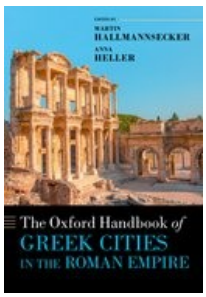

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CHAPTER

2.3 Age Groups and Civic Subdivisions

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Abstract

This chapter surveys the major civic divisions in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire. It traces the Hellenistic origins and Imperial-period developments of the constituent grades of the citizen training systems (*paides*, *ephēboi*, *neoi*), as well the corporate groupings of older citizens (*presbuteroi*, *gerousiai*) that appeared shortly before the Imperial period and became predominant in later centuries. The roles of the officials and staff involved in citizen training are examined, together with elements of the curriculum. The relationship between the *presbuteroi* and *gerousiai* is likewise discussed, along with their powers and functions. The overview concludes with an account of the oldest and most enduring civic divisions, the originally fictive kinship groups known as *phylai* and their subdivisions in various cities.

Keywords: ephebes, training, paides, neoi, gerousiai, presbuteroi, phylai

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Introduction

Greek cities embraced many associations through which individuals could express their communal identity and obtain support—legal, political, and financial (see Eckhardt in this volume). The bulk of such societies was voluntary or professional, such as the associations of dyers and linen workers of Saittai in Lydia (*SEG* 29, 1184, 1191) or the Amphiaraistai of Attic Rhamnous (*IG* II^2 1322). But others existed in which membership, while not exactly obligatory, was certainly expected of the citizens of a *polis*, since these groups, unlike the professional and voluntary organizations, were more integrated into civic administrative structures. They were of two sorts: age-based, in the form of the grades of the citizen training system—children (*paides*), cadets (*ephēboi*), and young men (*neoi*)—as well as the associations of elders (*gerousiai*) found in many cities; and civic subdivisions, notably the *phylai* ('tribes'), membership in which was theoretically passed down through inheritance. Despite variations in their articulation and function over time, space, and culture, these groups can also be conceived of either as 'vertical', in the case of hereditary civic subdivisions, since they existed through a succession of generations, or as 'horizontal', because the citizen training system's categories encompassed individuals of the same age regardless of civic subdivision. Beyond their institutional function, age divisions reflected a conception, current since late Hellenistic times, of the city as a family writ large, where the elders were considered parents, coevals siblings, and the young children (Fröhlich 2013: 102–3).

Age groups

The most visible of age-based groups in a later Hellenistic or Roman-era city were those belonging to its citizen training system, which to a greater or lesser extent guided the lives of young, freeborn males from
p. 146 childhood (about seven years old) to manhood (about 30 years ↳ old). The earliest known citizen training system was Sparta's, which may have inspired the influential Athenian version called the *ephēbeia* (ephebate). Sometime between 383 and 373 BC the Athenians introduced a new form of conscription based on age that entailed the training of new citizen soldiers (Kennell 2006: xi). Over time, other cities instituted systems which loosely followed the Athenian model, so that by the Roman period close to 200 Greek cities spanning the Mediterranean world are attested as possessing or having possessed an ephebate. All four age groups under study appear in these cities but not at Athens, which, despite providing the largest and most consistent trove of epigraphical material on citizen training over more than half a millennium, apparently never saw the need for any organized age group except ephebes.

Paides

In the 3rd century BC, *paides* first appear at Thespiai (*I.Thespies* 29, ll. 13–16, 22), Halikarnassos (Wilhelm 1908: 56 no. 2; Chankowski 2010: 191–3), and Mykonos (*Syll.*^{3} 1024, ll. 29–34), though male children are attested as participating in choruses and agonistic competitions much earlier in many places. By the Roman period, their role as public representatives of the city's youngest future citizens was secure. Under their magistrates, either the gymnasiarch, whose principal charge was the supervision of the ephebes, or, mostly in Asia Minor, the *paidonomos* (Ziebarth 1914: 39), an office ultimately derived from Sparta (Xen. *Lac.* 2.2), *paides* competed in contests in the gymnasium, paraded in festivals, took part with their older contemporaries in honouring their magistrates and benefactors, as well as sometimes receiving largesse as a component of the citizen body. This process reached its zenith at Ephesos in the reign of Trajan. In AD 104 a generous foundation to the city funded by Vibius Salutaris provided for a large silver statue of *Paideia* (education/culture) with a Latin dedication on its base 'to Ephesian Diana, all the boys to come, as well as their *paidonomoi* and teachers (*paedeutae*)' be borne along in a parade containing representations of Trajan, his wife Plotina, the Senate, equestrians, and the Roman people alongside those of the city of Ephesos, the tribes, *gerousia*, *boulē*, and *ephēbeia* (*I.Ephesos* 27, ll. 25–31; 33, ll. 1–3).

For the age at which individuals entered or left the *paides* grade, we have direct evidence from neither the Hellenistic nor Roman period. Boys left the *paides*, however, when they reached the age of qualification (*enkrisis*/*eiskrisis*) for the ephebate (e.g. Michel, *Recueil* 643, ll. 8–9; *IGBulg* I, 14; *PSI* 3 99), which in most places was about 18, but might be somewhat earlier in certain cities (Hin 2007: 143–6). The age of entry is considerably more obscure, though it was probably associated with the ages at which a boy began his schooling (at about seven: Arist. *Pol*. 7.1336b 35–1337a 5) and later participated in public life as a member of the boys' chorus at civic festivals; this would have depended on the boy's physical and social maturity as well as his father's discretion (at 11: Pritchard 2004: 220; Robertson 2000: 153–61).

As for the *paides*' activities during the Roman period, much must be inferred, since no documentation as rich as the Hellenistic decrees establishing the educational foundations of Eudemos at Miletos (*I.Delphinion* 145 = *Syll.*^{3} 577) and Polythrous at Teos (*PHI Ionia*: *Teos* 41 = *Syll.*^{3} 578) is extant. Fabulously wealthy individuals like Opramoas of Rhodiapolis might still fund *paides*' education through similar bequests (*F.Xanthos* VII, 67, ll. 24–9), yet mundane details of the faculty and curriculum were no longer considered
p. 147 appropriate for the inscriptions erected in their honour. Though this phenomenon restricts our ability ↳ to discern the inner workings of the civic *paides*, the Hellenistic tradition of educating the youngest future citizens in letters, music, and similar subjects continued, as shown by the appearance of their instructors (*paideutai*) in several inscriptions, as well as on the base for the Ephesian silver *Paideia* statue. Thanks to Hadrian, the *paides* at Cyrene could pursue their studies (*diatribai*) in their own space (*exedra*) in the gymnasium separate from the ephebes (Jones 1998: 264). At Ephesos, the instructors also formed a body which met by the precinct sacred to the Muses (*Mouseion*) and in the early 2nd century AD passed a decree honouring a prominent woman for funding the torch race for Artemis (*I.Ephesos* 3068), while the Smyrnaean *paideutai* met officially as a *synodos* to contribute to a gold crown awarded to Publius Petronius Achaicus (*I.Smyrna* 215).

Paides are more evident in agonistic activities within and outside the gymnasium. In 1st-century BC Kos, Iason son of Bolichos dedicated his prize in lyre-playing (*diapsalmos*) to the Muses (*IG* XII.4.2, 592). At Iasos, *paidonomoi* were praised for providing *paides* with gymnasial contests (*agōnes gymnikoi*; *I.Iasos* 99, 100). A wall along the southern road at Termessos was the official site for *paides* victorious in the gymnasial contests to set up their prizes (*TAM* III.1, 4, l. 19). A decree from Oinoanda in Lycia establishing a festival in honour of Iulius Demosthenes contains detailed instructions for selecting two team leaders from 'the noblest *paides*', each of whom would pick a team of 10 boys to train for the torch race (Wörrle 1988: 66). The winner qualified for a decree and a statue, if he could fund it himself; otherwise, he was to be 'satisfied with

the honour of the decree'. The team leaders' designation as *agelarchai*, a term used particularly for teams of boys and appearing at several other cities including Xanthos (*SEG* 38, 1482), Idebessos (*TAM* II.3, 838A), and Miletos (*I.Milet* 596), indicates that torch races for *paides* (*BE* 1982, 374) were still fairly common.

The ancient tradition of singing and dancing in choruses continued. Athenians still held competitions for dithyrambic choruses of men and boys in the Dionysia festival (Shear 2013: 390–6). To worship a deity with choruses of boys and of girls remained appropriate, as an oracle from Apollo at Klaros instructed the people of a city on the river Hermos to do (Merkelbach and Stauber 1996: 26 no. 11). Throughout the 2nd century AD, the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios near Kolophon was the destination for delegations of boys' choruses despatched to hymn the god from many Greek cities in Asia Minor (e.g. Ferrary 2014: 4, 238, 253) and beyond (Macridy 1912: 46–56).

Perhaps the most important function of civic *paides* as an institution was to introduce young members of the elite to public life, usually through participation in parades, a tradition that had started in the Hellenistic period (e.g. *I.Delphinion* 145, ll. 69–70). The free *paides* of Cyrene, along with the elders (*gerontes*) and colleges of magistrates (*synarchiai*), escorted the bier at a deceased worthy's funeral in 16/5 BC (*SEG* 9, 4, ll. 16–17). The juxtaposition of the *paides* with those in senior positions of authority was surely meant to signal the boys' future roles in the city's hierarchy. At Kyzikos, two parades in the 1st century AD allow similar interpretations. In the first, the *paidonomos* with his *paides* and the ephebarch with his ephebes were called out for the official greeting (*hypantēsis*) of the Thracian king Rhoimetalkes' two sons (*Syll.*[3] 798, ll. 23–4), where the symbolic focus was obviously on youth. In the second, another funeral, this time for the wealthy Apollonis, the *paides* formed one contingent among those representing the entire *polis* together with the executive councillors (*prytaneis*), the eponymous magistrates (*epōnymoi archontes*), ephebes, citizens, and all free men of the city, as well as the girls and women (*SEG* 28, 953, ll. 42–4). As in the Hellenistic period, parades were carefully articulated to present various facets of the ↳ institutions and groups comprising the
p. 148 civic community (e.g. *I.Magnesia* 98, l. 38; *SEG* 12, 51, ll. 10–12).

Ephebes

When they reached the age of leaving the *paides* grade, usually at about 18 but possibly as early as 14 or even, as calculated from one Egyptian papyrus, three years of age (Wilcken, *Chr.* 148; Delia 1991: 82–3), youths entered the full-scale training system as ephebes. Ephebes had always been at the core of citizen training. Exercising in the gymnasium and performing military tasks in the countryside (Knoepfler 2015) usually for one year, they prepared to enter the grade of *neoi* and join what in the Hellenistic period had been the city's armed forces. While Hellenistic ephebes are now understood to have played a role, though not usually an active one, in civic defence, the same cannot be said of their later counterparts in the Roman period. This is partly due to the precipitous diminution in the quantity of evidence in the first centuries AD compared with the lengthy inscribed decrees praising ephebes for their activities during their service that were erected in major cities during the final two centuries of the Hellenistic period (Kennell 2010: 176–7). In their place, the surviving epigraphical evidence is overwhelmingly dominated by catalogues of ephebes or lists of victors in gymnasial contests, which has led to the conclusion that the Roman-era system had lost any military function and was now purely a sociocultural institution that prepared young members of the elite for lives as leaders and benefactors of their communities.

This different picture is largely due to a change in how the ephebic monuments were produced. No longer, as before, did cities fund the inscription and erection of stone *stelai* with lengthy descriptions of the ephebes' activities. This expense now devolved upon members of the local elite. Sometimes ephebes themselves paid for their own catalogues (e.g. *IG* II[2] 2021, ll. 13–14, Athens), but gymnasial officials were more often the sponsors (e.g. *IG* V.2, 52, l. 4, Messene); *IG* XII Supp. 690, Mytilene). Their motives undoubtedly included family connections with their year's ephebes since they afforded prominence to

certain ephebes in the inscribed catalogues (e.g. *SEG* 26, 970, Paros; Kennell 2021: 527 nos. 167, 168, Messene). On other occasions, we should assume that the lists of ephebes were simply submitted to the public or gymnasial archive, or displayed on wood or some other perishable material. Ephebic expenses were increasingly paid for by individuals, most commonly the olive oil used in exercising. This the gymnasiarch might himself supply free of charge or be funded from a foundation established for the purpose (e.g. *IG* V.1, 1208, Gytheion; *I.Iasos* 248; *I.Kibyra* 42A–E). Occasionally ephebes from rich Athenian families assumed the expense of distributing oil to their fellows for a month or so (e.g. *IG* II^2 1996, 2004, 2014). But oil remained a significant, and at times near-fatal, drain on a city's finances. In the late 1st or early 2nd century AD, the proconsul of Macedonia intervened at Beroia to ensure that the distribution of oil in the city's gymnasium be placed on a sound financial footing (Nigdelis and Souris 2005: 23–8).

Guaranteeing the users of the gymnasium sufficient oil became by the Roman period one of the main tasks of the gymnasiarchs, who are attested from the Hellenistic period onwards (see Giannakopoulos in this volume). Assisting the gymnasiarch was the *hypogymnasiarchos* ('under/assistant gymnasiarch'). Inscriptions suggest that as the gymnasiarchs became less involved in the practical routine of the
p. 149 gymnasium the daily administration increasingly ↳ fell to the hypogymnasiarchs, who not seldom were relatives of the gymnasiarchs (Robert 1960: 295–6; *IG* XII.3, 517, Thera). Besides the gymnasiarch and his assistant another official appears, the *ephēbarchos*. The post of ephebarch had its origins as a military office, later becoming a proper civic magistracy with the same status as others found in later Greek cities. The incumbents in their own right were *neoi*, in other words between 20 and 30 years of age (Kennell 2000). At Odessos, however, as in many other cities, the incumbents were often underage, in which case their fathers probably paid any costs their sons' tenure involved (e.g. *IGBulg* I^2 47, 47bis, 48). Their duties could be wide-ranging. At Ephesos, the ephebarch administered a lottery for the ephebes on Artemis' birthday as part of the terms of the foundation C. Vibius Salutaris established there under Trajan (*I.Ephesos* 27, ll. 253–7). At Amphipolis, in a law of debated date (late Antigonid or Augustan period?; Hatzopoulos 2017; Rousset 2017), he was mandated with the supervision of the ephebes' daily training and responsible for hiring trainers in athletics, the javelin, and archery along with maintaining discipline and performing many other duties (*SEG* 65, 420). At Edessa, too, the ephebarch was apparently responsible for the ephebes in his charge (*SEG* 24, 531). The magistracy, quite popular in Aegean Thrace and neighbouring Macedonia, is also attested at Beroia, Kalindoia, Stuberra, Thessalonike (*IG* X.2.1, 133), and Sestos, with some occurrences elsewhere (e.g. *IG* XII.9, 20, Karystos; *IGR* IV, 87, Kolossai; *SEG* 19, 51, Philadelphia).

A secretary (*grammateus*) is attested for some ephebates, which suggests that internal records were kept (e.g. Michel, *Recueil* 643, Apollonis; *SEG* 9, 28, Cyrene; *SEG* 9, 500, Taucheira; *IG* II^2 2021, l. 19, Athens). In Egypt, fathers sent official requests for the registration of their sons in the ephebate to 'the secretary of the gymnasium' (Wilcken, *Chr.* 145; *PRyl.* 2.101). The Macedonian practice was for incoming ephebes to be listed in an *apographē* (register) of eligible youths which was compiled by the ephebarch (*SEG* 24, 531, Edessa; 65, 420, ll. 6–7, Amphipolis). The equivalent practice elsewhere since the Hellenistic period appears to have been called *enkrisis* (registration) into the ephebate (Malay, *Lydia Mysia Aiolis* 5, Stratonikeia; *IGR* IV, 482, Pergamon; *IGBulg* I^2 14, Dionysopolis).

Owing to Hellenistic Athens' strong cultural reputation, ephebes there had been expected regularly to attend lectures given by prominent intellectuals resident in the city (e.g. *IG* II^2 1006, ll. 19–20; 1028, ll. 33–5), while generous gymnasiarchs in other cities received praise for funding educators in various disciplines to teach their youthful charges (e.g. *IG* XII.9, 235, ll. 10–13, Eretria; Jacobsthal 1908: 379 no. 2, Pergamon; *I.Sestos* 74, Sestos). The constraints of the limited evidence make assessment of this aspect of ephebic education in the later curriculum particularly difficult. Only a single testimonium explicitly states that Athenian ephebes studied literature (*grammata*), geometry (*gēometria*), rhetoric (*rhētorika*), and music (*mousikē*) (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 736c). The Athenian *paideutai* (instructors) appearing in several lists, on the other hand, taught the ephebes athletic and military skills (e.g. *IG* II^2 2021, ll. 115–20; 2024, ll. 120–31). At

Ephesos, the *paideutai* taught the *paides* the liberal arts (*I.Ephesos* 3068; cf. *I.Ephesos* 33), but no direct epigraphical evidence exists of similar education for the city's ephebes. For what it is worth, the novelist Xenophon describes Habrokomas, his romantic hero, as educated in 'all sorts of learning and various arts', as well as familiar with 'hunting, equitation, and weapons handling (Xen. *Ephes*. 1.1.2). An ephebic choir hymned Hadrian in the theatre on his visit to Ephesos in AD 124 (*I.Ephesos* 1145); at Teos, ephebes were required to sing hymns daily to the god Dionysus (*LSAM* 28). But apart from these glimpses of a wider curriculum in the Roman-era ephebate, the available evidence restricts their training to athletics.

p. 150 The ephebic events known from the extant Roman-period victory lists are for the most part those canonical in the Hellenistic period: foot races, the single length (*stadion*), double length (*diaulos*), and multiple length (*dolichos*), as well as wrestling (*palē*), boxing (*pygmē*), and the *pankration*, the ancient version of all-in wrestling. The other events usually associated with ephebic contests that are more obviously relevant to military training disappear almost completely. In fact, evidence for ephebic military training is virtually non-existent outside Athens. Athenians still hired *hoplomachoi* to train their sons in arms handling and tactics (e.g. *IG* II^2 2049, 2059, 2094), although archery and javelin instructors disappear from ephebic lists after the end of the 2nd century BC. Instead of the catapult, training in which became obsolete at about the same time (*IG* II^2 1028), youths now learned to use the *kestrosphendonē*, a slingshot-like affair that hurled a bolt with a six-inch iron tip. The *kestrophylax*, the official in charge of these weapons, is found in ephebic catalogues right through to the last extant list from AD 267/8 (Oliver 1942: 72).

The militaristic ideology of the ephebate still thrived: the Athenians commemorated their victory at Salamis through ephebic *naumachiai* (naval battles) at various festivals throughout the year (Newby 2017: 87–93); in the 2nd century AD, their ephebes organized into small groups with the military title 'brigades' (*systremmata*) (e.g. *IG* II^2 2047, 2113), and reliefs above ephebic lists sometimes contained depictions emphasizing ephebic piety and valour on behalf both of the city and of the empire as a whole (Kennell 2022: 17). Outside Athens, only a very few notices attest to any sort of military training in the 1st centuries AD: an ephebic list from Cyrene dated to AD 3/4 contains the name of the *aporytiazōn*, the cavalry instructor (*SEG* 20, 741). A list of victors in a contest for ephebes and boys at Herakleia Pontika, probably from the 1st century AD, includes events in the 'shield and spear' (*aspis kai dory*) and the 'slingshot' (*sphendonē*), as well as contests in discipline (*eutaxia*) and physical conditioning (*euexia*) (Kennell 2018). The Spartan training system still lived up to its warlike reputation (Kennell 1995: 70–97). Finally, almost the latest evidence for ephebic training, a papyrus from Oxyrhynchos dated to AD 323, is a notice of an 'assault in arms' (*symblema*) of ephebes (*POxy* 41). This paucity should not be taken as proof that military training was abandoned in the Roman period (see Fuhrmann in this volume). Once again, the peculiarities of the surviving evidence need to be taken into account. For example, only at Athens in the Roman period do arms instructors (*hoplomachoi*) appear in the ephebic lists (e.g. *IG* II^2 1970, 1993, 2049, and 2234). Only the Athenians ever included *hoplomachoi* in ephebic lists because outside Athens they were not civic officials, but itinerant instructors who travelled from one city to another providing short courses of instruction. Was this training ever put to use? The evidence is patchy. One thing is certain, however: apart from emergencies, ephebes had never been given an active military role except at Athens during the few decades following the reform of 334 BC. That function had been and continued to be the responsibility of the ephebes' older contemporaries, the *neoi*.

Neoi

Entering the evidentiary record in the 3rd century BC (e.g. *IG* XII.6, 11; *IG* IV.1, 479 with Swoboda 1912: 45 n. 1), *neoi* (young men) were citizens between the ages of leaving the ephebate and roughly 30. These 'ex-ephebes', as recent graduates were called (*I.Milet* 203b; Teles, Hense 1909: frag. 50), continued to train in
p. 151 the gymnasium under the supervision of ↳ a gymnasiarch but were now expected to put their training to good use, for the *neoi* made up a city's military reserve. They patrolled the countryside and could be called up for external campaigns to aid other cities and allied kingdoms or fight alongside Roman armies (Kennell 2013: 218–20). The changed circumstances of the Roman period, in particular the military pre-eminence of the imperial forces, nullified the cities' capacity for independent armed action, but the domestic role of the *neoi*, to ensure the safety and property of a city's inhabitants, remained essentially unchanged, though now they constituted the pool of manpower which magistrates such as the *paraphylax* (territorial guardian) might on occasion utilize in times of emergency (Brélaz 2005: 141–5). The *neoi*'s association with domestic security during the Roman period is evident in several instances. In Tralles, along with the *boulē*, *dēmos*, and *gerousia*, they honoured the commander of the night watch (*nykterinē stratēgia*, *I.Laodicée Lycos nymphée* 3). Their Pergamene counterparts in the 1st century AD erected a statue of the deceased sentry (*prophylax*) Iulius Sextus (Hebding 1910: 472 no. 58) and honoured local men who had become legionary tribunes (*chiliarchoi*) and cavalry prefects in the imperial army (Hebding 1907: 327–30 nos. 58–61). Five funerary reliefs from Sparta depict young men in the *neoi* age group who died fighting the Parthians as members of Caracalla's special Spartan contingent in the early 3rd century AD (Kennell 2009). A few decades earlier, in the later 160s, *neoi* at Thespiai in Boeotia had been recruited for Marcus Aurelius' campaign against Germanic tribes (Jones 2012). In addition to forming the reserves for civilian policing and the wider military requirements of the imperial government, the *neoi*, of all the age groups so far discussed, possessed characteristics that were the closest to those of a *collegium* as defined in Roman law (*Dig*. 3.4.1.1). From the Hellenistic period onwards, we have evidence for *neoi* corporately owning property (*I.Kyme* 19, ll. 39–41), paying for honours (*MAMA* VII, 484; *TAM* V.2, 925), making loans from their own funds (*I.Iasos* 23, l. 14), and acting through their own agents (Oliver 1941: 58A, ll. 14–15). *Neoi* might have their own secretaries (*TAM* V.2, 950; Oliver 1941: 58B, ll. 7–19), treasurers (*IG* X.2.1, 133), or archivists (*grammatophylax*: Labarre 2005). They could be recognized as belonging to a *synodos* (Oliver 1941: 58B, ll. 7–8; *I.Smyrna* 208) or *systēma* (*I.Priene B–M* 70 xxxii, ll. 16–18). In the early 3rd century AD, the *synedrion* of *neoi* at Laodikeia on the Lykos sponsored an issue of coins (Imhoof-Blumer 1902: 274). Sometimes we find the *neoi* tending tombs and enjoying the right to collect fines from their violators (*I.Smyrna* 209; *I.Hierapolis Judeich* 117; Dmitriev 2005: 132). Upon a request from the citizens of Kyzikos, the Senate confirmed that their *corpus* of *neoi*, as the decree in Latin styles it, had the status of a *collegium* (*CIL* III, 7060/*ILS* 7190). Although not a requirement for the *neoi*, senatorial confirmation of their official status would have increased their prestige locally and helped ensure that their rights and privileges were neither challenged nor altered (de Ligt 2001: 351–2). The Senate's action conforms to a long-standing Roman policy of guaranteeing existing arrangements that had been in place since their granting by earlier emperors or Hellenistic monarchs.

Presbyteroi and *gerousiai*

In the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, two other groups associated with the gymnasium, the *presbyteroi* (seniors) and *gerousia* (council of old men), appeared in some cities. These groups likely evolved in the course of the Hellenistic period out of the mass of people called either 'participants in the gymnasium' (*hoi*
p. 152 *metechontes tou gymnasiou*) or 'the oiled' ↳ (*hoi aleiphomenoi*), terms denoting citizens and others aged over 30 who continued to exercise in the gymnasium, though not under the same obligation to train as the ephebes and *neoi* (Fröhlich 2013: 86–9). These gymnasial participants are found honouring officials and benefactors alongside the ephebes and *neoi* (Catling and Kanavou 2007; *CIG* 3085, Teos; *SEG* 35, 598, Larissa) or in their own right (*SEG* 41, 964, Ephesos; *I.Delos* 1928) and had a place in official ceremonies (*IG* XII.2 Supp., 122, ll. 9–11, Eresos). In some cities, they had their own officials. A secretary is attested at Thyatira (*TAM* V.5, 975) and Oia (*IG* XII.3, 528). The all-inclusive nature of the terms *metechontes* and *aleiphomenoi* led to them denoting at times all those who exercised in the gymnasium regardless of age or status, as at Minoa on Amorgos (*IG* XII.7, 234), Pergamon (*OGIS* 764, l. 5), and Priene (*I.Priene B–M* 41, l. 5). On occasion, a distinction was drawn between citizen and non-citizen *aleiphomenoi*: honorific decrees from Minoa on Amorgos in the late 3rd century (*SEG* 33, 696) and Ephesos in the late 1st century BC (*SEG* 41, 964) both emanated from the 'citizen *aleiphomenoi*'. Age was also a criterion. An honorific decree from Samos in the 2nd century BC (*IG* XII.6.1, 133) originated from a body called variously 'the *aleiphomenoi* in the elders' *palaistra*' (*hoi aleiphomenoi en tēi gerontikē palaistrai*, ll. 1–3), 'the *aleiphomenoi* of the seniors' (*hoi aleiphomenoi tōn presbyterōn*, ll. 7–8), and, partially restored, 'the community of [senior] *aleiphomenoi* in the elders' [*palaistra*]' (*to koinon tōn [presbyterōn tōn alei]phomenōn en tēi gerontikē palaistrai*, ll. 14–16). The Samian *presbyteroi* with the power to pass their own decrees (and have them inscribed) are among the earliest known examples of the first of two age-based gymnasial groups that gained a certain prominence during the later Hellenistic period. Of the two, the *presbyteroi* had a shorter existence as a distinct grouping, first appearing outside Samos in the 2nd century BC (e.g. *I.Magnesia* 98; *I.Iasos* 23, l. 4), with almost no references in datable texts later than the second half of the 1st century AD (Fröhlich 2013: 61–3). More loosely organized than even the *neoi* due to their purely voluntary attendance in the gymnasium, they had no clearly defined age for entry or departure (Fröhlich 2013: 93). Still, the *presbyteroi* of a few cities, mostly on the Aegean Islands and in Asia Minor, left some signs of an institutional structure. They had their own gymnasiarchs (*I.Magnesia* 153; *I.Iasos* 250; *IG* XII.4.2, 1058, ll. 7–8, Kos), and the *presbyteroi* might have their own common funds, supervised by *dioikētai* (*I.Iasos* 245, ll. 18–19). At Iasos they successfully petitioned the assembly for the right to pursue overdue debts, a power already granted to the *neoi* (*I.Iasos* 23, ll. 10–14).

By the early 2nd century AD, evidence for the *presbyteroi* vanishes almost entirely. Instead, another group becomes widespread in the East, an organization of older men known as the *gerousia*. *Gerousiai* are attested in the Hellenistic period at Tralles (*I.Tralleis* 109), Magnesia on the Maeander (*I.Magnesia* 98), Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 891), Teos (*CIG* 3098), Miletos (*I.Milet* 609), and even Alexandria (Breccia 1911: no. 162); beyond its name, we have no reason to suppose that the institution had any connection with classical Sparta's council of elders (*gerousia*). Augustus addressed the *gerousia* at Argos as 'descended from Danaos and Hypermnestra' (Oliver 1989: 30 nos. 1–3), but all evidence points to the later *gerousia* being an innovation. During the centuries of the Principate, evidence for *gerousiai* increases significantly. The institution appears outside Asia Minor, in mainland Greece (e.g. Oliver 1989: 30–1 no. 3), the Aegean Islands (e.g. *IG* XII.6.1, 133), Macedonia (e.g. *IG* X.2.1 195), Thrace (e.g. *IGBulg* V, 5217), Dacia (*IGBulg* IV, 2010) and even Syria (*IGLS* VII, 4016bis). The *gerousia*'s formal classification as a private or public organization (Oliver 1941: 48–50; Dmitriev 2005: 131) is also ambiguous since practice probably varied from city to city although it was the
p. 153 best-attested social organization in Roman Asia Minor, possessing an ↳ array of functionaries including its own magistrates, secretaries, gymnasiarchs, doctors, treasurers, and advocates (Giannakopoulos 2008: 131). In some places, *gerousiai* might charge subscription fees (Giannakopoulos 2013: 17–18), typical of a private club; on the other hand, councils in some cities also charged their own entrance fees (see Kuhn in this volume). They might honour a member for his benefactions (*SEG* 49, 865) or join with the *boulē*, *dēmos*,

and *neoi* to bestow public honours (*SEG* 26, 1219; *I.Iasos* 90). Their membership certainly included prominent citizens with ties to the imperial powers, like Iason son of Iason, the *prophētēs* of Apollo's shrine at Didyma, who acted as the *gerousia*'s patron (*prostatēs*) and served on an embassy to Rome (*I.Didyma* 264). Roman authorities took an interest in *gerousiai*, at least those in cities of cultural or economic importance, with emperors sometimes involved in the process of founding *gerousiai*, showing particular concern about the entry qualifications (Giannakopoulos 2013: 19). Special privileges were often granted. The Ephesian *gerousia* scrupulously ensured that a succession of emperors and governors from the time of Octavian to Hadrian guaranteed and even extended its valuable financial exemptions (*SEG* 43, 757–76). *Gerousiai* often acted to supervise and sponsor various religious activities, especially those of the imperial cult (Giannakopoulos 2008: 42–3). In return, they became favoured vehicles for the promotion of Roman ideology in a Hellenic context, so that *gerousiai* constituted one of the nexuses through which local elites interacted with the imperial authorities. The Ephesian Cascellius Pontius went on an embassy to Hadrian on behalf of the city's *gerousia* (*I.Ephesos* 1486). On the other hand, more humble individuals might become members of the *gerousia*. A list of men being admitted to the *gerousia* at Sidyma in Lycia (*TAM* II, 176) is divided into councillors (*bouleutai*) and ordinary citizens (*dēmotai*), among them freedmen and a man whose father was unknown, while the Ephesian *gerousia* included a baker (van Nijf 1997: 21). In some places, the *gerousia*, like the *neoi*, received fines levied on offenders who disturbed or damaged tombs (e.g. *TAM* II, 325, ll. 7–14, Xanthos; *I.Hierapolis Judeich* 78; *I.Smyrna* 211, ll. 7–9; 214, ll. 10–11).

Civic subdivisions

By the beginning of the Roman period a well-articulated administrative apparatus had also developed in Greek cities that, on the surface at least, ensured some measure of power was distributed evenly among citizen bodies. The largest unit or civic subdivision in this system was the *phylē*, conventionally translated as 'tribe'. Since this term is employed to denote kinship groups in modern traditional societies, however, and was originally applied by colonial administrators steeped in the Classics, I shall avoid it when referring to the civic subdivisions that existed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, using *phylē* instead.

Although not originally found in all Greek cities, division of population by *phylē* became over time a common element of a *polis* (Kunnert 2012: 3). Originating in the Archaic period and surviving into the later Roman Empire, the *phylē* was also the oldest and longest-lived civic unit. In their earliest form, *phylai* were fictive kinship groups whose members traced their 'descent' back to a mythological hero and so functioned to identify their members with one of the great ethnic groups comprising the Hellenic population: the Ionians, Dorians, or Aeolians. In the 6th century BC, Kleisthenes of Sikyon and his grandson Kleisthenes of
p. 154 Athens were the earliest leaders known to have reformed the *phylai* systems of their cities. ↳ The nature and motives of the Sikyonian reforms remain debated, but those at Athens entailed the replacement of kinship-linked *phylai* by 10 geographically units based on designated 'villages' (*dēmoi*) scattered throughout the city and Attica at large. Membership in one of these *phylai* swiftly became heritable and permanent within a family, so that *phylē* affiliation was not contingent on place of residence.

Beyond the mainland, the *poleis* in Asia Minor, the West, and their 'colonies' functioned with their own *phylē* systems, while the new cities founded in the wake of Alexander's conquests spread the Greek model into the East. The *phylai* were named after deities, kings, and, later, emperors, prominent monuments or topographical features, and sometimes simply by number. A few *phylai* of the Roman period comprised subunits called *hekatostyes* (100s), or *chiliastyes* (1000s), although complete *phylē* systems are known only from a handful of cities (Kunnert 2012: 67; Marek 2010: 526). They were not static, so that by the Roman period, *phylai* had disappeared from some cities, changed their names in others, or undergone changes to their constituent units (Jones 1987: 14–24). Sometimes these subunits took over from extinct *phylai* as the main means of identification. Cities also carried on the tradition of creating new *phylai* in response to

changing circumstances. A *phylē* named after the currently reigning emperor was a common addition, as in the well-known Athenian *phylē* Hadrianis. Hadrian was a popular choice for new *phylai*: in Asia Minor, Eumeneia and Aphrodisias also had a Hadrianis, Aizanoi a Hadrianē, while Ephesos boasted *phylai* called Hadrianē, Sebastē, and Antoneinianē, and Nysa had *phylai* named after Agrippa and Octavia, Augustus' sister (Jones 1987: 312, 359, 362, 363, 375). In the reign of Trajan, the Roman conquest of territory east of the Euphrates brought with it a Greek system of organization by *phylē*, in which imperial names figured prominently (Kunnert 2012: 179–87). The exact nature of the *phylai* attested east of the Aegean Sea, Asia Minor, and the North African coast is debated. In some places they perhaps denoted Greek-style groups of citizens or actually resulted from the local application of the terminology to traditional clan structures; this may be the case at Palmyra (*I.Estremo Oriente* 109; Kunnert 2012: 20–4) and was certainly true of the Arab tribes inhabiting Syria and Judaea (Millar 1998: 174–5).

The constitutional position of *phylai* during the Roman period is unclear; some have seen them as merely ornamental survivals from the past devoid of any administrative or institutional significance (for examples, see Kunnert 2012: 3). But membership in a *phylē* was necessary for citizenship and numbered among the characteristics of a proper *polis* (Kunnert 2012: 226–7; *SEG* 51, 641). The *phylai* for which evidence survives from the Roman period have been classed as either 'personal', in which membership was heritable, or 'territorial', where membership was dependent on an individual's place of residence (Jones 1987: 4–8; Kunnert 2012: 218). On the other hand, this dichotomy has been forcefully argued to be illusory; rather, membership in all *phylai* was passed down from generation to generation, regardless of whether they were named after topographical features or not (Corsten 2014).

Phylai in most cities were headed by officials called *phylarchoi*, with variations of this title used in others (Kunnert 2012: 261). The responsibilities of *phylarchoi* were mainly cultic, although in Philippopolis, at least, they may have had some limited judicial powers (*IGBulg* III.1, 1445). The *phylai* are frequently visible in the epigraphical record praising various benefactors on their own, as at Sardis (*I.Sardis* I 56, 156) and Ioulia Gordos (*TAM* V.1, 699), or acting in conjunction with the *boulē* and *dēmos* and other bodies (Kunnert 2012: 271), as when a major benefactor at Akmoneia (*IGR* IV, 642) received the titles 'founder' and 'benefactor'.
p. 155 Like other civic groups they might also benefit from distributions and banquets (*SEG* 32, 1243; ↳ 35, 744; *IGBulg* I² 15(3); *TAM* V.3, 1490). In addition, agonistic victors and ephebes might be identified by *phylē* in local lists (*CIG* 3665, Kyzikos; *IGBulg* I, 47bis; Kunnert 2012: 300). Signs of a more substantive role appear in certain cities, such as Ephesos, where the six *neopoioi* of the goddess Artemis were appointed from the corresponding number of civic *phylai* (*I.Ephesos* 940–69, 1565–90; Kunnert 2012: 297). The seating sometimes assigned *phylai* in theatres may echo their position in meetings of the legislative assemblies of the Hellenistic period if not also of the Roman (Jones 2008: 229). *Phylai*-centred cults are well attested in the Hellenistic period, but their significance apparently faded in favour of *polis*-cult during the Imperial period (Kunnert 2012: 284–6). At Perge, each *phylē* was responsible for the upkeep of a particular section of the city wall (*I.Perge* 156; Kunnert 2012: 297). Elsewhere, *phylē* membership probably remained the basis for membership in the *boulē* (Kunnert 2012: 294), as in Classical Athens, but in the vast majority of cases, phyletics do not appear in this context. Instead, the *boulai* were more often composed exclusively of members of the local elites, with repeated or lifelong membership not uncommon (Kunnert 2012: 293–4; Kuhn in this volume). This phenomenon is often attributed to a Roman *lex provinciae* (provincial basic law), modelled after the Pompeian enactment for Bithynia-Pontus (Marshall 1968), which established constitutional parameters for each city in the new province. But the very concept of a *lex provinciae*, as well as its imposition on every new province, has been called into serious question (Kallet-Marx 1996: 19–22). The disappearance of rotation by *phylē* in some cities and its retention in others are more likely due to local circumstances than to Roman legislation.

Conclusion

The practices defining tribes and their subunits as distinct groupings with their own agency—erecting statues, conferring benefits, controlling their own finances—were those common to all other associations in a city, whether legislative such as the *boulē* and *dēmos*, civic like the ephebes, *neoi*, *presbyteroi*, and *gerousia*, cultic guilds (local, regional, or empire-wide religious organizations), or private professional groupings. All provided citizens with a wide choice of individual or aggregated identities for each to express themselves within the parameters of their *polis* identity.

Suggested Reading

Literature on the topics discussed in this chapter is not extensive and sometimes not very up to date. On *paides*, Ziebarth 1914 is still a largely relevant introduction, albeit focused mostly on the more abundant Hellenistic-period evidence. On ephebes and *neoi*, Chankowski 2010 is now fundamental and occasionally touches on the Roman period. Kennell 2006 provides an extensive collection of mostly epigraphical evidence for citizen training systems during the eight centuries of their existence. The *presbyteroi* and the later *gerousiai* have been the subject of two important works, Giannakopoulos 2008 in Greek, and Fröhlich 2013, that have largely superseded Oliver 1941. *Phylai* from the Archaic to the Roman period were the subject of Jones 1987,
p. 156 whose work has been considerably supplemented by Kunnert 2012, especially as regards ↳ areas east of Asia Minor. Finally, Dmitriev 2005 offers an extensive survey of administrative practice in Asia Minor during the period under examination.

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