in the right way (δικαίως). On the other hand, there is an example of a gymnasiarch from Mylasa who refused to use civic revenues (διάφορον) and covered the expense of the oil provision with his own money (*I. Mylasa*, Appendix, p. 269-270, no. 1). This gymnasiarch provided abundant oil to his fellow citizens in order to acquire a good reputation (εὐφημία) among them (Fröhlich 2009: 64; Skaltsa 2008: 217).

According to the honorific decrees from the cities of Asia Minor, a considerable number of gymnasiarchs contributed from their own fortunes to the good functioning of the *gymnasion* (Ameling 2004: 147-161). The provision of oil (e.g. ἔλαιον, ἄλειμμα) for the anointing of the participants in the *gymnasion* is the most often attested benefaction of the gymnasiarchs of Asia Minor. The gymnasiarchs Apollonios and Tryphon from Apollonia (*TAM* 5.2.1204-1205, late Hellenistic?), Diodoros from Ephesos (*I. Ephesos* 6, mid-2nd c.), Alexandros from Iasos (*I. Iasos* 84, 1st c.), Iason from Mallos (*SEG* 37.1312, 2nd c.), Leontiades from Mylasa (*SEG* 54.1101, 2nd/1st c.), Kausilos, Diodoros, Athenaios son of Menodotos and Athenaios son of Sosandros from Pergamon (*AM* 35 (1910), 468 no. 52; *I. Pergamon* II 256; *AM* 35 (1910), 401-407, no.

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<sup>107</sup>The detailed account about the management of the gymnasiarch started to diminish and stopped during the late Hellenistic period. This change coincided with the evolution of the office as *leitourgia* of wealthy and eminent citizens.

1; *AM* 33 (1908), 375, no. 123, all the inscriptions dated to the late Hellenistic period), Zosimos from Priene (*I. Priene* 112, 1st c.) and Chares from Themisonion (Michel, *Recueil* 544, 2nd/1st c.) either contributed financially to the provision of oil (εἰσήνεγκαν ... τὸ ἔλαιον; provided the oil) or distributed wisely the already existing quantity of oil to the participants in the *gymnasion* (ἐλαίου θέσεως ἐπιμέλεια). According to our evidence, there were gymnasiarchs who provided oil for one year or more (e.g. Apollonia, Mylasa), others who distributed oil in more than one *gymnasia* (e.g. Apollonia), others who furnished oil in larger quantities (ἄφθονον ἔλαιον) than usual (e.g. Mylasa, Pergamon), others who provided an exceptional quality of oil (λευκὸν ἔλαιον, ἠρωματισμένον ἔλαιον) the *gymnasia* (e.g. Pergamon) and others who provided oil to people excluded from the *gymnasion* (e.g. Mylasa, Priene, Themisonion, Sestos) (Fröhlich 2009: 63-70).<sup>108</sup>

Apart from the provision of oil, another demanding expense was the construction of the *gymnasion*, the reparation of parts of it or its embellishment. Lyson son of Demosthenes from Letoön (*SEG* 46.1721, 2nd c.: τὸ γυμνάσιον... κατασκευῆς προέστη ...καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων εἰσανηλώσας ἐκόσμησεν, financial contribution for the building and for the embellishment of the *gymnasion*), Chares from Themisonion (Michel, *Recueil* 544, 2nd/1st c.: κατασκευάσαι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐξέδραν, financial contribution for the building of a stand), Moschion from Priene (*I. Priene* 108, 1st c.: ...κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον κατασκευῆς), Amyntas from Mylasa (*I. Mylasa* 105, 2nd c.: κοσμήσας τὴν παλαίστραν

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<sup>108</sup>Dmitriev (2005: 43) mentions that the civic character of the office allowed capable citizens to hold the office of gymnasiarch. Their responsibility was to ensure the good behaviour of the ephebes and *neoi* and the right handling of public money. In that period (Hellenistic) some wealthy gymnasiarchs had the opportunity to add more *euergetiai* (apart from the provision of oil) for the benefit of the *gymnasion* (e.g. the construction, reconstruction or embellishment of the *gymnasion*, the payment of the expenses of games, sacrifices and festivals and the payment of instructors). In the late Hellenistic period we observe in the honorific decrees a tendency of some benefactors to make extraordinary *euergetiai* (e.g. special quality of oil, provision for a longer time to all citizens or to non-citizens). This evolution reveals that in some cities the office became approachable only to the elite of the community as a field of competition among eminent citizens (van der Vliet 2011).

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων, embellishment of the *palaistra* from his own money), Menas from Sestos (*I. Sestos* 1, 133 BC: κατασκεύασεν δὲ τὸν τε λουτρῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐφεξῆς οἶκον, he financed the construction of a cold/warm washing-room and a temple), Athenaios son of Menodotos from Pergamon (*AM* 35 (1910), 401-407 no. 1, 150-100 BC: πολλὰ τῶν ἐνλειπόντων ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπισκευάσας, he financed the building works that were needed in the *gymnasion*) and Athenaios son of Sosandros from Pergamon (*AM* 33 (1908), 375 no. 1, 138-133 BC: τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον, he financed the repair works) were gymnasiarchs who supported the building works within the area of the *gymnasion*.

The material support of the *gymnasion* was not restricted to the provision of oil or to the construction works but also to the provision of strigils (ξύστραι) (*I. Sestos* 1), of sponges (σπόγγων δαπάνη) (*AM* (A) 32, 1907, 274, no. 10) and of weapons and prizes for the athletic competitions (*I. Sestos* 1; *AM* 35, 1910, 401ff, no.1; *AM* 33, 1908, 375ff, no.1; *I. Mylasa* 105). The gymnasiarch was responsible for the ‘royal meals’ of young men and elders (Kolophon: *SEG* 39.1244, 120/119 BC: τὰ βασιλικά δειπνα τοῖς νέοις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις συντελεῖσθαι) and the literary and physical education of young men; for this reason they helped the diffusion of Greek education and culture, for example by supporting libraries (e.g. *AM* 33 (1908) 409 no. 4: προστάντα τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν). The gymnasiarchs hired specialists in weaponry, philologists, philosophers and various other teachers to educate the young men (*I. Priene* 112; 113; *AM* 33, 1908, 375ff, no.1; Kolophon: *SEG* 39.1243). The education in many subjects (πολυμαθία) of the young men (*I. Erythrai* 81) was always a prerequisite for the citizens of a *polis* (Ameling 2004: 141-161).

From this variety of benefactions, their cost and the obligations that derived from the office, we can assume that *gymnasiarchia* was demanding for its holder. This is revealed by the verb ὑπομένω (endure) that occurs in some inscriptions: ὑπέμεινεν γυμνασίαρχος (*I. Mylasa* 105; 416) and γυμνασιαρχῆσαι ὑπέμεινε (*I. Sestos* 1). This

suggests that the fact that the citizens counted on the financial support of the gymnasiarchs in order to overcome the financial difficulties of the city and often begged them to hold their office for more than one year (e.g. Sestos, Letoön, Mylasa, Teos) created an extra financial burden for the holder of the office. This situation explains the verb ὑπομένω (endure) as a descriptive word for the office of gymnasiarch. The personal commitment of the wealthy citizens towards their *poleis* and the great expectations of the citizens from them created a peculiar status for the institution of *gymnasiarchia* during the Hellenistic period. Quass (1993) on the basis of the honorific decrees of the Greek East distinguishes the *gymnasiarchia* as office and as *leitourgia*, but concludes that as time passed the *gymnasiarchia* had more characteristics of a *leitourgia* rather than a civic office because of the private financing of the operation of the *gymnasion*.

An example that reflects this tendency comes from Kyme (Aiolis) where a gymnasiarch was not only gymnasiarch for several years, but also promised to hold the office for life (*I. Kyme* 102: ὑπεσχήμενον διὰ βίω γυμνασιάρχην); for this reason he gave part of his landed property to the city in order to cover the expenses of the office and support his fellow citizens. This action gave him a prestigious place among his fellow citizens.

In the aforementioned epigraphic evidence we observe that some gymnasiarchs made exceptional benefactions towards the *gymnasia*. From the content and the language of the honorific decrees it is revealed that these benevolent actions towards the educational infrastructures of the cities satisfied the needs of the citizen, contributed to the continuity of the institution and were believed to reinforce social cohesion by strengthening civic unity and by creating a sense of belonging in a well-organised community (Billows 2003: 212; Dmitriev 2005:43; van Nijf 2011: 7; van der Vliet 2011: 160).

#### GYMNASIARCHS OF FESTIVALS

Apart from the gymnasiarchs that were appointed by their fellow citizens to supervise and support the *gymnasia* of their *poleis*, there were also gymnasiarchs that were appointed by their own *poleis* and were sent as their representatives to the festivals of

federations (*koina*). From two honorific inscriptions (*I. Ilion 2*; *SEG 53.1373*), dated to the end of the third century and the first half of the second century respectively, we gather information on how the *gymnasiarchia* functioned outside the strict frame of the *polis*. Two gymnasiarchs, Kydimos from Abydos (*I. Ilion 2*) and Antikles from Lampsakos (*SEG 53.1373*), were appointed and were sent by their *poleis* as gymnasiarchs (*I. Ilion 2*: ἀποσταλείς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν γεγυμνασιάρχηκεν τὰ τε μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα Παναθήναια) to the Panathenaia festival of the *koinon* of Athena Ilias which was held at its sanctuary at Ilion (Fröhlich 2009: 59-60; Aslan 2013: 18; Curty 2015: 177-184).

From these two decrees we observe that the two gymnasiarchs held this office for a limited period (only during the festival), benefited the participants in the festivals (the *neoi*, the athletes and the participants in the celebrations), demonstrated great zeal and thoroughness for their duty and were honoured for their deeds (e.g. by proclamation of honours at the contest, inscription on the base of a statue).

This evidence seems to make it clear that Kydimos displayed greater commitment<sup>109</sup> to this office than Antikles and surpassed the ordinary actions<sup>110</sup> of the gymnasiarch of a *panegyris* (Fröhlich 2009: 60). Kydimos acted with diligence and not only fulfilled his own duties (sacrifices, contests, festival) with great consistency, but also contributed financially to the expenses that were incurred during the *panegyris* (Il. 13-14: χορηγίαν καὶ δαπάνην οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὑπομείνας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων). His benevolence reflected his

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<sup>109</sup>According to the inscription, Kydimos not only held his office with diligence but also paid from his own money every expense that occurred. On the other hand, Antikles held his office with prudence without excessive benefactions. The difference between the holding of the office of the two gymnasiarchs is probably reflected by the fact that the origin of the praise and the honours for Kydimos was the confederacy (Ilians and the other *poleis*) whereas the praise and honours of Antikles came from *neoi* and athletes who presented themselves to the members of the confederacy and asked for the honours to be awarded to Antikles (Curty 2015: 183).

<sup>110</sup>The ordinary action of a gymnasiarch had to do with the provision and the distribution of oil. Fröhlich (2009: 60) believes that the absence of mention of the provision or the distribution of oil in the inscriptions from Ilion and the fact that these gymnasiarchs acted outside the frame of the city force us to believe that their obligations were probably different than those of the cities.

good will and was also worthy of his *polis* and of the *koinon* (ll. 8-9: ἀξίως τῆς τε πατρίδος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν κοινωνουσῶν). His benevolence earned him great honours from the *koinon* of the *panegyris*, the *neoi* and the athletes who participated in the festival. It is important that the participants in the *panegyris* praised both the *gymnasiarch* and the *demos* because they sent such a capable and generous citizen (ll. 27-29: ἐπαινέσαιμὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὅτι προεχειρίσατο γυμνασίαρχον ἄξιον τῆς πανηγύρεως). The successful office-holding of a citizen that was honoured by other cities was thought to strengthen the civic spirit of the city. Kydimos and his *euergesiai* were also recognised by his fellow citizens and it was a way to reinforce his place among the members of the elite of his city.

In the case of the other *gymnasiarch*, Antikles, we observe that the *neoi* and the athletes asked the permission of the members of the confederacy to honour the *gymnasiarch* (with a gold crown and a bronze statue with an honorific decree). The diligence and good behaviour of Antikles were honoured by the city (strengthening of the civic spirit) that sent him and by the cities that participated in the confederacy (ll. 19-20: ἀξίως τῆς τε [π]ατρί[δ]ος τῆς ἐ[ξ]αποστει[λά]σης [κ]α[ι] τῶν συ[ν]αγουσῶν τὴν πανή[γυ]ριν).

The mention of the confederacy of some Greek *poleis* that participated in this festival demonstrates the existence of a group of *poleis* that had similar structures and cultural features which created a network of interactions among them (Ma 2003:13). The honours for an eminent citizen of the *polis* who held an office successfully for the benefit of the confederacy reflected back upon his own *polis*. Ma (2003: 32) describes this procedure and points out that ‘this interaction ... ensured that local elites would remain embedded in their cities, by universalizing the assumption that the main site for individual honour was the community’. Although the local elites gradually acquired greater influence and power within the cities, they did not disconnect themselves from the civic spirit. These inscriptions reveal the existence of members of the local elite

with the ability and the economic strength to carry out the office with conspicuous generosity and of citizens who would hold this office modestly.<sup>111</sup>

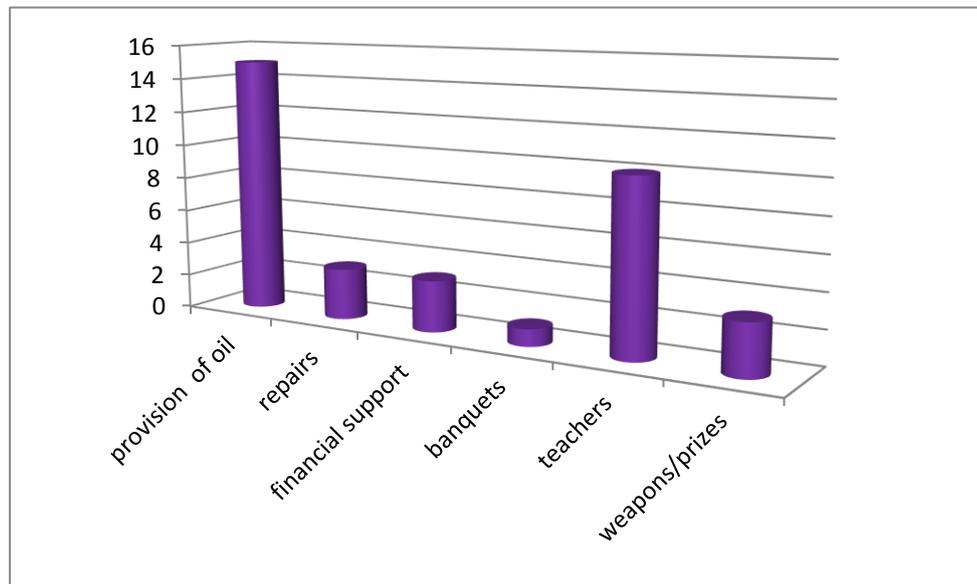


Fig. 6. Domains of gymnasiarchs' benefactions towards *gymnasia*.

#### HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS AND DEMOS

In the honorific inscriptions, apart from the presentation of benefactions by some wealthy gymnasiarchs, we can observe also the relations that were constructed between the official-benefactor and their *demos*. As we examine the ways in which the gymnasiarchs benefited the Hellenistic *gymnasia* of Asia Minor, we will proceed to the recipients of these benefactions or to the group of people that they were responsible for. Virtue (ἀρετή and καλοκάγαθία), justice (δικαιοσύνη), good will (εὐνοία) and care and zeal (φιλοτιμία) towards the *demos* and the citizens were only some of the values of a good citizen that were mentioned in the honorific inscriptions of the gymnasiarchs and reflected their relations with their fellow citizens (van der Vliet 2011: 163).

<sup>111</sup>Dmitriev (2005: 44) mentions that '...the way in which city office was held in Asia depended not on the character of an office as such but on the personal initiative of its holder'. One might argue that although each benefactor lived in a well-organized community, that of the *polis*, they have distinct personalities and hold this office according to their personal aims and ambitions, while at the same time respecting the values and the tradition of their social class and those of his *polis*. For the competitive attitude of the members of the civic elite see van der Vliet 2011.

From the honorific inscriptions we observe that, mainly during the mid-second and first centuries, the *gymnasia* of the *poleis* of Asia Minor depended on benefactions by the elite of their societies (Gauthier 1985; Fröhlich 2005; Curty 2015). The citizens reciprocated the benevolence of their *euergetai* (benefactors) and expressed their gratitude in several ways. They praised them in honorific decrees; they honoured them with gold wreaths and public proclamation of honours in the games, the erection of statues in public areas in their honour (sometimes near the altars of the Gods or in the *gymnasion*), a front seat at the games and free dining at the *prytaneion*. Sometimes the benefactors received cultic honours (e.g. altars) as at Kyanai, Letoön and Pergamon (DAW 1897, I, 28-29 no. 28, 2nd c.; REG 1996: 1-27, 196 BC; IGR 4.293, 1st c.). From the language of the decrees it is revealed that the benefaction-reciprocation combination created a balance of powers within the society of the Hellenistic *poleis* (Gauthier 1985: 60-61; 66-68).

According to the honorific decrees, a *polis* connected its past benefactions with present and future ones in order to secure its existence and to demonstrate the continuity of its institutions and tradition. According to an honorific decree from Kolophon for Ptolemaios Pantagnotou who was a benefactor of the *gymnasion* and the epebes (SEG 39.1243, 130-110 BC, van Nijf 2013: 321), the city underlines that he always takes care of the interests of his *polis* (μηδένα καιρόν παραλιπόντα τῶν εἰς τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως ἀνηκόντων) and that it expects him to be generous to his fellow citizens in the future (εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον τὰς ἀρίστας ἐλπίδας διδόντας καὶ ἀξίως τειμῶντες καὶ προτρεπόμενοι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς κοινάς). The *euergesia* was something expected not only from the former benefactors but also from the descendants of benefactors because they ought to imitate their ancestors' noble deeds and continue to support their city. An example comes from Letoön near Xanthos (REG 109, 1996, p.1-32) where the gymnasiarch Lyson Demosthenous continued the paradigm of his ancestors and acted for the benefit of the *polis* (τῇ πατρίδι συμφέροντα). From the above we could argue that the well-being of the *polis* depended

on the support of rich citizens.<sup>112</sup> The welfare of the benefactors is connected with the prosperity of the *polis* and its institutions because through its social structures they gained power, money and political influence.

But it was not only the *demos* that honoured the gymnasiarchs: the *neoi*, the ephebes and the *presbyteroi*/elders also did so (**Fig. 7**).<sup>113</sup> These age groups, who had their own gymnasiarchs in the more prosperous cities (Kennell 2012: 232), had their own revenues that were used by them for their education or for their own purposes. The most frequently attested age group is that of *neoi*/ephebes. Kennell (2012: 232) rejects the theory of Forbes that the ephebes after their training became *neoi*, and argues that ‘the ephebes were the cadet *neoi*’ and we must regard them as the same group (e.g. Themisonion). In several inscriptions the *neoi* constitute a distinct age group<sup>114</sup> that had separate revenues from their *polis* and financed their participation in the *gymnasion* (e.g. Beroia, Xanthos). They could appoint themselves their *gymnasiarch* as did the *neoi* at Xanthos (εἰλόμεθα αὐτὸν γυμνασίαρχον). In some cases they are mentioned separately from the *demos* (e.g. at Sestos: ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ νέοι), reciprocate with different honours the gymnasiarchs (e.g. at Pergamon) or they ask the permission of the *boule* and *demos* in order to honour a gymnasiarch (e.g. Ephesos: ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐνεφάνισαν περὶ τούτων).

From the honorific decrees we observe a nuanced picture of the character of the office of gymnasiarch and of the running of the *gymnasion* in the cities of Asia Minor. In the first sub-section we observed that in the cities there existed a balancing of power within the local community as far as the function of the *gymnasion* is concerned. The fact that in some cities certain age groups seem to have acted with autonomy within the frame of

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<sup>112</sup>Gauthier (1985: 66) mentioning Tarn and Griffith points out that ‘les grands évergètes ... (portent) leur cité sur les épaules’.

<sup>113</sup>The wealthiest cities had multiple *gymnasia* and each age group had their own *gymnasion* (e.g. Ephesos, Priene).

<sup>114</sup>The *neoi* was an age-group that followed the ephebes and is mentioned in several inscriptions. We must be very careful in the distinction of this age-group because either the ephebes could be part of the *neoi*, or could be a designation of the youths that participated in the *gymnasion* (Chankowski 2010; Kennell 2012).

the *polis*, had their own revenues, spent their money at will and appointed their own gymnasiarchs gives the impression that these groups in some cities had a superior role and reflected the ideology of the local elite. It is not safe to generalise and to assume that all the actions of age groups had an autonomous character, because in some cases the age groups needed the ratification of the *demos* for their actions or entrusted their revenues to the civic gymnasiarch or asked for the benefaction of a gymnasiarch. This suggests that these age groups sometimes expressed the ideology of the local elite but always took into consideration that they functioned within the frame of the city (Fröhlich 2013: 60).

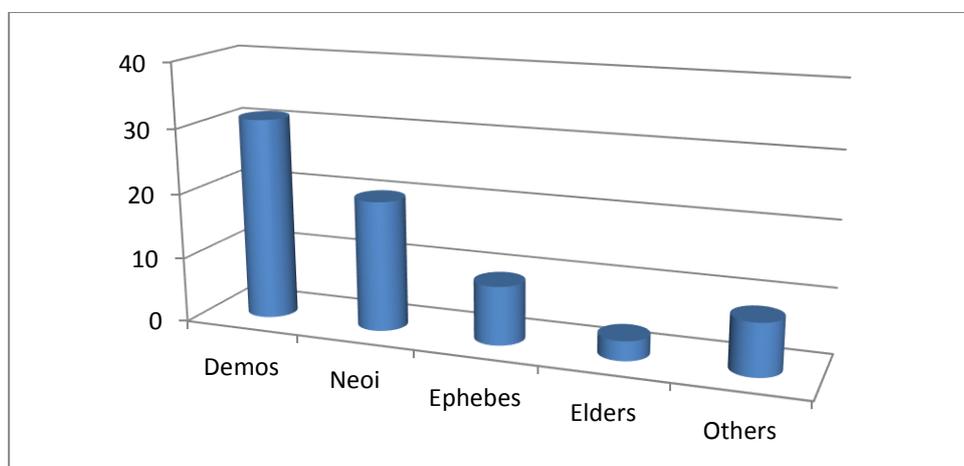


Fig. 7. Honouring bodies and gymnasiarchs.

#### GYMNASIARCHS' HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS AND FOREIGNERS

Apart from the citizens who participated in the *gymnasia* there were also foreign inhabitants of the city who worked and lived in the Greek cities and wished to participate in the Greek way of life. According to the honorific inscriptions at our disposal, a small number of foreigners<sup>115</sup> benefited from the gymnasiarchs. The gymnasiarch Leontiades son of Leon from Mylasa (2nd/1st c.), who was gymnasiarch for 80 months, during his office supplied oil (for the whole day) at his own expenses to *paroikoi*, metics and foreigners who had no right to share the oil of the *gymnasion* (SEG 54.1101: παροίκοις καὶ μετοίκους καὶ ξένοις οἷς οὐ μετέστιν τοῦ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ

<sup>115</sup>The participation of foreigners (Romans or Hellenised non-Greeks) in Greek institutions under special circumstances is not something unusual for the Hellenistic world (Errington 1988; van Nijf 2000: 177; 2013: 321).

ἀλείμματος). In this inscription we are informed that the gymnasiarch wanted to enlarge the circle of benefited persons through his office-holding and introduced those whom the city had excluded from the institution of the *gymnasion*. Skaltsa (2008: 242) rightly points out that the gymnasiarch's action had two parameters: on one hand, he had to deal with a city that excluded some people from its *gymnasion*; on the other hand, through his benefaction the gymnasiarch approached those excluded in order to introduce them to the practices of a civic institution. In this case the gymnasiarch's actions were honoured with a life-size statue by the recipients of his *euergesia*. It is very difficult to detect the relations among the gymnasiarch and the *paroikoi*, metics and foreigners and the benefits that might accrue to a gymnasiarch from such an action. The only thing that we can assume is that the expanded circle of the benefited population in a city contributed to the cohesion of the society and to the gymnasiarch's eminent status.<sup>116</sup>

Chares son of Attalos from Themisonion in Phrygia (1st c.) was *paidonomos* and gymnasiarch. He held the office of gymnasiarch for thirteen months. During his office he supplied oil at his own expense for the ephebes, the *neoi* and the foreigners that came to the city (*BCH* 13 (1889) 334.4, l. 20 ἐπιδημοῦσιν ξένοις). We observe that in this inscription the foreigners do not honour the gymnasiarch but the *demos* expresses its gratitude towards the benefactor and his actions. The gymnasiarch in this case benefited the foreigners that were not excluded from the city's *gymnasion*. It seems that the city did not have the means to support the participation of foreigners in the *gymnasion* and the benevolence of Chares relieved the city of a considerable financial burden.

Zosimos from Priene (*I. Priene* 112-113, dated to the 1st c.), gymnasiarch of the *neoi*, during his office decided that the baths and the oil be free for the ephebes, their teachers and the *neoi*; also that during the festival of the city they would be free for all the

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<sup>116</sup>A benefaction towards the total of the population received recognition in the city and abroad (ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης θαυμάζεσθαι). An example is the gymnasiarch from Magnesia of Sipylos (*TAM* 5.2.1343) that provided oil to the all the inhabitants of the city and was admired in the city and abroad (Chankowski 2010: 506; Curty 2015: 157-160).

citizens, the *paroikoi*, the *katoikoi*, the foreigners and the Romans (*I. Priene* 112, ll. 79-80: παροίκοις καὶ κατοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις). In the case of Priene *paroikoi* and *katoikoi* were inhabitants of the city (as there is mention of ephebes of *paroikoi* and *katoikoi*)<sup>117</sup> and had access to the *gymnasion* (Fröhlich 2009: 67-68). The mention of *paroikoi* and *katoikoi* (probably soldiers) beside the foreigners and Romans allows us to assume that in Priene there were some foreigners that were introduced to the city and others that participated only for a small period of time in the city's festival (Chankowski 2010: 53; Curty 2015: 147-150). The benefaction of Zosimos for the foreigners was restricted to the days of the festival. It is important to note that the gymnasiarch did not receive honours from the foreigners but from the *demos* for his virtue and good will.

We could observe that the participation of foreigners in the civic life of Priene had similarities with that in Sestos (*I. Sestos* 1). According to an honorific decree for Menas son of Menas, apart from the foreigners who visited the city there were foreigners that were incorporated in city practices such as sharing the oil for the anointing or participation in the banquet that follows the celebrations e.g. of the Hermaia (ll. 73-74:... τοῖς ξένοις τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ ἀλείμματος;l. 85:... τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μετέχοντας τῶν κοινῶν; 133-120 BC).<sup>118</sup>

From the above evidence we could argue that the cities displayed a tolerant attitude towards the foreigners especially in the late Hellenistic period.<sup>119</sup> In particular during

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<sup>117</sup>Chankowski (2010: 280-282) mentions that in the late Hellenistic period existed some *paroikoi* and *katoikoi* of privileged status that had ephebic training without citizenship.

<sup>118</sup>Van Nijf (2013: 321) argues that '*xenoi* could be admitted [to the *koina*] by special permission' and considers that Roman *negotiatores* 'integrated in the *kosmos* of the city and rub shoulders with the young notables, rather of any other visitor with a casual interest in athletics'.

<sup>119</sup>The honorific decree for the gymnasiarch Elpinikos from Eretria (*IG XII*, 9 234, ca. 100 BC) reveal a special category of people who participated in the common affairs of the city (*koina*) although they were foreigners (Hatzopoulos 1993: 80). In the inscription we observe that the Romans were considered a specific group of inhabitants distinct from other foreigners (πολίτας καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας) that participated in the common affairs of the city and aimed to be integrated into the structures of the city. For the introduction of Romans in the *gymnasia* see D' Amore (2007: 165-166).

the first century many cities incorporated foreigners in their structures. Based on the epigraphic evidence we observe that the gymnasiarchs in some cases had the power and influence to benefit not only the participants in the *gymnasion* but also the entire population of the city (*paroikoi*, metics, foreigners). Although an action like this seems to have had personal motives, it will also have improved social cohesion.

In some cases the *gymnasion* promoted segregation as it was addressed mainly to the Greco-Macedonian element. But it is wrong to consider that the Hellenistic *gymnasion* in general promoted this dichotomy. The different circumstances that existed in the Hellenistic world and the various attitudes towards the participation of foreigners in the *gymnasia* make the margins looser. In some *poleis*, the inclusion of foreigners in some aspects of civic life and their participation in the Greek way of life (albeit in limited periods and circumstances) will have promoted the unity of the society of the *polis*.

#### CONCLUSION TO 3.2.2

In the aforementioned epigraphic evidence we see that in the cities the *gymnasia* depended on the benevolent actions of some wealthy citizens who ensured the continuity of the institution. Modest or extravagant, the benefactions created expectations for future support among the fellow citizens of the benefactor and became an example of patriotism for future generations. Apart from the citizen-benefactors there were also in some cities groups of people of the same age (e.g. ephebes, *neoi*, elders) who were wealthy enough to support their own *gymnasion* and to hire gymnasiarchs to supervise its running. A situation like this reveals an institution addressed to the elite, a segregated picture of the *gymnasion* in the East. But it is wrong to generalise because the situation was not the same in every city; in addition to this we must take into consideration that in some cases the *gymnasion* of the Greek *poleis* allowed the participation of foreign inhabitants of the city (e.g. in festivals, in special occasions, or when gymnasiarchs allowed the introduction of foreigners into the infrastructures of the *gymnasion*) because it fostered the unity of the community.

#### **3.2.3. Gymnasiarchs in Egyptian territory**

Having studied the relations that emerged in the *gymnasia* of Asia Minor we will now proceed to the examination of the interactions that occurred in the *gymnasia* of

Egyptian territory. The office of gymnasiarch in the Egyptian territory appeared during the third century in the Greek *poleis* under Ptolemaic rule, Alexandria (*I. Louvre* 12, 3rd c.) and Naukratis (*Delta I.* 750.14, 221-205 BC). This evidence does not reveal either the nature of the *gymnasiarchia* or the frame of action of the gymnasiarchs. There are only references to names of gymnasiarchs in honorific dedications or in athletic competitions in honour of the Ptolemies. Despite the scarcity of evidence about the gymnasiarchs of the *poleis*, there are many inscriptions concerning the gymnasiarchs of the villages of Egypt that provide us with valuable information about the institution.

In Aphroditopolis (*I. Prose* 41, 57 BC) Herodes son of Demetrios, *hipparches* and gymnasiarch, held his office for the benefit of the *katoikoi* and the participants in the *gymnasion* (πρὸς τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῶι... τῶν κατοίκων). He financed the provision of oil (ἐλαίου δαπάνην), the games and festivals held in the city and many building works. In Luxor a non-Greek, Boidas son of Demetrios from Persia (*I. Prose* 15: ll.3-4: Βοΐδας Δημητρίου Πέρσης, 221-180 BC), worked for the benefit of the *gymnasion* during his office (ἐπιτιδοὺς προθύμως εἰς πᾶν τὸ κοινῆι συμφέρον). The participants in the *gymnasion* honoured him and his family (αὐτῶι καὶ ἀπογόνοις). In Theadelphia (*I. Fayoum* II 103, 104-150/49 BC) Leonides son of Ptolemaios from Thrace, a gymnasiarch and army official (cleruch and *ogdoëkontarouros*: soldier that received an allotment of land of 80 *arourai*) dedicated parts of the buildings of the *gymnasion* (τὸ θύρωμα, τὸ δίθυρον καὶ τὸν πυλῶνα) to the Ptolemies. In Thebes (*I. Prose* 46, 39 BC) we are informed that Kallimachos that was *syngenes*, general, *hipparches* and gymnasiarch who benefited the city in many ways at his own expense because it was run down (κατεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν). The city reciprocated his benevolence and named him *Soter* (saviour). In Thmouis Philoxenos son of Eukleides, first friend of the king and gymnasiarch, was honoured by the participants in the *gymnasion* for his zeal and care towards them (Ameling 2004: 148-150; Habermann 2004: 338-341; Paganini 2011).

From the above evidence we observe that after the second century the gymnasiarchs provided financial support for the *gymnasion* and gave great amounts of money for the

maintenance of the institution (e.g. oil, building works, and celebrations). Their benevolence demonstrates their prominent economic position. In the case of Herodes at Aphroditopolis (*I. Prose* 41), the gymnasiarch wanted to gain fame and a prestigious place in his community and thus chose to hold this office (ἀύθαιρέτως ἐπιδειξάμενος... τὴν γυμνασιαρχίαν). As we stated earlier, the participants in the *gymnasion* expected the wealthy gymnasiarch to benefit them (*I. Prose* 15: γέγονεν χρήσιμος) and showed their gratitude in several ways (e.g. through crowns, statues, decrees, praise and honorific privileges for their families). The economic prosperity of some gymnasiarchs goes together with their social status and their close relation with the king (e.g. *syngenes, protos philos, strategos*).

It is important to note that, according to our evidence, apart from Greco-Macedonian gymnasiarchs a gymnasiarch from Persia, another from Thrace and one from Bithynia are also attested (Habermann 2004: 339-340).<sup>120</sup> This demonstrates the multi-ethnic character of the Ptolemaic army, which allowed the co-existence of people with different ethnic origins and their participation in the Greek way of life as long as they adopted and respected the Greek mores, tradition and values.

### **3.2.4. Gymnasiarchs in Ptolemaic military possessions outside Egypt**

Now we will proceed to examine the situation in the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt and the relations between the officials and the participants in the *gymnasion*.

#### CYPRUS

As we already have shown, during Hellenistic period *gymnasiarchia* was a civic magistracy connected with the function of the *polis* but sometimes acquired, semi-private character when it functioned outside the frame of the *poleis*. The expansion of the Hellenistic world into areas where there was no tradition of *polis* structure, and the establishment of garrisons for the support of mercenaries in royal armies, created different circumstances through which the institution of *gymnasiarchia* was developed.

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<sup>120</sup> In Chapter 4 we will study the different ethnicities of soldiers and officials that participated in the *gymnasion*.

In Cyprus, although during the pre-Hellenistic period there were cities, they were organized into royal-city states under *basileis* (kings) and thus civic institutions did not exist (Papantoniou 2013: 178-180). After the conquest of the island by Alexander and his Diadochoi and in particular under the Ptolemies (after 294) the island adopted the Hellenic administrative and cultural forms (Papantoniou 2013: 181-2; Bagnall 1976: 57-67; Mitford 1953; 1959). By the end of the third century Cyprus was already controlled by a *strategos* or governor (*I. Kourion* 41) who was appointed by the king and was selected from among the members of the royal entourage, promoting the royal ideology (Mitford 1959: 94-131). In this period the first civic institutions appeared in the cities of Cyprus (e.g. *boule*, *demos*, *I. Kourion* 32; 34).

Although our information about the *gymnasia*, their officials and the participants in them is sporadic and in many cases deficient, we will try to gather them in order to reveal the nature and role of the gymnasiarchs in the *gymnasia* of Cyprus. According to our epigraphic and archaeological sources, *gymnasia* existed or are indirectly attested in Kourion (e.g. *I. Kourion* 34), in Salamis (e.g. *Salamine* xiii 96, 1st c.), in Old Paphos (e.g. *ABSA* 56. 36, 98), in Amathous (e.g. *SEG* 20.142), in Marion (e.g. *ArchPap* 13.29), in Kition (e.g. *I. Kition* 2031), and in Chytroi (e.g. *CIG* 2627).

The appearance of the office of gymnasiarch (*I. Salamis* 85, 300-250 BC) seems to coincide with the development of civic institutions in the island. However it is important to note that the oldest epigraphic evidence at our disposal about the gymnasiarchs did not connect this office with the *poleis* but with the royal house and the Ptolemaic garrisons stationed in the area. Dedications by gymnasiarchs or participants in the *gymnasion* (οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου) towards the Ptolemies (*I. Salamis* 65; *I. Kition* 2014, dedication of a statue of Ptolemy III Euergetes) provide us with little information about the status of gymnasiarch and its relations with the participants of the *gymnasion* (Greeks and non-Greeks).

An inscription from Chytroi (*JHS* 57. 34, 1st c.) refers to the gymnasiarch Iason son of Aristokreon, who was honoured by the participants in the *palaistra* (οἱ παλαιστρίται). The mention of the participants in the *palaistra* as honouring body and the absence of any other reference to civic structure probably connects them with the royal troops.

Two inscriptions making reference to the supply of oil (ἐλαιοχρίστιον) in the *gymnasion* by soldiers in Lapethos (ABSA 56.39.105, Hellenistic) and Paphos (ABSA 56.6.8, 224/223 BC) reveal the military character of these *gymnasia* and their self-sufficient organisation. Mitford (1961: 6) comments on their ethnic origins and mercenary status and underlines that in the second inscription, among the eight soldiers who had promised to contribute by supplying the *gymnasion* with oil, seven were Lykians from the garrison at Paphos. This demonstrates that despite the ethnic origins of the soldiers, they supported the *gymnasion* financially and benefited it as a part of their everyday life in the areas in which they were stationed.

Another inscription that connects the *gymnasion* with the Ptolemaic army comes from Paphos (ABSA 56. 18.46, 197-193 BC) and refers to a dedication (statue) by the participants in the *gymnasion* to Ptolemaios, son of Polykrates of Argos, who was *archisomatophylax* (head bodyguard). Ptolemaios held his office with good will and care and showed respect towards the Ptolemies. In this inscription we observe that a military official benefited the *gymnasion* and its participants with his wise administration.

As for the gymnasiarch's benefactions *per se* there are two references to gymnasiarchs who dedicated a *stoa* (*I. Kition* 2031; Amathous: *SEG* 20.142, dated to 163-152). From the first inscription we remain unenlightened about the recipients of the benefaction; the second connects the benefaction with the Ptolemaic royal house.

An honorific decree for an unknown official of the *gymnasion* at Salamis (*Salamine* xiii 88, dated to 2nd c.) mentions together an age group of the city (i.e. the ephebes) and the participants in the *gymnasion*, probably soldiers (i.e. οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου). Despite the fact that there is no information about the office that this person held, we may assume that he was a gymnasiarch because he is honoured by the ephebes and the participants in the *gymnasion*. In addition to this, through the decree his close connection with the royal house is revealed as he promoted the royal interests and benefited the city by his actions. In the aforementioned decree the combination of ephebes with soldiers

probably reveals that in some cities Ptolemaic troops were stationed or settled in the city and used the same amenities as the citizens.<sup>121</sup>

Very few inscriptions refer to a gymnasiarch as benefactor of the city and as being honoured for this by the civic bodies or by some age group of citizens. In Kourion (*I. Kourion* 34, mid-2nd c.) we are informed about a gymnasiarch who benefited the city by acting with zeal and care during his office and who was thus honoured by the citizens. In Old Paphos (*CIG* 2620, 105/4 BC) the gymnasiarch Kallippos who held beside this office many civic offices was honoured by the *boule* and the *demos* because he held them wisely. The fact that he held many civic offices demonstrates his eminent political and social status in his city (Mitford 1959: 125). Mitford (1961: 37) connects Kallippos' office and his influence with the support of the Ptolemaic troops in the city of Paphos. A decade later in the same city (Paphos: *OGIS* 1.165, 105-95 BC) we are informed that the former gymnasiarch Potamon son of Aigyptos was among those who served as gymnasiarchs and *hegetores* (civic officials) and had shown benevolence towards the *technitai* of Dionysos and the gods (Mitford 1961: 37). For his good running of office he was honoured with a statue by the *koinon* of the Cypriots.<sup>122</sup> From this inscription two important pieces of information derive: the first is about the existence of a group of people in Paphos who held civic offices (γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων καὶ ἡγητορευκότων) and who belonged to the elite of the city (Paganini 2011: 153). The second is the existence of the *koinon*. The group of people that held the office of gymnasiarch is not a phenomenon that we observe only in Paphos. In Kition (*I. Kition* 2030, 1st c.) and in Amathous (*GIBM* 4.2.975, 2nd c.) there was a distinct group of citizens that held the civic offices and constituted a separate social group. From the above we can mention that the *gymnasiarchia* in the cities of Cyprus was a civic office but was addressed to only a few noble citizens. These citizens had the power and influence to ascend the social ladder. This becomes obvious in an inscription for Potamon son of Aigyptos, former gymnasiarch, who some years later was appointed

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<sup>121</sup>A similar case where the members (soldiers) of the *gymnasion* and the citizens honour a man comes from Lindos (Rhodes) (*I.Lindos* II 139, ca. 210-204 BC). According to Mitford (1961:18), this inscription probably originated from New Paphos.

<sup>122</sup> For more discussion about the nature of the *koinon* of the Cypriots and the 'unifying ideology' that existed in the island see Papantoniou 2013: 186 and Mehl 2000: 742-43.

lieutenant-general on the island (*ABSA* 56.39.107, 95-88 BC). This seems to make it clear that the social elite group of the cities was easily incorporated into the administrative (civic) forms that the Ptolemies brought to the island in order to safeguard their privileges (based on their aristocratic past) and strengthen their influence (Papantoniou 2013: 189-190). In the epigraphic evidence we observe that from the first century onwards (*I. Kition* 2042; *Salamine* xiii 48; *ABSA* 56 (1961) 37, 99) the *koinon* of Cypriots honours civic officials, priests and generals<sup>123</sup> for their benevolence towards the Cypriots. We can see that apart from the honours of the city towards its benefactors there were honours that derived from the body of inhabitants of Cyprus for the services of benefactors towards the central government.

From the above evidence we can argue that the *gymnasion* in Cyprus was established primarily in order to support the life-style of the royal troops that consisted of mercenaries from various ethnic groups. These mercenaries supported financially their *gymnasia* (e.g. Lapethos: *ABSA* 56.39.105, Hellenistic; Paphos: *ABSA* 56.6.8, 224/223 BC) and they were the bearers of royal ideology in the new settlements. During the third century the institution of *gymnasion* was adopted by the cities and became civic when the cities were organised into *poleis*. The *gymnasion* in the cities was organized according to each city's principles; but for the native elite this was a way to acquire civic offices, to gain prestige and political power and to promote the royal ideology.

#### Thera

A well-known example of a *gymnasion* that belonged to the Ptolemaic garrison (*IG* XII, 3.327, 164/3-160/59 BC) and provides us with valuable information about its function is that of the island of Thera (Schuler 2004: 177; Paganini 2008:151). In this *gymnasion* the soldiers, participants in the *gymnasion*, who according to the inscription were named *aleiphomenoi* (ἀλειφόμενοι, 'anointed') financed the repairs that took place within the *gymnasion* (Il.142-145: οἶδε εἰσήνεγκαν τὴν γενομένην δαπάνην εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ γυμνασίου) and elected their own gymnasiarch (*IG* XII, 3.331, Βάτω

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<sup>123</sup>Bagnall 1976: 68 refers to the *stratego*i that provided the *gymnasia* with oil. This demonstrates the connection between the royal representatives and the institution of the *gymnasion*.

Φίλωνος... προχειρισθείς γυμνασίαρχος, 153/2 BC). According to the inscription, Baton son of Philon (*IG XII 3.331*) was gymnasiarch of the *aleiphomenoi* for five years (Bagnall 1976: 128), embellished the competitions dedicated to Hermes and Herakles in the name of king Ptolemy,<sup>124</sup> and at his own expense covered the purchase of prizes (l. 25...κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκτιθεὶς ἄθλα). The *aleiphomenoi* in order to demonstrate their gratitude towards their gymnasiarch honoured him with a gold garland, praise and a *stèle* with honorific decree.

From the existing evidence we observe that in this *gymnasion* the gymnasiarch was an official responsible for the good functioning of the *gymnasion* and its activities (Curry 2015: 77-80). The maintenance of the garrison, the loyalty and the well-being of the soldiers was the primary concern of the gymnasiarch. The gymnasiarch and the soldiers of the garrison on Thera, like their counterparts from the Paphian garrison, supported financially their *gymnasion* (Mitford 1961:6). The phrase ὑπέμεινε γυμνασιαρχῆσαι demonstrates (as in the cities of Asia Minor) the difficult duty of the gymnasiarch and also the expectations of the participants in the *gymnasion* (e.g. they asked him to hold this office for sixth time). This gymnasiarch acted outside the frame of the *polis*. He had soldiers (probably of different ethnic groups that belonged to the Ptolemaic army) under his supervision. His benevolent behaviour and the financial support of the soldiers towards the *gymnasion* reveal their effort for the maintenance of the *gymnasion* and their loyalty to the Ptolemies.

## CYRENE

In Cyrene the gymnasiarchs are mentioned in the ephebic list dated from the second to the first century (*SEG 20.739*; *SEG 32.1604*; *SEG 49.2361*). In the Cyrenaean *ephebeia*, focused on the military preparation of young men, there were four commanders of the 300 ephebes, one teacher of horsemanship, three gymnasiarchs for the 300 ephebes and one gymnasiarch of the former ephebes or *presbyteroi*. Although the gymnasiarch in other Greek cities supervised the *gymnasion* and ensured its good function, the existence of four gymnasiarchs in the *gymnasion* of Cyrene demonstrates that the duties

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<sup>124</sup> According to Bagnall (1976: 129) the unnamed Ptolemy of the inscription is probably Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145).

and obligations of this office were increased and thus divided. We do not know exactly the function of this office or the cause of this division, but the existence of a gymnasiarch for former ephebes is an indication that military training continued after the end of the ephebic training. The only mention of a gymnasiarch's benefaction is in an inscription (*SEG* 37.1674, 2nd/1st c.) where a gymnasiarch dedicates eighty strigils to Hermes and Herakles. The number of strigils probably corresponds to the number of ephebes at that period. According to *SEG* 11.741, the number of ephebes in the first century AD was 78, which is very close to the number of the strigils that the gymnasiarch had dedicated one century earlier.

From the above evidence we observe that the gymnasiarch was a civic officer connected with ephebic military and athletic training. Unfortunately, the paucity of evidence does not allow us to have a complete picture either of his office or of its relation with the participants of the *gymnasion*.

#### CONCLUSION TO 3.2.4

In this section we have observed the role of gymnasiarchs and of the participants in the *gymnasia* of the Egyptian territory as well as in the *gymnasia* of the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt. The officials of the *gymnasion* were mainly Greco-Macedonian eminent persons who belonged to the close entourage of the king (officers, former soldiers, *strategoï*). The king permitted them to found, to possess or to supervise the good running of the *gymnasia* which gives us a rather indistinct picture of the status of the *gymnasion* which combined private initiative with royal control. In contrast to the rather segregated picture of the *gymnasia* of Asia Minor in the Ptolemaic kingdom, military officials from different ethnic groups (e.g. Thracians, Persians) could hold a higher office and run *gymnasia*. From the inscriptions and the papyrological evidence from Egyptian territory we observe that the Greco-Macedonian settlers, the mercenaries and the non-Greeks who had adopted the Greek way of life (Hellenes),<sup>125</sup> co-existed in the *gymnasia*, supported the institution financially and participated in them, respecting Greek tradition and royal power (Habermann 2004: 339-340).

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<sup>125</sup> For further discussion on the subject see Thompson (2001: 310) and Landvatter (2013: 9).

### 3.2.5. Concluding thoughts about social relations within the eastern *gymnasia*

The *gymnasiarchia*, which began as a *leitourgia* (compulsory financial obligation of wealthy citizens) and became gradually a civic institution during the Hellenistic period, seems to have been transformed in the late Hellenistic period into an honorary (voluntary) financial burden addressed mainly at the nobility. Some wealthy men willingly held the office and during their tenure benefited the participants in the *gymnasion*, ensured the continuity of the institution, improved the cohesion of the society (civic spirit) and increased the gymnasiarch's fame (Appendix, Table 2).

The introduction of non-Greeks into the *gymnasia* of the *poleis* of Asia Minor was a more complex procedure that had to do with the policy of the city and not only with the will of the kings. It seems that the introduction of foreigners into civic life was a decision for the *polis*. Because of the scarcity of evidence it is uncertain whether there was a well-organised civic policy for the introduction of foreigners into the *gymnasion* or whether it was the result of a pressure by some groups of non-Greeks (e.g. Roman *negotiatores*) who wanted to participate in it and become integrated into the city's structures. We could argue the same about the gymnasiarchs as we do not know whether the benevolent actions of some gymnasiarchs towards foreigners reflected the good relations (e.g. personal, economic) of a gymnasiarch with a specific group of inhabitants or had personal motives.

According to the epigraphic evidence, during celebrations more groups of inhabitants were allowed to participate in the *gymnasia* in comparison with some selected groups that used the *gymnasia* of the *poleis* on a daily basis. The participation of foreigners in the banquets following celebrations gave an opportunity to the city to declare that it was not restricted only to citizens but was open to the totality of the inhabitants and cared about them.

The provision of oil to foreigners (although it was not an ordinary action) during the celebrations reveals the policy of the *polis*, or of some members of the elite, to incorporate non-Greeks in civic life. On the other hand, the participation of foreigners shows the desire of some of them to introduce themselves into society (even if they had

no civic rights) in order to fit into the life of the community and acquire privileged status.

The situation in the possessions of the Ptolemies was completely different. In Ptolemaic Egypt the majority of gymnasiarchs seem to have been military officers belonged to the royal entourage and promoted royal ideology through their actions as officials of the *gymnasion*. As we observed earlier, the Ptolemies allowed the participation of non-Greeks in their institutions provided that the foreigners respected Greek tradition, values and mores. The absence of a network of Greek cities in the Ptolemaic kingdom allowed the co-existence of Greek and non-Greek elements in the Ptolemaic garrisons, military settlements and villages. In this case the main concerns of the gymnasiarch were to solidify Ptolemaic rule in the areas where the garrisons were stationed, to ensure that the soldiers were loyal toward the kings, and to strengthen his position and influence in the Ptolemaic administration.

In this chapter we have seen how the eastern *gymnasion* became a field of negotiation between kings, cities and other communities and between the aspirations of the participants (e.g. elite, age-group, non-Greek-group, mercenaries). Additionally we have observed how the *gymnasion*, which was an important component of the Greek way of life contributed to the cohesion of the community and in some cases incorporated non-Greeks by combining personal motives and ambitions with the institution of the *gymnasion*.

## CHAPTER 4. NON-GREEKS AND THE HELLENISTIC GYMNASION: NATIVE TRADITIONS AND NEW PRACTICES IN THE EAST

In the previous chapter we studied the connections of *gymnasia* with the kings' policies, and based on the honorific decrees we observed the relations between different groups of participants in the *gymnasion* that were revealed through its function (in cities or settlements). We observed that in the aforementioned Greek *poleis*<sup>126</sup> apart from the citizens (*politai*) there were also a number of resident aliens and foreigners (Aristotle, *Politics* 7. 1326a) that lived and worked in them (Whitehead 1984: 49-59). We sporadically mentioned that among the participants and the officials of the eastern *gymnasia* (especially in garrisons and settlements) there were some foreigners (non-Greeks) who were in certain circumstances allowed to take part in the *gymnasion* and thus to participate in the Greek way of life.

The present chapter deals mainly with the participation of groups of free foreigners (non-Greek) or members of such groups in the *gymnasia*. We have already observed the variety of communities that existed in the East (e.g. cities, settlements, garrisons). In these entities the Greek and the non-Greek elements interacted with and influenced each other. This chapter aims to examine the attitudes of non-Greeks towards the *gymnasia* and Greek education and to move beyond that, namely to view the education and the training that was offered as part of a broader concept of education that existed before the Hellenistic era. This concept combines Greek educational elements with that of the native population as part of a field of mutual cultural influences. Such an approach permits us to view an institution of the 'dominant' Greek tradition and culture, like the *gymnasion*, as having existed in a vibrant and dynamic cultural and social environment which allowed intercultural influences in some places and under certain circumstances. We will study whether the common educational elements between the educational

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<sup>126</sup>We must make a distinction between the cities that accepted foreigners to live and work in their confines and others like Sparta that did not normally allow the settlement of foreigners and practiced *xenelasia*.

systems of the East and Greek education could be used as convergence points that facilitated the participation of members of non-Greeks in the Hellenistic *gymnasion*.

In order to approach better the subject of our study and respect the peculiarities of each area I focus separately on each area (e.g. Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Near East). The first section of the chapter sets out the way in which the non-Greek population of the East approached Greek *paideia* (during the 4th c. onwards) and the Hellenistic *gymnasion*. The following section goes further in trying to point out common educational features that existed in native educational traditions of ancient Mediterranean civilizations (e.g. Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Persian) and in the training that the participants in the *gymnasion* received. In the next section we will observe the negative feelings that sometimes arose towards either the *gymnasion* or Greek culture among the native population of the East, and the impact of these attitudes in the diffusion and maintenance of the eastern *gymnasion*.

#### **4.1. The influence of Greek *paideia* and of the *gymnasion* in the non-Greek population of the East from fourth century BC onwards**

The Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms were situated in areas where the Greco-Macedonian element was a minority. Despite the fact that some Greeks had settled in these areas and had close commercial, financial and cultural relations with some of these places (such as the cities of Asia Minor, the coastal cities of Syria and Egypt) that are dated to the pre-Hellenistic period, they were numerically inferior to the native population (Cohen 1995; 2013). Greco-Macedonians, indigenous populations and foreigners of various occupations (merchants, craftsmen, artists, soldiers and mercenaries) constituted the mosaic of the inhabitants of these kingdoms. People with different traditions and cultures, with various occupations and aims, citizens or not, under the rule of different kings, contacted each other and exchanged cultural ideas, practices and customs.

In the Hellenistic era the vast territory of the kingdoms, the different spheres of influence, including the new kingdoms that emerged,<sup>127</sup> the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural environment and the plethora of old and newly-founded cities and settlements created the frame within which the indigenous population interacted with the Greco-Macedonian element. The native traditions and the royal policies regarding their indigenous population also contributed to this frame. In such an environment Greek *paideia* developed into an indispensable component of the Greek way of life even in the remote areas of the kingdoms.

In order to better approach the peculiarities of each area and the relations of non-Greeks with Greek *paideia* I focus on each area separately (by following a geographical order). I based my research on the epigraphic evidence relating to the *gymnasia*. Although our evidence is limited and uneven I have tried to focus mainly on two points: the diffusion of *gymnasion* in those areas and the social status of the native eastern population that approached the Greek educational tradition.

#### 4.1.1. Asia Minor

##### MYSIA

From our evidence we observe that in Pergamon young men from the non-Greek indigenous population participated in the Greek educational institutions in the second century. There is presence in the ephobic lists of youths with non-Greek patronymic, such as Σκιγγορίου, Νικάνωρ Ὀρδοβέτου, Φιλόξενος Δαμυρτίου (*MDAI(A)* 29 (1904) 170.14, 145/4 BC) and young men with Greek names with an indication of their native descent (Mysians or Masdyenes) such as Μηνόφαντος Μενεστράτου τῶν ἀπὸ Μαζύης or Μασδύης (*MDAIA (A)* 35 (1910) 425.12, 2nd c.). The Attalids promoted the ‘decentralisation of the state’ and the participation of the native population (especially members of the middle class) in the administrative posts of the kingdoms (Thonemann 2013: 12-13). In a letter of Attalos, brother of Eumenes II there is mention of the rights

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<sup>127</sup>The kingdom of the Attalids in Pergamon (from the second half of the 3rd c.), the Jewish kingdom of the Maccabees (150 BC) and the Parthian kingdom (after the loss of Mesopotamia in 141 BC).

probably of the *katoikoi*<sup>128</sup> that lived in the city (*I. Pergamon* I 158; *RC* 51; 2nd c.) and their participation in city's life (Cohen 1991: 43; Scheer 2003). We could argue that the participation of members of the non-Greek population was promoted in order to strengthen the cohesion of the kingdom and prevent probable reactions of the natives or soldiers against royal administration. Such an attitude facilitated the penetration of non-Greeks into the civic life of the kingdom and their participation alongside the Greeks.

The participation of non-Greeks became more extensive in Pergamon after the death of Attalos III (*OGIS* 338, 133 BC)<sup>129</sup> who left his kingdom to the Roman Republic. A decree from Pergamon issued from the local officials before the ratification of the royal will mentions that

the people [of Pergamon] grant citizen rights to those who are registered in the lists of the resident [foreigners], to the soldiers who are settled in the city and the country (*chora*), and similarly to the Macedonians and [Mysians] and to the settlers (*katoikoi*) who are registered in the citadel and in [the] old [city], and to the Masdyeni and... to the policemen (*paraphylakitai*) and to the other mercenary soldiers (*epikouroi*) who are settled or own property in [the city] or the countryside, and similarly to their wives and children. The descendants of freedmen shall be transferred to the class of resident foreigners (περὶ τοῦ μετατεθῆναι εἰς τοὺς παροίκους τοὺς [ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ βασιλικῶν] καὶ δημοσίους)...

(*OGIS* 338; translation by Austin 2003: 248 with modifications).

In this decree we notice a mass grant of citizenship to groups of people that lived in the city but had no rights such as resident metics and mercenaries (Greeks and natives). Evans (2012: 51) rightly points out that 'this measure was largely promulgated to forestall local uprisings or encourage desertion from the cause of Aristonicus' (the

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<sup>128</sup> *Katoikoi* were mostly soldiers that inhabited a place. According to *I. Pergamon* I 158; *RC* 51, the Attalids granted them allotments of land and allowed them to participate in the life of the city. Although we know the Attalids used soldiers from various ethnic groups (Launey 1949/50; Cohen 1991; 1995) we cannot detect the ethnic origins of the *katoikoi* that are referred to in the inscription.

<sup>129</sup> Although the inscription (*OGIS* 338) does not refer explicitly to the *gymnasion* of the city but to the mass grant of citizenship to many groups of people, it gives valuable information about the status of the participants in the *gymnasion* (as citizenship in the *poleis* was connected with the participation in the *gymnasion*).

illegitimate son of Eumenes II who claimed succession rights over the Attalid kingdom).

The opening of the *gymnasion* of Pergamon to non-Greeks was part of the policy of the Attalids but was mainly the result of the political circumstances and changes that followed the death of Attalos III (133 BC) when he bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. The participation of non-Greeks as officials or ephebes in the *gymnasion* of Pergamon continued when the city became part of the Roman province of Asia (*I.Pergamon* II 465; *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 468. 52; 2nd/1st c.; *MDAI (A)* 29 (1904) 152.1, 1st c.).

## IONIA

In Chapters 2 and 3 we mentioned that in the Greek cities of Ionia *gymnasia* are attested from the fourth or the third century (*I.Iasos* 98; *I.Mylasa* 21; *I.Priene* 300; *JOAI* 8 (1905) 161, 1; *I. Ilion* 31) and the admittance of foreigners to the institution of *gymnasion* for that period is sporadically attested. Our evidence demonstrates the close relation of the institution with the citizens of the cities and its connection with the cultural, educational, and religious life of the *poleis* such as the athletic, military or educational training of young men (Forbes 1971; Kennell 2006). As our evidence for the existence of non-Greeks in the *gymnasia* of *poleis* in that period is scanty,<sup>130</sup> we can infer that the Ionian *poleis* during that era had a rather segregated policy for their *gymnasia* and were reluctant to introduce foreigners in this institution apart from some special occasions (e.g. the participation of foreign residents in the festivals, for which see Chapter 3).

As far as the non-Greek population in the *poleis* is concerned we could observe that in the second century there was a gradually increasing presence of Romans, mainly businessmen or merchants (*negotiatores* or *mercatores*),<sup>131</sup> that lived and worked in the

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<sup>130</sup>The great bulk of our evidence for the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasia* is dated to the 2nd and 1st c.

<sup>131</sup> D'Amore (2007: 165-166) mentions for the presence of Romans in the cities of Asia Minor that 'la posizione di prestigio conseguita dai Ῥωμαῖοι, in virtù della fortuna nelle attività commerciali e

Greek *poleis* (D'Amore 2007). They constituted a minority within the cities but their fortunes and their prestigious position in these communities facilitated their presence in the *gymnasia*. The time at which each Greek *polis* of Asia Minor introduced them into its society varied. Miletos (*Milet* I 7.203, 130 BC), Mylasa (*I. Mylasa* 155, 1st c.), Iasos (*I.Iasos* 269, 1st c.) and Priene (*I.Priene* 112, 1st c.) are some of the cities that allowed Romans to participate in the economic life of the city. Especially after 129 and the formation of the province of Asia Minor the Romans seem to have gained rights to participation in civic institutions (Reger 2008: 461; D'Amore 2007). In Priene (*I. Priene* 46, 100 BC) foreigners, residents or visitors of the city (παρεπιδημοῦντας ξένους), took part in city's institutions. In the same city the gymnasiarch Zosimos allowed the participation of *paroikoi*, *katoikoi*, foreigners and Romans and slaves in the *gymnasion* (*I. Priene* 112, 113; 84 BC).<sup>132</sup> The introduction of Romans into public life was probably facilitated by (or influenced by) the positive attitude of the Attalids towards them (Kosmetatou 2003: 164-165; Thonemann 2009: 226-227; Ma 2000: 282; Austin 2003: 131-132) and was established after the conquest of Asia Minor by the Romans.<sup>133</sup>

In the ephebic lists of the second half of the second century and during the first century we detect the ethnic 'Roman' or 'Romans' without indication of the places of the Roman Empire where Roman participants in the *gymnasion* came from. In the inscriptions only their ethnic was sufficient to distinguish them from the other participants in the *gymnasion* (D'Amore 2007: 165-166). According to an honorific decree from Miletos the gymnasiarch and the ephebes honoured the Roman *demos* and the Romans (*Milet* I 7. 203, 130 BC). In several inscriptions there is reference to Romans as ephebes as well as officials of the *gymnasion* (e.g. *I. Iasos* 274, l.11:

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dell'eminente posizione sociale ed economica raggiunta nelle πόλεις d'Asia Minore, crearono le condizioni favorevoli ad una loro regolare partecipazione alle attività e alle esercitazioni nel ginnasio'.

<sup>132</sup>*I. Priene* 113-1.76-77: πολίταις καὶ παροίκους καὶ κατοίκους καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δούλοις (84/01 BC). Fröhlich (2009: 68) argues that *paroikoi* were the ancient indigenous population and *katoikoi* were the foreigners that lived in the city or settlement. For further discussion on the subject see Cohen (1991).

<sup>133</sup> The participation of Romans in the *gymnasia* of the East is not within the aims of this research; for this reason I limit myself only to some remarks on the subject.

ἐφήβευσαν...Λούκιος Τάμπιος Κέλερ ... Πόπλιος... νιος (27 BC); *I. Priene* 112: 1.141-144: ... Αὔλον Αἰμίλιον Σέξτου Ζώσιμον ... γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τῶν νέων καλῶς καὶ δικαίως (84/81 BC).

#### LYDIA

After the beginning of the Seleukid domination Lydia became an important satrapy and Sardis became the royal capital. Lydia was open to Greco-Macedonian settlers, but much of the north-eastern part of the region seems to have been out of Seleukid control (Debord 1985: 347-348; Ma 2000: 177; Spawforth 2001: 384). After the battle of Magnesia (189 BC) it became part of the Attalid kingdom. The existence of a *gymnasion* in Sardis is attested by an inscription dated to the third century (*SEG* 36. 1087, 213 BC). Military colonies such as Thyateira (Cohen 1995: 238-239) and cities like Magnesia near Sipylos, Stratonikeia and Apollonis had organized *gymnasia* and *ephebeia* (*I. Sardeis* 7.1.21; *BCH* (1887) 116; *TAM* v, 2 1203). According to the ephebic lists from Apollonis (dated to the 2nd c.), it is implied that this city was a former military colony that acquired *polis* status. Its ephebes had mostly Macedonian names, one had an Illyrian or Macedonian name and another had a Thracian name (*TAM* 5.2. 1203) (Cohen 1995: 201-203).

Another case of a city in which the native population co-existed with soldiers of different ethnic groups comes from Magnesia near Sipylos. Its population consisted mainly of land-owning soldiers who were named *katoikoi*, lived in villages and settlements and distinguished themselves from the Magnesians. Based on the decree of *sympoliteia* between the Smyrna and Magnesia, the Magnesians negotiated Smyrnaian citizenship for the whole population of Magnesia including the Persian soldiers of the garrison (*OGIS* 229, 3rd c.). The acquisition of citizenship by military colonists irrespective of their descent, as we already observed, is attested also in Pergamon in the last testament of Attalos III (*OGIS* 338, after 133 BC) (Cohen 1991: 43; 1995: 216-217). This policy strengthened the loyalty of the inhabitants and soldiers and gave them the opportunity to participate in the Greek way of life and in the *gymnasion*.

According to Cohen (1995: 209), at Hyrkanis<sup>134</sup> in Lydia there was a Hellenistic colony in which Hyrkanians co-existed with the Greco-Macedonians. Based on an honorific decree from Amphissa (*IG IX*, 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 750, 200-150 BC) that refers to a man who had double ethnic names (Macedonian Hyrkanian, Μακεδῶν Ὑρκάνιος) and on a dedication to Zeus Seleukeios in the area, the author supports the existence of a colony where the Hyrkanian and the Greco-Macedonian elements co-existed. Unfortunately, we do not know either the degree of their assimilation or whether the word ‘Hyrkanian’ was only a reference to the man’s domicile (Coloru 2013: 50).

Another ethnic group that we observe in Lydian territory was the Jews. According to Josephus (*AJ* 12.148-153), Jewish presence in the area is attested in the second century when Antiochos III transferred two thousand loyal Babylonian Jews and their families to garrison important locations of Lydia and Phrygia and bestowed upon them allotments of royal land (Cohen 1995: 212). Although this mobility aimed to reinforce the loyalty of the area, the impact of Greek culture on these Jews is unclear.

#### KARIA

The Karians came into contact with the Ionians from an early period (Ionian revolt, Athenian League).<sup>135</sup> Under the rule of the Hekatomnids (local dynasty) in the fourth century and especially in the reign of Mausolos a programme of deliberate Hellenization of the area was pursued (Hornblower 1982). The Karian cities adopted the Greek way of life alongside the Karian. In the fourth century the Karian elite used Greek-style architectural forms (e.g. in tombs) and decoration that derived from Greek mythology. It borrowed Greek epigraphic practice and produced a great amount of Greek inscriptions (Marek 2013: 248-249).

Until the third century the Greek and the Karian identities were mutually inclusive (Robert and Robert 1983: 97-118; Thonemann 2009: 225). From our evidence we

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<sup>134</sup> Cohen (1995: 209) refers to Strabo (13.4.13) and mentions the connection of the city with the colonizing action of the Persians to move Hyrkanians to the area.

<sup>135</sup> According to Marek (2013: 234-236), the Karians from the Archaic period, used in their inscriptions the Greek language, and from the 5th c. onwards we observe the co-existence of Karian and Greek population (his evidence based primarily on onomastics).

observe the existence of a plethora of *gymnasia* in the area (e.g. *I.Iasos* [Bargyilia] 98, 1st c.; Halikarnassos: *JÖAI* II, 53-56 no.1, 275-250 BC).

According to the epigraphic evidence at our disposal the names of ephebes and officials of the *gymnasia* are Greek, and if we suppose that some of the Karians changed their names it becomes difficult to distinguish the origins of the participants in the *gymnasion*. In the previous section we observed that in the city of Mylasa the foreigners could participate in the celebrations of the city (*I. Mylasa* 413, 1.7-8: ... ἑορταῖς τοῖς πολίταις καὶ μετοίκοις καὶ ξένοις, 2nd/1st c.). In the *gymnasion* of Mylasa the gymnasiarch Leontides permitted access to metics, *paroikoi* and foreigners and provided oil for anointing to *paroikoi*, metics and foreigners who had no right to share the oil of the *gymnasion* (*SEG* 54.1101: ξένοις οἷς οὐ μέτεστιν τοῦ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀλίμματος, 2nd/1st c.). In the above evidence we cannot detect the ethnic origins of the foreigners; but if we accept the assumption of Fröhlich (2009: 68) about the *paroikoi* (they were members of the native population), metics (the resident aliens) and foreigners (visitors to the city) we could argue that in that city the circle of the participants in the *gymnasion* expanded significantly and probably included non-Greeks.

Another example that comes from the city of Amyzon demonstrates the co-existence of Greeks and non-Greeks in the civic life and thus in the *gymnasion*. An honorific decree informs us that a man with Persian origins and his son were honoured by the citizens because of their obedience and wise administration of the sanctuary of Artemis: ‘... δεδόσθαι Βαγαδάτη καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀριαράμη πολιτείαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ προεδρίαν’ (Robert, *Amyzon* no. 2, 321/0 BC). Among the honours bestowed were the right to citizenship, and this implies the right to participate in Greek institutions such as the *gymnasion*. The decree reveals that the city of Amyzon had a mixed population with citizen rights. Briant (1998:15) mentions that in some cities in Mysia, Lydia, Karia and Ionia the Persian aristocracy participated in the Greek institutions. For the case of Bagrades, Briant (1998:15) underlines that ‘nous avons ici le témoignage

d'un processus d'acculturation sur la longue durée, que la conquête macédonienne n'a ni interrompu ni initié mais simplement poursuivi'.<sup>136</sup>

#### PHRYGIA

In Phrygia there were some cities like Laodikeia on the Lykos, Apameia Kelainai, Synnada and Aizanoi (*MAMA* VI 173; 4; *BCH* 7 (1883) 300, 24; 2nd/1st c.) that had organized *gymnasia* and education for young men.<sup>137</sup> An inscription from an unknown Phrygian city dated to the second century (*BCH* 13 (1889) 334, 4, 115 BC) mentions that the *xenoi* living in the city could participate in the *gymnasion*. It is very important to note that Eumenes II (197-160 BC) after the Peace of Apameia granted the settlement of Tyriaion the status of *polis* (i.e. civic offices and *gymnasion*) (Ma 2000: 107). The different origins of the envoys' names (i.e. Greek [Ἀντιγένης, Ὀρέστης], Gaulish [Βρέννος]) who presented the petition to king Eumenes reveal the co-existence of Greeks and non-Greeks in this community (Chaniotis 2002: 105; Jonnes and Riel 1997: 11-12). The king permitted them to have their own *politeuma* (l. 27-28: πόλιτευμα συνταχθῆναι καὶ νόμοις τε χρῆσθαι ἰδίους, Jonnes and Riel 1997: 3-4). The fact that the Attalids allowed the citizens to organize their own city and *gymnasion*,<sup>138</sup> or facilitated the entry of non-Greek soldier colonists into the Greek educational institutions, influences the diffusion of the institution and its social and political role. Riel and Jonnes (1997: 20) comment that Tyriaion was inhabited mainly by soldiers, civilians of heterogeneous ethnic background, and indigenous Phrygian population. They argue that the participation of members of the indigenous communities in the civic life and structures of Tyriaion is doubtful.

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<sup>136</sup> About the integration of Persian population that existed before the Hellenistic era in the territories of Asia Minor and their 'politique double' see Briant (1985: 173).

<sup>137</sup> In Laodikeia of Lykos as in many places of central Asia the Seleukids, in order to strengthen the Greek presence in the areas, moved Ionians of the Greek cities to settle there and live according to the Greek way of life (Capdetrey 2012: 319-344).

<sup>138</sup> Jonnes and Riel 1997: 3: ll. 9-11: ἐπιχωρηθῆναι ὑμῖν πολιτείαν τε καὶ νόμους ἰδίους καὶ γυμνάσιον καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἐστὶ ἀκόλουθα; ll. 31-34: βουλὴν καὶ ἀρχὰς καθιστάναι καὶ δῆμον νέμειν εἰς φυλὰς καταμερισθέντα καὶ γυμνάσιον ποιησαμένους τοῖς νέοις τιθέναι ἄλειμμα.

## PAMPHYLIA

Our evidence for Pamphylia is scarce. Aspendos, Perge, Side, Sillon and Phaselis were some of the Greek cities where remains of the ancient locations have been found and we can detect the existence of *gymnasia* or *stadia* in them (Grainger 2009). In the previous chapter we referred to Stasias, son of Vokios who was the former *strategos* and gymnasiarch of the city of Perge and was honoured by the *demos* because of his wise administration of the *koina* (*I. Perge* 14, 2nd/1st c.). Another honorific decree from the *demos* and *boule* of the city of Perge honours the doctor Asklepiades, son of Myron who delivered lectures at the *gymnasion* of the city (*IvPerge* 11.104,5, Hellenistic). These are direct attestations of the function of a *gymnasion* of the city but unfortunately do not add much to our investigation about the non-Greek population in the *gymnasia* of the area.

This remote area was inhabited mostly by Lykians, Pisidians, Kilikians and Greeks (immigrants from Arkadia and Cyprus, Greeks speakers of Dorian dialect) who co-existed for a long period (Bubenik 1989: 162, 170; Grainger 2009: 1-14; 228-231).

According to Grainger (2009: 58-59; 176-177), the ‘wrestler’ type silver staters from Aspendos demonstrate a connection of the city with athletic activities. The silver staters from Aspendos (dated to the 4th and 3rd c.) depict a pair of wrestlers (Miller 2006: 47). Of the legend beneath the figures of the staters which reads ΜΕΝΕΤΥΣΕΛΥΨΑ there are several interpretations.<sup>139</sup> One is that it is related to the names of the athletes (Menetos and Elypsa) (Tekin 2000: 164-165). Grainger (2009: 58) claims that probably this wrestling scene was connected with the theme of a statue of the city and the athletic tradition of the city (which had penteteric games). The fact that this athletic tradition existed before the Hellenistic era, and continued when the city was under the Persian rule, demonstrates its attachment to Greek culture and the acceptance of Greek culture by the majority of the city’s community (Grainger 2009: 59).

Apart from this evidence we cannot depend on any other direct evidence for the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasion*. In the case of Aspendos we observe that

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<sup>139</sup> For the commentary of the legend see Tekin (2000: 165).

in the third century the city appointed mercenaries, both Greek and non-Greek (Pamphylians, Lykians, Pisidians), and because they acted in favour of the city and of King Ptolemy they offered the right of citizenship to them and to their offspring (*SEG* 17. 639, 301-298 BC). Such an act demonstrates that the mercenaries of various ethnic groups were registered as citizens of the city and thus had access to civic life and to the Greek way of life.

#### LYKIA

In Lykia the dynasts approached Greek culture and adopted the Greek way of life at the end of the fifth century.<sup>140</sup> According to Marek (2013: 248-249), the Lykian dynasts at the end of the fifth century used the Lykian language beside Greek verse in order to narrate their deeds. The Lykian aristocracy used Greek architectural forms (e.g. tombs) and decoration that derived from Greek mythology, they inscribed their texts in Greek language and took Greek names or the name Hellaphilos (Hellas + *philos*) that demonstrated the positive feelings of the bearer of the name towards Greek culture (Marek 2013: 248-249). The Nereid monument from Xanthos (sculptured tomb of dynast Arbinas), dated to 380 BC, reveals this impact of Greek civilization on the Lykian elite (Thonemann 2009: 225; Brosius 2011: 143-144; Marek 2013: 236-237). In the area there were cities like Xanthos, Kyanai and Tlos (*TAM* II 498; 552; *DAW* (1897) 45, 1) that during the second century had *gymnasion* and *ephebeia*. Greek civilization had a minor effect, however, on the rest of the indigenous population; native culture continued unchanged in the Hellenistic period (Thonemann 2009: 225; van der Spek 2007: 411). The fact that our evidence from this area is scanty reveals the limited incorporation of non-Greeks into the cities' institutions.

The Lykian nobility used the Greek language (as official) and customs in public (decrees, statues) but this does not mean that this attitude continued without interruptions. The co-existence of Greek with the Lykian language demonstrates that in particular cases and circumstances the indigenous language and practices connected

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<sup>140</sup>The impact of Greek (and especially Athenian) culture on the cities of Asia Minor in the 5th c. was connected with the Athenian maritime empire and the tribute that these areas paid to Athens. It is natural in that period to observe architectural forms and monuments that combined the Athenian with the Persian element (e.g. Nereid monument) see Brosius 2011: 143-144.

past tradition with the present (Marek 2013: 249). We must underline that although the native aristocracy and the central government demonstrate a preference for Greek customs and institutions, the rest of the indigenous population appears to have been unwilling to adopt such practices (Marek 2013: 249).

#### PISIDIA

Pisidia, a mountainous region of southern Asia, was not effectively controlled by any of the Hellenistic kings but native cities were thoroughly Hellenized. Sagalassos, one of the most important cities of the area, had a *gymnasion* and a *bouleuterion*. Waelkens (1997: 365) detects in the remains of the public buildings of the city architectural parallels with Greek forms and decorations of other public buildings of the Hellenistic world (e.g. Pergamon). This kind of Hellenization was probably the result of deliberate action by the regional elite, which promoted Greek culture for its own purposes like the Karian and Lykian aristocracy (Waelkens 2002: 313-321; Thonemann 2009: 228). Unfortunately, our knowledge of the Hellenistic *gymnasia* of the area and their participants is insufficient, and we are better informed about the *gymnasia* of the Roman period, especially from the city of Termessos (*TAM* III 21; 25; 31; 55; 57) (van Nijf 2011: 217).

#### KILIKIA

In Kilikia, a Greco-Macedonian presence is attested mostly in the cities. According to an inscription from the city of Antioch on the Pyramos we can observe that there was a well-organized *ephebeia* and a *gymnasion* in the area (*SEG* 12. 511, ca. 140 BC). Young men participated in the religious life of the city in the sanctuary of the Athena Magarsia. There is evidence for a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* in Hierapolis Kastabala in the first century (Cohen 1995: 366-367). There is no evidence for non-Greek participants in the *gymnasion* of the area. Later in the Roman period the institutions of *ephebeia* and *gymnasion* were diffused to this region and Romans participated in them as ephebes and as officials (*CIG* 4413; *JHS* 11 (1890) 250, 25).

## CAPPADOCIA

The greater part of inland Anatolia remained out of Seleukid control. Evidence about the institutions of *ephebeia* and *gymnasion* is very limited for provinces such as Lykaonia, Cappadocia and Galatia. It is important to note that in these inland areas there were some powerful men like the Hellenized Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator king of Cappadokia (163-130), a man of Iranian descent. He was educated in Athens and was considered a man of culture (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1330*: honorific decree from Artists of Dionysos to the king dated to 163-130 BC; *Diod. Sic. 31.19.8*).<sup>141</sup> His son Ariarathes VI Epiphanes Philopator (130-112 BC) continued the policy of his father (*SEG 1. 466*) and supported the existence of the institution of the *gymnasion* (Michels 2013: 292-293). According to an inscription from Eusebeia near Tauros (*I. Tyana 29*) dated to his reign, there was a well-organised *gymnasion* (there is reference to a gymnasiarch and *agonothetes*) dedicated to Hermes and Herakles (Cohen 1995: 378).<sup>142</sup> Briant (1998:16) refers to a unique example from Cappadokia: a city called Hanisa that had Greek institutions (*boule, ekklesia, prytaneis, archontes*) but not *polis* status. Greek, Cappadokian and Iranian cultural elements coexisted in the city.<sup>143</sup> Some members of the local elite approached Greek culture and institutions in order to acquire access to the Greco-Macedonian rule (Michels 2013: 298-299). The degree of their assimilation into Greek culture is unclear, as members of the local aristocracy kept their Cappadokian names (Robert 1963: 503-523). The adoption of some Greek cultural features by certain members of the local elite does not reveal a total acculturation of the city.

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<sup>141</sup>Michels (2013: 292-293) mentions that ‘the Hellenization policy of the king was rather a reflection of a policy of prestige of the Cappadocian king...this patronage of Greek ‘science and culture’ was an imitation of typical elements of the self-representation of Hellenistic kings’.

<sup>142</sup>The founder of the *gymnasion* is uncertain. Cohen (1995: 378) mentions that the founder of the *gymnasion* was Ariarathes V Eusebes. Panichi (2000: 523) believes that the founder is Ariarathes VI. Michels (2013: 300) suggests a different approach and mentions the possibility that the gymnasiarch Atezoas, son of Dryenos asked permission from the king to establish the *gymnasion* like in the case of Tyriaion in Phrygia. Michels (2013: 302) argues that in Cappadokia, because of the lack of evidence for royal intervention in the life of the *gymnasion* we could suppose that the indigenous élite approached the Greco-Macedonian civic institutions for their own purposes. He suggests (2013: 302) ‘a shift from centralized, intentional policy fuelled by a profound philhellenism toward a much more plausible discourse between local élite, monarchic centre, and the wider Hellenistic world.’

<sup>143</sup> For the civic degree from Hanisa see also Michels (2013: 286-287).

#### CONCLUSION TO 4.1.1

From the above evidence we can assume that in Asia Minor the impact of Greek educational institutions was uneven and varied from place to place. It does not appear that the Hellenistic kings considered that Greek education must be a Greco-Macedonian privilege.<sup>144</sup> We could argue that during the fourth and third century the Greek *poleis* of Asia Minor pursued a rather segregated policy as far as the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasia* is concerned. But the unique conditions that existed in each region of Asia Minor, the transfer of groups of people, the military and political role of each location, the attitude of local elites and the presence of non-Greek colonist soldiers determined the frame of function of the *gymnasia*. In the late Hellenistic period some Greek *poleis* gradually allowed the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasion*. The presence of Romans in the political milieu and the establishment of the Province of Asia in many places that previously belonged to the Seleukid kingdom reinforced the presence of non-Greek element in the area and in the Greek institutions.

#### 4.1.2. Syria and Phoenicia

##### A) SYRIANS AND PHOENICIANS

Because of their location along numerous land and trade sea routes, Syria and Phoenicia very early attracted the attention of many ethnic groups and became disputed territories for several centuries. Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians and Greeks conquered the area (Markoe 2000: 19-23; 47-53; 77).

The Phoenicians and the city of Tyre had a long tradition of cultural and trade relations with Greece before the Hellenistic era.<sup>145</sup> These relations were strengthened after the

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<sup>144</sup> For the reluctance of Hellenistic kings to formulate a policy of Hellenisation see Cohen (1995: 66) “‘Civilizing’ or ‘Hellenizing’ was not, *per se*, the purpose of any of the Hellenistic kings in founding colonies”. For further discussion on the subject see Weber 2007; 2010.

<sup>145</sup> From the archaeological finds we can support that the Phoenicians had commercial relations with Greece especially from the 7th c., while in the 5th and 4th c. this relation reached its acme (Préaux 1978: 566; Tcherikover 1975: 41; Markoe 2000: 63). When they travelled the Phoenicians brought their religion with them. Herodotos (2.49) refers to the worship of Dionysos that entered Greece through

conquest by Alexander. According to Arrian (2.24.6), when Alexander arrived in Tyre he visited the Temple of Malkart/Herakles<sup>146</sup> sacrificed to the god (τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἔθυσσε) and held a procession (πομπή) in his honour; he moreover inaugurated athletic games in the Temple enclosure and a relay torch-race (ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε). Since then Tyros became a centre of musical and athletic competitions. Every five years the Tyrians celebrated their festivals and athletes from the Hellenistic world participated in them (Hengel 1974: 73; Bravo 2007). Alexander's actions demonstrate his respect towards the local deity Melkart/Herakles. The establishment of games with Panhellenic character reveals the ancient bonds between Greeks and Phoenicians. This point is supported by the presence of athletes of Phoenician origins at the Panathenaia (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2314*) and Theseia (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 960*) in Athens (Grainger 1991: 110).

In the era of the Diadochoi the area of Syria and Phoenicia became disputed territory between the Ptolemies and the Seleukids. In order to study the impact of the *gymnasion* in this area and the attitudes of the kings towards the introduction of non-Greeks in it, I have divided my study into three subsections according to the periods in which this area was conquered by the Seleukids or the Ptolemies.

Seleukos I in 301 or 300 established ten cities in the area (Grainger 1990: 91). These cities changed over centuries and only four from them had the size, population and civic and social structure to become significant urban settlements. Antioch on the Orontes, Seleukeia in Pieria, Laodikeia by the Sea and Apamea constituted the Syrian *tetrapolis* and had the characteristics of a Greek *polis* (Grainger 1990: 91-100).

The earliest account for the existence of a *gymnasion* in Syrian territory comes from the capital city of the Seleukids, Antioch on the Orontes, and is dated to the third century (Delorme 1960: 136; Hengel 1974: 70). This evidence derives from the Gourob Papyrus (Holleaux 1942: 281, 288). From this text we are informed about the events that

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Kadmos and his fellow citizens, to the temple of Phoenician god Melkart on the island of Thasos and to the Holy Temple of Melkart at Tyre that was called by Herodotos the temple of Herakles (2.44).

<sup>146</sup>For the continuity of the local religion and worship of Melkart alongside with that of Greek hero Herakles see Nitschke (2013).

followed the occupation of the city by Ptolemy III Euergetes in 246 BC. Among the people who went to welcome the new king were ‘all young men from the *gymnasion*’. The participation of the city’s ephebes in a procession for the king reveals the desire by those in power to show respect and devotion towards the new monarch and his domination.

Our information about the *gymnasia* and the *ephebeia* in the years of Ptolemaic occupation of the area (287-225 BC) is very poor.<sup>147</sup> We could argue that although some cities possibly had the structures for the development of these institutions, the frequent fighting for the control of the area caused its impoverishment and the cities lacked the financial resources to invest in the education of their citizens. The construction of a *gymnasion* and the supporting of *ephebeia* were very demanding financial burdens for the city. In order to develop these institutions political and social stability, flourishing economic activity and support from the kings and rich men were needed.

In this period we trace some evidence of participation of Syrians and Phoenicians in the Greek festivals and games that took place in mainland and insular Greece. A Delian inscription mentions two Phoenician winners of Delian competitions in the *ageneios pygmen* (*IG XI 2, 203, 1.68 ...Τιμοκράτης Βύβλιος ἀγενείων πυγμῆν ... Σίλλις Σιδώνιος ἀγενείων πυγμῆν; 269 BC*), Sillis (Phoenician name)<sup>148</sup> of Sidon and Timokrates (Greek name, probably son of a Greco-Macedonian settler) of Byblos (Masson 1969: 682; Grainger 1991: 80). In ca. 200 BC an inscription praises the great victory of the Sidonian judge Diotimos son of Dionysios in the Nemean chariot race (Austin 2003: 121). The prestigious social position (*dikastes*) of the athlete reveals the attachment of the local elite to Greek culture and tradition. Millar (1983:55-62) argues that even if the Phoenician cities had not reorganized as Greek *poleis* they had some privileges and some of them, such as Tyre and Sidon, had a ‘mixed, Phoenician-Greek character’. When the Sidonian athlete integrates his homeland into the legends of Greek tradition

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<sup>147</sup>Grainger (1991: 80) argues that ‘about 230 BC a sufficient widespread of Greek education would scarcely exist in Phoenicia’.

<sup>148</sup>For the Phoenician names see Masson (1969: 679-682).

in order to support his participation in the Panhellenic Games, he reveals the intention of some eminent members of the native elite to justify their ethnic origins and their presence in the Panhellenic competitions. The glory of his victory was not only for Sidon but also for the city of Kadmos, Thebes in Boiotia. According to Stavrianopoulou (2013: 178 no.4) the designation as *dikastes* of the Sidonian athlete not only demonstrates 'his commitment to Greek culture' but also 'reaffirms the legitimacy of their authority within their own culture'.

A third inscription, dated probably in the third century, mentions the victory of Sidonian Diotimos son of Abdoubastes in wrestling competitions in honour of Delphian Apollo (Bickermann 1939: 60). The Persian origins of the father's name and the Greek name of the athlete reveal the process of cultural Hellenization of some members of the ruling class of Sidon in an earlier period. We can speculate that the Persian origins of the father did not stop him from offering Greek education to his son. This attitude has similar characteristics with that of the Persian elite of Asia Minor and is in accordance with the positive feelings of the Persian King Abdashtart I (4th c.)<sup>149</sup> who was both Phoenician and Greek culturally and took the name 'Philhellen'<sup>150</sup> (Grainger 1991: 80; Elayi 2005; 2013).

From the above evidence we can observe that during Ptolemaic rule the educational system (which includes the institutions of *epehebeia* and *gymnasion*) in Syria-Phoenicia was not flourishing. It is also possible that the Ptolemies did not provide the support needed for a well-organized education. This situation gave to some non-Greek cities the opportunity to offer to the citizens who can afford it training based on the doctrines of Greek education. The athletic training of the young men at Sidon had a strong resemblance to the training of young men in Greek cities' *gymnasia*. The obstacle of the

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<sup>149</sup>For the equation of the king's name Adbashtart with the Greek name Straton see Elayi (2005: 100). For an Athenian decree for the Sidonian king Abdashtart I/Straton and the commercial relation between Athens and Sidon and the privileged status of the Sidonians in Athens see *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 141, 376/5 BC. For the 4th c. Athenian honorific decrees and the intercultural relation between non-Greeks and Athenians see Hagemajer-Allen 2003: 199-250.

<sup>150</sup> For the Court of Abdashtart I and the king's preference for Greek musicians and courtesans see Theopompos in the fifteenth book of his *History of Philip* in Athenaios, *Deipnosophistes* 12.41 (Elayi 1992: 319).

non-Greek origin of the athletes was surmounted through the adoption of Greek tradition and legends. Some members of the upper class took part in the Greek education and adapted their tradition in order to participate in it. Such an action probably reveals the existence of a native upper-class ideology that combined the tradition and the past with the Greek present. We could point out that the members of the Phoenician elite neither rejected nor totally accepted Greek culture, but adapted themselves to the circumstances and acted according to their personal aims.

Grainger (1991: 81-82) argues for the existence of an urban upper class and believes that in the cities there was an urban ruling class willing to adopt elements of Greek civilization.<sup>151</sup> On the opposite side there was a ruling class in the rural areas that was attached to traditional Phoenician culture (Millar 1987: 132). This can be supported by the fact that our evidence for the participation of Phoenician athletes in the Panhellenic games comes mainly from the cities of Syria-Phoenicia and not from the villages.

During the second Seleukid occupation of the area (193-129 BC) Greek education flourished. The Seleukids demonstrate a positive policy for the participation of non-Greeks in Greek educational infrastructures (this is proven by the fact that Antiochos IV came to Tyre to attend the Melqart games [II Macc.19-21] and that he adopted a favourable policy towards the *gymnasion* of Jerusalem). In this period Sidon became an athletic and educational centre. As the participants in the Greek games became more numerous, the training of the young men became well-organized and more demanding. Many inscriptions refer to Sidonian victories in Panathenaic Games. Poseidonios son of Polemarchos won in the double race between 191 BC and 182/1 BC. Lysanias son of Theodoros won the chariot races in 184 BC; at the same time the Laodikean Hieron was winner in the horse race (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2314; 2316*). In 142 BC the Sidonian Dionysios won the young men's *pankration* at the Athenian Theseia (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 960*). In 180 BC the Tyrian Dioskourides won in the boxing competition (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2315*); another Tyrian won the boxing competition in Amphiaraia (*IG VII 417*) and a Phoenician from Ptolemais, named Epinikos son of Thalon, was also victorious (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2313*). Moreover at the end

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<sup>151</sup>For the Hellenization of the Phoenician upper class see Hauben (2004: 31 n.20).

of the second century a Phoenician named Straton son of Straton won as *kitharistes* in the Mouseia at Thespieae in Boeotia (*IG VII 1760*).

From the above evidence we can see that the athletes did not compete only in boxing and chariot races but also in the double race, the *pankration* and music. This demonstrates the variety of lessons that young men were taught in their cities. The majority of the athletes come from Sidon and Tyre, two cities with a long tradition in athletics. Sidon provided a high level of education to its citizens apart from the athletic training of young men. The epicurean philosopher Zeno of Sidon (150-75 BC) (*OCD* 1635) and the stoic philosopher Boethos, pupil of Diogenes of Babylon and Antipater, author of epigrams (*OCD* 111) were Sidonians. Meleagros, poet and philosopher from Gadara in Syria; lived in Tyre (*OCD* 953).<sup>152</sup> We can underline that Sidon and Tyre became poles of attraction for educated men, probably those of the upper class. The athletes continued to use the name of their cities and to glorify them after their victories. We could observe that the reference to the names of homelands probably had to do with the rivalry between the cities for the quality of education that they offered to their citizens. Grainger (1991: 112) rightly points out that the mention of the athlete's origins (Tyre or Sidon) 'is also powerful evidence of civic pride and nostalgia for perceived past glories and a lost independence'.

A different kind of evidence that reveals the existence of athletic infrastructures in the area and the participation of non-Greeks in them comes from the *gymnasion* of Laodikeia by the Sea. In 163/2 BC the Roman ambassador<sup>153</sup> Cnaeus Octavius was at

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<sup>152</sup>Meleagros in his *Stephanos* (*Anthologia Palatina* 7.417) mentions that 'the isle of Tyre raised me, my true hometown, however, was Gadara, Syria's Athens, (the translation is found at Höschele 2013: 19). Höschele (2013: 21) argues that 'by characterizing the Syrian city as Attic, the poet not only symbolically shifts the geographical centre of the Greek world to the periphery, but also pays homage to a by-gone era, that of classical Athens, which through the *polis* itself had long since lost its political significance, was still seen as the pinnacle of Hellenistic culture... (Meleagros) affirm the Hellenicity of the land he lived in as a young man – as it happens, Tyre is the very city Kadmos came from'.

<sup>153</sup>The Romans in 163/162 BC sent embassies to Macedonia, Cappadokia, Galatia, Syria and Alexandria in order to report the disposition of the monarchs and people. There were rumours that the Syrians did not respect the treaty of Apamea agreed between the Romans and Antiochos III in 188 BC. They had a greater number of warships and elephants instead of twelve ships and no elephants as agreed. The Roman

the *gymnasion* of Laodikeia and anointed himself. He was then killed by a citizen named Leptines (Appian 2.46; Cicero, *Phil.* 9. 2.4). Although the assassination had nothing to do with resistance to Hellenism and was connected with the military actions of the Romans, it reveals that the Romans had access to the *gymnasion* in the *poleis*.

A very interesting point about the *ephebeia* can be made about the Seleukid occupation of Syria-Phoenicia. From 182/1 to 38/7 there were a significant number of ephebes with Syrian or Phoenician origins in the Athenian *ephebeia* (Pélékidis 1962: 183-196). These young men participated in the processions, the sacrifices, the lectures and the contests of the city like the Athenians. By that time, the Athenian *ephebeia* was already open to foreigners. Young men from Antioch on the Orontes, Berytos, Laodikeia by the Sea, Apamea and Sidon (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2314; 2316; 2317; 960; 1960; 1006; 1008; 1009; 1011; 2986; 1028; 1043; *SEG* 15. 104; 39. 187; 2nd and 1st c.) are mentioned in these inscriptions. As we mentioned earlier, from the fourth century the Athenians and the cities of Syria had good commercial relations. After the proxeny decree for king Straton, Sidonians had a privileged financial status as residents or visitors of Athens.<sup>154</sup> This privileged status reinforced the presence of Phoenicians in Athens.

The Phoenician young men probably belonged to the wealthy middle or upper class of their cities and lived in Athens or came to the city in order to participate in the prestigious Athenian *paideia*. In the Athenian *ephebeia* there were also instructors from Syria and Phoenicia. Nikon son of Alexis from Berytos was an instructor of physical training of the Athenian ephebes and future ephebes (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1960; *SEG* 15. 104 dated to 128/7 and 127/6 respectively).

Although these young Syrian and Phoenician men participated in the Athenian *ephebeia* they probably did not consider themselves Greeks but participants in Greek culture. As Meleagros of Gadara mentioned in one of his epigrams, 'If I am a Syrian, what is the wonder? My friend, we inhabit a single homeland, the world' (*Anth. Pal.* 7.417; Gow

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embassy killed the elephants and burned the excess warships. The killed animals and the burned ships prompted a man called Leptines to assassinate the chief of the embassy, asserting that he was acting according to the gods' will (Polyb. 31.2.9-14; 31.11.1-3; 32.3.1-5).

<sup>154</sup> For further discussion on the subject see Sosin (2014: 287ff).

and Page 1965, 216, no ii). From the above passage we can claim that it was not strange for some members of the non-Greek community to educate themselves based on the doctrines of Greek *paideia* (Millar 1987: 130). Acceptance of Greek *paideia* did not mean a total change of ethnic identity. Millar (1987: 132) believes that ‘in towns and in urban centres there is enough evidence to suggest that it was possible to absorb Greek culture without losing local traditions’. We observe similar thoughts in Nitschke’s article about the representation of Melkart and Herakles in art and religion, where a symbiosis of Greek and Phoenician artistic forms and religious practices is presented (2013: 279).

The situation was not similar in all the Syrian-Phoenician cities. Cities like Sidon, Tyre and Berytos had a great production of athletes and educated men in Greek culture; on the other hand, cities like Arados preferred to keep their Phoenician education until the Roman period. A bilingual dedication (in both Greek and Phoenician) to Hermes and Herakles/Melkart from Arados (dated to 25 BC) was made by a Phoenician gymnasiarch (*IGLSyr* 7.4001; Millar 1983: 62-63). This proves that the Greek and Phoenician language coexisted in the area and shows the adaptation of Greek cultural elements by some Phoenicians. Grainger (1991: 109-112) believes that although in some cities Phoenicians changed their names in order to participate in Greek education or learned the language in order to communicate with the Greeks, some cities and the ‘countryside remain Phoenician in language and in culture’. This demonstrates the limited diffusion of Greek culture in the rural areas and the co-existence of Syrian-Phoenician and Greek cultural elements (without losing the kernel of local tradition).

A negative aspect of the Hellenistic *gymnasion* of the area is presented by the Stoic philosopher Poseidonios of Apamea on the Orontes, who lived in the second century and refers to the decadence of the local society of his times says:

... καὶ οἱ κατὰ Συρίαν δὲ πάντες, φησί, διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας  
εὐβροσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰναγκαῖα κακοπαθείας συνόδου  
ἔμενον πλείους, ἵνα εὐηχοῖντο συνεχῶς, τοῖς μὲν γυμνασίοις ὡς  
βαλανείοις χρώμενοι, ἀλειφόμενοι δὲ ἐλαίῳ καὶ μύροις, τοῖς δὲ  
γραμματείοις – οὕτως γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν συνδείπνων –  
ὡς οἰκτηρίους ἐν διαστώμενοι, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας

γαστριζόμενοι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἴνοις καὶ βρώσιν, ὥστε καὶ  
 προσαποφέρειν πολλὰ, καὶ καταυλόμενοι πρὸς χελωνίδος  
 πολυκρότου ψόφους, ὥστε τὰς πόλεις ὅλας τοῖς τοιούτοις  
 κελάδοις συνηγεῖσθαι

(Athenaios 5.210)

... all the natives and the inhabitants of Syria, on account of the fertility of the land, are accustomed to make frequent feasts after their necessary labours, in order that they may rejoice together, using their gymnasia as baths, and anointing themselves with expensive oil and perfumes; and at their *grammatea* (for that is the name which they give to their public entertainments) living as if in their own houses, and gratifying their stomachs the greater part of the day with wine and meat, and also carrying away a quantity of the same to their own homes, they thus spend the day, listening also to the music of the loud lyre made of the tortoise shell, so that whole cities resound with noises of this kind.

(Translation from [perseus.tufts.edu](http://perseus.tufts.edu))

Poseidonios refers to the wealthy inhabitants of Syria who spent their time in the *gymnasion*, anointed themselves with expensive oil and perfumes, continually organized feasts and dinners and lived a loose life (Bringmann 2004:328-329; Gross-Albenhausen 2004: 313). This passage demonstrates a different view of the *gymnasion*. According to the philosopher, the Syrian *gymnasion* transcended the boundaries of an educational/athletic institution and became a place where wealthy men spent much of their time. Although it was a common practice for wealthy men to spend a lot of time in the *gymnasion*, in the eyes of the philosopher his fellow citizens had forgotten the values and doctrines of the *gymnasion* and transformed it into an area of indulgence and excessive pleasure.

#### *Conclusion to 4.1.2 (a)*

Based on the aforementioned evidence, we can observe that inhabitants of Syria and Phoenicia who probably belonged to the local elite adopted some practices of the Greek way of life and introduced them in their communities. Greek names, Greek education, Greek legends and mythology were indispensable tools for the local elite to be accepted by the Greeks of mainland and insular Greece and to participate in the Greek Panhellenic festivals. The good commercial and cultural relations between the Phoenicians and Syrians and the Greek world that are dated to the pre-Hellenistic

period, and the tolerant or favourable attitude of some of the Hellenistic kings towards the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasia*, contributed to the participation of the Phoenician and Syrians in the *gymnasia*, festivals and games in the Greek world (e.g. Athens, Delos, Thespiai). We cannot claim that Greek culture influenced all social strata of the Phoenician and Syrian communities. Many locations (especially in the rural areas) remained attached to local culture and tradition until a late period. In addition to this, even the Greek-educated men did not consider themselves Greeks and did not hesitate to condemn practices (such as the participation in the *gymnasion*) if these transcended moral limits and habits.

#### B) JEWS (PALESTINE AND JEWS OF DIASPORA)

In the area of Syria and Phoenicia lived an ethnic group that was frequently connected with the policies of the Hellenistic kings: the Jews. Because of their monotheistic religion and their religious practices they often established their own communities in order to preserve their tradition, although they served as mercenaries and worked as craftsmen and merchants in several places in Palestine, Egypt and Babylon (Bohak 2009: 202). As the Jews are one of the most often attested ethnic groups, in this section I will try to shed light on their behaviour towards Greek culture and *gymnasion* by referring not only to the *gymnasion* of their native land (i.e. Jerusalem) but also to the *gymnasia* of the places where they migrated.

Alexander conquered Palestine in 332 and according to Josephus (*AJ* 11.305; 336) honoured the Jews' High Priest and their God (Yahweh)<sup>155</sup> and demonstrated that he had no intention of abolishing their religious practices and traditions (Gruen 2003: 264). Although the accuracy of the account is questionable, the fact that Alexander did not abolish a monotheistic state probably reveals that he was aware of the close commercial relation between the Jews and the Greeks even from the eighth century (Feldman 1993: 3) and wanted to take advantage of it. After the death of Alexander the region became a battlefield where the Seleukids and Ptolemies fought for supremacy. With the establishment of Greek-type *poleis*, Greek administration and institutions and the Greek

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<sup>155</sup>Josephus (*AJ* 11.336): ...θύει μὲν τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑφήγησιν, αὐτόν δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀξιοπρεπῶς ἐτίμησεν.

language as the official language, Hellenism was established in the area (Cohen 2006: 225-303).

Judaea and Palestine were part of the Ptolemaic kingdom until 198. The Ptolemies 'would have little need for or purpose in repressing local governance, so long as the area remained stable – and continued to produce revenues' (Hengel 1974: 18-47). Gruen argues that 'the Ptolemies did not require the imposition of Hellenic culture upon the inhabitants of Palestine' (Gruen 2003: 265). During the fifth Syrian war (202-195 BC) Antiochos III captured Jerusalem and took control of the country (Gruen 2003: 266). The Jews supported Antiochos. The king promised to rebuild the city, to give financial benefits and to give autonomy<sup>156</sup> to the Jews (Jos. *AJ* 12.138-144). Internal quarrels had begun in the Jewish community between the High Priest, Onias III and the overseer of the Temple, Simon. Onias' brother Jason took the opportunity and asked the permission of king Antiochos IV to let the Jews return to their ancestral Law (I Macc. 1.11... πορευθῶμεν καὶ διαθώμεθα διαθήκην μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλω ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀφ' ἧς ἐχωρίσθημεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εὗρεν ἡμᾶς κακὰ πολλὰ), to establish a *gymnasion* (*AJ* 12.241: ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις) under Antiochos' authority in Jerusalem and to enrol the men of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch (II Macc. 4.9).<sup>157</sup>

In 175 BC the establishment of Greek educational institutions in Jerusalem and its transformation into a Greek-type *polis* met with little reaction from the Jews. The priests were aware of Greek culture. Their Greek names (e.g. Menelaos, Jason) reveal a pre-existing close connection between the Jewish elite and Greek culture (Gruen 2003; Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 93-105; Treblico 1991: 47). The internal struggles for power among the members of the Jewish elite, however, did not stop. Because of this disturbing situation, during the expeditions of Antiochos IV into Egypt (170/169 and

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<sup>156</sup>Josephus (*AJ* 12.142): πολιτευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκτοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους.

<sup>157</sup>II Macc.4.9: Ἰάσων ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνίου ...ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ ἕτερα διαγράψαι πενήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν, ἐὰν συγχωρηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἐφηβεῖον αὐτῷ συστήσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι.

168 BC) the Jews did not support the king as he wished. In 167 BC the king punished the Jews' disobedience by taking extreme measures: massacre, enslavement, abolition of Jewish religious practices, and the erection of pagan altars (Gruen 2003: 267; Tcherikover 1959: 175-203; Shipley 2000: 310). In this difficult period for the Jewish people arose the resistance movement of the Maccabees. In 164 the persecution was terminated and Judas Makkabaios restored the Jewish practices in Jerusalem (Bickermann 1937; Tcherikover 1959).

The cruelty of Antiochos IV's actions was unique. Neither his predecessors nor his successors had ever adopted such a policy towards the Jews. The resistance of the Jews focused mainly on the actions of the king and only secondarily on the Greek educational practices and institutions. Judas Makkabaios and his successors did not abolish Greek culture (e.g. Greek-style architecture, monetary system with joint Greek-Jewish iconography, kinship between Jews and Spartans, mythology) (Gruen 2003: 269-272). The Hasmonaian dynasty of the Jews became a Hellenistic monarchy that combined Jewish practices with Greek cultural features. The adoption of a number of elements of Greek culture did not mean Jewish disobedience towards their ancestral laws, but a selected policy that helped the Jews to construct and reinforce their sense of unique identity (Bohak 2009: 205; Gruen 2001)

### *Jews within the gymnasium of Jerusalem*

From the time of Persian domination to the beginning of the Hellenistic period the Jews enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy under their national leaders, the High Priests. They belonged to a theocratic nation where the families of the Priests ruled the people. The king<sup>158</sup> did not interfere with Jewish spiritual affairs and demonstrated tolerance towards the Law of Moses and Jewish tradition. This situation changed in the second century because of the conflict between two powerful Jewish families who sought more power and influence among the Jewish aristocracy. This struggle resulted in the conflict between the Hellenised Jews and the more conservative Jews (Hengel 1980: 117). Hellenism and Hellenistic cults were not introduced in Judaea by force but developed as a result of the needs of the Hellenised Jewish element (Gruen 2003).

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<sup>158</sup> The word 'king' is meant to imply the Persian king, Alexander the Great and his successors up to and including Antiochos III the Great.

The re-foundation of Jerusalem by Antiochos IV and the re-naming of the city after the king reveal a common policy of the Hellenistic kings towards the new ‘Greek-type’ cities. The king became the ‘divine’ guardian of the city and inaugurated a cult for himself, as ‘founder of the city’ (deification of the king); moreover, he held every political and judicial office and supervised the economic life (Ma 2003). Jason’s suggestion of making Jerusalem a Greek *polis* required the establishment of Greek institutions in the city. Probably the right of citizenship would be limited to those who could afford to participate in Greek institutions, the members of the Jewish aristocracy.

The *gymnasion* was an indispensable institution of Hellenistic *polis* and for the Greeks it was a place of athletic training and musical and literary education. For the Jewish people the *gymnasion* was not an ‘innocent’ place. In the *gymnasion* youths trained naked. According to the book of Genesis (2: 25) and Josephus (*AJ* 1.1.4) nudity was connected with Adam and Eve’s disobedience towards God and was a sign of sin and disgraceful behaviour (Poliakoff 1993: 56-62).

A very important element of Jewish religious practice was circumcision, which took place in the days after the birth of a male child (*I Macc.* 1: 15).<sup>159</sup> For orthodox Jews, circumcision was the external and visible mark of their ‘testament with the God of Israel’ (*Gen.* 17:9-14, 23-27). This ‘testament’ between Abraham and God was later confirmed by Moses (*Ex.* 4: 24-26; *John* 7: 22). For the Greeks who appreciated beauty of the human body,<sup>160</sup> circumcision was like a sacrilege. In the *gymnasion* and in the *ephebeion*, where athletes competed naked, it was impossible not to notice

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<sup>159</sup>*I Macc.* 1.14-15: ‘... καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἔθνῶν καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἀγίας καὶ ἐζευγίσθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν’.

<sup>160</sup> For Greeks the nakedness of the athletes was an element that distinguished them from the Barbarians. For further information see Thucydides, 1.6.5, Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 1.28. For further discussion on the subject see Hornblower (1991: 27-28; Poliakoff 1984: 48-65).

circumcision; this is why Jews tried to cover the sign of circumcision by an operation<sup>161</sup> and to forbid their newborn sons to undergo such a practice (Poliakoff 1993: 56-61). The reversing or avoidance of circumcision was considered a renunciation of God's testament. Traditional Jews felt the danger of assimilation with the ethnic environment; this becomes clear in the Book of Maccabees (books I and II). In addition to that, they condemned the pederastic relations that often took place in Greek education (I Macc. 1: 10-15). This practice, accepted by the Athenians and other Greeks, was not easily promoted among Near Eastern peoples (Growther 1985).

Jewish young men could participate in the *gymnasion* of the city on equal terms with the Greeks. Josephus mentions that Antiochene Jews had the right to use the same oil as the Greeks and that, if they did not want to do so, they received from the gymnasiarch a sum of money equivalent to the cost of oil (*AJ* 12.120).<sup>162</sup> From the above passage we can observe that the Jews in Antioch had the right to choose whether to assimilate totally with the Greeks or keep a more neutral position and thus not transcend their ancestral laws. The same could be argued about the sacrifices to the protecting deities of the *gymnasion* or the Hellenistic king. Young Jews could wear the ephobic garments, the *chlamys* and the *petasos* (the hat that was attributed to the protecting deity of the *gymnasion*, Hermes) (II Macc. 4.12: ... τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐφήβων ὑποτάσσων ὑπὸ πέτασον ἤγεν), but had the right to be present only as spectators in these ceremonies without active participation. On the other hand, Goldstein (1983: 230) mentions that the *petasos* was a pagan symbol on the head of young Jews, the future of the people of God, and this was considered sinful and outrageous behaviour.

The *gymnasion* of Jerusalem was built 'under the Acropolis' (ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν γυμνάσιον καθίδρυσε, II Macc. 4.12) on the hill in the eastern part of the city, where the Holy Temple stood (Tcherikover 1975: 163; Goldstein 1983; Sievers 1994;

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<sup>161</sup>This kind of operation named *epispasmos*. It was a surgical disguise of the circumcision with skin (Mazzucchi 2009: 26). For further discussion on the subject see Mazzucchi 2009: 32 note 56).

<sup>162</sup>Josephus (*AJ* 12.120): τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὴ βουλομένους ἄλλοφύλῳ ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι λαμβάνειν ὠρισμένον τι παρὰ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων εἰς ἐλαίου τιμὴν ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσεν.

Williams 2001). The fact that the *gymnasion* had been built near the Holy Temple could be explained by the aim of Hellenisers to bond Jewish practices with this Greek institution and to demonstrate that Jewish and Greek tradition could co-exist. The fact that the Jewish Priests abandoned their duties in the Temple whenever the signal from the *gymnasion* was heard and hurried to participate in the throwing of discus (II Macc.4.14)<sup>163</sup> demonstrates their close relation with Greek culture. Despite this attitude, in II Macc. 4.14 it is mentioned that athletic competitions were prohibited by the Mosaic Law (τὰς μὲν πατρώους τιμὰς ἐν οὐδενὶ τιθέμενοι) and, therefore, were contrary to Jewish beliefs.

To what extent were Hellenisers prepared to abandon their old beliefs? According to II Macc., 4: 19-20,

when a quadrennial festival was being held at Tyre, at which the king was present, Jason sent official delegates, representing them as coming from the Antiochenes of Jerusalem, with 300 drachmas of silver for sacrifice to Herakles. The delegates protested against the use of the money for the sacrifice on the grounds of impropriety, and asked that it be used for some other purpose. Actually it was used to fit out warships.

From the above passage we can assume that the Greek civilization influenced the Jews only superficially and that a great part of their religious feeling did not change. The Jews could be flexible in order to keep their conquerors satisfied and at the same time gain profits without losing their Jewish identity. Their aim was to achieve equal rights and to be initiated into Greek civilization. The Jewish relation to Greek culture was characterized by a variety of approaches. I Macc. 1.10-15, II Macc. 4.7-17 and Josephus (*AJ* 12.236) mention that the Jewish participants in the *gymnasion* committed sin against God and Jewish tradition. In II Macc. 4 it is implied that the revolt of the Maccabees began because of the participation of some members of the Jewish elite in the *gymnasion*. If we observe the dates of the events we notice that the decision for the establishment of the *gymnasion* (175 BC) was made some years before the revolt. We

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<sup>163</sup>Although the author of II Macc. was familiar with the technical terms of Greek athletics, he believed that the discus-throwing took place in the *palaistra*: ἔσπευδον μετέχειν τῆς ἐν παλαίστρᾳ παρανόμου χορηγίας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δίσκου πρόκλησιν (II Macc. 4.14).

do not know the exact time when the building was completed, but during these years there was no confrontation between the Greek and the Jewish element. The revolt of the Maccabees is synchronous with the actions of Antiochos IV against the Jewish people (167 BC). The abolition of Jewish religion and of the Temple was the real cause of confrontation. The *gymnasion* was an institution that symbolized Greek culture and for that reason had to be condemned.

Sievers (1994: 203) mentions that Jerusalem's *gymnasion* was not destroyed after the time of Jason and probably remained in use. The Jews probably participated to a lesser extent compared with the years before the revolt (II Macc. 4: 9-12). The existence of Greek institutions in the Jewish community after the movement and triumph of Judas Makkabaios, and especially the reinforcement of Greek culture and athletics by Herod the Great in the first century (74/73 to 4 BC),<sup>164</sup> reveal the existence of two parts within the same community. The traditionalist or conservative part was attached to Jewish culture, mores and practices. The more liberal part accepted Greek civilization and participated in the *gymnasion*.

The continuity of Greek culture within the Jewish community is also revealed by the fact that Philo and Paul, who lived in the early Roman period, had received Greek education. Through their writings a significant knowledge of Greek education and athletic training is revealed. Philo tried to reconcile Jewish tradition with the Greek doctrines. Paul used his Greek education either as orator to persuade his audience or as writer to describe Greek customs and practices familiar to the recipients of his letters (Schenk 2005; Andrews 1934: 150-166; Hock 2003: 208-216).

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<sup>164</sup>Herod the Great's enthusiasm for Greek culture, and especially for Greek athletics, was revealed through his actions. He endowed the office of gymnasiarch on Kos and built *gymnasia* at Tripolis (Phoenicia), Damaskos and Ptolemais (Acre-Acco). He also encouraged the participation of athletes in the *gymnasion* of Jerusalem (Harris 1976), attended the Olympic Games, accepted the office of *agonothetes* for a festival, encouraged Greek sports (running, pentathlon, jump, throwing the discus, throwing the javelin, boxing, wrestling, *pankration*, and chariot races) and athletic nudity (*AJ* 15.269) (Harris 1976). Finally, he promoted the Roman style of entertainment (wild beasts and fights between gladiators (Harris 1976: 35-36), founded quadrennial Games, the Kaisareia (*AJ* 15.269-270) and erected a hippodrome (Bulloch 1993: 271; Roller 1998: 209-212).

### *Greek gymnasium and the Jews of Diaspora*

As we already mentioned, apart from the Jews that lived in their homeland (Palestine) some of them were deported to Babylon and Egypt because of the wars during the eighth and sixth centuries, others voluntarily went to these lands in order to find a better place to live and work as mercenaries, merchants, and peasants (Gruen 2003: 272; Bohak 2009: 204). These Jews had to combine the rules, customs and traditions of the local communities with their devotion to Jewish tradition and beliefs. In I Macc. 15.22-23 it is mentioned that during the second century Jews lived in various places in Syria, in Asia Minor, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Aegean islands and in Greece.

In these places the Jews adopted some features of the local civilizations, such as their language, educational practices and customs. It is worth noting that in these foreign environments for the Jews, although they received various influences, they lived separate communal lives because of their distinctive religious customs and tradition (monotheism, observance of the Sabbath, dietary restrictions, circumcision) (Gruen 2003: 274) and preserved their unique ethnic and religious identity (Bohak 2009: 204).

### *The Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt*

The beginning of Jewish immigration to Egypt is dated after the destruction of the kingdom of Judaea in 594 BC (Tcherikover 1975: 270). Other Jews came to the Egyptian territory with the Persians in the last decades of the sixth century because of the bad conditions in Palestine. In Josephus (*AJ* 12.1) and in the *Letter of Aristeas*<sup>165</sup> (12-22) it is mentioned that under the rule of Ptolemy I a number of captive Jews came to Egypt. Some of them were used in military forces and settled as cleruchs and landholders. The rest had been used as slaves.<sup>166</sup> In Hellenistic mercenary forces and

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<sup>165</sup> The *Letter of Aristeas* to Philocrates dated to 2nd c. and was written by a courtier of Ptolemy II. The personality of Aristeas was probably fictitious (Bagnall 2002: 348-362) and its credibility often became a point of controversy (see Fraser 1972; Gruen 1998). The same happens with the installation of Jews in Egyptian territory. Some scholars (e.g. Fraser 1972; Gruen 1998) believe in the historical reliability of the text, while others, among them Hacham (2005: 1-20) point out that 'stories in *Aristeas*...do not recount historical reality ... [although] historical facts obviously exist'.

<sup>166</sup> For the discussion of scholars about the number of Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt see Fischer-Bovet 2014: 54 no. 21.

military settlements the Jews came into the closest contact with Greeks and their civilization (Gruen 2003; Bohak 2009).

Josephus (*War* II 487; *Cont. Ap.* II, 35) dates the beginning of the Jewish immigration to Egypt to the reign of Alexander, who gave the Jews permission to settle in Alexandria (Tcherikover 1975: 272). Josephus (*AJ* 14.114-118), reports that the Jews had a status of their own and does not suggest a similarity between the civic rights of Jews and Greco-Macedonians (Fraser 1972: 54). The privileges of 'Egyptian Jews' were introduced by a *politeuma* set up by the king. According to the Jewish *politeuma*, the Jews would be under the rule of an *ethnarches* or *genarches*, who would supervise the internal administration of the Jewish community. He would be the sole ruler of an autonomous community. The Jews had the right to build synagogues, to maintain independent courts of justice, to educate the youths in the spirit of the Torah, to set up communal institutions and to elect officials (*Gerousia* and Secretary) (Tcherikover 1975: 301-302).

The special privileges of the Jews gave them a higher status in the Greco-Egyptian community. Many wealthy and cultivated Jews, who belonged to influential families, acquired the right to participate in the kingdom's administration. According to Crenshaw (1998: 11-12; 1985: 612) in *Wisdom of Solomon* 7: 17-22 it is mentioned that the Jewish upper class in Alexandria also received the same education as the Greeks (they were educated in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic). This kind of education was necessary in order to acquire high positions in the administration and in the army of Ptolemaic kingdom. These men could seek the privilege of citizenship and thus participation in the *gymnasion*. The date of the permission for Jewish participation in the *gymnasion* of the city is not clear. It is certain that in the first century AD the Jews participated in it. In AD 41 the Greeks of Alexandria tried to persuade the emperor Claudius to forbid the participation of the Jews in the *gymnasion* (Feldman 1993: 57). According to Philo (*Congr.* 74-76; *Prob.* 26; 110; 141-143; *Prov.* 2.58) members of the Jewish community acquired Greek education (gymnastic training, athletics, and classical plays in the theatre) (Sterling 2001: 276-277; Gruen 2002: 68-71).

In the Ptolemaic cities as in the rural country of Egypt there were Jews who had the status of tax-Hellenes.<sup>167</sup> The acceptance of the Greek way of life in Egypt was accomplished more easily in the countryside than in the capital (Thompson 2001: 315). The Hellenization of Jewish garrison troops or cleruchs must have taken place quite rapidly. They lived in closed, mixed societies where the conditions for the acceptance of Greek language and civilization were favourable. Some Jews changed their names for Greek ones (Horbury and Noy 1992: 258-263; Collins 2000: 67; 72-73), adopted the Greek language and married non-Jews. During the Ptolemaic period the presence of a Jewish population is attested in Elephantine, in the village of Samareia, of Trikomia (Kuhs 1996) and in the village of Psenyris in the Fayum (*CPJ* I 158; 22; 28; III 206). In Elephantine there was the combined worship of God with a local goddess (Hengel 1980: 89; Grabbe 2004: 258). Gruen (2002) argues that the Jews of the diaspora participated in the life of the Greek communities and adopted some cultural elements without losing their ethnic identity. The Jews trained themselves in the *gymnasia* of the area together with other participants (Collins 2001: 47; Gruen 2002: 123-126; Kobes 2004: 241-243). This practice reinforced the social status of the Jews in the local communities (Paganini 2011: 204). Their participation in the life of mixed communities implies that they would be influenced by them. Although Greek education in the *gymnasion* confronted the monotheistic Jewish religion and Jewish practices, the Jews managed not only to survive in a foreign environment but also to keep their Jewish tradition and practices alive.

### *The Jews of Cyrene*

According to the *diagramma* of Ptolemy I (*SEG* 9. 1), the citizens of Cyrene would be 10,000. Strabo (*ap. Josephus, Ant. XIV.7 .2* [115]) describes the population groups of Cyrene (in the period between Ptolemaic and Roman rule) and mentions that the city was divided into four parts: a) the citizens b) the peasants c) the aliens of Greek origin and d) the Jews. He does not refer to the Jews as being part of the citizen body and thus the right of citizenship is under question. Strabo's passage is in accordance with two

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<sup>167</sup>The characterization Hellene in Ptolemaic Egypt was no longer connected with Greco-Macedonian origins. People from various ethnic groups belonged to the Hellenes and their common feature was their Greek education and their way of life. To these people the Ptolemies granted some financial privileges such as tax exemptions (Thompson 2001; Paganini 2011).

ephebic lists dated to the first century BC and first century AD respectively. In these inscriptions (*QAL* 4, 1981, p.19-21, nos. 6, 7) we can observe Jews named Timotheos, Theochristos, Theodotos (these three names are theophoric),<sup>168</sup> Barhubas, Onasion, Elazaros, Iesous and a combination of Greek and Jewish names such as Agathocles Elazaros.<sup>169</sup> The mixture of practices and habits makes it difficult for us to demonstrate the exact number of Jewish ephebes and we cannot be sure whether a small number of Jews had obtained the privilege of citizenship at an earlier time.<sup>170</sup> We can assume, however, that the Jews of Cyrene had little participation in the city's *gymnasion* until the last decade of the first century BC, when something seems to have changed after the imposition of Roman rule. The same event is attested in other cities such as Ptolemais in Egypt where the Jewish ephebes were allowed in the *gymnasion* in the last decade of the first century BC (*SEG* 8. 641). Applebaum (1979: 185-186) connects the participation of Jewish ephebes in the *gymnasion* and the acquisition of citizenship with the eastern policy of Augustus.

Although the Jews had several types of occupation (such as cultivators, traders, craftsmen, and soldiers), the majority of the Jews of Cyrene were military settlers who lived on royal lands outside the city. The situation of the Jews and their participation in Greek education was not everywhere the same. In another city of ancient Cyrenaica called Teucheira we can observe not only the participation of Jews in the *gymnasion* and *ephebeia* in the second century, but also a degree of assimilation with Greek culture. According to inscriptions (*SEG* 9. 440; 424; 439; 441) there were Jews as pupils in Teucheira's *gymnasion*. Not only their names (e.g. Dositheos) reveal their

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<sup>168</sup>Applebaum (1979: 150-151), on the basis of the Jewish names inscribed on the tomb *stèle* from Teucheira, mentions that the use of Greek theophoric names was very common for them. One might say that the Jews did not view these names as Greek and thus pagan. The word 'Theos' included in these names probably implied that the 'God' would protect the individuals that had these names. This approach, in combination with the good relations between the Greek and the Jewish element in the area and the mutual influence between them, became the cause of the use of these Greek theophoric names by Jews.

<sup>169</sup> This practice demonstrates that this person is mixed origin or that some Jews changed their names in order to fit in Greek culture.

<sup>170</sup> See also some Jewish inscriptions from Berenike (*SEG* 17.823) and Teucheira (*SEG* 9. 559-567; 569-570; 572-724) that demonstrate that many Jews bore purely Greek names.

descent but also the mention of their native places shows their connection with Judaea and in particular with the Judaeian villages of Huldah, Hadid and Harib.<sup>171</sup> According to Applebaum (1979: 140-141) the fact that the names of epebes appear in pairs makes us think that they were probably lovers. The use of this city's *gymnasion* by Jews demonstrates that probably had a private status and had its own rules for the participants. It was not connected with citizenship as in the biggest cities. Applebaum believes that these Jews came to Teucheira because of the Hasmonean revolt (167-160 BC). He mentions that the Jewish element was strong and that its role in the area was permanent enough to allow the establishment of Jewish villages, whose names in a similar form remained in the area until recently (Applebaum 1979: 142).

In Teucheira in the second century the Jews and the Greeks lived side by side. The Jews adopted Greek names and also Greek educational institutions. Such an attitude demonstrates that within the mixed societies of the military settlements where there were good relations among 'multiethnic soldiers' the promotion of and assimilation with the Greek element became easier than in towns and big cities such as Alexandria (Kasher 1985: 319-320). Although the connection between Jews and Greeks in Teucheira was strong, however, we can see that the level of their literacy was not very high because of the mistakes in Greek language that can be detected in the inscriptions and attributed not only to the stonecutter but also to his employer (Applebaum 1979: 155). From the above we can assume that the acceptance of Greek culture and the degree of knowledge of Greek language varied and depended on the educational level of each Jew.

The first Jews that were introduced into the life of the *gymnasia* of Cyrenaica during the Hellenistic era did not totally reject their traditional practices in order to enter the ranks of the Greek elite (Gruen 2002: 123) but combined their ethnic origins with some Greek elements and rejected others. This becomes evident from the lively Jewish community that existed in the area after the Hellenistic rule.

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<sup>171</sup> In *SEG* 9.424; 439; 441 we observe the names of the homelands of some of the Jewish participants in the *gymnasion* of Teucheira: Χυλδαῖος, Ἀριβαῖος, Ἀδδιδαῖος. According to Applebaum (1979:141), these refer to the Jewish villages of Huldah, Harib and Hadid.

### *Conclusion to 4.1.2 (b)*

In the above section we observed that an ethnic group with its own religious beliefs, customs and peculiarities managed to combine its uniqueness with some features of Greek culture. We observed that in Jerusalem, which was the kernel of Jewish tradition, some natives, who belonged mostly to the upper echelons of the community, approached Greek culture, while others had a less positive attitude towards it. Greek education remained in use in the city until the Roman period although without influencing the majority of the Jews. In the areas outside Palestine where the Jews had to live and work in a polytheistic environment, they managed to safeguard their beliefs and traditions and to approach more closely the Greek way of life in order to fit in the new environments, to acquire prestigious positions or to have an education that could help them improve their status.

### **4.1.3. Ptolemaic Egypt**

As we have already observed the attitudes of the native populations of Asia Minor and Syria-Phoenicia towards Greek education and the *gymnasion*, we will now move further south to Egypt in order to study the situation in the Ptolemaic Kingdom and the attitudes of the Egyptians.

The Ptolemies like the Seleukids established their kingdom in an area that had been under Persian occupation. Unlike the Seleukids, the Ptolemies did not found Greek-type *poleis*. Only three of the Ptolemies (Ptolemy I, II and III) were founders of towns; these were not only in the soil of Egypt but also in Syria, Red Sea Basin and Cyrenaica (Cohen 2006: 400-401). Naukratis (dated from the 7th c.), Alexandria (established by Alexander) and Ptolemais or Πτολεμαῖς Ἐρμείου (established by Ptolemy I Soter) had the status of a *polis* (Bagnall 2004: 79-81; 173). The rest of the Egyptian territory, the rural country, was divided into administrative regions called *nomoi* and had as administrative centres the *metropoleis* which were the capitals of the *nomoi* (Rowlandson 2003: 255-256; 262). In the rest of the country there were towns and villages where populations of various ethnic origins co-existed. In the Ptolemaic kingdom, as a whole, the population consisted mainly of Egyptians and secondly of other ethnic groups such as Greeks, Thracians, Persians, Arabs and Jews (Cohen 2006).

The Greeks at the beginning of the Ptolemaic era constituted approximately twenty percent of the total population of Egypt (Thompson 2001: 302-303; Thompson 2003: 111). According to Thompson (2001: 303) because of the co-existence of various ethnic groups that lived in the Egyptian territory ‘...distinctions between the two main ethnic groups [Egyptian and Greek] are more easily made in the first century of Ptolemaic rule than in later periods’. Except for Greco-Macedonian settlers who lived in the three Greek-type *poleis* the majority of them lived in the *chôra* of Egypt, especially in Lower Egypt. The Ptolemies distributed *kleroi* (allotments of land) to their soldiers throughout the *nomoi* (districts of administration), which would provide income to the soldiers and their families (Diod.19.85.4). In these military colonies the soldiers tried to safeguard their tradition and culture but were influenced by the foreign environment in which they lived. Many of the immigrants and soldiers kept the citizenship of their home *polis* and identified themselves by the *polis* of their origins (Meleze-Modrzejewski 1983: 248-252; Burstein 2008: 72).

In contrast with the cities of the Seleukid kingdom (where non-Greeks had limited access to the institution of *gymnasion* in the early Hellenistic times), in the Ptolemaic kingdom and especially in the *gymnasia* of the *metropoleis* and those of the rural country various ethnic groups participated in them, thus constructing a fruitful environment for mutual influence among the participants (e.g. soldiers, ephebes, *neaniskoi* and probably *basilistai*) (Habermann 2004: 336-337; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 282).

Although our evidence for the Ptolemaic period is sparse and complex<sup>172</sup> (e.g. non-Greeks adopting Greek names [Clarysse 1985], the body of our evidence dating mainly to the Roman times, and the existence of multicultural societies with various influences), we will try to observe the interaction between Egyptian and Greeks within the Ptolemaic *gymnasion*. The criterion for the admission to the Ptolemaic *gymnasion*

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<sup>172</sup>In the previous Chapters (1, 2, and 3) we have noted that although in some cases we have no direct attestation of the *gymnasion*, the existence of the names of officials of the *gymnasion* (e.g. *gymnasiarch*), of its participants (e.g. ephebes, *neaniskoi*) or of deities that were connected with the *gymnasion* (e.g. Hermes and Herakles) demonstrate the existence of the institution in the area (Paganini 2011; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 281).

was not Greco-Macedonian descent and as is revealed by the decision of the *boule* of Ptolemais (to admit to the *gymnasion* and to citizenship fifteen men from the best inhabitants of the area: εἰσαγαγέσθαι δὲ εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πολιτογραφῆσαι ἄνδρας δεκαπέντε ὄντας ἀξίους τοῦ τόπου, *I.Prose* 27, 104 BC). The ‘best inhabitants’ were not only the most capable and eminent ones, but also those who had the financial status to support the *gymnasion* and to cover the expenses that the members of the *gymnasion* had to cover. In this inscription there is no reference to the ethnicity of the participants but only an indirect mention of their social and financial capability.

The connection between citizenship and admission to the *gymnasion* is a controversial issue for the cities of Ptolemaic Egypt. In the aforementioned inscription the *boule* of Ptolemais considered the citizenship and the *gymnasion* two different things, which has led some scholars to believe that the *ephebeia* and *gymnasion* were disconnected from citizenship (Delorme 1960: 428; Fraser 1972: 77; Delia 1991: 73-75). We could consider this as evidence of the opening of the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* to other ethnic groups apart from Greco-Macedonians. This was certainly true in the rural country, where there were no civic structures. But also in cities there were some parameters, such as social and financial status, that had a prominent role in admission to the *gymnasion*.

In Ptolemaic Egypt there existed the status of ‘Hellene’. With the term ‘Hellenes’ in the Ptolemaic kingdom we mean the non-Greeks that belonged to the middle or upper class, who were educated according to the doctrines of Greek culture, had various occupations (from officials and administrators to soldiers, teachers and athletes) and enjoyed civic and financial privileges (such as tax exemptions). They separated themselves from the rest of the population and adopted the Greek way of life (Modrzejewski 1983; Paganini 2011).

Often it is difficult to separate the Hellenes that were introduced into the *gymnasion* from the Greco-Macedonians.<sup>173</sup> Although the Hellenes came from different

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<sup>173</sup> Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the ethnic origins of the participants in the *gymnasion* because many Egyptians and especially those of the locale elite received Greek names (Clarysse 1985; Moyer

backgrounds, they learned the Greek language, adopted Greek habits and respected Greek tradition and culture. Their admission to the *gymnasion* and to its practices (training, religious processions, participation in athletic competitions, banquets) constructed a common background among the members of this Hellenized group of inhabitants that reflected their privileged position in the Ptolemaic kingdom (Launey 1949/50: II 865-869; Thompson 2003: 111; Manning 2007: 450; Paganini 2011: 259-260).

Because of the scarcity of evidence about the participation of Egyptians in the *gymnasia* of the *poleis*, our efforts to acquire a clearer picture are based mainly on assumptions. On the one hand, the example from the *gymnasion* of Ptolemais (where the criteria of admission reveal a more tolerant policy towards the participants) and on the other hand evidence from early Roman Egypt that demonstrates the restriction of entry by Egyptians to the Alexandria *gymnasion* (Ruffini 2006: 71-99) make the picture unclear. This situation has caused the expression of opposing scholarly opinions about the participation of Egyptians in the *poleis' gymnasia*.<sup>174</sup>

In the *chôra* the Egyptians came into close contact with other ethnicities. Especially after 186 and the restoration of royal power throughout the *chôra*, Greeks and non-Greeks lived side by side and produced a culturally mixed population (Clarysse 1985; 1988). Goudriaan (1988: 12), referring to the multicultural environment of Egypt, argues that the common life ‘...made most ethnic boundaries irrelevant in the end’; this fact allowed non-Greeks to participate in the Greek way of life. We could say that the multi-ethnic character of the Ptolemaic army<sup>175</sup> (*OGIS* 130; *SB* 6184) between the third

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2011: 22). Fischer-Bovet (2014: 284) suggests that ‘the onomastic criteria had become ambiguous by that time [mid-2nd c. – 1st c.] and that the context of the army and the gymnasium would encourage individuals with double names to use their Greek names, making Greco-Egyptians and Egyptians almost impossible to identify’.

<sup>174</sup> Launey (1949/50: II 863 - 868), Préaux (1978: 565), Peremans (1971; 1979), Delorme (1960: 427; 478) and Fraser (1961: 144f; 1972: I 77).

<sup>175</sup> The existence of Jews, Persians and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army is attested in lists of officers and men. According to this evidence (*OGIS* 130; *SB* 6184), 20 per cent of the names were not Greek. Polybios (5.79; 5.82; 15.25.3, 17-18) refers to the Ptolemaic army (in 206 BC) where among the soldiers and their officials there were many non-Greeks (Libyans, Egyptians, Thracians and Gauls). These men

and second century, the fact that it is stationed in towns and villages in the *chôra* of Egypt (away from the civic frame of the Egyptian *poleis*), and the tolerance of mixed marriages (especially in the second or third generation of settlers) create a multi-ethnic society and permit the osmosis of the Greek and non-Greek elements (Clarysse 2006: 297; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 250). The *gymnasion* of the rural country followed these developments. According to the following attestation, the presence of non-Greeks, even Egyptians, was significant. The ex-ephebes of the *gymnasia* of the *chôra* were divided into groups called *haireseis* (Brady 1936; Marrou 1964). The grouping corresponds to the year in which the ephebes undertook their ephebic training. In the area of Fayoum there were three *haireseis*: the *hairesis* of Ammonios (*Fayoum* III 200, 98 BC), the *hairesis* of Asklepiades son of Asklepiades (*Fayoum* III 201, 95 BC) and *hairesis* of Paraibatos (*Fayoum* III 202, 94 BC). According to our evidence, these groups of ex-ephebes trained under the same officials and made dedications to the Egyptian gods. The name of the third leader (Παραίβατος or Παραιβάτης) of the *hairesis* of Fayoum could be Egyptian (Brady 1936: 14). This supports the participation of natives and their leading roles in some of the ephebic groups and their connection with the Ptolemaic army.<sup>176</sup>

Another group of former ephebes in our evidence was that of the *neaniskoi*. The status of *neaniskoi* and their presence in the *gymnasion* has become a point of controversy among scholars (Habermann 2014: 343-344). In Hermonthis (at Krokodilopolis) the *neaniskoi* were arbitrators of a dispute (Wilcken, *Chr.* 11, 123 BC); in Philadelpheia the *neaniskoi* with the gymnasiarch had official control of festivals in the town (*BGU* vi 1256, 2nd c.). The *neaniskoi* of Ombos sent a petition to King Ptolemy VIII and Queen Kleopatra III and received a positive answer (*Prose sur pierre* 21; Thèbes à Syène 189,

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lived in military settlements and villages in the rural country and it was possible to use the *gymnasion* as a training place.

<sup>176</sup>Participation of Greeks and non-Greeks in the royal army is attested in several inscriptions (*OGIS* 130, *SB* 6184). In an inscription from Setis in Upper Egypt (*I.Th.Sy.* 303- 143/2 BC) there is a reference to a *kosmetes* who was the leader of an association called the *basilistai*. The *kosmetes* probably connected the association with the *gymnasion* (Paganini 2011:116; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 280-290). The *basilistai* and the *philobasilistai* (*SB* 14728, 103 BC) were associations of military character. Their members belonged to different ethnic groups and were former soldiers. They had a very close relation with the ruler cult and were loyal and devoted to the royal house (Paganini 2011: 119-120; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 282; 287).

135 BC). In their reply to the request the royal couple mentioned that the petition had been brought by the participants in the *gymnasion* of Ombos (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ὀμβοῖς γυμνασίου). The above examples reveal the connection of *neaniskoi* with the *gymnasion* and their official or semi-official duties.<sup>177</sup> In a document from Theadelphia (*SB* 5022) dated to the late Ptolemaic period (2nd-1st c.) there is reference to the association of *neaniskoi* from the Osireion. According to this document, there was a synod of *neaniskoi* (former ephebes) from the Osireion (was either a *gymnasion* or a place where the cult of Osiris was performed by members of the *gymnasion*).<sup>178</sup> Their officials were an *archiereus* and a *prostates* (Fayoum II 119). The name of the *prostates* (Πετοσορονῶφρος προ[στάτου]) was Egyptian. The connection of *neaniskoi* with the *gymnasion* and their public actions, the multi-ethnic composition of their association and their participation in religious practices induce us to believe that *neaniskoi* had an eminent social status and probably belonged to the Ptolemaic army. The Osireion was either a *gymnasion* or a temple for Greek and Egyptian members of the *gymnasion*. This reveals the amalgamation of Greek and Egyptian cultural elements in the *chôra* of Egypt that occurred especially after the reign of Ptolemy IV. Similar information comes from Thebes and is dated between 118 and 116 (*RA* 1901, I, 308). According to this evidence, former ephebes dedicated not only to Hermes and Herakles as the protector-gods of the *gymnasion* but also to the protector-gods of the area and to the Egyptian gods (Habermann 2004: 342-343). Fischer-Bovet rightly points out that ‘if some aspects of Egyptian religion were entering the gymnasium in the Fayyum, where up to 30 percent of inhabitants may have been of Greek origin, one can expect that this happened elsewhere in the *chôra* as well where the Greek population was much smaller’.

#### CONCLUSION TO 4.1.3

In Egypt the interaction of Greco-Macedonians and non-Greeks is attested mainly in the *chôra* rather than in the *poleis* (van Bremen 2003: 319; Clarysse 1995:18-19;

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<sup>177</sup>For the multiple role of *neaniskoi* in the Ptolemaic kingdom see Habermann 2004: 342-342 and Paganini 2011: 172 footnote 467.

<sup>178</sup>Legras (1999: 214-216) considers the *neaniskoi* from the Osireion as members of the *gymnasion*. On the contrary Paganini (2011: 118) raises his doubts about it.

Thompson 2001: 315). In the *chôra* indigenous Egyptians, Greek and non-Greek mercenaries, soldiers and settlers (e.g. Jews, Thracians, Arabs, Persians) came into contact with each other by participating in communities with mixed cultural and religious elements (Cohen 2006).<sup>179</sup> In Chapter 3 we observed that a Persian and a Thracian gymnasiarch were responsible for the function of the *gymnasia* in the territory of Egypt; in a previous section (4.1.2b) we noted the presence of Jews in the Ptolemaic *gymnasia*; in this part we have observed that in the mixed communities of the Egyptian *chôra* Egyptian and Greco-Macedonian ephebes and *neaniskoi* trained side by side and performed religious practices.

We may conclude that in the Ptolemaic kingdom the tolerant policy of the kings towards the introduction of non-Greeks Greek education, the syncretism of religious practices, private initiative from the royal entourage for the foundation and the maintenance of the *gymnasion*, the life of multi-ethnic groups in the villages and settlements, and the introduction of Egyptians into the Ptolemaic army in the second century created the framework of intercultural relations between Greco-Macedonians and Egyptians.

The willingness of some non-Greeks and Greeks to live in a multi-ethnic environment, and to accept and to be influenced by the symbiosis of multi-ethnic cultural characteristics, contributed to the function of the Ptolemaic *gymnasion* in the *chôra* of Egypt. It is impossible to consider that all the Egyptians accepted the Greek way of life. There were Egyptians that received the status of Hellenes, who mainly belonged in the local elite and approached willingly the Greek way of life in order to gain personal profit.<sup>180</sup> Some of them could adjust to Greek or Egyptian culture depending on the circumstances. Based on the syncretism of religious practices, the mixed marriages, the bilingual people and the parallel symbiosis of various cultural elements in the Egyptian territory we can see that in this area emerged a local elite that was culturally and

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<sup>179</sup>In Egypt the interaction between the Greco-Macedonian and Egyptian population was more frequent during the 2nd c. than in the previous century (van Bremen 2003: 319).

<sup>180</sup>For the inclusion of members of the Egyptian elite in the Ptolemaic court and their close relation to the king (*syngenes*) and their adoption of Greek customs and habits see Moyer (2011) and Strootman (2011; 2014).

ethnically mixed (Fischer-Bovet: 2007: 2). On the other hand, there was the rest of the Egyptian population that constituted the majority of the population and the rest of the local elite who were attached to Egyptian tradition and practices and did not want to divert from them (Fischer-Bovet 2014; 2015).

#### 4.1.4. The Near East

We will now examine the impact of Greek culture and *gymnasion* on the non-Greek populations of the Near East. This part of the kingdom was far from Greece but had its own long traditions and cultures. Southern Mesopotamia was an area with important ancient cities such as Babylon, Borsippa, Uruk and Nippur that are mentioned in the Hellenistic cuneiform texts (van der Spek 2008: 426). Other cities such as Susa, Ecbatana, Baktra and Samarkand continued to be important cities in the area even in the Hellenistic period (van der Spek 2008: 426).

#### SELEUKEIA-ON-TIGRIS

We first consider the area that Seleukos I chose to make the original centre of his kingdom containing his capital, Seleukeia-on-Tigris (Strabo 16.1.5).<sup>181</sup> This was a city with inhabitants of different cultural backgrounds: Greco-Macedonians, Babylonians,<sup>182</sup> Syrians and Jews (Sherwin-White 1993: 172; van der Spek 1987: 66; 2009: 106). The city was a flourishing political and economic centre (Apergis 2004: 37-38; Cohen 2013: 20). Although there is evidence for the presence of a Greek element in the city there is not sufficient evidence for the education of the Greek or Hellenized population. Traina (2005: 2) refers to a decree of Magnesia on the Meander (*OGIS* 233, 205 BC) in which an embassy of citizens asks for recognition of the celebrations in honour of Artemis Leukophryene and invites people from the Greek cities to participate in this Panhellenic festival. Among the cities are those of the Greek East such as Seleukeia-on-Tigris and

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<sup>181</sup>For suggested founding dates of Seleukeia on Tigris, ranging from 311 to 300 BC, see Cohen (2013: 163) and Hadley (1978: 228-229).

<sup>182</sup> According to Pausanias (1.16.3) ‘... Σελεύκειαν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν συνοίκους ...’. Josephus (*AJ* 18. 372) mentions that in the 1st c. AD the inhabitants of the city were mainly Μακεδόνες, Ἕλληνας, Σύριοι. Cohen (2013: 159) argues that the Syrians were probably the Babylonians. For further discussion see also Goodblatt (1987: 605-622).

Susa. Although we have no further evidence about the participants in these competitions we may infer that the city of Seleukeia-on-Tigris was considered one of the important cities of the Greek world.

According to a chronicle fragment (in the archives of the British Museum) dated to 163/2, the *politai* (citizens) of Seleukeia had the right to anoint themselves with oil (van der Spek 2009: 108). This chronicle does not explain who had the right of citizenship, but Macedonian civic institutions were introduced into the city (e.g. governor, council of elders [*peliganes*]) (van der Spek 2007:431).<sup>183</sup> The Greco-Macedonians surely had the right of citizenship, and probably also some of the eminent non-Greek inhabitants of the city approached the Greek way of life (Strootman 2013). Anointing with oil is connected with the participation in the *gymnasion* and the athletic training of young men.

The existence of a *gymnasion* or a *plaistra* in the second century as a training place for the athletes is confirmed because, according to epigraphic evidence, athletes from Seleukeia-on-Tigris participated in athletic contests in Greece.<sup>184</sup> According to an inscription dated to the first century (when the city was under Parthian rule) there is an incomplete reference to the name of the gymnasiarch of the city (...ιναῖος Φερενίκου γυμνασίαρχος ἔτους: *IK Estremo Oriente* 81). In 141 the city was conquered by the Parthian ruler Mithradates I and continued its existence as one of the capitals of the Parthian Empire.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> For the administrative role of *peliganes* see Sarakinski (2010: 31-46).

<sup>184</sup> *Hesperia* 60: 188: Ἀσκληπιόδωρος Τριβαλλοῦ Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ Τίγριος ἡνίοχος, 162/1 BC; *I.K. Estremo Oriente* 78: victors' list from Kos dated to the 2nd c. mentions: ...δεύτερος Λεωδάμας Ἀντιγόνου Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ Τίγριος list from Lebadeia in Boiotia dated to the 1st c. mentions four athletes (boys and men) from Seleukeia on Tigris who won in δίαυλον, πένταθλον and πάλην. These men were sons of colonial soldiers that settled in the city. For the Thracian origins of the name Triballos see (Robert 1968).

<sup>185</sup> For the continued Greek character of the city see Cohen (2013: 375).

## BABYLON

Apart from Seleukeia-on-Tigris, Babylon, a city with a long cultural tradition, provides us with information about the presence of non-Greeks in the city's *gymnasion*. Arrian (*Anabasis* 3.16.4) mentions that Greco-Macedonian soldiers were stationed in the city in 331. A Greek *ostrakon* text (dated to the 3rd c.) also attests the presence of a garrison under Greek officers in the city (Sherwin-White 1993: 155). The soldiers of the garrison probably had a *palaistra* or a *gymnasion* for their training. The archaeological excavations at Homera (the area in which the Greco-Macedonian community was situated) have revealed a theatre and a rectangular building, probably a *palaistra* where the young men trained themselves (Sherwin-White 1993: 156-158).

Alexander intended to make Babylon his royal residence (Strabo 15.2.10). He was attracted by Babylonian culture and tradition and although he introduced Greek institutions into the city he did not intend to transform it into a Greek *polis*. Babylon remained an important religious centre and followed its Babylonian traditions (van der Spek 1987: 65). But after the king's death and the Successors' wars events took a different turn. Seleukos I founded a new capital (c. 311-300 BC), Seleukeia-on-Tigris that stood on the west bank of the river (unlike Babylon, which stood in the plain between Tigris and Euphrates). According to *Babylonian Chronicle* (BCHP 5),<sup>186</sup> the Greco-Macedonians who lived in Babylon were relocated to the new capital (van der Spek 2009: 106-107). The lack of Greek elements in the city is attested by the few Greek names in the cuneiform tablets until the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes and the limited influence of Greek architectural forms (van der Spek 2009: 108). The situation probably changed during the reign of Antiochos, who was considered the founder and benefactor of the city (*OGIS* 253: l. 2-3: ... κτίσ[του καὶ εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως, 166 BC). Antiochos (*Greek Community Chronicle*, BCHP 14, mid-2nd c.) reinforced the population of the city with Greco-Macedonian settlers and introduced a Greek community.<sup>187</sup> The Greco-Macedonians acquired their own constitution and administration (van der Spek 2009:108).

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<sup>186</sup>For the texts and commentaries of the Babylonian Chronicles see online: <http://www.livius.org>.

<sup>187</sup>For the ambiguous dating of the introduction of *politeia* in the city of Babylon (during the reign of Antiochos IV or Antiochos III) see Boiy 2004: 207-209 and van der Spek 2009.

The Greco-Macedonians who settled at Babylon had political rights as citizens (*politai* or ‘pu-li-te-e; pu-li-ta-nu according to astronomical diaries from 169 BC onwards’)<sup>188</sup> of the city and also had the right to anoint themselves (van der Spek 2009: 107-108) and thus to participate in the *gymnasion* and in athletic competitions (*Greek Community Chronicle*, *BCHP* 14, mid-2nd c.). According to the *Politai Chronicle* (*BCHP* 13, 2nd c.) the term *polites* (*pu-li-te-e*) meant the Greeks or Hellenized inhabitants of Babylon that participated in the Greek way of life, and not those with political rights (van der Spek 1987: 68-69). Van der Spek, based on the information that derives from cuneiform tablets, suggests that a great number of Babylonians had Greek names and were influenced by Greek culture (1987: 68-69). We could argue that this kind of evidence alone does not reflect the degree of Hellenization of an individual and it cannot be considered sufficient evidence on its own. Baker (2013), on the basis of the burial practices of members of the native elite, concludes that some of them bore double names (Babylonian and Greek), imitated Greek customs and differentiated themselves from the rest of the native population.<sup>189</sup> It is true that the practice of the double naming was an old habit of the Babylonians, as even during the Persian occupation the Babylonian members of the elite used to take Persian names beside their own (Sherwin-White 1993: 151). From the above evidence, however, we could argue that some Babylonians may be among the Hellenized citizens who participated in the *gymnasion*; they belonged to the upper class and for personal reasons chose to follow a Greek life-style.

The Babylonian *gymnasion* was not an institution of a typical Greek-type *polis*. Babylon was an old religious centre with its own administration. Clancier (2012: 322-324) mentions that in the city there was no indication of ethnic restrictions and thus probably non-Greeks could participate in the Greek way of life. According to the *Greek Community Chronicle* (*BCHP* 14), the native inhabitants of Babylon had their own community (governor, council, local administration of their temples) that functioned along with the Greco-Macedonian community (governor [*epistates*], council of elders

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<sup>188</sup> [http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-greeks/greeks\\_02.html](http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-greeks/greeks_02.html)

<sup>189</sup> For further discussion on the non-ethnic boundaries in the Ptolemaic and Seleukid kingdoms as regards the introduction of the native elite in the royal court see Strootman 2011: 66.

[*peliganes*] and assembly) (van der Spek 2006: 272, 284-288; Coloru 2013: 41 n.27). The fact that the Greek and Babylonian communities continued to coexist in the same city and to follow their own laws and administration during the Seleukid era means that we cannot speak about a typical Greek *polis* but about a co-existence of Greek institutions with Babylonian traditional institutions (Sherwin 1993: 158; van der Spek 1987: 66-67; Briant 1998: 13).

It is attested by a Greek inscription written on a clay tablet (Haussoullier 1903, 352-353, no 1; *SEG* 7. 39) dated during the reign of king Arsakes Epiphanes and Philhellene in the Parthian period (late 2nd c.) that Babylonian youths received military training.<sup>190</sup> This inscription is a victors' list from competitions that took place in the *gymnasion*. The winners were the *ephebes* and the *neoi* who had the most victories in *gymnasion* competitions during the year. The *ephebes* and the *neoi* trained in bow, javelin, *thyreos*, *koilahopla*, *dolichos* and *stadion*. The athletic and military education that they received was similar to that of young men in other parts of the Greek world.<sup>191</sup>

Some very important points can be made from the victors' list. Firstly, the names of the *ephebes* and *neoi* in the inscription are all Greek and are followed only by their Greek patronymic. The fact that all the names are Greek does not necessarily indicate that for

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<sup>190</sup>The existence of the Babylonian *gymnasion* during the Parthian period (Haussoullier 1903, 352-3, no 1; *SEG* 7.39) and the athletic training and competitions of young men until the 2nd c. AD reveals that Greek education continued to be a pole of attraction for Greco-Macedonians and non-Greeks for a long period after Seleukid rule ended in 141 BC (van der Spek 2009: 110-111). The king referred to in the victors' list was 'the Great Arsakes the Philhellene'. His name demonstrates his close relation with Greek tradition and the Greeks. Burstein argues that 'the adoption of the title Philhellene by various Parthian rulers indicates that the Parthians actively fostered the survival of Greek identity to rally Greek support to their rule' (Burstein 2008: 70).

<sup>191</sup>Military training received the *ephebes* and *neoi* as in Athens (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 957 II 61-62; *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 958 II 77-78, 2nd c.), Beroia (*SEG* 43. 381; 54. 602(1), 2nd c.); Amphipolis (*Ergon* 1984, 22-24, 1st c.); Larisa (*IG* IX 2, 527, 1st c.); Koresia (*IG* XII 5, 167 l. 28-33 and *IG* XII 5, 647; 3rd c.); Samos (*IG* XII 6, 179, 200 BC; *IG* XII 6, 181, 2nd c.); Erythrai (*I. Erythraii* 81, 1st c.); Tralleis (*I. Tralleis* 106; 107; 3rd/2nd c.); Kyanai (*I. As.Min.* SW II 28, 2nd c.); Pergamon (*I. Pergamon* II 256; *MDAI* (A) 33. 1908, 381-383, no.3, 1st c.).

these individuals their Hellenic identity was their sole, or primary, ethnicity.<sup>192</sup> As we mentioned earlier the use of a double name was a common practice for Babylonians that continued in the Seleukid period and probably later. We can assume that Greco-Macedonians and some Hellenized Babylonians were participants in the *gymnasion*. In addition to this there is no reference to the location of young men's origins in the inscription. We could argue that this demonstrates that the participation in the *gymnasion* was restricted only to the young men who considered themselves members of a Greco-Macedonian community. Even if some of the young men were Greco-Macedonians by descent we cannot distinguish them from the Hellenized Babylonians. Moreover, in the victors' list there is no reference to Hermes and Herakles, the protector-gods of the *gymnasion*. We could suggest that because the inscription is dated to the Parthian period the Greek gods fell into oblivion. But if we combine some important information that derives from archaeological finds, we will understand that the problem is complicated. The archaeological reports from the excavations in the city of Babylon show that there are remains of a theatre and a *palaistra* (Wetzel 1957) but a Greek temple has not been excavated yet in the city; in addition to this, the *Babylonian Astronomical Diaries* report that the Babylonians and the Greco-Macedonians made offerings in the Esagila (*BCHP* 6: dated to 324-261 BC), the temple of the supreme Babylonian deity (van der Spek 2009: 110-111; Ma 2003: 180, 189). The importance of the temple and the absence of a Greek temple/shrine of Hermes and Herakles could suggest that the young men of the *gymnasion*, as part of the Greek community, could make offerings in this temple. This hypothesis reinforces our belief about different ethnic entities co-existing in the same city without them losing the core of their tradition.

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<sup>192</sup>Lendering comments the names on the inscription and notes 'that all these names are purely Greek, but also note the preponderant position of the theophoric names with *Dio-* = Bêl, *Apollo* = Nabû, *Artemis* = Nanaia, *Herakles* = Nergal. The element *-doros* may well represent the Babylonian *iddin* "he/she gave". These people with pure Greek names may have been Babylonians with Babylonian names and have had a "multiple ethnic identity". Cf. Artemidoros, son of Diogenes, who is also called Minnanaios, son of Touphaios in a Greek inscription from Uruk dated to 110 CE' (Lendering 2006). Source of information: <http://www.livius.org/sources/content/the-babylon-gymnasium-inscription/>

Apart from military and athletic education during the second century the doctrines of the Stoic philosophy flourished in Babylon (van der Spek 2009: 110). The Stoic philosopher Archedamos of Tarsos (c.140 BC) (Plut. *De Exilio* 14. 605B) established his school at Babylon. The Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon (Strabo 16.1.16), born in Seleukeia on the Tigris (230-150 BC) and educated in Athens, was persuaded by the Stoic philosopher Zenon of Tarsos to study the doctrines of Greek philosophy (Plutarch, *De Alex. Frot.* 1.5.328D). The Stoic philosopher Apollodorus of Seleukeia (c. 150 BC) was a student of Diogenes of Babylon. Some philosophers used to deliver lectures in special rooms in the *gymnasion*. Although the archaeological excavations did not reveal the exact structures of the building complex of the *gymnasion*, we can suppose that the young men had the possibility to attend some philosophical lectures.

The impact of Greek education on the Greco-Babylonians is revealed through the writings of the philosopher and philologist Herodikos from Babylon who lived during the second century (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 5.222).<sup>193</sup> In one of his poems, Herodikos puts together Greece and Babylon in the context of the contest between two grammatical schools, the Aristarcheans who focused on grammatical issues and himself who suggests a more ‘colorful language’ (Haubold 2013:179 and no.7). It is a fact that the Greek language and philosophy attracted the interest of many Babylonians and some of them became eminent philologists and philosophers. In this contest Herodikos wins: ‘the losers are banished from Hellas while Herodicos alone claims Greece for himself...together with Babylon’ (Haubold 2013: 179). Although the ethnic origins of Herodikos are not clear from the poem we may assume that the mention of Babylon in the last line of his poem is related with his native land (van der Spek 2005). This passage reveals the multi-cultural aspect of the city of Babylon. This phenomenon of cultural duality in a city was not unique and was certainly not limited to the Hellenistic period. As long as certain individuals came into contact with tradition either as soldiers and colonists or as civilians or merchants, the rules, mores and values of another society could create the conditions for the creation of multi-directional cultural interactions and influences.

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<sup>193</sup>“Ἡρωδίκῳ δὲ Ἑλλάς ἀεὶ μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβυλῶν”: Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 5. 222. For a commentary of the poem see van der Spek 2005: 198-214.

#### TOWARDS AN ACCULTURATION OF THE BABYLONIAN ELITE?

The most interesting examples of this process come from the ancient Babylonian city of Uruk. Under the kingship and support of Antiochos I and Antiochos II a huge central sanctuary (Bit Resh) was built in the city. It followed the typical Babylonian form in combination with a frieze similar to that of the Greek temples (Doty 1977: 26-27).

Behind this work were two governors from the leading families of the city with Hellenizing tendencies (Falkenstein 1941: 4-7). According to cuneiform texts found in the area, their preference for Greek culture led to the combination of cultural elements but they mainly acted like pure Babylonians (Oelsner 2002: 187). According to other evidence from the same city, the governors in 244 and 201 received from the king a second Greek name beside their own, the first called Anu-uballit-Nikarchos and the other Anu-uballit-Kephalon. During the kingship of Antiochos III there was a tendency for attachment of Greek names next to one's own name (Kuhrt 1996: 50; van der Spek 1994: 605). The majority of double names belonged to the elite of Babylonian society; we cannot assume that nomenclature was considered as a unique element of acculturation. Of course, a Greek name beside a native Babylonian name demonstrated a change. The Greek name was either a parent's choice (habit or fashion), a deliberate personal action (in order to promote the recognition of a person as part of the Greco-Macedonian community), or was given by the king (Sherwin-White 1983). It was an element that demonstrated the person's recognition of Greek culture. Sherwin-White argues that this habit was not new: Nebuchadnezzar gave Babylonian names to the Jewish members of the elite, the noble Babylonians added a Persian name beside their native names during the Achaemenid conquest and the Jews from the powerful families received Greek names (Sherwin-White 1983: 215).

Anu-uballit-Kephalon was a member of the administration of the temple at Uruk and thus had a very prestigious position. In the inscriptions he uses three languages, Sumerian, Akkadian and Aramaic. This practice demonstrates his multi-cultural background. He wrote and spoke Sumerian and Akkadian, as the scribes of the Temples did hundreds of years before him; he spoke Aramaic, the language of everyday life; he spoke Greek to his king and Greco-Macedonian officials. This multi-cultural identity gave him the opportunity to become the bridge between the indigenous population and

the new rulers of his country. He married a Greek woman and gave his children Greek names (Doty 1988: 95-118). His attachment to Greek culture promoted personal benefit. His education, his mixed marriage and his position reveal a pure Babylonian who would like to preserve his position in the new Greco-Macedonian world by adopting some Greco-Macedonian elements. Like other members of the elite, he probably knew how to shift identities and to adapt to the circumstances.

Monerie (2012: 339) connects the Greco-Babylonian names of the Anu-uballit family with economic agreements between the powerful family and king Antiochos III. We observe the same attitude in Jerusalem with the Oniads. When Antiochos III died the temple families lost the support they used to have. The successors of the king diminished the influence of the temples and that of the powerful families. In the first half of the second century the kings seem to have stopped granting personal names (Sherwin-White 1983: 215). This practice is restricted to the leading elite of the city who expected to gain profits from the new conquerors and preserve their economic and political status (Oelsner 2002: 190).

According to cuneiform texts, the literate elite of the Babylonian continued to train according to the Babylonian doctrines. Priests, scholars and scribes enjoyed the royal favour and preserved the Babylonian tradition (Oelsner 2002: 188). The first generation of Hellenistic kings collaborated with the native aristocracy in order to establish their rule (Vlassopoulos 2013: 287). In this environment the Babylonian Berossos wrote his *Babyloniaca* in Greek and presented his native culture, religion and traditions to the new overlords. Berossos had a very eminent place as priest of Bel-Marduk, the patron god of Babylon. He received traditional education and used the Sumerian, Akkadian, and Aramaic languages but also Greek in order to advance his career and position. He collaborated with the Greek king but this does not mean that he became Greek (Oelsner 2002: 185).

From the above we can observe that the Babylonian tradition was well rooted in the area and survived until the Parthian period (Oelsner 2002; George 2005). The perception of Greco-Macedonian culture varied depending on the social groups and the different circumstances. The respect shown mainly by the first generation of Hellenistic

kings towards the non-Greek cultures created a favourable climate for the new overlords. The native upper class on one hand preserved its tradition and reinforced the sense of unity, and on the other hand became the representatives and the cultural bridge between Babylonians and Greeks. Although the assimilation was mostly connected with the Babylonian upper class in the cities we cannot deny that there was mixing of cultural elements in the countryside as well.

#### OTHER CENTRES

The fostering of Greek culture by Parthian rulers is attested at Susa. This old city was the Achaemenids' winter capital and was named Seleukeia-on-the-Eulaios in the Seleukid and Parthian periods. It was a Greek *polis* by the time of Antiochos III and had its own administration. There is no evidence about the education that the young men received in the city but there was certainly a *gymnasion*. According to an inscription dated to 100-50 BC, a Macedonian named Nikolaos is one of the 'first friends' and bodyguards of an Arsakid monarch. During his office as gymnasiarch Nikolaos builds a *stadion* in the city (Hengel 1974: 71; Launey 1949/50: 874). This evidence demonstrates that Greek educational tradition continued to exist after the Seleukid rule and that non-Greek monarchs preserved the Greek institutions and cultivated Greek education at their courts (Neusner 1969: 6).

The archaeological finds from a settlement at Susa suggest that populations with different ethnic backgrounds co-existed in the city.<sup>194</sup> This situation is in accordance with the Seleukid policy of drawing upon the Greek and non-Greek populations of the empire in order to establish settlements and military colonies (Sherwin 1993: 168). The co-existence of multiple ethnic groups in the same area of a city did not stop settlers from living according to the way of life that they wanted.

More evidence comes from the small island of Failaka (Greek name Ikaros) in the Arabian Gulf where a Greek fortress was established in the mid-third century (Mylonopoulos 2008; Kosmin 2013: 64). Based on the archaeological finds from this

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<sup>194</sup> Excavations in Susa reveal the existence of a part of the city where houses of the indigenous population co-existed with Greek-type houses with tiled roofs, terracotta *akroteria*, and frescoes (Sherwin-White 1993: 148).

area we can detect a combination of Greek and local traditions (e.g. architectural forms, inscriptions in Greek and Babylonian language, worship of Greek and Babylonian gods) (Mylonopoulos 2008; Kosmin 2013: 65). In a royal letter (*IK Estremo oriente* 422, 3rd c.) towards the inhabitants of Failaka an official named Anaxarchos<sup>195</sup> refers to athletic and musical competitions (εἰς ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ μ[ουσικόν) that took place in the island as well as the Greek sanctuaries of the area. Although there is no direct evidence for the existence of the *gymnasion* in this location the reference to the athletic and musical competitions (which in other settlements and garrisons mainly took place in the *gymnasia*) is probably an indication that a location for the training and the entertainment of the soldiers existed in this area. This settlement is a paradigm of the military and cultural coexistence of Greeks and non-Greeks, although we cannot detect the degree of assimilation of the non-Greek population by the Greek way of life (Sherwin-White 1993: 175-176; Cohen 2013: 140-154).<sup>196</sup>

The interaction between different cultures in the Near East is revealed also in the Hellenistic Greek city excavated at Ai Khanoum in Bactria. This city was founded either by Alexander or Seleukos I and was situated at a strategic point, close to the Oxus River and to the trade routes that connected the Eastern and the Western parts of the empire. The archaeological excavations in the area revealed a mixture of Greek, Bactrian, Achaemenid and Mesopotamian architectural forms (Mairs 2008: 28). Although this mixed culture is also reflected in the nomenclature of the inhabitants of the city – there are some Greek and some Iranian names (such as Oxybazos, Oxeboakes, Aryandes) in the economic records of the city's treasury (Rapin 1983; Bernard 1994: 103; Cohen 2013: 227) – the language of the administration was Greek. In addition to this, Greek influence is revealed through the Greek literary and philosophical texts found in the city (Rapin 1992: 115-130) and through the Greek institutions such as the *gymnasion*<sup>197</sup> (Bernard 1978: 421-429) and the theatre (Bernard

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<sup>195</sup>Anaxarchos was probably a 'Seleucid official in charge of one of the regional subdivisions into which Seleucid satrapies were subdivided' Roueché and Sherwin-White 1985: 30–31.

<sup>196</sup> For the presence of Babylonians and their role in the Seleukid military settlements of Failaka-Ikaros and of Bahrain-Tylos see Kosmin 2013:65.

<sup>197</sup>*IK Estremo Oriente* 381 (Ai Khanoum) Τριβαλλὸς καὶ Στράτων Στράτωνος Ἐρμηῖ Ἡρακλεῖ (date: 200-150 BC) for the ethnic origins of Triballoi see Robert 1968: 416-457.

1976: 314-22; 1981: 113). These indicate the existence of a flourishing intellectual life and the adoption of the Greek way of life by the inhabitants of the city despite their ethnic origins.

The connection of Ai Khanoum with Greece is attested also by an inscription that was found at the tomb-shrine of the city's founder Kineas. This inscription was copied from the well-known text of moral precepts that was located at Delphi, and the Aristotelian philosopher Klearchos brought it to Ai Khanoum (Mairs 2008: 28). We do not know how this text influenced the inhabitants of the city, but it certainly reveals the close connection with Greek culture.

The philosophical interests, the Greek moral values, the training of young men in the *gymnasion*, and the worship of the Greek gods (as Hermes and Herakles in the *gymnasion*) indicate a strong Greek intellectual culture at Ai-Khanoum. The existence of a theatre at Ai-Khanoum and our information (based on the content of papyri dated between the mid-3rd and first half of 2nd c. and on literary sources such as Plutarch, *Crassus*) about the intellectual and theatrical activities in the area reinforce our understanding of the influence of Greek culture in the area (Rapin 1987: 264).

The literary style of Greek inscriptions of Ai Khanoum indicates a high level of literacy. The location in which these inscriptions were found (*gymnasion*, shrines, and tombs) reveals that the settlers had a lively civic life and considered themselves as part of a Greco-Macedonian community (Mairs 2008: 36). On the other hand, the use of double names on the part of Iranians (which reveals a change to their socio-cultural status) and the syncretism between Greek gods and local deities demonstrate the close relations of Greeks and Iranians in that area (Sherwin-White 1993: 178). We may argue that in this city, like in Babylon, the indigenous economic and cultural elite probably followed to some extent the doctrines of Greek education and Greek life-style (Sherwin-White 1983: 209-221).

As we have observed, Greeks and non-Greeks co-existed in the eastern communities. The cultural process in these cities or settlements became a field of negotiation between the Greek and the non-Greek population. Each group of inhabitants having a distinct

cultural, social and economic background negotiated its existence and its future in the Hellenistic East. It is very difficult, however, to determine the degree of assimilation of the indigenous population as their behaviour fluctuated from positive, to neutral or to rejection (as we will observe in the following sections).

#### CONCLUSION TO 4.1.4

Our evidence about the Greco-Macedonian settlements in the Near East is not abundant and mainly comes from urban centres. We can surely argue that in this part of the Seleukid kingdom multiple cultures co-existed for a long period. We have observed that Greeks lived and trained side by side with Babylonians (settlers, soldiers or members of the native elite) in the *gymnasia* of the cities or in those of military settlements.

Our evidence from Babylon, Susa, Ai-Khanoum and Uruk demonstrate that cultural interchanges were an inevitable process, but the criteria and the degree of influence depended on various parameters. Based on the aforementioned cuneiform texts, inscriptions and documents, we can assume that members of the Babylonian upper class adapted to the Greek way of life but also preserved their native traditions. The native elite wished to demonstrate its loyalty to the king and to strengthen its social and political position, but also to continue to hold traditional posts and attach themselves to their native tradition even if their attitude alienated them from their compatriots (Baker 2013: 62; Strootman 2011: 147; 2014: 145).<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>198</sup>Monerie (2012: 339) referring to the Anu-ubalit powerful family whose members bore the double names Anu-uballit Nikarchos and Anu-uballit Kephalon underlines their prestigious position in the temple of Uruk and the economic agreements between the powerful family and Antiochos III. Their example is evidence of the attachment of members of the local elite to Greek culture and to the king's policy. We could argue that the native upper class preserved its native tradition and also became the representatives and the cultural bridge between Babylonians and Greeks in order to reinforce their social position (Baker 2013).

#### 4.1.5. A brief account of the Greek educational legacy in the East after Seleukid rule<sup>199</sup>

Greek athletic/military institutions in the East did not end with the Hellenistic period. In the eastern areas that seceded from the Seleukid Empire in the second century new kingdoms were established (Greco-Baktrian kingdom [250-125 BC], Indo-Greek kingdom [180 BC-AD 10]) that combined Greek culture with native Hindu and Buddhist practices (coinage, art, religion) (Bernard 1994: 99-129; 2005:18). This process continued also during the Parthian period (247 BC-AD 224). Fischer-Bovet (2015: 26) underlines the need for socio-economic and ethnic solidarity in these areas so that revolts could be avoided and a flourishing community exists. Under the rule of the newly established kingdoms of the East, Greek culture/education continued. As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, in Babylon (e.g. the athletic competition of ephebes in Greek combat sports, ca.110 BC) and in Susa (the donation of a *stadion* by the Macedonian bodyguard of the Parthian king, Nikolaos; ca.100-50) interest in Greek education/culture remained alive during the Parthian domination, especially among the native elite. The local aristocracy and itinerant soldiers (Iranians and Greeks) diffused the Greek combat traditional practices (wrestling, *pankration*, and boxing) and established competitions according to rules of the Greek Olympic Games (Christopoulos 2013: 435-436).<sup>200</sup> Herakles, the protector god of the *gymnasion*, in some cases, influenced the depiction of Vajrapani (one of the Buddha's attendants who symbolized strength) (Flood 1989: 18-25).<sup>201</sup> The legacy of the Greek *gymnasion* and the combination of intellectual and physical aspects of Greek education are reflected in the Buddhist education of the Kushan Empire (AD 100-300) (Litvinsky 1994; Christopoulos 2013; Mairs 2014). Christopoulos (2013: 432) points out the existence of

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<sup>199</sup> The present study is devoted to the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms and the diffusion of Greek *gymnasia* in areas under their rule. As far as the diffusion of Greek culture in a later period is concerned, I make only a brief mention because it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>200</sup> In the Olympic Games the referee in wrestling competitions was holding a stick with a piece of cloth (as depicted in a red-figured vase of Onesimos that dated to the 5th c.). The same practice existed later (by approximately 600 years) in the Kushana period (Christopoulos 2013: 436).

<sup>201</sup> For a detailed analysis of the depiction of Herakles (one of the protectors of the *gymnasion* and a symbol of strength) in the Iranian and Buddhist artistic styles (e.g. visual art, coinage) and its use as a tool of propaganda of the indigenous ruling class see Homrighausen (2015).

a ‘certain Hellenized Buddhist warlike aristocracy, who worshipped the divinity Herakles under the name Vajrapani as the god of strength’ during the Kushan Empire.

The existence of Greek cultural elements in central Asia after the rule of the Seleukids demonstrates that Greek settlers left behind in these areas continued to influence local practices. The expansion of Roman commercial activity in the East after the first century and their Greco-Roman artistic styles continued the cultural interchanges between East and West (McLaughlin 2010: 40).<sup>202</sup> Greek cultural elements were transformed and adapted to non-Greek civilizations. They also blended with local practices and tradition. We could say that in this remote area elements of Greek culture became a part of the indigenous tradition.

#### 4.2. Native educational traditions

In the previous section (4.1) we studied the impact of Greek education and the *gymnasion* on the native populations of the East. Apart from some soldiers, athletes and middle-class people of various ethnic groups that participated in the Greek way of life we have noted the eminent place of some members of the local elite that also did so. Members of this group of non-Greeks seem to be more willing to adapt to the new political and cultural milieu in order to gain profit and to ascend the ladder of Greek administration or to be integrated into the life of the Greek community.

In this section we move further, trying to find common patterns among the educational traditions of eastern civilizations that could be used as a cultural bridge between the different ethnic groups. In order to examine this we will move our focus to the pre-Hellenistic period, where we have evidence for Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian civilizations.

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<sup>202</sup>The continuity of Greek athletic practices is reported by sophist Philostratos in his work *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, which refers to the presence of professional athletes who lived in Babylon in the 1st c. AD (Christopoulos 2013: 434).

#### 4.2.1. Introduction

Although the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean had their own cultural characteristics and traditions, they were in contact with each other as early as during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. Through their travelling and their commercial relations they developed a significant network of communication and interchanges of ideas and cultural practices (e.g. art, knowledge, and customs) (Karetsou 2001; Phillips 2008). The aim of this section is to find out whether the educational elements and practices (a common network of educational contacts) that existed in the pre-Hellenistic period in the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean facilitated the introduction of some non-Greeks into Greek *paideia* and the *gymnasion* during the Hellenistic period.<sup>203</sup>

In this section (4.2.2-2.2.4) I will make a presentation of the Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian educational and athletic practices that existed in the pre-Hellenistic era. I will mention the evidence that demonstrate the interactions between the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians, and the Persians as regards education in the pre-Hellenistic period and I will point out the common educational features between them.

#### 4.2.2. Educational features and athletic training in pre-Hellenistic Egypt

From a very early period (late 4th millennium, the pre-dynastic era) the Egyptians used written language (hieroglyphic and hieratic) (Baines 1983: 575). Manetho (frag. 11. 12b) attests that during the Third Dynasty (2650-2600 BC) Imhotep, the chancellor of the Egyptian king Djoser and high priest of the god Ra, was very well educated and gave special attention to writing (γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη). Education in this period was limited to few people who worked as government officials and at the royal court (Baines 2007: 67). From the end of the Old Kingdom (2686-2181 BC) onwards a lot of written texts are attested and the production of literary writing increased. It is in that period onwards that we observe a selected corps of children from Egyptian families. These children were

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<sup>203</sup> In this thesis I will not give a separate account of the educational system of the Minoans or of the Mycenaeans because our attention is focused on non-Greek civilizations. I will refer to the Minoans or the Mycenaeans only briefly through the comparison with other eastern civilizations.

brought up with the kings' sons, educated in the court<sup>204</sup> and became their close friends and companions (Erman 1894: 77-78; Casson 1975: 48; Crenshaw 1985: 607; Baines 1983: 581). According to Diodoros (1.53.4), the royal sons and their companions from all over Egypt were trained not only intellectually and morally but also physically in order to become wise and obedient men with excellent physical attributes.<sup>205</sup> Particular social status or ethnic origins of the children were not prerequisites for Egyptians to enter the inner circle of the king or to rise in the social hierarchy (Baines 1983: 581; Janssen 2007: 57).<sup>206</sup>

In Egypt under the Pharaohs there were two kinds of schools (mainly established in palaces or in temples) where boys could be educated in order to acquire a high post in the administration or in the army (Williams 1972: 218-220): the school of scribes and the military school. In the first one the boys learned to write correctly, to read literary texts and to behave with decency. The other school prepared the future officers of the army and employed severe discipline. Young men learned archery, to use the short javelin and the spear and to drive chariots (Erman 1894; Casson 1975; Williams 1972). Young Egyptians from eminent families attended various athletic events and competitions such as running, horsemanship, chariot driving, archery and hunting (Casson 1975: 48-50; Decker 2012: 22-25; Williams 1972: 220). In Egypt horse-riding

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<sup>204</sup>At the Ikhnofret Stela (dated to the Twelfth Dynasty) the existence of a palace school is implied. Ikhnofret, an official of the king, was educated at a young age with the royal sons at the palace and became a 'companion of the king' (Williams 1972:216).

<sup>205</sup>Diodoros (1.53.2-4) attests that when the Pharaoh's son Sesostri was born, the Pharaoh gathered from all Egypt all the newborn male children who were born on the same day as his son and trained them in the same way in order to make them men with outstanding physical and mental attributes: ... τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ παιδείαν ὥρισε ... διὸ καὶ πάντες ἀνδρωθέντες ὑπῆρξαν ἀθληταὶ μὲν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐρωστοί, ἡγεμονικοὶ δὲ καὶ καρτερικοὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀγωγὴν.

<sup>206</sup>A dedicatory inscription on a statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu who served as high official scribe, priest and architect during the kingship of Amenhotep III (1390-1353 BC) mentions how a low status scribe climbed the ladder of hierarchy and became a powerful and influential public official and favourite of the king: *...I was appointed to be inferior king's-scribe... My lord again showed favor to me; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare, he put all the people subject to me, and the listing of their number under my control, as superior king's-scribe over recruits.* Source of information:

(<http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/texts/amenhotep.htm>).

and chariot-driving were very old practices that dated back to the seventeenth century and were symbols of superiority of the kings and of the elite's life-style (Schneider 2003:159-160; Williams 1972: 220). As time passed a class of soldiers was created that used horses and chariots as military equipment. They constituted a class of soldiers that pursued their social advancement in Egyptian society (Schneider 2003: 160).

Ancient Egyptian culture was linked mainly with religious practices and ceremonies during which kings and athletes competed in various sports (Decker 2004). According to Egyptian tradition, the Pharaohs were the representatives of the gods on earth, so they had to be strong, wealthy with superhuman abilities and worshipped as such.<sup>207</sup> They were presented as excellent warriors, hunters and athletes.<sup>208</sup> They used to train themselves in order to be in good shape but never participated in athletic events that involved competition. They only demonstrated their abilities (Crowther 2007: 26; Golden 1998: 31).<sup>209</sup> At Saqqara near the Giza plateau in the pyramid complex of Djoser a running track has been excavated (dated to 2800-2600 BC) that measured 180 feet (approximately 55 m). According to Crowther (2007: 26), while participating in celebrations (Sed festival) for their accession to power the Pharaohs used to run a short distance in order to show their good shape; failure to complete this simple task would mean that they were not capable to rule the country, which was out of the question (Decker 1992: 24-34; Kyle: 427).<sup>210</sup> This was true also even for the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom (1292-1069 BC) such as Amenhotep II, who had an excellent athletic profile (according to the Sphinx Stele of the king) and was keen on archery, hunting, fencing and chariot-driving (Decker 1992: 19-24; 37-39).<sup>211</sup> Kyle (2014: 29) rightly points out that the depictions or the

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<sup>207</sup>For evidence about the extraordinary abilities of Pharaohs and their representation see Gardiner (1961:72) and Decker (1992).

<sup>208</sup> For further discussion about the depiction of the training of Egyptian young princes as warriors and athletes see Williams 1972.

<sup>209</sup> During the ancient Egyptian Sed festival (jubilee festival for the continued reign of the Pharaoh) the king performed a ritual running. The oldest attestation of this habit is an ebony label found in Pharaoh Den's tomb (first dynasty, 3000 BC) and depicts the Pharaoh performing this act.

<sup>210</sup> For the ceremonial participation of kings in athletic performances as an integral part of royal ideology see Decker 2004.

<sup>211</sup> For further discussion about the depiction of Pharaohs of New Kingdom as men with physical fitness and athletic and military abilities see Kyle 2014.

attestations of the extraordinary abilities of the Pharaohs (especially in the New Kingdom) was part of royal propaganda for the power of the king rather than an accurate depiction of their deeds.

In Pharaonic Egypt non-royal athletes (nobles and soldiers) participated in celebrations in order to honour the king. Carvings from an area near the Valley of the Kings depicted wrestlers fighting before an audience (Crowther 2007: 29).<sup>212</sup> The tomb paintings from Beni-Hasan (dated to c. 2050-1930 BC; Middle Kingdom) contain more than 200 wrestling scenes where athletes or soldiers wearing loincloths compete in combat sports, probably as part of their military training (Poliakoff 1987: 25; Crowther 2007: 30; Kyle 2014). Running, boxing, stick fighting, pole climbing, ball games, hunting, water sports, jumping, dancing, acrobatics were the sports in which nobles and soldiers trained (Crowther 2007: 33; Scanlon 2009: 150). At the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (1570-1544 BC; New Kingdom) the depiction of fighting and wrestling scenes and fencing tournaments between different ethnic groups (e.g. Nubians, Lydians, Syrians) in the presence of the Pharaoh probably reveals the military preparedness and training of the royal soldiers (Poliakoff 1987: 25-27; Kyle 2014; Piccione 1999: 345-348). The existence of a running contest in Egypt as part of military training is revealed through the 'Running Stele of Taharqa' dated c. 685 BC (Decker 1992: 62-69). This stele mentions the orders of the king regarding the training of his army and daily running as part of it, his supervision of the running and the reward for the winner.

From the above evidence we observe that in Pharaonic Egypt the king, the aristocracy, the scribes and the soldiers had the opportunity to receive a more intensive training (intellectual or athletic) and to climb in the ladder of the social hierarchy. There was, however, no state educational programme for all the inhabitants of the kingdom. Based on the carvings from the Pharaonic tombs we may observe that athletic preparedness and the physical fitness of the kings, aristocracy and of soldiers (young and adults) had a central role in Egypt from a very early period, although they were performed during religious and royal ceremonies.

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<sup>212</sup>Egyptian wrestlers competed with Syrians, Libyans and Nubians. Wrestling was the most popular sport in Pharaonic Egypt.

## GREEK-EGYPTIAN EDUCATIONAL CONTACTS IN THE PRE-HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Now we will proceed to the interactions between Greeks and Egyptians in the pre-Hellenistic period, with special focus on the educational interactions between them. The phases of contact between Greeks and Egyptians in this period can be divided into two periods: first, the relations between Minoan Crete and Egypt during the Bronze Age (Phillips 2008); second, the contacts between the Pharaohs of the Saite dynasty and the Greeks (merchants, mercenaries) in the seventh century and onwards (Phillips 2008; Karetsou 2001). In both periods Greek culture (e.g. art, religion, and mythology) was influenced by its eastern neighbours and created a channel of cultural communication (Griffith 2015a: 7).

The origins of Greek athletics go back to the Bronze Age.<sup>213</sup> In Minoan and Mycenaean art there are depictions (such as the fresco of the bull-jumpers from Knossos, the fresco of young Boxers from Thera or the Boxers' Rhyton from Agia Triada in Crete) of young women and men who wear the *perizoma* (short trousers) and perform difficult exercises or compete in boxing. There is no depiction of other athletic events such as foot racing or wrestling (Miller 2006: 20-21).

Closer cultural contact between Greeks and Egyptians took place in the seventh century. Diodoros (1.68.8) reports that Greek and Phoenician traders were introduced into Egyptian society by Psammetichos I (664-610 BC). Apart from the traders that came to Egypt, Herodotos (2.154) mentions that Psammetichos I, with the help of Karian and Ionian mercenaries, established his power as sole ruler and promised to reward them for their contribution. He settled them near the Nile and allowed Greek and foreign merchants to commence trade activities with Egypt. Greek mercenary troops, traders and settlers

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<sup>213</sup> The continuity between the Bronze and the Archaic period has become a point of dispute among the scholars (Griffith 2015a) and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to intervene in this disagreement. My aim is to point out some educational elements and practices that survived in the eastern Mediterranean through literature or visual art and could become a source of inspiration for other Anatolian people. We could speak neither about an undisrupted cultural procedure through centuries nor about a complete corpus of evidence (in some places our evidence is sparse) (Griffith 2015a); but based on the existing data (about Greeks and non-Greeks) we try to find points of cultural convergence of eastern civilizations.

lived in small communities dispersed throughout the Nile Delta and Upper Egypt. With time some of these became important trade centres (Boardman 1980).<sup>214</sup> Herodotos (2.154) reports that Psammetichos ordered Egyptian boys to learn the Greek language in order to support the Greek presence in Egypt. The Egyptian interpreters of his times were their descendants (... καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἴγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι). Diodoros (1.67. 8-9) also mentions the admiration of Psammetichos for Greek culture and his decision to provide his sons with Greek *paideia* (καὶ φιλέλλην ὦν διαφερόντως τοὺς υἱοὺς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐδίδαξε παιδείαν).

His successors Necho II (ca. 610-595 BC) and Amasis II (570-526 BC) continued the policy of amicable relations with the Greeks. They offered gifts to major Greek religious centres (Hdt. 2.159: Necho II to Apollo of Miletos; Hdt 2. 182; 3.47: Amasis to Athena of Lindos, to Hera of Samos and to Sparta), and thus established and solidified their diplomatic relations with the Greeks (Amasis with Sparta [2.44]; with Samos [3.39-43]). According to Herodotos (2.178), Amasis II became a philhellene and supported the Greeks who came to Egypt. He settled Greek merchants in Naukratis, turned the city into an important and powerful trading port and gave them lands to set up altars and holy places for their gods. The most important is the Hellenion jointly founded by the Ionian, Dorian and Aiolian cities.<sup>215</sup> This action demonstrates that trade relations between the shores of Asia Minor and Egypt flourished, and that the Greeks became a significant element in the population of the city. The strong military and trade contacts between Greeks and Egyptians during the Saite dynasty created a flourishing network of influence in many aspects of culture (Boardman 1999; Vittmann 2006) such as art, architecture, religious rituals, education and athletic practices.

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<sup>214</sup> The settlement of Greeks in the soil of Egypt in 7th c. created a network of contacts and exchanges of practices on many levels (e.g. trade, army, burial practices, artifacts, architecture) and affected a various range of people (e.g. soldiers, craftsmen, traders, visitors, settlers, ordinary people, aristocracy). In this study I shall limit myself to the educational parameters of Greco-Egyptian contacts.

<sup>215</sup> According to Herodotos (2.178) the Hellenion was founded by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos and Phaselis and the Aiolian city of Mytilene.

Herodotos (2.91) mentions that in the city of Chemmis in Upper Egypt there existed a temple where the hero Perseus was honoured. Perseus was linked with the city through lineage from Danaos and Lynkeas. In that place the Egyptians established athletic competitions according to the Greek manner and had animals, cloaks and skins as prizes.<sup>216</sup> It is debatable whether this reference to the past of Egypt was a forerunner of the Greek competitive games (Crowther 2007: 33). The reference demonstrates that the Egyptian inhabitants of Chemmis had a close relation with the Greeks (probably through their contact with the neighbouring Greek city of Neapolis at Thebes) in athletic celebrations. Although carvings show that the Egyptians used to compete dressed with loin-cloths, in this reference they adopt the naked style of Greeks. As mentioned earlier, the area of the Nile Delta and Upper Egypt became an important ‘zone of contact’ because of the establishment of merchants and soldiers from various ethnic groups. Although Herodotos mentions that Egyptians participated in these contests, he does not clarify whether among them were other ethnic groups that participated in this event.

According to Diodoros (1.96.1), Egyptian civilization attracted the interest of many eminent Greeks in order to become acquainted with Egyptian culture (τούτων δ’ ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων ῥητέον ὅσοι τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσι δεδοξασμένων ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ παρέβαλον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, ἵνα τῶν ἐνταῦθα νομίμων καὶ τῆς παιδείας μετέσχωσιν). The author continues by enumerating the eminent Greeks (fictitious personalities or real persons) who visited Egypt or resided for a period in order to pursue their studies. According to Diodoros (1.96.2-3) Homer and Lykourgos of Sparta were believed to have stayed in the country; Solon (Plut. *Solon* 26) travelled to Egypt to visit the Pharaoh Amasis II and to discuss with Egyptian priests Psenophis and Sonchis (Hdt. 1.29-1.30); the philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570-495 BC) also travelled to Egypt; Plato (ca. 428/7-348/7 BC) travelled to Egypt and Cyrene; the philosopher Demokritos of Adbera (ca. 460-370 BC) and the mathematician and

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<sup>216</sup> Herodotus 2.91: οἱ Χεμμῖται ... ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι δὲ τὰ δε ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσεί ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα.

astronomer Oinopides of Chios (mid-3rd c.) also visited Egypt; the mathematician and astronomer Eudoxos of Knidos (ca. 408-355 BC) went to Egypt to pursue his studies in astronomy and mathematics. The visits of these eminent Greeks reveal the close relations between the Greeks and Egyptian culture and science. Diodoros (1.96.3) reports that evidence of these visits is statues, places or buildings that bear their names (πάντων δὲ τούτων σημεῖα δεικνύουσι τῶν μὲν εἰκόνας, τῶν δὲ τόπων ἢ κατασκευασμάτων ὁμωνύμους προσηγορίας). He also mentions that all the things that were admired by the Greeks derived from Egyptian culture and education (ἐκ τε τῆς ἐκάστῳ ζηλωθείσης παιδείας ἀποδείξεις φέρουσι, συνιστάντες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετενηνέχθαι πάντα δι' ὧν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐθαυμάσθησαν).

From the above section we observe that the contacts between Egyptians and Greeks began mainly on the initiative of the Pharaohs of the Saite dynasty in the seventh century onwards. The establishment of a range of different people (mercenaries, traders, travellers) in the country of Egypt constructed a network of cultural communication between them. The Pharaohs supported and encouraged the Greek presence in their country for political, military and economic purposes. Greeks travelled to Egypt in order to serve as mercenaries in the Pharaonic army, to settle in the area, to develop their trade relations or to pursue their studies. They settled in Naukratis (a Greek settlement) or in the countryside, they co-habited with other foreigners that came to Egypt (Hdt. 2.39.2) and constructed a cultural zone of contact between them.

#### SIMILAR GREEK AND EGYPTIAN EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

In this section we will try to reveal some common educational features that existed in pre-Hellenistic Egypt and probably influenced Greek education and the entry of non-Greeks into the Hellenistic *gymnasion*.

The co-education of the Pharaohs' sons with sons from Egyptian families had similar features to an institution that existed in Macedonian courts ('royal pages') (Hammond

1990: 285). According to Arrian (*Anabasis* 4.13.1),<sup>217</sup> in the fourth century the Macedonians under Philip II established a form of education for the sons of wealthy and powerful Macedonian families who received literary education (Arrian, *Anabasis* 4.12.7-13.2; Plut. *Alex.* 7.1-5) that comprised reading, writing, the familiarisation of children with the texts of Greek literature and the theories of Greek philosophers, as well as horse-riding and hunting in order to be the companions of the royal sons (Briant 1994: 300).

In 330 Alexander the Great gave a more organised form to this training by selecting and training Asian boys in special centres with supervisors and trainers (Plut. *Alex.* 47. 5-6: τρισμυρίουσ παῖδασ ἐπιλεξάμενοσ ἐκέλευσε γράμματά τε μανθάνειν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Μακεδονικοῖσ ὄπλοισ ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλούσ ἐπιστάτασ καταστήσασ) (Hammond 1990: 285-286).<sup>218</sup> Alexander's vision for the education of selected Macedonian and Asian young men that attended the courts of kings and dynasts was later adopted by the Diadochoi<sup>219</sup> and changed in accordance with their policies.

In the Macedonian and Egyptian kingdoms the companions of the royal sons could acquire key posts in the administration and accompanied the young princes in expeditions or hunting. We must point out that the Macedonian royal sons were educated with the sons of the Macedonian aristocracy, unlike the Egyptian royal sons

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<sup>217</sup>Arrian 4.13.1: Ἐκ Φιλίππου ἦν ἤδη καθεσσηκόσ τῶν ἐν τέλει Μακεδόνων τοὺσ παῖδασ ὅσοι ἐσ ἡλικίαν ἐμειρακεύοντο καταλέγεσθαι ἐσ θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέωσ, τά τε περὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν τοῦ σώματοσ διακονεῖσθαι βασιλεῖ καὶ κοιμώμενον φυλάσσειν τούτοισ ἐπετέτραπτο. καὶ ὁπότε ἐξελαύνοι βασιλεὺσ, τοὺσ ἵππουσ παρὰ τῶν ἱπποκόμων δεχόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι προσῆγον καὶ ἀνέβαλλον οὗτοι βασιλέα τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆσ ἐπὶ θήρᾱ φιλοτιμίας βασιλεῖ κοινωνοὶ ἦσαν.

<sup>218</sup>Hammond (1990) in his exhaustive study about the institution of royal pages refers to the existence of native infantry groups (e.g. Lydians, Lykians, Syrians) that trained in order to support the king's army (Arrian, *Anabasis* 4.7; Curtius 6.6.5) Diodoros (17.108.2-4) refers to a selected corps of Persian young men (*epigonoi*) who received a four-year military and literary education and served as an elite unit of the king's army.

<sup>219</sup>According to literary evidence, the institution of royal pages continued its existence during the era of the Diadochoi (Diod. 19.52.4: at the court of Kassandros; Diod. 19.29.3; Plutarch *Eumenes* 3.5: at the court of Eumenes; Livy 39.25.8: at the court of Philip V; Livy 45.6: at the court of Perseus).

who trained with the sons of Egyptian families regardless of their ethnic or social status (Williams 1972: 216).

We observed that the depictions in Egyptian tomb-paintings of contests of wrestling, boxing, chariot racing and running are attested as early as the third millennium (e.g. Beni Hasan tomb paintings) (Poliakoff 1987: 25; Crowther 2007: 30). These contests were held during festivals and were organized mainly in order to honour the kings with the participation of the elite and of soldiers (Scalon 2009: 150). The early date of the Egyptian athletic contests and the close Egyptian and Greek relations from the Bronze Age (mainly from the Saite period onwards) influenced the physical training of Greeks (Miller 2006: 20; Scalon 2009 :150).<sup>220</sup>

In Pharaonic Egypt there was no overall educational athletic system for all the subjects of the king. In the paintings of Egyptian tombs most athletes who trained in sports and competed in festivals were young and adult men from various ethnic groups in the Pharaoh's army. We could argue that the Egyptian tradition had similar features to the training of young soldiers from various ethnic groups of the Ptolemaic army. These men settled mostly in the country of Egypt, trained in order to be in good shape and participated in contests in order to display their good physical condition, their diligence and their ability to use weapons (Delia 1993: 45-46).

In Ptolemaic Egypt, much like Pharaonic Egypt, celebrations and athletic contests were organized in order to commemorate special occasions for the dynasty (victories over enemies, accession to the throne or celebration of the memory of dead kings or queens

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<sup>220</sup> The athletes depicted in the Bani Hasan tomb paintings as competing in loin-cloths have similarities with the competing men from the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* (*Odyssey* 8.97-253, *Iliad* 23.257-897) who competed in sports (e.g. running, boxing, jumping, discus, archery and spear throwing) wearing loin-cloths. For the wearing of loin-cloths as an athletic custom and for the later Greek habit of competing naked see Bonfante (1989). Pausanias (1.44.1) refers to Orsippus of Megara who was the first to compete naked in the foot-racing at the Olympic Games (776 BC), while Thucydides (1.5.6) argues that shortly before his own times the athletes competed naked and that the Spartans were the first who competed naked. For further discussion of nudity in the Greek athletics see Mouratidis (1985: 213-232), De Polignac (2014: 103-104), and Miller (2006).

[e.g. Ptolemaieia, Basileia, Dionysia, Theadelphia, Arsinoeia)].<sup>221</sup> These celebrations took place in Ptolemaic Egypt included various athletic competitions (e.g. torch races, running, horse-racing, wrestling, boxing) and were open to all those who participated in the Greek way of life and in the *gymnasion* (Paganini 2011: 258). The royal festivals of Ptolemaic Egypt included athletic contests, processions, sacrifices and banquets. They aimed to demonstrate royal power and to present its supremacy (Chaniotis 2011: 7-9; 13).

The ritual participation of Pharaohs in contests (although without competition) and their desire to declare their superiority had similar aims to the participation of Hellenistic kings in Panhellenic games. The Ptolemies participated in Greek athletic competitions and won chariot races (although they did not necessarily drive the chariot themselves); Ptolemy I won the chariot race in the Pythian games of 314 BC, while in the third century Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI won at the Panathenaia and princess Berenike at the Nemean games (van Bremen 2007: 360-363). Ptolemaic participation in horse races may be connected with the Egyptian tradition (Fantuzzi 2005: 250-251). Chariots in Egypt were a Pharaonic symbol of superiority. The Pharaohs used to shoot arrows from a moving chariot and demonstrate their ability to hit their target. This presentation of their athletic merits that did not involve competition was part of their royal ideology that the king was superior to all and could not be defeated by anyone (Poliakoff 1987: 95-96).

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<sup>221</sup> The Basileia (*IG II 2.1367*; *P.Cair.Zen. IV 59707*) are attested in Ptolemaic Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy II and probably commemorated the establishment of Greek rule over Egypt. These celebrations included athletic, equestrian and musical contests (Perpillou-Thomas 1993:153). The Ptolemaia (*SEG 28. 60*) were celebrated every four years in Alexandria and in other areas of Egypt. These games were instituted by Ptolemy II (279/8 BC) in honour of his parents. The aim of this celebration was to declare the glory of the dynasty. The king sent representatives to announce the game to all Greece. During the games processions, sacrifices, isolympic games and banquets were held (Perpillou-Thomas 1993: 153-154). The Dionysia (*SB 5.88*) were celebrated in many places (e.g. Alexandria, Ptolemais, Naukratis). They were dedicated to the god Dionysos and were often connected with the royal cult of the Ptolemies. Perpillou-Thomas (1993: 83) argues that ‘Ces Dionysia affirment la loyauté des Grecs envers le souverain et diffusent l’idéologie royal dans la *polis*’. In other celebrations that also took place in Egypt, such as the Theadelphia (established for king Philadelphos and his wife) or the Arsinoeia (*P. Cair. Zen. III 59312, 26*, in memory of Arsinoe II), competitions were included in honour of the kings and queens (Perpillou-Thomas 1993: 154-158). For further discussion about the role of festivals and contests in the Hellenistic society see Chaniotis 2011. For the promotion of Alexandria as a new cultural-athletic centre of the Hellenistic world see Fantuzzi 2005, Dunand 1981 and Remijsen 2009.

A very important component of the celebrations was the banquet. In Pharaonic Egypt, in order to celebrate or to honour a king or a distinguished member of society, banquets were organized with the participation of men and women. These banquets included musical entertainment (harps and song, flutes) and many kinds of games (e.g. archery) (Erman 1894; Casson 1975). In Ptolemaic Egypt the *gymnasion* could be a place where banquets took place. An example of the organization of celebrations and banquets comes from Psenamosis. In this area the association of landowners celebrated three times a year its foundation by Paris. These celebrations, apart from the sacrificial ceremonies in honour of the king, included honours towards the benefactor, banquets and drinking parties accompanied by musical entertainment (*I. Prose* 40; dated to the 2nd c.-1st c.; Murray 1996: 15-26).

From the above evidence we can observe that in Egypt there was an athletic and educational background which was different in form and organization from that of the Greek style of athletic competitions. Athletics were organised mainly by the king and his court with the participation of soldiers and aristocrats, and aimed to project the Pharaoh's strength and power to his subjects. In Ptolemaic Egypt some celebrations were initiated by the kings or their entourage and celebrated in Alexandria. Apart from these celebrations there were others that were established by the initiative of high officials or groups of people (members of the *gymnasion*) in order to celebrate e.g. the birthday of the king, his ascent to the throne, to commemorate an event. Both of them aimed to honour the king and reinforce his reputation and power. In addition to this, these events demonstrated the loyalty of the inhabitants (citizens, soldiers, mercenaries) and enhanced the cohesion of the kingdom.

The athletic competitions in Pharaonic Egypt took place during royal celebrations, and competitiveness was not a prerequisite because they aimed at the glorification of the king and not the winner. From the carvings on Egyptian tombs we observe the multi-ethnic background of athletes/soldiers and the similar training that they received. In the multi-ethnic Egypt of the Ptolemaic period, participation in the *gymnasion* was not a privilege of the upper class but of Greco-Macedonians and Hellenes (those non-Greeks that wanted

to participate in the Greek way of life). This allowed the multi-ethnic participation in Greek education and way of life.

Thus, the components of the celebrations (e.g. athletic contests, banquets, deification of the king and sacrifices) were broadly similar in the two civilizations, but the context of the activity was not. The contacts between Egyptians and Greeks from a very early period and the mutual cultural influences between them created the frame of their cultural relations. The co-existence of the Greek and the Egyptian element mainly in the settlements of the *chôra* of Egypt during the Ptolemaic period established a multi-dimensional cultural ‘contact zone’ (e.g. through mixed marriages, religious practices, athletic or military training). This gave the opportunity to Greeks, Egyptians and also to other non-Greeks of various social status and ethnic groups to demonstrate their cultural flexibility and to approach each other.<sup>222</sup> This procedure created a synthesis of cultural practices and facilitated their adoption.

#### **4.2.3. Educational features and athletic training in pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamia**

Before Alexander’s conquest Mesopotamia already had a very long history that covered approximately three millennia. At the end of the fourth millennium BC there are the first attestations of writing in the area (Saggs 1965: 72; Mieroop 1997: 217; Foster 2005: 246). During that period Mesopotamia was inhabited by Sumerians and Akkadians. Their cultures and languages developed together and mutually influenced the indigenous population.

Writing was primarily ideographic (a depiction of ideas, symbols and objects), but the difficulties of understanding the signs and their misinterpretation led to the simplification of the writing system. Syllabic writing became the most understandable way to diffuse ideas. This evolution reinforced the development of the Akkadian cuneiform writing (Saggs 1965: 73-74). Despite the fact that the first attempts at writing concerned economic data, soon afterwards many public and private documents with various

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<sup>222</sup> See Schneider (2003: 157) for this point, and for further discussion about the role of cultural appropriation (adaptation of cultural features and practices from another civilization).

contexts were created (administrative records, private agreements, letters, prayers, literature) (Saggs 1965: 75-76; Mieroop 1997: 217-218).

The discovery of manuscripts from Nippur and Ur and of writings from the royal library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh (Neo-Assyrian Empire, 7th c.) and from the temple library of Achaemenid Sippar (6th c.) demonstrates that the cuneiform system of writing not only survived for a long period<sup>223</sup> but also influenced many places in the East (Griffith 2015a: 8).

Mieroop (1997: 218) argues that our evidence from the cuneiform texts mainly reveal the ideology of the urban literate elite. Although our attestations about literacy in the areas outside the urban centres are scanty,<sup>224</sup> we cannot assume that all the inhabitants of non-urban areas were illiterate. But we may suppose that the inhabitants of the cities had more opportunities to educate themselves (Oates 1979: 163-164; Mieroop 1997: 220). The first attestation of the existence of school training in Mesopotamia is dated back to the second millennium (Mieroop 1997: 220; Charpin 1990: 18).<sup>225</sup> The first known school in the area was the Sumerian *eduba* ('tablet-house') where the scribes<sup>226</sup> were taught reading and writing and fulfilled their education as future civil servants, priests or scribes in various fields (e.g. military scribes, scribes of the field, poets, scholars) (Oates 1979: 166; Mieroop 1997: 221).

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<sup>223</sup> The Akkadian writing system co-existed with the later Aramaic writing system after 900 BC (see Griffith 2015a).

<sup>224</sup> From about 2049 to 1730 BC scribal education had an official character not only in urban centres but also in local centres in the provinces. The governors were responsible for the training of scribes in these areas outside the cities (George 2005: 6).

<sup>225</sup> In Mesopotamia there are attestations (letters of correspondence, royal hymns) from the 2nd millennium BC of the existence of schools which replaced private education at home (Mieroop 1997: 220; Charpin 1990: 1-8).

<sup>226</sup> The scribes were considered members of the intellectual elite, and either had aristocratic descent or were accepted and respected by influential and powerful people because of their literacy (Lucas 1979: 307).

According to the *eduba* literature, there were scribal academies in the time of King Šulgi of Ur (third dynasty of Ur) (2029-1982 BC).<sup>227</sup> Although the literary tradition was transmitted and remained in use for approximately three hundred years, the official character of ‘tablet house’ (*eduba*) changed (Sjöberg 1976). The teaching program, the pedagogical methods and the rules of the school were dependent on each schoolmaster (Robson 2001: 62; George 2005: 4).<sup>228</sup>

From the above we can observe that the level of literacy in Mesopotamia fluctuated depending on the official or private character of literacy, the degree of knowledge and the people that had access to it (the king, the native elite, the middle class and the lower echelons of society). Although some scholars disagree about the level of literacy of the royal family and the native elite,<sup>229</sup> we can say, in general, that the king and the ruling elite promoted the preservation of Sumerian tradition. This is obvious from the bulk of literary texts on which they based their common cultural past. Foster (2005: 245) believes that both literacy and monumental art became the tools of Mesopotamian rulers and of the elite in their effort to influence and to control the rest of the population.

According to the surviving Mesopotamian texts, apart from the literary education in the third millennium there were also physical activities that could be interpreted as athletic

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<sup>227</sup>From the *Two Šulgi Hymns* we learn about the education of the king at the *eduba* and the foundation of two scribal academies at Nippur and Ur (Volk 1996). These official academies would keep the Sumerian language and literary tradition alive (Delnero 2012). George (2005:6) believes in the connection of these academies with the Temple or the palace area.

<sup>228</sup>Young scribes went to the tablet house from an early age until maturity. School began at sunrise and ended at sunset. The strict everyday program in the tablet-house is attested in a tablet from Ur, where a student mentions the austerity of the education that he received. During their stay at the school young men copied and memorized texts, learned Sumerian and Akkadian, were taught grammar, mathematics and other topics (special calculations such as the supplies of an army) (Saggs 1965: 77-79; Oates 1979: 164; Griffith 2015a: 9-11). The students presented themselves for exams and if they succeeded they became scribes. The degree of their literacy depended on their future profession. There were scribes capable of writing a letter or a private agreement; others had high religious or administrative posts (Saggs 1965: 79-87; Lucas 1979: 307).

<sup>229</sup> For further discussion on the subject see Griffith 2015a: 11.

activities. In the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*<sup>230</sup> there is a description of the fight of king Gilgamesh against Enkidu. The physical performance described was probably a wrestling competition. Such performances were depicted in reliefs or attested in the texts dated from Ur III and Old Babylon. These activities took place in festivals or as part of royal celebrations in the palace (Kyle 2007: 26-27). The Mesopotamian kings – as we already observed about the Pharaohs in Egypt – arranged symbolic performances in order to exhibit their good physical condition and their skills as great athletes and hunters (Kyle 2007: 27).<sup>231</sup>

In the surviving texts from Mesopotamia there is no indication of athletic prize festivals, but some skilled athletes under the protection of the kings performed on the same occasions and demonstrated their strength and good physical condition. Even men of the lower classes imitated their leaders by training and participating in performances (wrestling, boxing, running). In an administrative document from the city of Ur (dated c. 2000 BC) Sjoberg (1985: 7-9) reads in Tablet II the word ‘athletes’ (*gespu-ba-lirum*). According to the author (1985: 8-9) the ‘athletes were organized groups supported and run by the state or temple’ (e.g. food and oil for anointing, practices similar to Greek athletes in the Hellenistic period) and rewarded them for their achievements (Lamont 1995: 208-209). In Mesopotamia the people participated in celebrations and athletic events in honour of the king (Growther 2007:19). This custom was common in Pharaonic Egypt and in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Like the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians practised in archery, chariot racing, boating, acrobatics, ball and stick games, and bull games (Growther 2007: 19).

From the above we can assume that there was a common athletic tradition in the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian civilizations. There were certainly variations and alterations between them, but the basic athletic training had a lot of similarities. In both

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<sup>230</sup>The *Epic of Gilgamesh* dated c. 2700 BC but its main surviving version found at the ruins of the royal library of Ashurbanipal dated approximately to the 7th c.

<sup>231</sup>King Šulgi of Ur III was a protector of art, a great athlete and a long distance runner. According to running performance of the king is also attested about the Pharaohs in Egypt and probably constitutes a common royal tradition. Apart from his athletic skills, the king was also a great archer and hunter (Growther 2007: 18).

cultures the kings and the ruling aristocracy had the economic means and the opportunities to receive a high-quality education and training. The rest of the population imitated their leaders, and if anyone was more skilful than the others the king or the temple (in the case of Mesopotamia) supported him and rewarded him for his service.

The deeply rooted Babylonian education system seems to survive the Persian conquest (Robson 2007). Neither the Persian king nor the ruling Persian elite had any intention of forcibly imposing Persian culture on the newly conquered areas (Kuhrt 1996; Brosius 2011: 138). The Persians gave cultural independence and certain privileges to the indigenous elite. They thus made some of them adopt the Persian lifestyle and incorporated them in the Persian system (Brosius 2011:145). But this assimilation seems to be restricted to some members of the Babylonian society. The fact that some eminent members of the Babylonian literate elite continued their Babylonian tradition during the Achaemenid conquest is revealed by the archaeological finds of a school-house of a family of scholars at Uruk dated to 420 BC. According to the texts found in the area, the family was proud of their descent and ancestors.<sup>232</sup> This family was related to Anu, the god of the sky. In their house was a private library with two hundred scholarly works. The father taught the male members of the family Sumerian, Akkadian and numeracy. In his late teens a young student could copy more sophisticated works and also learn astronomy and mathematics (Robson 2007). We can observe that the Babylonian educational tradition and its connection with the Temples were deeply rooted; the home-school education continued its existence and the relation of religion and education sustained. The private initiative to preserve the Babylonian tradition in libraries was reinforced.

The interaction between Greeks and Babylonians is attested from the seventh century. The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian kings appointed Greeks as mercenaries or as military advisers. Although some poets or historians (e.g. Alkaios, Herodotos) wrote about Babylonian culture, it is doubtful that we can use these sources to extract valuable

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<sup>232</sup>Despite the fact that the powerful elite was the first target for assimilation because of the danger of losing their privileges and powerful positions (Tuplin 2011), a well-educated and cultivated elite had a more powerful ethnic consciousness than the rest of the population (Parapola 2004). This probably explains the superficial assimilation and the switched identities of some members of the elite.

information<sup>233</sup> about it. Greek presence is sporadically attested in the area and we cannot assume that it had any impact on Babylonian civilization in the pre-Hellenistic period. Although in the Neo-Babylonian Empire (636-539) many foreigners (Jews, Egyptians, Persians) inhabited the area and worked as mercenaries, merchants, artisans, and workers, the Greek presence in the area was reinforced only after Alexander's conquest of the East. After that period the Greco-Macedonians became the dominant element in area, although they constituted a minority among the non-Greek population. The establishment of Greco-Macedonians in cities and settlements and their institutions influenced a part of the Babylonian nobility who wanted to safeguard their privileges and high social status (Monerie 2012). It is important to note that the Babylonian educational tradition and culture continued without disruption. The scribes continued their work as royal scribes, interpreters, and scribes of administration. The home-schools continued their function. The palaces and temples sustained their cultural-educational role. Babylonian education welcomed new scribes with different ethnic origins. Cuneiform texts continued to be produced until the first century AD (George 2005). New languages such as Aramaic, Persian and Greek started to be used and studied by Babylonian scholars.

#### **4.2.4. Educational features and athletic training in the pre-Hellenistic Persian empire**

In the late sixth century the vast Persian Empire extended from the shores of Asia Minor to Babylon and from Egypt to the rivers of Indus and Oxus. Within Persian territory existed civilizations with well-established educational traditions and practices (e.g. Egyptian, Babylonian). The Achaemenids had their own distinct cultural identity and encouraged the existence and maintenance of those local cultures and practices (Brosius 2011: 138). As Briant (1988) argues, the king and the Persian elite did not aim at the Persianization of their subjects but at keeping their own cultural identity intact. Our evidence about Persian education focuses mainly on that of the children of Persian elite (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.2.2; *Anabasis* 1.9.3). Their education focused on the military/athletic preparation of the youths and their religious and moral instructions (Hdt 1.136: they educated their boys from five to twenty years old (παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς

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<sup>233</sup> For further discussion about the early ancient Greek literature for Babylon see Haubold 2013: 73-126.

παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος), and teach them only three things: riding and archery and honesty (τρία μούνα, ἵππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι) [translation by Perseus]). According to Brosius (2006; 2011: 139) the ruling elite used to entertain itself with activities such as hunting and archery. Through these activities the young nobles practised weapons and horsemanship and acquired military skills, physical endurance and courage. Apart from the physical training of the young men, one activity that was incorporated into the habits of the Persian court was that of banqueting on special occasions (Polyaenus 4.3.32; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.6; Athenaeus 4.145b). Our sources reveal the lavish life of the Persian court. Detailed accounts of banquets in the Persian palace demonstrate the prosperity and the power of the king. During them music and dance performances took place for the entertainment of the guests. The wealth of the Persian court as well as the abilities of the Persian king were also commemorated through Achaemenid art. Hunting and banquet scenes were depicted in wall paintings, *stelai*, reliefs and seals (Brosius 2011: 141).

Apart from the education of Persian young nobles there was home-based elementary education for the children of the lower strata of Persian society. The parents were the teachers and were responsible for teaching their sons basic knowledge (Abdi 2013: 153). In the Achaemenid period primary education (7 to 14 or 15 years) was transferred to the instructor's home or to 'fire temples' (learning centres) where the children learned reading, writing, calculation, religious doctrines (Zoroastrianism) and how to cultivate the land (Farhang 2012: 1008; Rouhi 2011: 21). From the age of 7 until the age of 14 the sons of eminent Persian families and the Persian princes continued their studies in the court's school and learned reading, writing, religious practices and received military training (Abdi 2013: 153; Farhang 2012: 1008). At the age of 14 or 15 the children received specialized knowledge depending on their talents and on the tradition of their family (Abdi 2013: 154).

In the Achaemenid period there were military schools that taught the young men hunting, riding a horse, throwing the javelin, shooting the bow and arrow and fighting (Rouhi 2011: 22). It is important to note that athletic competitions were established in the kingdom. The best-known competitions that took place were the races and horse

rites held before the king (Rouhi 2011: 22). At the age of 25 young men, having fulfilled their education, could participate in civic life and take part in military expeditions (Rouhi 2011: 22).

According to Abdi (2013: 155) the Persian training was mainly addressed at the native aristocracy. Only rich youths had the opportunity and the means to accomplish all the stages of their education. Although young men of the lower classes did not have the chance to reach the highest level of education, they could receive basic knowledge of writing and reading.

To sum up, we observe that in the Persian educational tradition there were similar elements with those of the aforementioned eastern civilizations. The aristocrats had an eminent role in the education that took place in the royal court (like the Egyptians and the Mesopotamians). The young men participated in military and athletic competitions before the king. The temples were centres of teaching as in Mesopotamia, and had a very important role in the instruction of youths. We may note that the Persian king did not forcibly impose Persian civilization to their subjects but supported the local civilizations and their practices. This attitude, like that of the Seleukids later, left an open space for members of the local elite to maintain their distinct cultural identity and to approach the Persian or the Greek way of life as they wished.

### **Conclusion to 4.2**

A study of the well-attested educational training of the eastern part of the Mediterranean (e.g. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia) of the pre-Hellenistic eras reveals that there were native educational practices that were addressed mainly at the court, the aristocracy, and those who could participate in the administration. We observed that these systems were state-controlled and bureaucratic and were also connected with the religious life of the local temples. Although our attestation is mainly concerned with the urban centres, we cannot deny the existence of educational training in the regions. These practices gave the young boys the basic elementary knowledge (reading, writing, numeracy, music and moral values) and, on the second level, helped them become good scribes and members of the administration or priests. Some young boys (especially from the local elite) could receive military training and learned hunting and horse-

riding. For the boys of lower strata of society a basic education was sufficient, and after that they learned the skills of their father's occupation.

On the other hand, in Greece the tablets of Linear B found at the palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and Thebes reveal that they were lively administrative and economic centres. Many scribes worked in the palaces. Their education was not restricted to writing but also included calculations and to weights and measures like that of their Egyptian and Mesopotamian counterparts (Griffith 2015b: 29). Unlike the other eastern civilizations there is no evidence for the existence of school of scribes (similar to the *eduba*) into the Mycenaean palaces or for a literate training of the elite (Webster 2014: 24; 131; Griffith 2015b: 29). Griffith (2015b: 29) suggests that the training of scribes 'probably ... occurred one-on-one and somewhat informally, focused on the practical record keeping that seems to have been the scribes' chief duty'. As for the members of royal houses and the elite, their training 'emphasized other non-literate activities' (such as ceremonies, rituals and athletic activities).

In archaic and classical Greece the reality was different. Young men received Greek *paideia* (elementary knowledge), military and athletic training and skills in horse-riding and hunting. They performed religious practices, honoured the gods and heroes of their *polis* and competed in games. In Greece the institution of the city-state gave the opportunity to the citizens to determine their own educational system (e.g. Athens, Sparta, Boeotia, Delos), depending on city policy and on the peculiarities of each area. As education was connected with the *polis*, there were variations in the training of young men although the main lessons remained the same.

The similarities between the training of young Greek men and that of the local elites of the eastern civilizations, and the absence of a formal educational institution in the pre-Hellenistic era, created favourable circumstances for the diffusion of systematic training. As we observed, the majority of the aforementioned educational components (athletic/military training, intellectual activities, and religious practices) existed in the eastern civilizations but the context did not. The Hellenistic *gymnasion* incorporated all these activities by establishing a more systematic frame of education and becoming a field of cultural negotiation among the peoples of the East.

We cannot argue that these cultural similarities influenced equally all strata of the communities or even members of the same social class. We can claim that some people with eminent social and financial status who belonged to the native aristocracy had the means and were more willing to approach the Greek way of life and to acquire a double role in their community (as members of the local elite and representatives of the Greek administration). Strootman (2014: 145), on the basis of the presence of members of local elites in the courts of Hellenistic kingdoms, argues that in the Hellenistic kingdoms ‘constituted a supranational, an “horizontal” elite network linking men of approximately equal social status but of separate social units, i.e. *poleis*, thus uniting the Greek world at its highest level’ ... ‘creating an imperial (court) elite culture..[that brought] coherence in cultural and ethnical heterogeneous empires ... and binding this elite to the political center’ (Strootman 2014: 163). Although this statement is true we should not forget that not all members of the native elite approached and adapted to the Greek way of life. The degree of assimilation varied and, in addition, some members of the local elite preferred to have double identities.

In our study we also mentioned the presence of some soldiers/mercenaries, athletes, and middle-class persons who could participate in the *gymnasia* (mainly those of garrisons, villages and settlements) if they respected the Greek traditions and were willing to combine their own native traditions with Greek culture.

To sum up, in the dynamic environment of the East where different civilizations co-existed, the *gymnasion* promoted Greek education and provided a formal and organized educational form that included many domains of training. As we have observed, the programme of the *gymnasion* was not something completely strange to the traditions of the native population. We may argue that the eastern civilizations had developed a way of training for their young men according to their socio-cultural tradition; but we cannot assume that they pursued a systematic educational programme. Some non-Greeks were attracted by the institution of the *gymnasion* and their participation became feasible because of the social and political circumstances that developed in the Hellenistic East. The attitude of the kings (section 3.1) towards non-Greeks (which was tolerant in some cases or even neutral), and also the behaviour of some members of the local Greek elite

(section 3.2) that allowed the entry of non-Greeks in the *gymnasion*, constituted two important factors for the entry of non-Greeks into the *gymnasion*. The Greek *gymnasion* did not aim to change or abolish the native traditions but to co-exist with them. This is revealed through the combination of Greek and non-Greek elements in the life of the *gymnasion*.

### 4.3. Resistance to Greek education

We have observed the common educational features that existed in the eastern cultural tradition before the Hellenistic era (section 4.2). These elements became the cultural channel for the introduction of some non-Greeks into the life of the *gymnasion*. It is an oversimplification to consider that all the members of the priestly, military and administrative elite approached the Greek way of life, or that all the soldiers/mercenaries or inhabitants of the kingdoms embraced the Greek way of life. Similarly, the degree of assimilation of each person that approached the new cultural mores and practices varied. In this section we will focus on the reaction of native populations against Greek culture or rule, and ask whether the *gymnasion* and its training was the target of this animosity.

As we have already mentioned, the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kings did not pursue a systematic and a well-organized policy for the adoption of the Greek way of life by their subjects. As we observed in Chapters 2 and 3, the kings had a supervisory role over the *gymnasia* for their foundation and their maintenance based mainly on the initiatives of the *poleis*, of people of their entourage, of high officials or wealthy loyal men. Although they realized that the Greco-Macedonians constituted a mere minority in the vast Hellenistic kingdoms (Avi-Yonah 1978: 163, 178) and that they needed loyal supporters among the indigenous population, as well they did not impose Greek culture on their subjects. The establishment of Greek institutions in the conquered areas had as its primary aim that of strengthening the unity of the Greco-Macedonians and of the population and soldiers that were loyal to them, rather than of influencing the non-Greek element and forcing them to accept the Greek way of life.

In the new kingdoms there was no homogeneity of subjects and the influence of Greek culture was not the only process. The eastern Mediterranean was influenced by many

civilizations such as those of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Jews, Babylonians, Persians, and Parthians and by the mores and the traditions of other indigenous peoples. Each of these ethnic groups had its own distinct culture and identity, a certain way of life that influenced and was influenced by the ethnic groups with which it came into contact. In this intercultural environment the Greco-Macedonians brought with them their tradition, their conditions of life, their beliefs and practices. The fact that the eastern Hellenistic kingdoms incorporated many ethnic groups into their territories created a peculiar intercultural situation. The symbiosis of populations with diverse cultural features was not always peaceful and its character varied in time and in space.

The anti-Hellenic feelings of the conquered population took many forms, such as open conflicts and rebellions, prophecies and oracles (Eddy 1961: 257), passive or neutral feelings for the new regime. If we examine the historical events that follow the establishment of the Hellenistic kingdoms in the Near East, we observe that in areas that were not administrative, cultural or economic centres the feelings about the Greek way of life were either neutral or positive (e.g. Bithynia, Cappadokia, Parthia). On the contrary, in the old capitals and in areas with strong cultural traditions (e.g. Egypt, Judaea, Persia) the resistance against Hellenism manifested itself more obviously and in several different respects (political, economic, cultural) (Eddy 1961: 324).

#### 4.3.1. Egyptians

In Ptolemaic Egypt the Greek element co-existed with the indigenous population and other foreigners living in the area (e.g. Persians, Arabs, and Jews). As a rule, the Ptolemies were tolerant of the participation of non-Greeks in the institutions of the *gymnasion* and *ephebeia*, on condition that they accepted and respected Hellenic culture. Ptolemaic policy towards the *gymnasia* varied: in the Alexandria *gymnasion* the participation of non-Greeks was limited or prohibited, but in other cities (e.g. Ptolemais)<sup>234</sup> and in the rural country the participation of non-Greeks was allowed. We

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<sup>234</sup>According to *SEG* 8. 641, the *boule* of Ptolemais decided to introduce into the *gymnasion* 15 new members, from the ‘best inhabitants’ of the area. The text does not explain whether by the words ‘best inhabitants’ meant the most suitable for the position or those who had the financial status to support the *gymnasion*. In this inscription there is no ethnic restriction upon participants in the *gymnasion* of Ptolemais.

could say that in the countryside the mutual influence between different cultures created multicultural communities. Inter-marriage, the recruitment of members of the indigenous population into the Ptolemaic army, the co-existence in cities and villages of populations with diverse cultural backgrounds, and the participation in common religious practices are some of the elements that constructed these communities (Shipley 2000: 222).

In such an environment the institution of the *gymnasion* was based primarily on private initiative and attracted the interest not only of some members of the native elite but also of those who would like and could afford to train themselves in this institution. In the rural country the degree of mutual acculturation was high, and for this reason there were Egyptians who behaved like Greeks or Greeks who behaved like Egyptians and shifted their identities in accordance with conditions (Paganini 2011: 264-265). In order to acquire the status of Hellene, and thus to participate in the *gymnasion*, Egyptians had to adopt a certain way of life (language, customs) and to assimilate with the ruling elite. For them the acceptance of Greek civilization did not mean rejection or condemnation of their own culture. The use of mixed Greek-Egyptian names, depending on the circumstances, and the participation of Greeks and Egyptians in processions of mixed Greek-Egyptian deities (Shipley 2000: 223; Paganini 2011: 197-199), reveal that they did not dismiss their past but tried to combine two different cultures in order to maintain their social status or to work for the new ruling elite.<sup>235</sup> On the other hand, in the second century Greco-Macedonian immigration into Egypt diminished and the Greco-Macedonians that had already settled in Egypt had to adjust and to survive in a foreign environment. According to Veïsse (2004), the Greeks constituted the ‘minorité dominante’ in the Egyptian territory. Their life outside the *polis* structure, the co-existence with various ethnic groups, and the Ptolemies’ tolerance of the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasion* facilitated their assimilation<sup>236</sup> with the indigenous population (Green 1990: 399).

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<sup>235</sup>Some Egyptians worked in the administration and in the army as officers and soldiers especially in the 2nd c. Even Egyptian priests were appointed in the Ptolemaic army as officers (Koenen 1993: 31-32).

<sup>236</sup>The evidence about the osmosis of diverse cultures that took place in the ephebic and gymnastic institutions in Egypt is dated mainly to the 2nd c. and 1st c.: *I. Fayoum* II 119 (Theadelphia); *SEG* 20. 671 (Thebes); *I. Fayoum* III 200-202 (Ars); *I. Prose* 40 (Psenamosis).

In this kingdom the relations between the indigenous population and the new rulers were not always peaceful.<sup>237</sup> Four movements or riots (dated to 245, 206, 160 and 88) broke out in Ptolemaic Egypt from the reign of Ptolemy III (246-221) until the Roman conquest of the area (in 30) (Polyb.5.107,1; 14.12; Diod. 31.15a; 31.17b; *SB* 24.15972). The most serious of these was the second rebellion, which lasted twenty years (206-186) and is known as the Great Revolt. This revolt that broke out during the reign of Ptolemy IV (221-204) and ended during the reign of Ptolemy V (204-181) caused much disturbance in the Thebaid as well as in the area of the Delta (Veisse 2004: 5-26).

This revolt was connected with the independence of Upper Egypt, which caused an interruption of taxation in that area. Thebes and the southern region were controlled by the rebel pharaohs Haronnophris (205-199 BC) and his successor Chaonnophris (199-192 BC), who wanted the establishment of an independent region away from the economic exploitation of the Ptolemies (Thompson 2003: 115). Fischer-Bovet (2014: 92), describing the conditions that existed in Ptolemaic Egypt after the battle of Raphia (217 BC) and the cause of the rebellion, argues that ‘socio-economic dissatisfaction on the part of the elite, the soldiers and the population, whether Egyptian or Greek, could still turn into revolts’.<sup>238</sup> Although Polybios (5.17) reports that this war was against Egyptians (πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους πόλεμον) by adducing ethnic or nationalistic motives, he continues by saying that the soldiers after Raphia ‘were on the look-out for a leader and figure-head, thinking themselves able to maintain themselves as an independent power’<sup>239</sup> (ἐζήτουν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πρόσωπον, ὡς ἱκανοὶ βοηθεῖν ὄντες αὐτοῖς). These

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<sup>237</sup> The motives of the revolts in Hellenistic Egypt (e.g, social, economic, ethnic or a combination of these) became part of controversial issues among scholars (Préaux 1936; McGing 1997; Veisse 2004), which is the result of the fragmentary nature of the evidence.

<sup>238</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the Egyptian revolted see Veisse 2004 and Fischer-Bovet 2014: 49ff. Bagnall (1997: 235-236) argues that the indigenous dissatisfaction because of the perceived Ptolemaic administrative abuses, the fatigue of the subjected population, economic exploitation, the loss of properties and privileges of the old aristocracy, and separatist actions are some of the reasons that led to the reactions against the Ptolemaic rule.

<sup>239</sup> The translation is that of Paton (1922-7). See also Fischer-Bovet (2014: 90) for further discussion on the subject.

references demonstrate a more complex reality than a genuine ethnic motivation. The unfavourable socio-economic situation of the majority of the inhabitants of Egyptian territory, the dissatisfaction of soldiers and of a part of the local elite, and the confiscation of lands and properties from the Egyptian temples constructed the frame within which this Great Revolt took place. The defeat of the rebels by Ptolemy V in the siege of Lykopolis (197) in the Delta, the brutal destruction of the city of Thebes, and the surrender of the rebels (Veïsse 2004; Fischer-Bovet 2014; 2015) ended this rebellion against Ptolemaic rule. According to Vandorpe (2000), after the defeat of the Egyptians those natives who were responsible for collecting taxes were replaced by Greeks.

With regard to Egyptian uprisings Green (1990: 192) has observed that the Egyptian priests played leading roles (e.g. the propaganda released by the *Demotic Chronicle*)<sup>240</sup> in the insurrections, even though they had privileges and had benefited many times from the Ptolemies. As we observed in the previous section (4.1.3), education in Egypt was based on traditional temples that not only had a religious function but were also guardians and preservers of the literary tradition. Important cultural texts (poems, hymns, myths) were inscribed by professional scribes and kept Egyptian culture and tradition alive. From these religious centres ‘simmered the resistance against Hellenism’ (Puchala 2002: 16). We could say that despite the tolerant Ptolemaic policy towards the Egyptian priesthood and the Ptolemaic assimilation with the religious and pharaonic practices, the Ptolemies did not succeed in being considered legitimate rulers of Egypt and being accepted as such by the totality of the indigenous population (Puchala 2002: 16; 24).

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<sup>240</sup>The *Demotic Chronicle* was a collection of oracles. According to Lloyd (1982: 41; 45), ‘probably the source of oracles, and at least some of the interpretations, was the temple of the ram-headed god Harsaphes at Herakleopolis in middle Egypt’ and aimed at ‘reinforcing political, social and religious ideas which it was in the priests’ interest to maintain’. This demonstrates that the *Demotic Chronicle* was not mainly against the Greek rule but it was a way for the Egyptian priests to raise their political, social, economic and religious concerns.

The alienation of the Ptolemies from the Egyptians is demonstrated by the *Potter's Oracle*, a fragmentary text written in Greek (dated to the 2nd c.)<sup>241</sup> that expresses the hostility of the Egyptians towards Greco-Macedonian rule and foretells the defeat of the impious invaders and the destruction of their capital city, Alexandria (Thompson 2003: 117; Green 1990: 323).<sup>242</sup> In this text the Macedonian kings are presented as 'violators of traditional values and behaviour and as flying full in the face of the divinely sanctioned moral order'; in addition to this, the 'foreigners are the agents of chaos' (Lloyd 1982: 52). The only solution, according to the text, is the return to the Pharaonic tradition and order (*P.Oxy.* 33. 58-62): 'the divine statues of Egypt which were transferred these shall return to Egypt ... a king who would come to Egypt from Helios with the assistance of Isis. He would inaugurate a golden age of justice, harmony and bliss after the iniquitous and godless rule of the Greeks' (translation from Lloyd 1982: 51-52).

We could argue that the movements against Greco-Macedonian rule were not oriented towards Greek education *per se* or against the institutions that characterized it, but against the central government. According to Eddy (1961: 324) these movements were a way for the old privileged aristocratic and priesthood class to demonstrate their opposition to the loss of their power, to fight for the continuity of the old regime and to reassert Egyptian identity, traditions and values. The fact that we observe members of the local elite displaying a contradictory behaviour over the course of time (priests benefited by the kings; priests as army officials vs. priests as rebels against the Ptolemaic rule) towards the Ptolemaic rule leads us to argue that there was very little homogeneity in their social class identity. Relations between them and the new regime varied because they were connected with their personal aims and ambitions (personal identity). As far as the rest of the population is concerned, it was natural for the local unprivileged population that was impoverished by the Greco-Macedonian conquest to be angry at the new invaders. Nevertheless, their reaction against the new regime could

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<sup>241</sup> For the dating of the *Oracle of Potter* see Koenen (1968).

<sup>242</sup> For the surprising fact that this text is written in Greek and its connection with 'the Greek-speaking lower class of immigrants whose socio-economic interests are similar with that of the Egyptians' see (Lloyd 1982: 50 no. 55).

be characterized as ‘passive’ and ‘neither simply accepting nor simply rejecting foreign domination’ (Bagnall 1997: 238).

We can argue that even after the defeat of the Egyptians the evidence at our disposal reveals the continued co-existence of the Greek and the Egyptian element in the *gymnasia* in the second and first century. This makes us believe that although the rebels rejected Greek rule, some natives continued to be part of the Ptolemaic court and to be attached to the Greek way of life. This attitude demonstrates the different approach to Greek rule and culture from members of the same ethnic group or even of the same social class.

#### 4.3.2. Jews

In an earlier section we referred to the historical background that led to the establishment of the *gymnasion* in the city of Jerusalem.<sup>243</sup> In this part we will focus on the reactions against the educational institution and their impact on Hellenism in the area. The attitudes of the Jews are revealed in two biblical texts, I Maccabees (1.10-15) and II Maccabees (4.7-20), and in Josephus’ *Antiquities of the Jews* (12.236).

According to the sources, in a climate favourable to Greek culture there arose the personality of the Jewish High Priest Jason, who asked the permission of king Antiochos IV to let the Jews return to their ancestral Law (I Macc. 1.11), to establish a *gymnasion* and *ephebeion* with Antiochos’ authority in Jerusalem, and to enrol the men of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch (II Macc. 4.7-9). Participation in the *gymnasion* was part of their return to their ‘ancestral’ Law (I Macc. 1.11). By this petition Jason demanded a new constitution based on the Greek model. This fact created favourable

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<sup>243</sup> In the 2nd c. when Antiochos III captured Judaea he agreed with the Jews to allow them to continue to live according to their ancestral religious practices, customs and traditions (*AJ* 12.138-144). Some members of the Jewish elite and particularly the Hellenized part of the elite approached Antiochos IV requesting the status of *polis* for Jerusalem (*AJ* 12. 142) and the annulment of the previous agreement. The rivalry between the two parts of the Jewish elite for socio-economic reasons, and the interference of Antiochos IV in the conflict between members of the local elite, led to the civil war in Jerusalem in 169 (Fischer-Bovet 2015: 23).

circumstances for the native upper class that wanted to participate in the new regime. As was natural, Jason introduced into this citizen body the upper class of the Jews, the most wealthy and powerful members of the Jewish community (Gruen 2003: 266–67, 269). The aristocratic character of the city became clear from the foundation of one *gymnasion* and one *ephebeion* for elite Jewish youths and their receipt of citizenship. On the opposite side, as we mentioned earlier (4.1.2b), there were reactions from a great part of the Jewish population. The biblical texts (II Macc. 4.7-15) and Josephus (*AJ* 12.239-141) describe the situation. For a part of the Jews the *gymnasion* of Jerusalem was a place of sin and of transgression against the Mosaic Law. The practices that took place in it, the nudity in public places, and the avoidance of circumcision were forbidden, as they were considered a renunciation of God's testament (*A.J.* 12.236).

As we already know, the *gymnasion* was connected with the worship of Hermes, Herakles, the Muses, and the gods of the city, and with the dynastic cult of the Hellenistic kings; there is, however, no evidence to support their presence in the *gymnasion* of Jerusalem. Hengel (2003: 73) argues that the presence of 'Antiochenes of Jerusalem' together with Greeks and Hellenes of the other Phoenician cities at the celebrations in Tyre of Melkart/Herakles (Arrian 2.24.6.: established by Alexander the Great and celebrated every five years; *AJ* 12.120; II Macc. 4.19-20) probably reveals their acquaintance with the deities of the *gymnasion* and its religious practices.

All these cults were prohibited to the Jews, because their religion was strictly monotheistic and avoided any connection with pagan cults. For the Jews the participation of their compatriots in the activities of the *gymnasion* and the *ephebeion* was synonymous with a declaration of war against the God of Israel (I Macc. 1.14-15: καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἔθνῶν καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἀγίας καὶ ἐζευγίσθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν). Traditional Jews felt the danger of assimilation with the Greek environment (II Macc. 4. 7-15). In Maccabees the impious action of the establishment of a *gymnasion* in the city of Jerusalem and the participation

of Jews in it are characterised as sacrilege toward God (II Macc. 4)<sup>244</sup> (Dequeker 1993: 380-81).

Apart from the above, and as we have already presented (4.1.2b), another important element in the condemnation of the *gymnasion* by the Jews was the place where the *gymnasion* was built, namely ‘under the Acropolis<sup>245</sup> on the hill in the eastern part of the city, where the Holy Temple stood’ (II Macc. 4.12) (Tcherikover 1975: 163; Dequeker 1993: 380-381). Moreover, the spiritual leaders of the Jews, the priests, abandoned their duties in the Temple whenever the signal from the *gymnasion* was heard and hurried to participate in athletic performances (II Macc. 4.14) (Dequeker 1993: 380-381).

As we already observed earlier in this chapter (4.1.2b), the Jews had strict religious rules, practices and traditions. In this environment the two powerful second-century Jewish families clashed for more power and influence among the aristocracy. This struggle resulted in the conflict between Hellenised and traditional Jews. The *gymnasion* and the *ephebeia* became the motives but not the causes of the Maccabean revolt (Gruen 2003: 269-270). The *gymnasion* and the establishment of Jerusalem as a Greek-type *polis* (175 BC) pre-existed the Maccabean revolt (167-160 BC) and at that time met little or no reaction from the Jews (Gruen 2003: 267). In addition to this, the priests were aware of Greek culture. As we have already pointed out (4.1.2b section) their Greek names (e.g. Menelaos, Jason) reveal the close link between some members of the Jewish elite and Greek culture and tradition (Grabbe 2002: 18; Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 93-105). Hengel (2003: 75), mentioning the introduction of Greek names into the Jewish upper class from the third century, argues that ‘a man like Jason could only introduce his reform in Jerusalem and lead ephebes as “gymnasiarch”

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<sup>244</sup>For a full reference on the subject see earlier in this Chapter 4.2 (b).

<sup>245</sup>There is a gap of information about the place and the history of the Jewish *gymnasion* after the triumph of Judas Maccabaios. The fact that the place of the *gymnasion* remained the same two centuries later, after Herod the Great’s encouragement of Greek institutions and athletics, makes us assume either that athletics were performed without interval between the two periods or that the *gymnasion* was abandoned because of the Maccabean revolt and resumed its function under the rule of Herod the Great.

because he himself had undergone a certain degree of Greek education'. Hengel (2003: 76) provides us with important information about the existence of a Greek-educated Jewish elite connected with the Jewish upper class of Alexandria. The author mentions the possibility of the existence of a Greek school in Jerusalem which continued its function after the Maccabean revolt (the Jewish historian Eupolemos, who lived in the mid-second century, had received Greek education).

The attitude of the upper class towards Jewish tradition varied and was based on personal choices, ambitions and aims. Jason's reforms were made by an idealistic leader that wished his city to benefit economically, politically and educationally from its *polis* status (Grabbe 2002: 19-21). Grabbe (2002: 19) mentions that Jason did not consider himself a traitor, but as an open minded leader who would like to see Jewish religion become more liberal. This gave him the opportunity to shift identities in accordance with the circumstances, as the Greco-Egyptians did in Egypt.

On the other hand, the conservative people of the countryside and their priest Mattathias began the revolt against the Seleukid Empire. Like in Egypt, the rebellion started in temples in the countryside and was led by religious persons (Puchala 2002: 16). The rebellion began because of perceived administrative abuses against the Jewish population.<sup>246</sup> The reason why the villagers rebelled in Judaea was that the 'peasant should remain free from overexploitation and that as prophet, like Anos the shepherd, he might talk back to his would-be-oppressors' (Eddy 1961: 325). The rebel's army won several battles against the Seleukids, and in 164 Judas Makkabaios, son of Mattathias, was installed as High Priest in Jerusalem and restored Jewish practices in the city (Bickermann 1937; Tcherikover 1959).

As a rule, the Jews from the time of Persian domination to the beginning of the Hellenistic period had enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy under their national heads, the High Priests. The Jews belonged to a theocratic nation where the families of the

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<sup>246</sup>Because of the internally disturbed situation in Judaea, during the expeditions of Antiochos IV into Egypt (170/169 and 168) the Jews did not support the king as he wished. In 167 the king punished the Jews for their disobedience (Gruen 2003: 267).

priests ruled the people.<sup>247</sup> The king<sup>248</sup> did not interfere with Jewish spiritual affairs and demonstrated tolerance towards the Law of Moses and the Jewish tradition. Hellenism and Hellenistic cults were not introduced in Judaea by force but developed as a result of the need of the Jewish Hellenisers. As we already observed in Chapter 3, the Seleukids like the Ptolemies did not pursue a systematic and well-organized policy for the diffusion of Greek education and culture in their kingdom.

Antiochos IV took advantage of the enmity among the members of the Jewish elite in order to ‘achieve socio-economic goals’ (Fischer-Bovet 2015: 23).<sup>249</sup> Strengthening his kingdom was the king’s first objective; for this reason he wanted to turn the cities into Greek-type *poleis*. From the beginning he did not have the intention of destroying the Jewish religion or treating Jews with violence. The prosecution of Judaism was a result of his interference in the affairs of Jerusalem and the rivalry between the two parts of the Jewish elite. As we saw, the king’s efforts to put down the Jewish rising were not successful. In the first half of the second century Jerusalem became a Greek *polis* but nothing changed; the God of Israel was worshipped as before, the Law of Moses existed and the traditional rites and religious practices were performed. We could say that the Maccabean revolt was mainly a socio-economic revolt that also had ethnic implications (Fisher-Bovet 2015:24).

On the other hand, it is difficult to clarify the impact of the revolt in the Greek culture, as we can see the existence of Greek institutions in the bosom of the Jewish community after the movement and the triumph of Judas Makkabaios. Especially the reinforcement of Greek culture and athletics by Herod the Great in the first century reveals that the real aim of the Jews was not to condemn Greek civilization or the Greek educational system and *gymnasion per se*, their target was the impious behaviour of some members of the Jewish elite and the violent actions of some members of the Seleukid dynasty.

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<sup>247</sup>Gradually these families became a superior caste.

<sup>248</sup> The word ‘king’ is meant to imply the Persian king, Alexander the Great and his successors up to and including Antiochos III the Great.

<sup>249</sup> For the financial contributions that the Hellenizing Jews promised to Antiochos IV see *I Macc.* 1. 11-15; 41-45.

### **Conclusion to 4.3**

From the above we can observe that in Egypt and Judaea resistance to Hellenism was caused by perceived administrative abuses; these began in the countryside (partly urbanized away from the royal administrative centre) and particularly in religious centres. The priests in both cases had leading roles because they incarnated the old traditional culture and were the preservers of the old civilization. In Judaea the lower classes revolted with the support of members of the conservative local elite, in contrast to Egypt where the old aristocracy revolted because of the loss of its privileges. It would be misleading to consider an entire class Hellenized, because there were exceptions. Personal choices and ambitions always influence the attitude of everyone towards an institution or a situation. In Egypt there was no homogeneity among the population and there were many intercultural influences. On the other hand, in Judaea the close traditional Jewish communities did not allow the interference with the non-Jewish element, whereas the Jews of the Diaspora and some members of the native aristocracy were influenced by Greek culture without losing their traditional identity.

Both revolts helped in the reshaping of the native traditional identity which co-existed with Greek cultural elements until the Roman period. The evidence demonstrates that the revolutions were not opposed to Greek education, the *gymnasion* or culture but to the political rule and arbitrary actions of Hellenistic kings. Greek education did not jeopardize the tradition of the natives. The members of the indigenous population that participated in it could continue to train according to the Greek way of life by shifting their identities (Greek and native) in accordance with the circumstances. In these communities we observe a symbiosis between Greek and native cultural elements.

## CONCLUSION

The Seleukid and the Ptolemaic kingdom underwent a parallel historical development, and often participated in wars that jeopardized their territorial power and influence. The two Greco-Macedonian kingdoms that were established in a vast non-Greek territory had to deal with both Greco-Macedonian settlers and soldiers who came to the newly established kingdoms to support royal power, and with the multi-ethnic groups of non-Greeks (natives or not) that inhabited these areas.

The *gymnasion* was introduced in the East mainly in order to support the Greek presence in the area. As a distinctive institution of the Greek communities, the *gymnasion* gradually became a field of negotiation among the kings, the civic elites, the citizens and the participants (Greeks and non-Greeks) thus creating networks of contacts. Adopted in several kinds of communities (*poleis*, villages, settlements), it changed with time and was adapted in accordance with the particular circumstances of each area.

The Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms had their own peculiarities that influenced the policies of the kings and the diffusion of the *gymnasion* (Chapter 2.1). The Seleukids had under their rule an extensive territory with a multi-ethnic population having distinctive cultures, traditions and practices. In this multi-cultural environment the Seleukids had to decide whether and if so how to support the *gymnasion* and the Greek way of life. The fact that this kingdom included numerous Greek *poleis* in Asia Minor facilitated the diffusion of the institution as part of the Greek educational tradition. In the *poleis* the *gymnasion* became a way to strengthen the bonds between citizens and to continue the Greek educational tradition and practices under the supervision and influence of the citizens and especially of the elite (Ma 2003).

The situation was different in the Seleukid settlements that were established in militarily strategic positions. In these places the Greco-Macedonian element co-existed with the non-Greek population (e.g. at Ai Khanoum), thus creating an amalgamation of Greek and native cultures. The absence of civic infrastructures in these settlements

influenced the life of the *gymnasion* (e.g. function, training and religious practices, participants) (Chapter 2.1.1).

The circumstances in the Ptolemaic kingdom were different from those in the Seleukid kingdom. The Ptolemies had under their rule only the Egyptian territory and a few possessions outside Egypt. The composition of the population (mainly Egyptians) and the well-structured Egyptian administration influenced Ptolemaic policy. In Egypt itself there were only three Greek *poleis* (Naukratis, Alexandria and Ptolemais). The Greco-Macedonian settlers and soldiers were mainly distributed throughout the *nomoi* of the *chôra*, receiving allotments of land for their sustenance. In these places, where civic infrastructures were absent, the *gymnasion* assumed a semi-private or private character under royal surveillance. Non-Greeks (including Egyptians after the 2nd century) could participate in the *gymnasion* and in the Greek way of life as long as they respected and adopted the Greek practices and became part of the ‘Hellenes’ (a distinctive group with common cultural features and economic privileges) (Landvatter 2013: 9). The *gymnasion* in the *chôra* served as a place where Ptolemaic rule was solidified (e.g. loyal soldiers and settlers took part in festivals and games in honour of the kings, and worshipped the kings) and became a place of training of Greeks and non-Greeks (Chapter 2.1.2).

In both kingdoms the widespread adoption of the *gymnasion* in various cities and settlements, and the multi-ethnic substratum of the communities, influenced the role of the institution and its impact on the communities in which it existed. The *gymnasion* in the East had all these features because the distinctive role of each *gymnasion* dictated its orientation. For example, some cities that had to face military dangers (such as Sestos), or were situated near the borders of the Hellenistic world, promoted the military-athletic training of young men. These cities fostered the good physical condition of future citizen-soldiers, their ability to use weapons and their diligence in order to defend their city from external dangers as local armies or to participate in the royal army (*I.Sestos* 1, 2nd c.). Our knowledge of the military training of young men is mainly based on the programme of competitions held in the *gymnasia* (e.g. javelin, archery, running, fighting with shield, use of catapult [e.g. Samos *IG* XII 6.179-183, c. 2nd c.]). This kind

of education for the ephebes is attested from Northern Greece to Cyrenaica and from mainland Greece to Asia Minor and Babylon (Chapter 2.2.1).

As for the military training at the *gymnasia* of military settlements we have little information (e.g. Thera, *chôra* of Egypt) and we can only draw inferences about it because some of the founders, officials or participants were soldiers or belonged to associations of soldiers (e.g. *basilistai*, *I. Th.Sy.* 303, 143 BC). The soldiers and ex-ephebes, in garrisons or settlements, constituted distinctive groups, such as οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι (the anointed) or οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου (those from the *gymnasion*) and trained themselves in the *gymnasion*. They anointed themselves with oil and took part in athletic training. In addition to this, they participated in religious ceremonies, athletic games, and banquets that took place in the *gymnasia* (e.g. Thera, Psenamosis). The limited information about military exercises in the *gymnasia* of garrisons or military settlements, in combination with evidence about the participation of groups of soldiers (associations) in ceremonies, religious practices, games, and banquets that took place in them, demonstrates a rather socio-cultural and religious character for the *gymnasion* here (Rostovtzeff 1941: 1059; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 281-182). From our sources it is revealed that the military preparedness was probably not the only aim of these *gymnasia*. Moreover, the fact that the soldiers were responsible for the administration and in part for the financing of their *gymnasia* demonstrates the semi-private nature of these *gymnasia* (e.g. Thera, Cyprus) (Chapter 2.2.1; 4.1.3).

A different approach to the *gymnasion* can be seen in the Greek *poleis* on the coasts of Asia Minor (e.g. Teos, Miletos) and in big urban centres (e.g. Alexandria, Pergamon), where an educational programme oriented to athletics and literary education was pursued (intellectual skills, music, rhetoric and participation in festivals and religious practices). These cultural and intellectual activities made the cities a pole of attraction for teachers and foreigners who wished to participate in Greek *paideia*. The decline of the military training of ephebes in Greek *poleis* (although in many cities it existed for ceremonial purposes) during the last decades of the second century (and especially after 129 BC) demonstrates the reevaluation of the model of ‘a good soldier-citizen’ and a move towards ‘the training of good elite citizen diplomats to advance their city’s interest by the force of their rhetoric’ (Kennell 2015:181) (Chapter 2.2.2).

Regardless of the orientation of each *gymnasion*, one of the main elements was the participation of its members in religious ceremonies and festivals (Chapter 2.2.3). A variety of religious events took place: celebrations connected with Hermes and Herakles, the divine protectors of the *gymnasion*; ceremonies for gods and local heroes; celebrations of commemorated events or places and practices connected with the royal cult. All these celebrations that were diffused in the *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic world (although there were discrepancies from one *gymnasion* to another) promoted the unity of the body of participants, strengthened their social status and often also reinforced royal ideology as the royal cult was a common religious practice in the *gymnasia*.

What was the attitude of the kings towards the *gymnasia*? According to our evidence, the Seleukids and the Ptolemies made few direct benefactions towards the *gymnasia* in comparison with the Attalids (Chapter 3.1). The Ptolemies gave benefactions mainly to the *gymnasia* of mainland and insular Greece. Their benefactions towards great cultural, economic and religious centres (e.g. Delos, Athens, Kos) reveal their desire to increase their prestige and recognition. Their benefactions towards the *gymnasia* in certain areas of military importance (e.g. Thera) demonstrate that they were trying to strengthen their rule there and solidify the loyalty of their soldiers. The Seleukids made gifts to the *gymnasia* of some cities that were under their rule, as part of a political negotiation between them and the local elites (e.g. Herakleia by Latmos, Sardeis, Jerusalem). On the other hand, the Attalids more actively supported Greek education and *gymnasia*. Their actions were probably connected with their desire to be considered as protectors of Greek tradition and culture and to acquire supporters in a period when the Romans, as allies of the Attalids, were intervening in the affairs of the East. From the above we observe that the *gymnasion* became a way for the kings to pursue policies that were not always about the promotion of Greek culture *per se*.

Our evidence reveals that neither the Seleukids nor the Ptolemies undertook a systematic and organized policy of promoting the institution of the *gymnasion*. However, we cannot depreciate their role as benefactors in many other domains of civic life. The external dangers, the internal turmoil in the Hellenistic kingdoms and the

interference of Rome in the East changed the priorities of the Seleukids and the Ptolemies; as a result, their benevolence adjusted to the circumstances.

The *gymnasion* in the East became a field of negotiation between the king, the citizens and the participants. This becomes explicit from the several instances of citizens, officials and participants in the *gymnasia* who on their own initiative approached the kings, honoured them, or connected their *gymnasia* and festivals with them in order to acquire royal support and to secure their political and financial existence. Through these actions the citizens, participants and officials demonstrated their loyalty towards the kings. Much of the evidence regarding honours towards the kings in the frame of the *gymnasion* possibly reveals that the kings helped the cities not just by benefactions towards their *gymnasia*. The *gymnasion* was a very important component of civic life (a ‘second Agora’ as mentioned by Robert), and the citizens considered this the most appropriate location where the benevolence of the kings should be presented or commemorated (e.g. decrees, statues, religious practices and celebrations).

Because of the sporadic and inconsistent nature of royal benefaction, wealthy citizens and officials often filled the void in royal financial support for the *gymnasia* (Chapter 3.2). Some members of the elite, officials from the royal entourage, high-ranking officers, Greeks and non-Greeks supported in many ways the institution in the Seleukid and the Ptolemaic kingdom by contributing to the continuity of the institution and to the unity of the community. The degree and the recipients (Greeks or non-Greeks) of their benevolence varied and reflected the personal ambitions and motives of the benefactors. The participants in the *gymnasion* honoured them for their support (with honorific decrees, statues, gold crowns). These actions not only demonstrated the gratitude of the participants but were also intended to ensure the commitment of the benefactor to future support for the city. The relations between private benefactors and recipients of the benefaction (e.g. the *demos*, certain age-groups, foreigners, distinct groups such as *aleiphomenoi*) took many forms and depended on the needs of the *gymnasion* and of its participants. The *gymnasion* once again became a field of negotiation, but this time among a) the wealthy elite and the citizens and b) eminent officials or members of the local elite and soldiers belonging to the *gymnasion*.

We turn now to the relations of non-Greeks with the *gymnasion*. According to our evidence, in the course of time the distinction between Greeks and non-Greeks became not always clear-cut. The Hellenistic kings did not try to assimilate the native population but rather displayed a tolerant attitude and allowed the co-existence of the Greek and the non-Greek element. They ‘...did not aim at ethnic supremacy but simply at political supremacy [in order] to reach their socio-economic goals’ (Fischer-Bovet 2015: 8).

The Greco-Macedonians in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms (who constituted a minority) often influenced and were influenced by indigenous cultures and practices. On the other hand, some members of the non-Greek population (whether they were part of the indigenous population, members of the local elite or soldiers and mercenaries) were influenced in different degrees by the Greco-Macedonian way of life and culture (Chapter 4.1).

These circumstances constructed a peculiar milieu, a mosaic of various cultural and ethnic entities that interacted with each other. The degree of assimilation and of mutual influences was not the same in every part of the Hellenistic world; in addition to this, they changed over time. Various parameters - such as royal policies, socio-economic conditions, the type of location (e.g. cities or settlements), the status of ethnic groups, the multi-ethnic composition of royal armies, the degree of their loyalty, internal turbulence and external dangers - influenced the environment where Greek institutions were established.

It was in such a complex political, social, economic, and ethnic milieu that the Hellenistic *gymnasion*, as a distinctive institution of Greek culture, was adopted and adapted. Its establishment in the East was connected primarily with the endurance of the Greco-Macedonian presence and culture and with the strength of the loyalty of its participants. As time passed, members of the non-Greek population or soldiers from various ethnic groups who co-existed with Greco-Macedonians in military camps approached the Greek way of life, thus redefining the ethnic composition of the *gymnasia*. Their desire for participation in the life of the Greek community (in cities or settlements), their personal interest in Greek *paideia*, and their ambitions to ascend to

the higher levels of hierarchy of the new administration were some of the reasons for the attendance of non-Greeks at the *gymnasia*.

In the *poleis* of the East (e.g. those of Asia Minor), where citizenship was connected with participation in the *gymnasion*, the admission of non-Greeks depended on decisions by the civic body (presumably influenced mainly by the elite); there was rather a selective policy towards the admission of non-Greeks, especially in the early Hellenistic period. According to our evidence, this changed from the second century onwards and the introduction of non-Greeks into civic structures was gradually allowed. In some cases, mainly during festivals (e.g. Priene, Sestos), non-Greeks (without citizenship) were invited to participate in the life of the *gymnasion* (they shared the oil of anointing or participated in the banquets that followed the celebrations) as members of an enlarged civic community, thus contributing to the cohesion of (mainly elite) society. In that period the pressure for participation in *gymnasia* of Greek *poleis* from some wealthy ethnic groups (such as the Romans) increased, and in some cases their participation in civic life was allowed (e.g. Priene). Based on our evidence, in the late Hellenistic period the initiative for admission of non-Greeks in the *poleis* was a complex procedure because royal policies interacted with the civic will and the motives of wealthy benefactors (Chapter 3.2.2).

On the other hand, in the settlements and villages where civic infrastructures were absent the situation was different. The absence of a well-organized royal policy for the diffusion of the *gymnasion* in the East paved the road for private initiatives, although we cannot claim that these initiatives were taken without royal consent or supervision (e.g. in the Egyptian *chôra*). In Egypt high military officials who were closely related to the king founded *gymnasia*. These *gymnasia* solidified Ptolemaic rule in certain areas, ensured the loyalty of the participants, and gave to soldier-settlers a place to gather, to train and to worship gods and kings. Members of the native elite, seeking more privileges in the newly established kingdoms and administration, adapted to the Greek way of life. This co-existence in non-urban centres culturally influenced the Greco-Macedonian population (e.g. through mixed marriages, shared religious customs, and practices) and constructed a peculiar synthesis of cultural elements (Chapter 3.2.3; 3.2.4).

Participation in the Greek way of life cannot be viewed as a rejection of local tradition. Those non-Greek members of the local elite who were attached to Greek culture could adapt and move in both environments (Greek and non-Greek) by adopting a synthesis of cultural features or by switching codes of communication (Clarysse 1995; Paganini 2011). The example of the Babylonian governor Anu-uballit Kephelos, who adapted to the Greek way of life but also remained loyal to his traditional duties, reveals how the members of the eastern local elite could live in both communities and adopt cultural identities in accordance with the circumstances (Doty 1988: 95-118). This is not a unique phenomenon. In Egypt as well, the natives that worked in the administration or participated in the army (from the 2nd century onwards) approached the Greek way of life. Some of them adopted Greek cultural features, educational practices and language and became part of the ‘Hellenes’. As shown in the previous example, adopting the Greek way of life does not mean abandoning the native tradition; rather it was a way for some non-Greeks (and especially for the local elite) to fulfil their ambitions, strengthen their social and economic position and achieve privileges (Chapter 4.1).

We cannot argue that the situation was the same among the lower social classes (Greek and non-Greek). Some Greeks who lived in the villages influenced and were influenced by the Egyptians, creating a complex cultural amalgamation. We have observed that the humble socio-economic conditions that the inhabitants of the Egyptian territories had to face influenced all the members of the community regardless of their ethnic origins. This is one of the reasons why Egyptians and Greco-Egyptians participated in the rebellions against the Ptolemies in the Great Revolt (206-186 BC) (Fischer-Bovet 2014; 2015). The decision to rebel did not, therefore, constitute a condemnation of the Greek way of life or of the Greek *gymnasion* and its practices. This is revealed by the fact that in the villages of Egypt the ephebes continued to train in the *gymnasion* and worshipped (Fayoum [Arsinoite Nome]: *SB* 5. 8887, 95 BC) the Egyptian god Sobek (in Greek Suchos, who was connected with the crocodile of Nile) long after the revolt. The same can be seen in the first century at the *gymnasion* of Psenamosis (*Prose sur pierre* 40; 67, 64 BC), which was a place of athletic training, religious practice and entertainment (e.g. festivals and banquets). In Egyptian territory, because of the long co-existence of Greeks and non-Greeks and because the Greeks were the ‘minorité dominante’ (Veïsse

2004) of the area, it is difficult to discern non-Greek or Greek ethnic origins. We only may speak about a distinctive multi-ethnic group of people that adapted to, respected and lived according to the Greek way of life (Thompson 2001; Landvatter 2013) (Chapter 4.3).

As we mentioned, the eastern *gymnasion* became a place of cultural negotiation between the Greeks and the indigenous population. Greek educational practices such as athletic and military training, literacy, and religious ceremonies that were part of the Greek education were familiar to the indigenous civilizations of the East. Egyptians, Babylonians, and Persians had a long educational tradition, intellectual as well as military. We cannot, however, argue that they previously had a similar institution to the *gymnasion*. The institution of the *gymnasion*, with its internal organization and programme combined with specific areas for training and education, was one of the defining educational characteristics of the Greco-Macedonian world. The native civilizations had their own distinctive cultural characteristics and came into contact with other civilizations (including the Greek) as early as the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Through their commercial activities a network of inter-cultural communication was created where cultural ideas and practices were diffused in the eastern part of Mediterranean and mutually influenced the civilizations of the area.

Wrestling, boxing, chariot racing, running, hunting, and learning to read and write were some of the training elements of the education that the prince and the sons of the members of the local elite in Egypt, Babylonia and Persia received. Some of them have similarities with the training of aristocrats before and during the archaic period in Greece (Perry 2013). We cannot assume that there was the same degree or the same level of literacy among the elite of the native population (Chapter 4.2).

In the Hellenistic period we have mainly observed that some members of the local elite approached the Greek way of life in order to achieve their personal goals. The members of the elite who could do this were highly educated persons, with eminent places in the local society and with good knowledge of their tradition. As we have observed, the common educational features that existed in the Greco-Macedonian education and in the native educational practices, in combination with the high level of literacy they

fostered, could serve as a cultural bridge between the Greeks and the members of the non-Greek local elites. These members of native elites were introduced into the entourage of the Hellenistic kings and adapted to the Greek way of life by constituting a unifying cultural elite, which, although ethnically heterogeneous, promoted social, local and personal ambitions and at the same time supported royal policy. The mutual cultural borrowings among the civilizations of the East constructed a dynamic environment where networks of cultural communications were built. These networks transcended the borders of 'ethnic cultures' and took an intercultural form that was adopted mainly by members of the native elites in order to help them assimilate to different environments (Chapter 4.1).

The similar cultural elements did not influence equally all the social strata or even the members of the same class of the indigenous population. Personal aims and ambitions played a great role in this. In this study we have observed that members of the same class approached or condemned the Greek practices in accordance with their political, social or economic goals (as in Jerusalem and Egypt). Once again, the *gymnasion* became a tool of negotiation, only this time between members of the local elite and the king, as the elite tried to accumulate benefits and personal recognition. The different attitudes towards the Greek way of life influenced the presence of the *gymnasion* in the East. According to our evidence, the rebellions by the native population were not directed against Greek education and to the *gymnasion per se*, but against the socio-economic conditions and to the arbitrary policies of the Hellenistic kings (Chapter 4.3).

The *gymnasion* continued to exist in the East and its practices were performed long after the rule of the Hellenistic kings in the area. The Greek cultural and educational elements of the *gymnasion* were transformed and adapted to the native civilisations of Central Asia; they also became part of the tradition in that area by influencing mainly the indigenous ruling class (e.g. Kushan Empire, AD 100-300) (Christopoulos 2013; Homrighausen 2015). The legacy of the *gymnasion* and its practices changed, survived and continued to influence the upper class of the native population long after Seleukid rule ended. This demonstrates that some cultural forms, such as the *gymnasion*, transcended the ethnic boundaries of culture and became part of an intercultural network of communication and connection between civilisations (Chapter 4.1).

To sum up, in this thesis we have observed that the Hellenistic *gymnasion* in the East was adopted in the Seleukid and the Ptolemaic kingdoms in accordance with the peculiarities of each kingdom and with their regional variations. It played many roles in the communities where it existed in accordance with the aims of the participants, of citizens and of the elites. In the eastern *gymnasion* many networks of communications were built between kings, citizens, elites, officials, and participants (Greek or non-Greek, soldiers or members of a non-Greek elite), by constructing a dynamic environment of negotiations.

Such an approach reveals that the Hellenistic *gymnasion* was not something static; it was adopted and adapted in accordance with the circumstances. Although it was a characteristic of the Greek way of life and was addressed initially to the Greco-Macedonian minority in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, it attracted the interest of certain non-Greeks. The lack of a systematic and well-organized royal policy for the promotion of the institution, combined with the tolerance exhibited by the kings for the participation of non-Greeks in the *gymnasia*, paved the road for negotiations about who was entitled to participate in this institution. Local elites, wealthy non-Greek inhabitants of the cities, non-Greek high officials, and groups of soldiers negotiated their presence in the institution.

From an institution that initially promoted segregation (e.g. in Greek *poleis*) and was addressed to a privileged Greek group, with its diffusion in the East and its establishment in military settlements and villages, it eventually included members of the local non-Greek elite and soldiers. Formerly an institution addressed to a specific ethnic group, it gradually fulfilled cultural and social, rather than ethnic, criteria. The Greeks (especially some members of the civic elite or high officials from the royal entourage) promoted the ‘opening up’ of the institution to non-Greeks because they desired to strengthen their socio-political status and to support Greek culture. This practice was systematized in the *poleis* of Asia Minor during the later Hellenistic period, where the presence of wealthy and powerful Romans and other non-Greek groups of inhabitants increased and the pressure for participation in the *gymnasia* was augmented.

The condition for the entry of non-Greeks was that they respect and live according to the Greek way of life. As we observed, some non-Greek members achieved this by ‘switching codes of communication’ (Clarysse 1995; Paganini 2011), while others combined Greek and native cultural elements. The common educational elements among ancient civilizations facilitated the procedure of the initiation of some non-Greeks into the life of *gymnasion*. The training that young men received was not something strange to the native civilizations of the Mediterranean. The mutual influences and cultural borrowings were used as a channel of communication between Greeks and non-Greeks in the Hellenistic *gymnasion* and especially those of the local elite. The adoption of Greek education by members of the native elite (regardless of their ethnic origins) constructed a multi-ethnic elite, that was culturally Greek. This elite played a part in the administration, in the army and in the Greek way of life.

In this study we have observed that the flexibility in the entry of non-Greeks into the *gymnasion* was gradually shaped in accordance with regional and socio-cultural circumstances as well as with royal policies. The *gymnasion* in the East took many forms: it became a tool of negotiation for the local elite to acquire privileges in the Hellenistic kingdoms; a way for non-Greek soldiers to participate in the life of *gymnasion*; a field of intellectual training and diplomatic skills for wealthy young men in the *poleis*; a place for military preparation; and a place where loyalty towards the kings was demonstrated. These are some of the uses of the eastern *gymnasion* that became a unifying institution among the participants in the communities where it existed.

Although the non-elite strata of the indigenous populations were not equally influenced by the *gymnasion*, and despite the condemnation of the institution by parts of the native population, the *gymnasion* in the East continued its function; it still existed in the Roman period and adapted to the policies of Roman rule. Its legacy remained alive long after Seleukid rule in Central Asia ended, and its educational features were combined with local traditions and practices.

## APPENDIX: TABLES

**Table 1. Kings' benefactions and reciprocations**

















**Table 2. Gymnasiarchs and citizens as benefactors of *gymnasia***

<b>GYMNASIARCHS AND CITIZENS AS BENEFACTORS OF CITIES' GYMNASIA OF ASIA MINOR</b>						
<b>CITY</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>BENEFACTOR</b>	<b>BENEFACTION</b>	<b>HONOURING BODY</b>	<b>HONOURS</b>
<b>Halikarnassos</b>	<i>Ét. Anat.</i> 150	third century	Antiphon		<i>neoi</i>	bronze image
<b>Ilion</b>	<i>I.Ilion</i> 2	third century	Kydimos son of Kydimos from Abydos, gymnasiarch of the <i>panegyris</i> (Panathenaia at Ilion)	diligence – he contributed financially in the expenses of the <i>panegyris</i>	koinon (of Athena Ilias) of <i>panegyris</i> , <i>neoi</i> and athletes	gold garland, bronze image, praise to the <i>demos</i> and praise to the gymnasiarch, front seating in the contests, gold garland, bronze image, proclamation of honours in the dramatic and athletic contests, honorific decree
<b>Ilion</b>	<i>SEG</i> 53, 1373	third century	Antikles son of Alexandros from Lampsakos, gymnasiarch of the <i>panegyris</i> (Panathenaia at Ilion)	he contributed financially in the expenses of the <i>panegyris</i>	koinon (of Athena Ilias) of <i>panegyris</i> , <i>neoi</i> and athletes	gold garland, bronze statue and honorific decree
<b>Priene</b>	<i>I.Priene</i> 35	third century	(no name) gymnasiarch	virtue, care, and justice towards the <i>neoi</i>	<i>neoi</i>	gold garland, bronze image, tax-exemption, proclamation of the honours at the Dionysia
<b>Halikarnassos</b>	McCabe, <i>Halikarnassos</i> 6	275-250 BC	Diodotos son of Philonikos, benefactor	he displayed care and zeal towards the <i>gymnasion</i> . He contributed financially to the repairs of the <i>gymnasion</i> Philippeion	<i>demos</i>	gold garland, bronze image
<b>Kolophon</b>	Gauthier, <i>Chiron</i> 35 (2005) 101-111	third/second century	Euelthon son of Phainos, former gymnasiarch		<i>neoi</i> , ephebes	image and garland, proclamation in the contests of the city.
<b>Kyanai</b>	<i>DAW</i> 1897, I, 28-29 no 28	second century	Anticharis son of Amyntas, benefactor of the <i>neoi</i>	virtue	<i>neoi</i>	praise, gold garland, bronze image, front seating in the contests, honorific decree, altar
<b>Letoon (Xanthos)</b>	<i>TAM</i> 2. 498	second century	Aichmon son of Euelthon, gymnasiarch		<i>neoi</i>	gold garland, bronze image

<b>CITY</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>BENEFACTOR</b>	<b>BENEFACTION</b>	<b>HONOURING BODY</b>	<b>HONOURS</b>
<b>Magnesia</b>	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 102	second century	Euboulides		elders, <i>demos</i>	gold garland, bronze image, painted image, proclamation of honours at the Dionysia – honorific decree
<b>Mallos (Kilikia)</b>	<i>SEG</i> 37. 1312	second century	Iason son of Iason, former gymnasiarch	provision of oil for the <i>neoi</i>	<i>demos</i>	statue
<b>Mylasa</b>	<i>I.Mylasa</i> 105	second century	Amyntas, former gymnasiarch of <i>neoi</i>	virtue, financial support of the <i>gymnasion</i> , decoration of buildings	tribe, <i>demos</i>	praise, garland
<b>Mylasa</b>	<i>I.Mylasa</i> 119	second century	Dionysios son of Iatrokles, former gymnasiarch	virtue	tribe, <i>demos</i>	gold garland, bronze image on marble base with honorific inscription, share of the sacrificial meat
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>AM</i> 35 (1910), 469 no. 53a	second century	Protarchos son of Aristomachos, former gymnasiarch	good will, zeal, and care for the education of ephebes and <i>neoi</i>	<i>demos</i>	statue with honorific inscription
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>AM</i> 32 (1907), 278, no. 11	second century	Straton son of Straton, gymnasiarch of ephebes and <i>neoi</i>	provision of oil, zeal and thoroughness for the education of <i>neoi</i> and ephebes	<i>demos, neoi</i>	gold garlands, bronze images, stele with honorific decree, stele of decree
<b>Apamea of Meandros</b>	<i>MAMA</i> VI. 173	188-160 BC	Kephisodoros son of Ariston	distribution of oil, financial support, banquet (Hermaia)	<i>demos</i>	
<b>Ephesos</b>	<i>I.Ephesos</i> 6	mid-second century	Diodoros son of Mentor, former gymnasiarch of <i>neoi</i>	he handled the distribution of oil, the good behaviour and the education of <i>neoi</i>	ephebes, <i>neoi</i> (ratification by the <i>boule</i> and the <i>demos</i> )	status and honorific inscription

CITY	SOURCE	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>AM</i> 35 (1910), 401-407, no 1.	150-100 BC	Athenaios son of Menodotos, gymnasiarch of ephebes and <i>neoi</i>	he financed the provision of oil, the building works in the <i>gymnasion</i> and purchase of weapons and prizes for athletic competitions- good will and virtue	ephebes, <i>neoi</i> , teachers, <i>demos</i>	gold garlands at the Hermaia, gold garland, statue with honorific inscription, stele of the decree
<b>Sardis</b>	<i>I.Sardis</i> 7.1 21	150 BC	Dionysios son of Menas, former gymnasiarch of <i>paides</i>	virtue, good will and care	<i>demos</i>	
<b>Themisonion</b>	Michel, <i>Recueil</i> 54	114 BC	Chares son of Attalos, <i>paidonomos</i> and gymnasiarch	virtue and benevolence towards the <i>demos</i> – oil for <i>neoi</i> , ephebes and foreigners (13 months)-embellishment of the <i>gymnasion</i> – building works	<i>demos</i>	bronze image and stele of honorary decree, public proclamation of honours, dining in the <i>prytaneion</i>
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>AM</i> 32 (1907), 311 no. 34	109 BC	(no name) priest and former gymnasiarch	zeal and thoroughness for the education of <i>neoi</i> and ephebes	<i>neoi</i>	image
<b>Iasos</b>	<i>I.Iasos</i> 93	second/first century	Kritios son of Hermophantos, former official of the elders	virtue and good will	elders	praise, gold garland, painted image, honorific inscription on a statue base, stele of the decree at the <i>gymnasion</i> (Antiocheion)
<b>Mylasa</b>	<i>SEG</i> 54.1101	second/first century	Leontiades son of Leon, former gymnasiarch (80 months)	provision of oil for the anointing of <i>paroikoi</i> , metics, and foreigners	<i>paroikoi</i> , metics, foreigners	<i>andrias</i> (life size statue)
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>AM</i> 35 (1910), 468 no. 52	second/first century	Kausilos son of Ainios former gymnasiarch	virtue and provision of oil for anointing	<i>demos</i>	statue with honorific inscription

CITY	SOURCE	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>I.Pergamon</i> II 252	second/first century	Metrodoros son of Herakleon, former gymnasiarch	repairs of the <i>gymnasion</i> , prizes for the athletes, teachers	<i>demos, neoi</i> , epebes	garland, bronze image, proclamation of honours in the contests, dining in the <i>prytaneion</i>
<b>Perge</b>	<i>I.Perge</i> 14	second/first century	Stasias son of Bokios, former gymnasiarch of epebes and <i>neoi</i> and <i>strategos</i>	virtue and prudence	<i>demos</i>	gold garland of excellence, bronze image and honorific inscription
<b>Teos</b>	<i>CIG</i> 3085	second/first century	Aischrion, son of Meleagros, former epebarch		epebes, <i>neoi</i> , participants in the <i>gymnasion</i>	gold garland, painted image, life size image, bronze image, marble statue, gold image
<b>Halikarnassos</b>	Haussoullier, <i>BCH</i> 1880, 402-3, no. 14	second/first century	Menophilos son of Athe[...], former gymnasiarch	virtue, good will	<i>neoi</i>	garland, statue with honorific inscription?
<b>Iasos</b>	<i>I.Iasos</i> 84	first century	Alexandros son of Alexandros, former gymnasiarch	provision of oil	<i>demos</i>	honorific inscription on a statue base
<b>Iasos</b>	<i>I.Iasos</i> 98	first century	Melanios son of Theodoros, former epebarch	virtue	<i>demos</i>	gold garland, prize of valour, painted image on a gold shield (at the Ptolemaion <i>gymnasion</i> ), bronze and gold images
<b>Kios</b>	<i>I.Kios</i> 5	first century	Deinarchos son of Menemachos, former gymnasiarch		<i>demos</i>	two painted images one of them on a shield, marble statue
<b>Magnesia</b>	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 153	first century	Teison son of Pyrrhichos, gymnasiarch of the elders and agonothetes of <i>neoi</i>	participation of foreigners – oil	<i>demos</i>	statue with honorific inscription
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>AM</i> 35 (1910), 470 no. 53b	first century	[Apollodo]ros or [Athenodo]ros son of Pyrrhos, former gymnasiarch	virtue and good will	<i>demos</i>	gold garland, bronze image, statue with honorific inscription
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>I. Pergamon</i> II 256	first century	Diodoros Paspáros son of Herodes, archi-priest, priest by birth, former gymnasiarch	financial contribution (oil for anointing), zeal for the education of <i>neoi</i> and epebes – virtue	<i>demos</i>	garland of valour, bronze image, statue, honorific decree

CITY	Source	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>AM</i> 33 (1908), 407 no. 37	first century	Herodes son of Sokrates, priest and former gymnasiarch	good and glorious	<i>demos</i>	bronze image and honorific inscription
<b>Teos</b>	<i>CIG</i> 3086	first century	Aristoboulos son of Tharsynon, former gymnasiarch (three times)	virtue, good will	<i>demos, ephebes, neoi</i>	statue with honorific inscription
<b>Pergamon</b>	<i>I.Pergamon</i> II 459	first century	[Apollodo]ros son of Pyrrhos, former gymnasiarch	virtue and good will	<i>demos</i>	gold garland, bronze image
<b>Magnesia by Sipylos</b>	<i>TAM</i> V.2.1343	first century?	Lysanias, gymnasiarch and <i>stephanephoros</i>	financial contribution to the facilities of the <i>gymnasion</i> , provision of oil of excellent quality		
<b>Miletos</b>	<i>I.Milet</i> I. 9.368	end of first century	Eirenias son of Artemon, Apollonios son of Kallikles gymnasiarchs	distribution of oil	<i>demos, elders</i>	
<b>Priene</b>	<i>I.Priene</i> 112; 113; 114	84-81 BC	Aulus Aemilius Zosimos, former gymnasiarch of <i>neoi, paidonomos</i> , responsible for the ephebes	virtue, good will, financial support of the <i>gymnasion</i> (e.g. he hired a teacher), oil for anointing during the city's festival, not only for citizens but also for <i>paroikoi</i> , foreigners and Romans.	<i>demos</i>	gold garland, painted, bronze, gold, and marble images, honorific inscription

**Inscriptions from Asia Minor (uncertain date)**

**GYMNASIARCHS AND CITIZENS AS BENEFACTORS OF CITIES' GYMNASIA OF ASIA MINOR**

CITY	SOURCE	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
Apollonia (Lydia)	TAM 5.2 1205	Hellenistic?	Tryphon son of Aischrion, gymnasiarch	provision of oil at the two <i>gymnasia</i> for whole year	–	–
Erythrai	I.Erythrai 45	no date (Hellenistic ?)	Dionysios son of Antaios, former gymnasiarch	virtue	<i>demos</i>	statue with honorific inscription?
Erythrai	I.Erythrai 82	Hellenistic ?	Symmachos son of Zen[odotos?], former gymnasiarch		<i>neoi</i>	statue with honorific inscription?
Erythrai	I.Erythrai 83	Hellenistic ?	Metron son of Athe[nodoros], former gymnasiarch			statue with honorific inscription?
Metropolis	I.Metropolis I B, 23-25	Hellenistic	Apollonios, commander of <i>neaniskoi</i>	induced Attalos II to contribute financially to the provision of oil for the <i>neoi</i> and to the lessons for free-born children	<i>demos</i>	statue
Thyateira	TAM 5.2.1065	Hellenistic	Ariston son of Lysimachos, former gymnasiarch?		<i>demos, neoi, paides</i>	
Apollonia (Lydia)	TAM 5.2 1203	Late Hellenistic	Damonikos son of Demetrios, ephebos and gymnasiarch	his father Demetrios son of Damonikos paid for the provision of oil for a whole day ( <i>panegyris</i> ?)	–	–
Tabai (Karia)	Carie II no.10 A	Late Hellenistic	(no name) gymnasiarch of elders	virtue		gold garland, bronze image
Iasos	I.Iasos 250	no date	Sopatros, gymnasiarch of <i>neoi</i> and elders	στοὰ (portico)		

GYMNASIARCHS AS BENEFACTORS OF THE <i>GYMNASIA</i> OF CYPRUS						
CITY	SOURCE	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
Salamis	<i>Salamine xiii.</i> 85	300-250 BC	Demophon son of Pnytokrates, gymnasiarch or former gymnasiarch			
Marion	<i>Arch. Pap.</i> 13.29	after 270 BC (?)	Stesagoras, gymnasiarch	dedication to Arsinoe Philadelphos		
Kourion	<i>I.Kourion</i> 34	mid-second century	(no name) gymnasiarch	good will and zeal for the benefit of the city	<i>boule</i>	gold garland, bronze <i>andrias</i> , painted image on a golden shield, stele of the honorific decree
Paphos	<i>CIG</i> 2620	105/4 BC	Kallippos, son of Kallippos, former gymnasiarch (he held many civic offices)		<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	statue with honorific inscription
Chytroi	<i>CIG</i> 2627	first century	Iason son of Aristokreon, gymnasiarch	friend of his native land	the participants in the <i>palaistra</i>	statue with honorific inscription
Salamis	<i>Salamine xiii.</i> 44	first century	Diagoras son of Teukros, gymnasiarch for life (ὁ εἰς αἰῶνα γυμνασίαρχος)			
Paphos	<i>SEG</i> 53.1757	58-15 BC	[...] son of Onason, gymnasiarch			statue with honorific inscription
Salamis	<i>Salamine xiii.</i> 96	39/8 BC	Stasikrates son of Stasikrates, former gymnasiarch	love of good actions		

GYMNASIARCHS AS BENEFACTORS OF THE <i>GYMNASIA</i> OF THERA-CYRENE						
CITY	SOURCE	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
Thera	<i>IG XII</i> 3,331	153-151 BC	Baton son of Philon, former gymnasiarch	thoroughness for the <i>gymnasion</i> , organisation of contests	<i>aleiphomenoi</i> (the anointed)	foliate garland, praise, gold garland, stele with honorific decree
Cyrene	<i>SEG</i> 37. 1674	second/first century	[...] usaniou, former gymnasiarch	donation of 80 strigils		

GYMNASIARCHS OF THE <i>GYMNASIA</i> OF EGYPT						
CITY	SOURCE	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
Alexandria	<i>SB</i> 4.7456; <i>SEG</i> 8.357	third/second century	Kardyses son of Philothenos, gymnasiarch (Bithynian)			honorific dedication
Thmouis	<i>SEG</i> 2.864	294/3 BC	Leonides son of Philotas Macedonian, first friend and gymnasiarch			dedication
Samareia (Ars.)	<i>P.Entrexeis</i> 8	221 BC	Apollodoros, cleruch soldier official	founder of the <i>gymnasion</i>		
Luxor (Thebai)	<i>I.Prose</i> 15; <i>SB</i> 3.7246	221-180 BC	Boidas son of Demetrios, from Persia, gymnasiarch and <i>kosmetes</i>	during his office he worked for the benefit of the <i>gymnasion</i>	the participants in the <i>gymnasion</i>	honorific decree (honours: foliate garland, painted image, stele with the decree, oil for the anointing)
Naukratis	<i>I.Delta</i> II 14	221-205 BC	Apoll[...] gymnasiarch	dedication to the king and god Ptolemy Philopator		
Psenamosis	<i>I.Prose</i> 40	second century	Paris, <i>syngenes</i>	donated part of his own land for the building of a <i>gymnasion</i> and temple		
Thmouis	<i>SEG</i> 8.504	second century	Philoxenos son of Eukleides Macedonian, First Friend and gymnasiarch	virtue	the participants in the <i>gymnasion</i>	dedication

CITY	SOURCE	DATE	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	HONOURING BODY	HONOURS
<b>Theadelphia (Ars.)</b>	<i>I.Fayoum</i> II 103; 104	150/49 BC	Leonides son of Ptolemaios, Thracian gymnasiarch (and army official)	dedication to the <i>gymnasion</i> (τὸ θύρωμα, τὸ δίθυρο καὶ τὸν πυλῶνα)		
<b>Ombos</b>	<i>I.Eg.Syène</i> 189	135 BC	<i>protos philos</i> and <i>ktistes tou gymnasiou</i>	founder of the <i>gymnasion</i>		
<b>Pharbaithos</b>	<i>SEG</i> 47.2128	115-110 BC	Theagenes son of Theon, gymnasiarch			honorific dedication
<b>Arsinoe (Fayoum)</b>	<i>I.Fayoum</i> I 8; <i>SB</i> 1.1569	88-80 BC	Apollonios son of Artemidoros, <i>syngenes, kosmetes</i> and gymnasiarch	dedication to the Ptolemies (Philometor, Philadelphos and Soter)		
<b>Aphroditopolis</b>	<i>I.Prose</i> 41; <i>SB</i> 8.531	57 BC	Herodes son of Demetrios, <i>hipparches</i> and gymnasiarch	he financed the provision of oil for the anointing and many building works for the κάτοικοι. He contributed financially to the games and festivals held in the city.	the participants in the <i>gymnasion</i>	honorific decree
<b>Thebai (Diosopolis Magna) (Luxor)</b>	<i>I.Prose</i> 46; <i>SEG</i> 24.1217	39 BC	Kallimachos, <i>syngenes, strategos</i> , gymnasiarch and <i>hipparches</i>	good administration in favour of the city	priests, elders and the inhabitants of the city	Honours: Kallimachos will be named <i>Soter</i> , statues, the decree will be inscribed in both languages (Greek and Egyptian)

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