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Ephebeia in southern Asia Minor: A new funerary inscription of an ephebos candidate from Antalya

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Abstract
This article presents a funerary inscription dated to the late second and early third centuries AD. It is currently held in the Antalya Necropolis Museum, but its exact provenance remains unknown. The text is carved on a richly decorated round altar, beneath a relief depicting a young man wearing a chiton and holding a torch in his left hand. The inscription identifies him as Glaukos, a foster child who died at the age of 17 during the *enkrisis*, the examination for admission to the *ephebeia*. This newly presented text provides two important new insights into the *ephebeia* of the Roman Imperial period. Firstly, it appears to be the first inscription to mention the age of admission. Secondly, it shows that candidates from gymnasium groups also underwent the *enkrisis*. The article further discusses the striking similarities between athletic and gymnasium training practices, which are also evident in the age limit for admission and torch races, and proposes a revised definition of enkrisis. Additionally, the article compiles and analyses inscriptions indicating the presence of *epheboi* and torch races in the regions of southern Asia Minor likely associated with this inscription: Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia. Lastly, the study examines the rationale for seeking the inscription's most probable provenance in eastern Lycia or western Pamphylia.

Özet
Bu makalede, Antalya Nekropol Müzesi'nde bulunan ve nereden geldiği tam olarak bilinmeyen, MS ikinci yüzyıl sonu ile üçüncü yüzyılın erken evresine ait bir mezar yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır. Metin, zengin bir şekilde dekore edilmiş yuvarlak bir sunak üzerine, *chiton* giymiş ve sol elinde bir meşale tutan genç bir adamı tasvir eden bir kabartmanın altına kazınmıştır. Yazıt bu genci, *ephebeia*'ya kabul sınavı olan *enkrisis* sırasında on yedi yaşında ölen Glaukos adında bir besleme olarak tanımlamaktadır. Yeni tanıtılan bu metin, Roma İmparatorluk dönemi *ephebeia*'sına dair iki yeni önemli bilgi sunmaktadır. İlk olarak, kabul yaşından bahseden ilk yazıt olarak görünmektedir. İkinci olarak ise, gymnasium gruplarından gelen adayların da *enkrisis*'ten geçtiğini göstermektedir. Buna dayanarak makale, kabul için belirlenen yaş sınırı ve meşale yarışlarında da görülen atletizm ile gymnasium eğitim pratikleri arasındaki göze çarpan örtüşmeyi tartışmakta ve gözden geçirilmiş bir *enkrisis* tanımı önermektedir. Makale ayrıca, bu yazıtla ilişkili olması muhtemel güney Küçük Asya bölgeleri – Lykia, Pamphylia ve Pisidia'da – *epheboi* ve meşale yarışlarının varlığına işaret eden yazıtları derlemekte ve analiz etmektedir. Son olarak çalışma, yazıtın en olası kökeninin neden Doğu Lycia veya Batı Pamphylia'da aranması gerektiğinin gerekçelerini incelemektedir.

In comparison to Classical and Hellenistic Athens, our knowledge of the *ephebeia* as a non-compulsory educational institution in Roman Imperial Asia Minor is quite limited. While certain Hellenistic practices were clearly transmitted into the Imperial era, the most distinctive feature of the *ephebeia* in this context was its alignment with Rome's elitist and hierarchical perspective. Thus, as the sons of elite families, the *epheboi* played a significant role in public life and were prepared for civic life as the *neoi* of the future. During the Imperial period, they received moral and intellectual instruction in gymnasiums, as well as athletic training and military instruction, over a

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period ranging from one to three years. Gymnasiarchs and ephebarchs from wealthy families were key figures in the system. While the former primarily financed the institution, the latter supervised the *epheboi* and maintained strict discipline among them in public.

Our understanding of the *ephebeia* is significantly enhanced by the inscription presented below. This newly presented funerary inscription (inv. no. 63.44.90)[1] was transferred from the Antalya Museum to the Antalya Necropolis Museum in 2023. The inscription was acquired by the latter through purchase, and its original findspot is unclear since there is no record in either museum's inventory. However, the inscription is most likely to have originated in eastern Lycia or western Pamphylia (see below). According to the text, a candidate named Glaukos for the *ephebos* programme, who was the foster child of Lysimachos and Euthene, died at the age of 17 during the entrance examination for the *epheboi*, known as the *enkrisis*. As the monument's elaborate inscriptions and decorations suggest, young men who reached the age of 17 could join this educational system, provided they were physically fit and their family was wealthy enough. Being a foster child did not prevent someone from becoming an *ephebos*, and Glaukos' foster father offered him this opportunity, regarding him as equal to his own son (*isoteknos*) (see 'Line-by-Line Commentary', below). Physical suitability was assessed through *enkrisis*, an examination conducted prior to admission to the *ephebic* training programme. Therefore, as the new inscription indicates, the ephebic institution's basic elements, such as the age limit of 17, the admission procedure via *enkrisis* and participation in torch races, appear to overlap strikingly with agonistic practices.

The article is divided into the following sections: 'Inscription and Line-by-Line Commentary'; 'Ephebeia as an Educational Institution and Glaukos'; 'The *Enkrisis* Procedure and Admission to the *Ephebeia*'; 'Glaukos and Torch Races in Lycian and Pisidian Cities' and '*Ephebeia* in Lycian, Pamphylian and Pisidian Cities'. At the end of the article, a table of all epigraphic testimonia concerning the *epheboi* from the Lycian, Pamphylian and Pisidian cities – as regions of southern Asia Minor – is provided, offering a rich historical context.

Inscription and line-by-line commentary

The grave monument is a round limestone altar with an elaborate design. A standing male figure wearing a *chiton* is carved in profile within a central niche, flanked by ivy branches. His left and right arms are concealed by the garment, but it is clear that he is holding a torch in his left hand, which is resting on his right shoulder. His right arm is extended downwards. Symmetrical ivy motifs are carved on either side of the figure and extend onto the rear face of the stone. This suggests that the monument was designed to be free-standing. The inscription, which extends from just below the niche to the bottom of the altar, consists of six lines, with the letters carefully carved into the stone. While the lettering generally displays straight, regular forms with short, triangular serifs and a round *omega* with a horizontal line underneath – characteristic of the second century AD – certain letters, such as *sigma*, *kappa* and *mu*, already show an emerging tendency towards lunar forms. The stone has two main cracks. The first runs between lines two and three, dividing the body into two parts. The second crack starts from line four and covers lines four, five and six on the right-hand side. There is a hole on the upper surface of the altar for fixing something to the stone. Its dimensions are: H: 64cm; D: 43cm; LH: 2.5–2.8cm (first two lines); 1.5–2cm (lines 2–5); 2cm (last line) (see Figs 1–8 at the end of this article for photographs of the round altar from multiple angles):

Λυσίμαχος ε΄ Γλαύκῳ Δη-
2 μητρίου τῷ ἰσο[τ]έκνῳ καὶ Εὐ-
θήνη τῷ δυστυχεῖ τροφίμῳ ἅμα
4 τῇ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐν[κ]ρίσει.
τελευτήσαντι ἐτῶν δεκαεπτὰ
6 vac. μνήμης ἕνεκεν. vac.

Lysimachos V erected this monument for Glaukos, the son of Demetrios, whom he regarded as equal to his son, and Euthene for (their) unfortunate foster child who died aged 17 during the *epheboi* admission process, for the sake of remembrance.

Line-by-line commentary

L1. Ē = ε΄: The letter *epsilon* with an overline indicates the number.

Γλαῦκος: The name is most frequently found in Attica and Caria. It is not attested in Pamphylia, which is one of the regions to which the inscription is likely to belong: **Lycia**: Kalynda; Kyaneai; Limyra; Patara [*SEG* 63.1336]; Xanthos; Kaunos: *LGPN* 5b.91; *LGPN* 5c.99. The cults of Sarpedon and Glaukos in Xanthos: *TAM* II 265. Pisidia: Anabura; Kenenoi-Apollonia–Sozopolis; Seleukeia; Termessos; Yeşilova: *LGPN* 5c.100.

Λυσίμαχος: **Lycia**: Aperlai; Kadyanda; Kaunos; Kyaneai; Myra [*SEG* 67.1220, 1221 = IAM nos 233, 234; *SEG* 68.1318, 1320]; Patara [*SEG* 69.1012]; Sidyma; Telmessos; Tlos; Xanthos [*SEG* 63.1336; 67.1243]: *LGPN* 5b.266–267. See also Andriake: *SEG* 70.914; Antiphellos: *SEG* 69.968; Kibyra: *SEG* 70.927. **Pamphylia**: Perge: *LGPN* 5c.267. **Pisidia**: Antiocheia–Orondicus tractus: *LGPN* 5c.254.

[1] See *Acknowledgements* for authorisation details on the inscription.

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Ll 1–2. Δημήτριος: **Lycia**: The name is well attested across numerous cities in Lycia. According to *LGPN* 5b (103–05) and 5c (110), the highest concentrations are recorded in: Olympos (32 examples) [*SEG* 68.1338]; Myra (28 examples) [*SEG* 67.1224; 68. 1330]; Kibyra (20 examples); Xanthos (14 examples) [*SEG* 63.1336; 67. 1247]; Patara (11 examples). See also Tlos: *SEG* 64.1428; Limyra: *SEG* 69.1003; Antiphellos: *SEG* 70.915; Isinda: *SEG* 63.1262; Andriake: SEG 70.914. **Pamphylia**: Perge (8 examples); Aspendos (5 examples) [*SEG* 70.896]; Attaleia–Hurma (5 examples); Arsinoe (2 examples): *LGPN* 5b.105. **Pisidia**: Apollonia–Sozopolis (18 examples); Termessos (10 examples); Antiocheia (5 examples); Sagalassos (4 examples); Konane (4 examples) [*SEG* 66.1679]: LGPN 5c.111–12. See also Pogla: *SEG* 69.962; Pisidia: *SEG* 68.1299.

L2. ἰσότεκνος: This word appears to be attested for the first time (see below, under 'τρόφιμος').

Ll 2–3. For the female name of Εὐθήνη, see *TAM* II.3 1064 = *LGPN* 5b.161: Olympos (second/third century AD). In fact, the name is extremely rare throughout the Graeco-Roman world. It is attested only twice at Ilion in its Aeolic form (I.Ilion 64; 223 = *LGPN* 5a.176), while the Doric form Εὐθήνα is attested in the Tauric Chersonesos (*LGPN* 4.131). The masculine form of the name, Εὔθηνος, is attested at Ephesos (IEph 111, 918, 1461), Magnesia ad Sipylum (*TAM* V.2 1348 = *LGPN* 5a.176), Cappadocia (Çayıralan [*SEG* 61.1322]) and Pontus (Euchaita [*LGPN* 5c.155]).

The LGPN-Ling classifies the feminine form of the name as Aeolic, whereas the masculine form is identified as Ionic. M. Adak (2007: 41–50; 2013: 63–65) has demonstrated that Aeolian colonists settled in the region between Kemer and Antalya in western Pamphylia during the period of the Great Colonization and founded several small Aeolian cities in the mountainous western part of Pamphylia. Thus, Adak attributes the Aeolic elements in the Pamphylian dialect to the presence of the Aeolians in the region. The Aeolian settlements in question were Thebe, Lyrnessos (later Lyrnas), Sardessos and Tenedos (and perhaps Kyme). However, there is no evidence of an Aeolic presence in the Lycian city of Olympos, which remains the sole locality where the name is recorded in southern Asia Minor. In this case, it may be possible to posit a regional cultural interaction between the western Pamphylian settlements and Olympos.

τρόφιμος: Kokkinia 2008, 75, no. 39 (Boubon); *TAM* II.2 503 (Pinara); *TAM* II.3 951 (Olympos), Schuler 2006: 406, no. 6 (Istlada). τροφίμη: *TAM* II.3 1163 (Olympos); Kolb 2008: 371 (Kyaneai); *TAM* III.1 273, 707, 718 (Termessos).

Lysimachos and Euthene must have been the husband and wife who raised Glaukos as their own son. In the Greek world, the term τρόφιμος is often used to refer to a foster child (LSJ s.v.). T.G. Nani (1943–1944: 65) and F. Kolb (2008: 371) emphasise that τρόφιμος was used for freeborn individuals, and clearly distinguish this term from θρεπτοί. Likewise, on the basis of her investigation of the inscriptions from Asia Minor, Kılıç Aslan (2023: 303) identified only one fragmentary inscription (I.Ancyra 112) in which a freedman is described as τρόφιμος. The fact that Glaukos is identified by his patronym suggests that he was also freeborn. In the two inscriptions from Laodikea Combusta (*MAMA* I 22a) and Apollonia (*MAMA* IV 166) τρόφιμοι appear to have been formally adopted. In these examples, the adoptive fathers and adopted sons share the same *nomen gentile*: in the first case, Aelius Tranquillus appears to have adopted Aelius Epagathus, while in the second, T. Flavius Flavianus seems to have adopted T. Flavius Epiphanes. The other two examples mention a certain Menelaos (*MAMA* IX 223) and an Ioannes (*MAMA* III 479), both of whom bear the same name as their foster father (see Kılıç Aslan 2023: 303).

Although Glaukos is described in the inscription as an ἰσότεκνος, this does not imply that he was formally adopted. In the Istlada example mentioned above, C. Schuler regards τρόφιμος Demetrios II as a legal successor and heir of his foster father Ermamiamis with regard to burial rights. On the other hand, Kılıç Arslan (2023: 304) characterises the relationship between foster father and foster son, who are members of the same household, as 'quasi-filial', stressing its social rather than legal implications. Glaukos' situation may be regarded as comparable to that of Demetrios II. He was part of the household of Lysimachos and Euthene, was given the opportunity to become an *ephebos* and was subsequently buried by his foster family in consequence of burial rights. The designation ἰσότεκνος here should not be taken to imply legal heirship; rather, it suggests that Glaukos was treated as a true son in terms of affection, upbringing and protection, and that he benefitted from the resources of his foster family.

* * *

Firstly, it would be useful to ascertain the date of the inscription. Based on the portrait typology of the male figure, the vegetal ornamentation and the form of the letters on the stone, we suggest that the inscription dates to the end of the second century and the very beginning of the third century (before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*), during the Imperial period. While the concept of the *ephebeia* in the Hellenistic period is well documented, particularly in relation to Athens, our knowledge of the

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epheboi in the context of Roman Imperial Asia Minor remains limited. For this reason, the inscription, which at first glance appears to be an ordinary funerary inscription, contains some inherent complexities. It is difficult to determine the findspot of the inscription, as its origin is unknown. It is possible that it was brought to the Antalya Museum from a city in Lycia, Pamphylia or Pisidia. It may belong to one of the cities listed below in the testimonia or to another city where the existence of an *ephebeia* is not yet known.

Glaukos, the son of Demetrios, who was raised by his foster parents Lysimachos and Euthene, appears to have aspired to enrol as an *ephebos* in a city with a strong gymnasium culture. He would have to undergo a procedure known as an *enkrisis*. Before discussing the *enkrisis* and related topics, it is helpful to provide a brief overview of the concept of *ephebeia*.

Ephebeia as an educational institution and Glaukos

Although gymnasia can be found even in small towns such as Nephelion and Laertes in southern Asia Minor, and many inscriptions of gymnasiarchs have survived to the present day, very few inscriptions of *epheboi* have been preserved. This inscription, therefore, stands out as a valuable contribution to our understanding of the ephebic institution, providing a significant opportunity to reconsider the *ephebeia*. The *ephebeia*[2] is a well-known institution, particularly in Athens.[3] Following military and political developments in the second half of the fourth century BC, the Athenians introduced the *ephebeia*: compulsory military training for adolescents aged 18–20 (Pausanias 6.2.10–11). Along with military training, which involved defending the city and participating in civic and religious ceremonies, sports training became a compulsory part of the programme.[4] These adolescents were provided with a daily allowance, ensuring even the sons of the poorest families could participate in the *ephebeia*. However, since it was very costly, Athenians were unable to maintain the system in subsequent centuries. Following political upheaval between 322 and 307 BC, however, they re-established the *ephebeia* in a modified form (Henderson 2020: 185–93). The length of service was reduced from two years to one, and daily allowances and compulsory attendance were abolished. The lists of *epheboi* recorded in the inscriptions suggest that the number of participants in each group did not exceed one hundred. However, when the *ephebeia* became compulsory in the fourth century BC, it is estimated that the number of participants was about five times higher.

Following the remodelling of the institution, the military aspect was preserved, while sports training and intellectual education became more important. The institution then began to serve a much smaller group comprising the city's civic elite: wealthier citizens who were politically and militarily active, and who made providing political and military leadership for their city a central aspect of their lives. Participation in the *ephebeia* thus became a matter of honour and personal finance. From the late fourth century BC, the practice of institutionalised *ephebeia* spread throughout the Greek world and to the cities of Asia Minor. Following the Hellenistic period, the *ephebeia* and the gymnasium were subject to parallel arrangements. Gymnasiums constituted the most significant architectural element of an urban landscape and were placed under the oversight of city magistrates (gymnasiarchs and ephebarchs). They gradually became widespread in Greek cities as public educational institutions. Consequently, gymnasiums became important locations for other age groups, including *paides* and *neoi*, as well as *epheboi*. Physical education was emphasised, with basic training for boys (*paides*) and intellectual and artistic pursuits for young adults, including rhetoric and philosophy.[5] The agonistic culture of the cities and the desire of some families to gain prestige in major competitions were key reasons for establishing public schools (Schuler 2024: 82–85). Along with the groups who used the gymnasium, these adolescents also took part in religious ceremonies, visiting sacred places in processions and making sacrifices (see below, T1.1).[6] Thus, during the Hellenistic and Roman

[2] The nature and meaning of the term ἔφηβος has been widely discussed by scholars. It is generally defined as a person who has reached puberty or adolescence. Chantraine (1970: s.v. ἥβη) defines it as 'one who has arrived at manhood'. This involves the attainment of both biological and social maturity. From the time of Xenophon onwards, the term appears in relation to age, and refers to the concept of the 'new citizen' within the structure of the polis. The Athenians employed the verb ἐφηβάω as a synonym for ἡβάω and defined it as 'a person who has reached social maturity' or 'a person undergoing military training' when they established *ephebeia* as a system of military education in the Lycurgan age (Henderson 2020: 3–6). Kennell (2015: 173–74) also describes ἔφηβος as an institutional term referring to a student who received athletic, military and moral training in the city gymnasium.

[3] For the historical development of *ephebeia*, see in particular Henderson 2020. See also Pélékidis 1962; Perrin-Saminadayar 2004; 2007; Kennell 2006; 2009; Tracy 2007; Chankowski 2010; Wiemer 2011.

[4] Henderson 2020: XII; Fröhlich 2024: 52–53; Fröhlich, Schuler 2024: 18–19.

[5] Gehrke 2004: 1021; Fröhlich, Schuler 2024: 18–19. For civic education and military training at gymnasium, see Schuler 2024: 80–91.

[6] According to Beroean law, ephebes were expected to contribute to sacrifices to the gods: Gauthier, Hatzopoulos 1993: 22, l. 61–65. See also Aneziri, Damaskos 2007: 247–71; Pichler 2024: 96–97. Strabo (14.1.44) mentions a ritual performed during the Plouton and Kore festival in Nysa ad Maeandrum. The *neoi* and *epheboi* of the gymnasium, naked and oiled, would take a bull to a cave called Charonion in Acharaka. The bull would die from the effects of poisonous gas inside the cave.

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Imperial periods, the *epheboi* played an important role in public life, either independently or alongside other gymnasium groups. They were prepared for civic life as the future *neoi* (Hin 2007: 161–66).

Our knowledge of the *ephebeia* during the Roman Imperial period is more limited than our knowledge of it during the Hellenistic period. The small number of inscriptions and consequent scarcity of publications[7] is an important factor in this, but the decrease in the number of inscriptions must be attributed to the change in the institutional structure under the imperial administration. This change is defined by N. Kennell as the privatisation of the institution.[8] While the *ephebeia* was largely financed by public funds in the Hellenistic period, it was primarily financed by the gymnasiarchs in the Roman Imperial period. The gymnasiarchs or *epheboi* from wealthy families were also responsible for bestowing honours. In some cities, an *ephebarchos*, who was elected by the city council, would assist the gymnasiarch in overseeing the *epheboi*.[9] Those entering this educational system in the cities were the children of elite families. An ephebarchic law[10] from Macedonian Amphipolis provides some information on this subject. The inscription dates to 24/23 BC, during the reign of the first Roman emperor, Augustus. However, the text appears to date from the Macedonian kingdom (before 168 BC), and may have been revised during the reign of Augustus (Arnaoutoglou 2019: 23–25). The rewriting of the inscription at the beginning of the Roman Imperial period is significant, as it demonstrates that Hellenistic practices continued into this period. Furthermore, the existence of a separate law for the ephebarch suggests that the *ephebeia* was one of the most important institutions in the city.

During the Roman Imperial period, the length of the *ephebeia* varied from city to city, ranging from one to three years.[11] The *epheboi* received moral and intellectual training, and also honed their military skills.[12] In Amphipolis, for example, the ephebic law stipulated that *ephebeia* should last two years, during which time the *epheboi* received training in archery, javelin throwing, slinging, stone throwing, horse riding and javelin throwing on horseback (see below, T1.1).[13] The behaviour of the ephebes was strictly controlled.

They should not leave their homes before daylight, nor return home after sunset following training. Designated seats were reserved for ephebes who attended shows as spectators only (see below, T11.1). Under the supervision of the ephebarch, they could watch shows, but only theatrical and dramatic performances and gymnastic competitions were permitted. They had to watch in silence and good order, without clapping or hissing. They usually wore a cloak called a *chlamys* (χλαμύς). The Amphipolis inscription provides a more comprehensive regulation of clothing: the youths should wear a *chiton* and a *chlamys*, as well as *kreprides* (boots) and a *petasos* (broad-brimmed hat). Glaukos appears to wear a *chiton*, but not a *chlamys* or a hat. Additionally, he is barefoot. *Epheboi*, who wore the *chlamys*, were required to keep their right hand inside their cloak during their one-year training, and not to take it out to perform handicrafts or speak. The similarity of Glaukos' arm posture is noteworthy in light of this. According to the Oneirakritika, for a craftsman or orator, dreaming of being trained as an *ephebos* signified a year of idleness and unemployment (Artemidorus 1.54). The ephebes therefore had to adhere to strict rules in public, and any disorderly behaviour was punished by the *ephebarchos*. These rules were intended to enforce strict discipline among the youths and foster a supportive community among the different age groups.[14]

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7 Perrin-Saminadayar 2004; Hin 2007; Kennell 2009; Wiemer 2011.

8 Kennell 2009: 326. See also Wiemer 2011: 499–518.

9 The office of *ephebarchos* was a civic magistracy held as an *arche* or *leiturgia* in the gymnasium. It could be held by the *epheboi*, with the main duty carried out by their fathers if they were underage, or by the *neoi*, who were young men between the ages of 20 and 30. See Robert 1937: 200; Kennell 2000: 103–08.

10 *SEG* 65.420. Lazaridi 2015: 1–48; Hatzopoulos 2017: 145–71; Rousset 2017: 49–84; Arnaoutoglou 2019: 1–28; Mann 2022: 125–69.

11 For an example of the one-year *ephebeia* in the eastern Greek world, see Stuberra: *SEG* 28.675–85; Hin 2007: 147–48. The duration of the *ephebeia* also varied within the same city. Depending on the financial means of his family, an *ephebos* received between one and three years of education: Chios: Syll.3 959: ἐφήβων νεωτέρων … μέσων … πρεσβυτέρων (the younger *epheboi*, … the middle ones, … the elder ones); Apollonis: *TAM* V.2 1206; *TAM* V.2 1204: οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες … διετεῖς μὲν … ἐφέτηοι δὲ (the ones who have been ephebes … the second-years … the first-years). Other examples of the two- and three-year *ephebeia*: I.Heraclea Pontica, no. 60b; Halikarnassos: Hula, Szanto 1895: 29, no. 2; Naxos: *IG* XII.5 39; Kyzikos: *CIG* 2.3665; Thyatira: Malay 1999: 33–34 no. 16; Messene: *SEG* 43.145; Teuchira: *SEG* 46.2221. For a detailed discussion of the length of the *ephebeia* and many more examples, see Hin 2007: 147–50: 'Presumably not all teenagers who became members of the *ephebeia* completed the full course; their numbers were considerably reduced after the first year of membership.'

12 The military aspect of the *ephebeia* was maintained during the Roman Imperial period, particularly in times of emergency (Gehrke 2004: 1021). For military-style competition in Heraclea Pontica, such as 'shield and spear' (*aspidi kai dorati*) and 'slingshot' (*sphendone*), see I.Heraclea Pontica 60. In the second century AD, Xenophon of Ephesos described Habrokomas' ephebic education as follows: 'He studied all branches of learning and practised all kinds of music (*mousike poikile*); hunting (*thera*), equitation (*hippasia*) and *hoplomachia* were familiar exercises to him' (Xenophon, Ephesiaca 1.2). For the continuation of military training and the possibility of connection with the Roman army, see Kennell 2009: 332–36.

13 *SEG* 65.420; Arnaoutoglou 2019: 9–10. This type of education is also evident in other cities, for instance in the school founded by Polythrous of Teos: Syll.3 578, l. 21–23. For other examples: Kah 2004: 56–58.

14 Crowther 1991: 301–04; Gauthier, Hatzopoulos 1993: 102–08; Schuler 2024: 86–87.

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According to the ephebic law, the *ephebarchos* of Amphipolis was required to annually register all youths who had reached the age of *ephebeia*. However, only those from families owning property, land, buildings and cattle valued at 30 minas (3,000 *drachmai*) were required to attend training daily.[15] Although there is no evidence that similar rules existed in the cities of Asia Minor, it is generally accepted that those who attended the *ephebeia* were the sons of wealthy city families (Pleket 1981: 155–78; Kleijwegt 1991). However, S. Hin argues that children from less wealthy families also attended the *ephebeia*.[16] Our inscription seems to support this idea to some extent, as it identifies Glaukos as τρόφιμος.[17] This description suggests that Glaukos' biological family may have been of lower or the same social status as his foster family.[18] On the other hand, although Glaukos' funerary monument is elaborately inscribed and engraved, neither his foster father, Lysimachos, nor his biological father, Demetrios, appear to have held office as a city councillor or a magistrate. If Glaukos had been the son of a *bouleutes* or a *gymnasiarchos*, for example, we would expect this to be indicated in the inscription. The absence of such information suggests that, while the family may have been wealthy, its members were not among the wealthiest in the city. The name Glaukos is also significant in this context. It appears to originate from the Homeric prehistory of Lycia, and to refer to the Lycian king in the Trojan War.[19] Alongside Sarpedon (Thonemann 2015: 375), Glaukos was a hero who fought as an ally of Hector in the Trojan War. Heroic names of this nature are generally rare. They became popular in the second and third centuries AD in the Hellenised East, particularly in southern and inland parts of the Anatolian peninsula, indicating the Hellenic education of the owner's family.[20] The name Glaukos therefore emphasises two important aspects of the *ephebeia*: the military and *paideia*, the intellectual.

The *enkrisis* procedure and admission to the *ephebeia*

> Ἔδοξε παῖς παλαιστὴς περὶ τῆς ἐγκρίσεως πεφροντικὼς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κριτὴν εἶναι καὶ παροδεύων ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶν ἐν παρεξαγωγῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκεκρίσθαι. καὶ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπέθανεν· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀλλὰ τοῦ ζῆν, οὗπερ μᾶλλον εἶναι κριτὴς νομίζεται, ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν.
>
> A junior wrestler who was anxious about the preselection for the games dreamt that the adjudicator was Asclepius, and that as he paraded for review with the other juniors he was disqualified by the god. And in fact, he died before the games started. The god had disbarred him not from the games but from life itself, the more usual question on which he is thought to adjudicate (Artemidorus, 5. 13, tr. Thonemann 2020: 169–70).

This seemingly ordinary funerary inscription contains an important phrase that is reminiscent of Artemidorus' text above: ἅμα τῇ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐνκρίσει τελευτήσαντι ἐτῶν δεκαεπτὰ. I wonder if, like the young wrestler in Artemidorus' passage, this youth had seen Asklepios in his dream the night before. Regardless of whether he saw Asklepios or not, it is hard to imagine that he was not excited for the *enkrisis* (examination). Glaukos, for whom the inscription was erected, died aged 17 during his *epheboi* examination. This statement is important in two respects: It sheds light firstly on the age at which one could join the *ephebeia*, and secondly, on the procedure for admission to the *ephebeia*.

In fact, the exact age group of the *epheboi* is unknown. Scholars specialising in Asia Minor have suggested that the minimum age for entry into the *ephebeia* during the Roman Imperial period was lower than in Athens. For example, M. Kleijwegt states that the minimum age for entry into the *ephebeia* in Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Asia Minor was 14–15 years old (Kleijwegt 1991: 91–92; cf. Strubbe 1998: 45–46). However, S. Hin (2007: 143–46) has identified only nine inscriptions indicating the age of the *ephebos*. The youngest individual identified as an *ephebos* in these nine texts is 14, while the others appear to be 15, 16, 17 and 18 years of age, respectively. Due to

[15] Those with property valued at less than 30 minas could become ephebes but were not obliged to do so: Rousset 2017: 70–75; Arnaoutoglou 2019: 15–16.

[16] Hin concludes that the varying lengths of membership in the *ephebeia*, coupled with the limited number of ephebes who performed honorary tasks and made benefactions to other *epheboi*, created a hierarchy among the ephebes: Hin 2007: 141–66, particularly 150–54. See also Wiemer 2011: 528–29. For further information on hierarchies within the *ephebeia*, see de Lisle 2020: 56. For more on the hierarchisation of civic society, see Zuiderhoek 2009: 60, 99–105, 132; 2011: 190–91; Akdoğu Arca 2016. Also see Brandt 1992: 151, 153; Brandt, Kolb 2005: 37–38.

[17] Two adopted children stand out in a Hellenistic ephebic list from Kaunos: Marek 2006: no. 41 (T.6): καθ' ὑοθεσίαν.

[18] The foster family could be of either higher or lower status than the foster child; see Kılıç Aslan 2023, 292, 308–310. Thonemann 2022: 200–01: 'I know of no cases where a foster-child described as θρέπτος was demonstrably of higher social status than his foster-parents.'

[19] Sarpedon and Glaukos were worshipped in Xanthos (*TAM* II. 265). There is also a river called Glaukos in Lycia (Hellenkemper, Hild, 2004: 547, s.v.; Şahin, Adak 2007: 102–04, 161 n. 286). The Lycians also celebrated a gymnastic festival called Sarpedoneia in Telmessos (Robert 1990: 412–13; Colvin 2004). For information on Glaukos in Lycia and its mythological background, see Robert 1980: 377–92; 1990: 686.

[20] Thonemann, 2015: 359–60. There is also a Glaukos of Carystus, an Olympic boxing champion known through Demosthenes (18.319; cf. Pausanias 6.10.1–3.). See also Nicholson 2014: 68, 71.

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the limited number of inscriptions indicating age, Hin could not definitively determine the entry age for the *ephebeia* and consequently concluded that it was likely closer to 16 than 14. It is well known that, even in Athens, the age limit for entry to the *ephebeia* was relaxed when it became a voluntary institution in the early Hellenistic period (Dow 1960: 391; Kennell 2009: 330).

Our inscription is of considerable importance because it is the first instance from the Roman Imperial period to explicitly express the age at which one participates in the ephebic system.[21] According to the inscription, this age is 17. A second-century AD fragmentary inscription from Olympia appears to specify the age limits for the categories of *paides*, *ageneioi* and *andres* in the Sebasta games in the city of Neapolis.[22] The inscription indicates that the age between the *paides* and *ageneioi* categories is 17. Similarly, Klee (1918: 46–48) posits that the lower age limit for *ageneioi* is also 17 (see also Thonemann 2020: 169). Although a definitive interpretation remains elusive, the age of 17 for participation in the games appears to align with the age at which one becomes an *ephebos*, as indicated in our inscription. Indeed, it seems likely that each city had a defined age limit for entry into the *ephebeia*.[23] However, the presence of *epheboi* of varying ages suggests that the age limit may have been flexible, depending on an individual's physical maturity or the economic circumstances of the city elite, as participation in the *ephebeia* was no longer compulsory during the Roman Imperial period.

At this point, the question arises as to whether all applicants were accepted. The answer is 'no', as evidenced by the concepts of *enkrisis* and *ekkrisis*, which indicate acceptance or rejection, and which are noun forms derived from the verbs ἐγκρίνειν and ἐκκρίνειν. *Enkrisis* (LSJ, s.v. ἔγκρισις/ἔνκρισις: 'examination of athletes before admitting them to a contest') is defined by Remijsen (2019: 19) as 'the only known technical term for a selection procedure before an *agon*', while Golden (2004: 60, s.v. *enkrisis*) defines it as an 'examination to determine eligibility for a competitive festival or one of its age-classes'. The term was used to refer to an examination conducted prior to an *agon*, aimed at selecting athletes, particularly with regard to age categories (Lucian, *Pro Imaginibus* 11; Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 29.18: ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἔγκρισις; cf. Remijsen 2019: 19 n. 58).

All *agones* comprised at least two age categories, *paides* (boys) and *andres* (men). In some cases, *ageneioi* (beardless youth) were also included.[24] On the other hand, the term *enkrisis* appears in sources in relation to a group other than *andres*.[25] Although Henderson (2020: 155, 160–61) demonstrated that ephebes participated in games with the *ageneioi* age group, including also torch races during the time of Lykurgos, the word *enkrisis* appears alongside *epheboi* in the inscription presented here. This raises the question: Did Glaukos undergo an *enkrisis* in order to join the *epheboi* in the gymnasium, or was he subjected to an *enkrisis* in order to compete in the *lampas* race, given the torch he was holding? Does Glaukos carrying a torch in his hand suggest that he aspired to participate in the torch races after joining the *epheboi*, or does it imply that he died while being selected to compete in the *epheboi*/*ageneoi* category of the *lampas* race? Another question that can be asked is: Does *enkrisis* refer solely to the procedure for selecting age categories in a competition (agonistic *enkrisis*), or does it also encompass a procedure for distinguishing between groups of gymnasium users, especially *epheboi* from *paides*? In order to answer these questions, the nature of *enkrisis* must be elaborated on in some detail. Of the four inscribed lead tablets found on the Isthmus of Corinth, only one is complete and bears the following inscription: Μάριος Τύραννος | Σήμακον ἐκκρείνω / 'I, Marius Tyrannus, disqualify Semakos' (Jordan 1994: 111–15; *SEG* 32.364; *SEG* 44.305–07). The inscription in question states that the contestant named Semakos/Simakos was deemed ineligible for his age group following a secret ballot by special judges known as *enkritai*. Another inscription from the Corinthian Isthmus indicates the location where this evaluation/examination would take place: τοὺς ἐνκριτηρί|ους οἴκους … ἐποίησεν (*IG* IV 203, l. 12–19). Among his other benefactions, P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus had examination rooms built for athletes coming to the Isthmian Games. The fact that Iuventianus constructed more than one examination room suggests that the process of subjecting young people to *enkrisis* was broader than just a single procedure.

[21] Of the examples mentioned above and cited by S. Hin 2007 (mostly funerary inscriptions), five date to the Hellenistic period and four to the Roman Imperial period. These inscriptions are sporadic examples originating from the Aegean islands, as well as from the eastern and western Aegean. Generally speaking, they do not specify the age at which one became an *ephebos* in the relevant cities; rather, they commemorate individuals who died while serving as *epheboi*.

[22] I.Olympia 56; Merkelbach 1974: 173–74; Frisch 1988: 181; Crowther 1989: 100–02; *SEG* 37.356.

[23] For example, the Hellenistic inscription from Pergamon mentioned below prescribes an age of over 15 for admission to the *ephebeia*: οἱ ἐκκριθέντες ἐκ τῶν παίδων εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰς τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος; for bibliography see below fn. 27.

[24] Remijsen 2019: 19 fn. 59; Henderson 2020: 154, 155, 160 fn. 86. The *ageneioi* are also well documented in Asia Minor. They are represented in the PHI by 97 examples, which are attested in almost every region: Caria, Ionia, Lydia, Troas, Mysia, Pontus, Cilicia, Pisidia, Pamphylia and Lycia.

[25] Pausanias 5.24.10: ὀμνύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πώλους κρίνουσιν …; Artemidorus 1.59: Ἐγκρίνεσθαι πᾶσιν ἀγαθόν. ἀθληταῖς δὲ παισὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίσημον διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐγκρίσεως ἡλικίαν, ἀνδράσι δὲ ἄπρακτον· παιδικὴ γὰρ ἡ ἔγκρισις. See also Remijsen 1999: 21–22; Thonemann 2020: 169.

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Furthermore, Artemidorus' work *Oneirakritika* highlights the anxiety experienced by boys subjected to the process, underscoring its seriousness (Artemidorus 1.54.3; 1.59; 1.60.3; 5, 13; see also Thonemann 2020: 169–70).

The purpose of dividing boys and youths who were not yet *andres* into age groups was likely to provide equal opportunities. It would have been unfair for other boys if a candidate in the youth age category were to compete against boys. However, the decisive factor in their division into different categories was probably their physical development rather than their age.[26] Therefore, placing young people of a similar physical structure and strength in the same age category would only have been possible after a detailed physical examination of these children, who were still in their developmental stages. This would have led to a series of examinations. Frisch (1988: 185) stated that it was necessary to conduct dental examinations. On this basis, it may be argued that the process also involved an assessment of whether the candidates had reached sexual maturity. This must have created the need for examination rooms. Glaukos appears to have lost his life during an examination. It remains unclear whether his death was due to the excitement of the *enkrisis*, which could have caused a cardiac arrest, or whether it was due to an accident or harm inflicted upon Glaukos during the examination. This event caused considerable distress and nightmares among the boy's fathers (Artemidorus 4.52; 5.75, 76; see also Thonemann 2020: 169).[27] Pausanias also mentions the sensitivity of the examination. In a passage concerning the oath taken by athletes in front of the statue of Zeus Horkios in Olympia, he states that 'those who examine the boys swear that they will decide fairly and without bribery, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether he is accepted or not.'[28] The experts who carried out this examination are mentioned in a third-century AD inscription from Hierapolis-Kastabala in Cilicia (Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896: 30, no. 68). M. Aur. Caesoninus Demetrios won the wrestling competition in the boys' age category (l. 5: νικήσαντα πάλην παίδων). An interesting expression at the end of the inscription suggests that Caesoninus Demetrios was subjected to the *enkrisis* by a committee of experts led by M. Aur. Zenon (lines 9–10): ἐπὶ ἐνκ[ρι]τῶν | τῶν περὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ζήνωνα. This phrase appears to have been proudly added to the end of the inscription announcing the athlete's victory.

All the examined sources agree that the *enkrisis* was an examination to determine the suitability of sub-adult athletes for one of the age categories in order to compete. However, according to the examined inscription, the *enkrisis* also appears to have been part of the *epheboi* admission procedure. The *epheboi* were one of the groups of gymnasium users who were trained in gymnasiums. Returning to the earlier question: could Glaukos have undergone the *enkrisis* to compete in the *epheboi* torch race? The answer is probably no. A. Chankowski has demonstrated the application of the *enkrisis* procedure in the life of the gymnasium with various examples.[29] The Pergamon inscriptions from the Hellenistic period clearly demonstrate acceptance and rejection from childhood into *ephebeia*, as evidenced by the phrases 'οἱ ἐνκριθέντες εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐ[κ τῶν παίδων]' and 'οἱ ἐκκριθέντες ἐκ τῶν παίδων εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰς τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος'. Although the verbal form is predominantly used in these examples, the noun form *enkrisis* appears in the only example from Samos, which is similar to the inscription presented here: 'ἡ τῶν ἐφήβων ἔνκ[ρισις'. Consequently, the definition of *enkrisis* given by Remijsen and Golden above should be broadened to include 'a physical examination/test to determine both the suitability of sub-adult athletes for one of the age groups (*paides*, *ageneioi*) to participate in competitions and the suitability of gymnasium user groups (*paides* and *epheboi*) for their respective age classes'.

Glaukos and the torch races in Lycian and Pisidian cities

On the relief, Glaukos is depicted holding a torch. It is also known that *epheboi* attended the torch race, also organised as a relay race, which was called λαμπάς, λαμπαδηφορία or λαμπαδηδρομία. These torch races were team sports

[26] Frisch 1988: 181. The earliest literary sources on *enkrisis* also show that the height of boys in particular was an important criterion for determining the age groups of children: Xenophon *Hellenica* 4.1.40; Plutarchus *Agesilaus* 13.3; Diogenes Laertius 8. 47–48. See also Remijsen 2019: 20–21 and fns 60, 61.

[27] *Enkrisis* was not limited solely to a physical examination. Chankowski (2010: 273–76) has interpreted the Hellenistic example from Pergamon, as well as those from Erythrai, Kos and Samos, and has shown that, at the time of admission to the *ephebeia*, competitions in *philoponia*, *euexia* and *eutaxia* were organised for the *paides*. It is plausible that this practice continued into the Roman Imperial period. Moreover, the risk of death among children of this age group is explicitly attested in an inscription from Carian Stratonikeia. The inscription indicates that replacement *paides* had to be appointed for those who had been selected to perform hymnic recitations in the bouleuterion but died before their admission to the group of *epheboi* (Chankowski 2010: 271–72). For the bibliography of the relevant inscriptions, see below fn. 27.

[28] Pausanias 5.24.10: ὀμνύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πώλους κρίνουσιν, ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἄνευ δώρων ποιεῖσθαι κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενόν τε καὶ μή, φυλάξειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.

[29] Chankowski 2010: 269–76: Teos: Syll3 578 = *SEG* 14.751; Ephesos: *JÖAI* 1910: 108–09; Stratonikeia (Lydia): Adler et al. 1872: 63; Samos: *IG* XII.6 1:7; Mytilene: *IG* XII (Suppl.) 690; Stratonikeia (Caria): I. Stratonikeia 1101; Pergamon: Schröder et al. 1904: 170, 14; Kolbe 1907: 427, 272; 432, 285; 433, 288; Jacobsthal 1908: 388, 6; 392, 7; Hepding 1910: 416–22, 2. See also Megara: *IG* VII 29, 31; Lokris: *IG* IX.1 285; Dionysiopolis: IGBulg I² 14; Pompeiopolis (Paphlagonia): Marek 1993, nos. 9, 10, 14.

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performed as rituals, involving the transfer of fire from hand to hand between two altars without the flames being extinguished. The first recorded instance of this athletic competition dates back to the sixth century BC in Corinth. Participation in torch races organised by Athens was considered an important ritual and institutional step towards integration into the adult community (Chankowski 2018: 60). Torch races could be incorporated into a festival or serve as the final event in a gymnastic competition, as was the case in Macedonian Beroia. During the Classical period, torch races in Athens formed part of the Prometheia, the Great Panathenaia and the Hephaestia. A *scholion* to Demosthenes indicates that *epheboi* took part in these torch races.[30] Furthermore, the inscriptions highlight the participation of *paides* and *neoi* (*neoteroi* and *neaniskoi*) in the torch races alongside the *epheboi*.[31] Epigraphic evidence also confirms that torch races[32] took place in the Lycian cities of Oinoanda,[33] Xanthos[34] and Idebessos,[35] and in the Pisidian city of Termessos[36] during the Imperial period.

What does the torch in Glaukos' hand signify in this case? The question of whether it refers to his dream of participating in a torch race as an *ephebos*, if he were alive and eligible, or to a torch race he already participated in as a *pais*,[37] remains unresolved. However, if the former is correct, it would imply the existence of a torch race in the city to which the inscription pertains, in which the *epheboi* participated.

The Ephebeia in Lycian, Pamphylian and Pisidian cities

As mentioned above, there is little data on *ephebeia* from the Roman Imperial period. However, evidence of the institution can be found in the cities of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia in southern Anatolia (see testimonies below). Accordingly, there is evidence of *ephebeia* in the Lycian cities of Kyaneai, Myra, Kibyra, Oinoanda, Patara, Xanthos and Kaunos; the Pamphylian cities of Perge, Side and Aspendos; and the Pisidian cities of Termessos and Apollonia. The earliest examples are found in Kyaneai (second century BC), Perge (second–first century BC) and Kaunos (Hellenistic period), which is parallel to the development of the gymnasia.[38] Examples from other periods seem to belong to the Roman Imperial era.

In the second century BC, Anticharis, the son of Amyntas of Kyaneai, set up a foundation linked to the city's gymnasium and was honoured by the *neoi* as an *euergetes* in return (T1.1). The inscription refers to a procession in which the ephebes took part, followed by a sacrifice overseen by the gymnasiarch. Competitions were then held in the gymnasium, including javelin, archery and catapult contests. Therefore, the Kyaneai inscription provides information consistent with the nature of the Hellenistic *ephebeia* summarised above. It is noted that the ephebes and *neoi* underwent military training in the gymnasium, and that *agones* were organised for the branches of military training in which they participated. These *agones* may have been organised as final examinations in the gymnasium.[39] Anticharis was honoured with

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30 Σ (Lex.Pat.142: 15–19) Demosthenes 57.141: καὶ οὗτοι ἤγοντο τὴν λαμπαδοδρομίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῷ τε Προμηθεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ τῷ Πανὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· οἱ ἔφηβοι, ἀλειψάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἥπτοντο τὸν βωμόν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἅψας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἡ τούτου φυλή.

31 General characteristics of torch races and their connection with ephebeia: Chankowski 2018: 55–59; Henderson 2020: 158–63. For information on the participation of *neoteroi-neaniskoi* in torch races, see Chankowski 2018: 60–69.

32 While the *lampadarchoi* may be understood as the leaders of teams participating in the *lampas*, as attested at Koresia and Beroia, the term *agelarches/agelarchos* (see the Lycian examples below) likewise appears to denote the leader of a torch-racing team and therefore fulfills a role comparable to that of a *lampadarchos*.

33 Wörrle 1988: 4–17, l. 65–68: τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν γείνε[σ]θαι τῶν π[ροδηλ]ουμένων πάντων ἐκ τῶν πολειτῶν, ὁμοίως αἱρεῖσθαι ὑπ'αὐτοῦ ἀγελάρχας β' ἐκ τῶν εὐγενεστά[των] | παίδων, οἵτινες ἐπιλέξουσι ἀνὰ παῖδας κ', [οὓς ἂν α]ὐτοί δοκιμάσωσι, τοὺς ἀσκήσοντας δρόμον ὥστε λαμπαδοδρομεῖν καὶ τὸν νεικήσαντα στεφ[α]|νοῦσθαι καὶ τειμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τὴς πόλεως ψη[φ]ίσματι καὶ ἀνδριάντι, ἐὰν βούληται, τοῦ ἀναλώματος γεινομένου ὑπ'αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγελάρ[χου], | εἰ δὲ μή, ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ τοῦ ψηφίσματος τειμ[ῇ, ὑπ]ὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου διαγράφεσθαι αὐτῷ ὅσον ἂν ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης προαιρήται.

34 F.Xanthos VII 21 (ca AD 212–250): Αὐρ(ήλιον) Κάλλιστον … φιλοτείμως | ἀγελαρχήσαντα καὶ δρα|μόντα ἱερὰν λανπάδαν, νει|κήσαντα μετὰ τῶν σὺν | αὐτῷ παίδων καὶ συν|στεφανωθέντα.

35 *TAM* II 838 (AD 134?): l.: 13–17: ὑπὲρ δὲ Κτησικλέους | καὶ ἀγελαρχίαν, οὗ καὶ νεικήσαντος | ἐν τῇ ἀγελαρχίᾳ καὶ τειμηθέντος | τοῦ Κτησικλέους ἐν τῇ ἀγελαρχίᾳ ὑπὸ | Λυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ.

36 *TAM* III.1 146 = Wörrle 1988: 222 = *SEG* 38.1327: Διότειμος δὶς Τροκο[νδου] | τοῦ καὶ Κορκαινου, νεικήσ[ας λαμπάδα] | παίδων ἐξ ἀγέλης ἀγώ[νων… *TAM* III.1 195: […]ωνος καὶ Διότει|[μ]ος Ἀστείου Διοτείμου | [Ἀ]πολλωνίου Συρίσκου,| [λ]αμπαδαρχήσαντες | [κ]αὶ νεικήσαντες ἀγῶ|[να]. *TAM* III.1 208: Σατας Κενδεου | Σατου, νεικήσας | τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν | λαμπάδι. *TAM* III.1 166: Μᾶρκος Αὐρ(ήλιος) | Μοαντιανὸς | Μηλας, υἱὸς Αὐρ(ηλίου) Μοαν|τος Μηλου Ἑρμαίου, | νεικήσας λαμπάδα.

37 In the limited set of examples under discussion, it can be seen that all those who attended the torch races were *paides* – except in one of the Termessian inscriptions, where the age group to which the *lampas* belongs is ambiguous, although they are presumed to have been children. Furthermore, in the inscriptions of Lycia, each of the *paides* who served as an *agelarches* appears to have been among the *protoi* of their city.

38 At the end of the fourth century BC, there were only two gymnasia in Anatolia, located in Ephesos and Mylasa, but from the third century BC onwards, the number began to increase: Groß-Albenhausen 2004: 313–14.

39 Internal competitions organised every month in the gymnasium played an important role in the lives of the youngest trainees. Each month, three criteria were assessed which were not taught as lessons but characterised the ethos of the gymnasium as a whole: *eukosmia* (dignified behaviour), *philoponia* (endurance) and *euexia* (bodily vigour). The term *eukosmia* was replaced by *eutaksia*, which placed greater emphasis on discipline and integration into a group, including in a military sense. The *agon* organised at the end of the year as part of the Hermaia was the final exam: Crowther 1991: 301–04; Gauthier, Hatzopoulos 1993: 102–08; Schuler 2024: 86–87.

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proedria, a golden wreath and a bronze statue in the *agones* in return for his services. The existence of the cults of Herakles and Hermes in Kyaneai, alongside the gymnasium, is also noteworthy (see Pichler 2024: 96–103 for more on the cults of the gymnasium).

When Stasias, the son of Bokios, was appointed gymnasiarch in Perge, it is understood that the city already had a gymnasium (T8). He managed the gymnasium properly, prioritising the upbringing of the *epheboi* and *neoi* (σωφροσύνη) above all else.[40] The inscription provides further important information. The gymnasium of Perge was a renowned educational institution that served not only the *epheboi* and *neoi* of Perge but also those from outside the city.[41] This educational institution placed a strong emphasis on the upbringing of the youth, and adolescents and young people attended lessons there. In this way, Stasias transformed Perge and its gymnasium into an important educational centre renowned throughout the region. In addition to the *paidikon gymnasion* from the early Imperial period, the tria gymnasia from the late Flavian period have also been documented in Perge.[42] The priest of the Imperial cult and *agonothetes*, Cn. Postumius Cornutus, referred to his father's gymnasiarchies of the three gymnasia. Some scholars have suggested that the number of gymnasia refers to different age categories of gymnasium users (παῖδες, ἔφηβοι, νέοι, πρεσβύτεροι) and perhaps to different premises (I.Milet 265; I.Iasos 84; Schuler 2024: 190 and fn. 162). However, M. Vitale (2018: 306–07) argues that the term refers to the term of office of a gymnasiarch (most likely a monthly term). The existence of a separate *paidikon gymnasion* for children in Perge, as well as at least two gymnasia (I.Perge 72–80, no. 56; 88–90, no. 61; 209) in the city dating to the Roman Imperial period, suggests that the tria gymnasia may refer to different age categories and building structures.[43] Gymnasia for different age categories are also attested in Patara (T5)[44] under the gymnasiarchy of Iulia Verania, daughter of C. Iulius Demosthenes, dating to the first half of the second century AD, and in Kaunos (T6.2) under the gymnasiarchy of Q. Vedius Capito: γυμνασιαρχήσας πάσης ἡλικίας.[45] At Kaunos, both *epheboi* and *neoi* are attested in a list dating back to the Hellenistic period (T6.1). Separate gymnasiarchs were responsible for these two age categories, and *ephebeia* was a two-year programme in the city (see Chankowski 2010: 245–46).

According to the Kibyra inscription (T3), which dates from the reign of Vespasian, Q. Veranius Philagros established a subsidy fund for the permanent gymnasiarchy. He served as gymnasiarch for an impressive 12 years and provided the city with 400,000 Rhodian drachmae. Interestingly, both the *epheboi* and the demos within the city seem to have been assigned the duty of protecting the gymnasium and all its revenues. The *epheboi* were expected to swear the ancestral oath at the gymnasium every year to protect the permanent *gymnasiarchia*: ὀμνύτωσαν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐ[ν]ια[υ]τὸ[ν] οἱ ἔ[φ]η[β]οι | ἐν τῶι γυμνασίωι τὸν πάτριον ὅρ[κ]ον συνφυλά[ξ]ειν τὴν | [γ]υμνασιαρχίαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς [π]όρους αὐτῆς. It is well known that the *epheboi* took the ephebic oath in Athens. This oath covers four key themes: military obedience, adherence to the laws and religious rules of the city-state and protection of the constitution.[46] Although the oath in question was not an ephebic oath of the kind attested in Athens, it seems to partially overlap with the content under discussion, particularly with regard to observance of the state's laws and institutions.[47] As the oath in question is defined as being inherited from the ancestors (πάτριον); this suggests that the institution of *ephebeia* is not new to the city.

In addition to *epheboi*, the term συνέφηβοι is also attested in three Lycian inscriptions from the Imperial

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40 I.Perge 14, frg.1, side A, 24–27: καταστα̣θεὶς δὲ καὶ γ[υμνα]||σίαρχος ἡγήσατο τοῦ γυμνασίο[υ πρε]||[π]όντως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ [νέων] | σωφροσύνης προέστη... frg. 2, side B, 64–72: [— — —]ν τῶν νέων καὶ ἐφήβων [— —] | [καὶ εἰς] τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην το[ῦ γυμνα]||[σίου] τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτ[ων ἀπαρχο]||μ[έν]οις καὶ καταντῶσιν εἰς τ[ὴν πόλιν] | φιλαγάθως καὶ πρεπόντως [προσεφέ]||ρετο, ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινεν τῆι [μὲν πό]|λει τὴν εὐφημίαν, τοῖς δὲ ἐφήβ[οις καὶ] | τοῖς νέοις [ο]ὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὠ[φέλειαν] | περιγίνεσθαι.

41 Towards the end of the first century BC foreigners were also accepted into the *ephebeia*. Athens had become a seat of learning, which continued into the Principate: Gehrke 2004: 1021.

42 I.Perge, 23, l. 20: ἐν τῷ παιδικῷ γυμνασίῳ. I.Perge, 61: γυμ]||νασιάρχου τ]ῶν τριῶν γυμνασίων. Also see I.Perge, 56: γυμνασίαρχος νέων τε καὶ γεραιῶν καὶ παίδων.

43 For examples of different gymnasia structures, see *TAM* V.2 975 (Thyatira): γυμνα|σιαρχήσαντα πάντα | τὰ γυμνάσια; *TAM* V.2 1205–06 (Apollonis): ἀλείφοντος τὰ δύο | γυμνάσι<α>; I.Milet 3 1131: γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων (see also I.Didyma 237I; 301; 278; 343); I.Pergamon Asklepieion 37: γυμνασίαρχον τ̣[ῶν]|| ζ΄ γυμνασίων; I.Ephesos 1156: γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων (see also I.Ephesos 488, 635, 724, 824, 980, 985, 1150, 3058; JÖAI 1993, 118/9, no. 10); I.Iasos 84, ll. 7–10: γυμνα|σιαρχήσαντα τῶν | τεσσάρων γυμνασ[ί]||ων; I.Tralleis 75, ll. 6–9: γυμνασιαρ|χήσαντα τῶν τριῶν γυ|μνασίων τὴν πρώτην τε|τράμηνον. Strabo's passage in 14.1.43 confirms the existence of two different gymnasia in two different locations in Nysa ad Maeandrum: τῷ δὲ θεάτρῳ δύο ἄκραι, ὧν τῇ μὲν ὑπόκειται τὸ γυμνάσιον τῶν νέων, τῇ δ' ἀγορὰ καὶ τὸ γεροντικόν.

44 Engelmann 2016: 325–28. For *neoi*, Hermes Agonios and Herakles Kallinikos in Patara, also see Zimmermann 2016: 895–912.

45 In the second century AD, Caecilia Tertulla became the gymnasiarch of three age categories in Attaleia: SEG 2.696: γυμνασιαρχήσα[σαν] | γεραιῶν καὶ νέων καὶ π[αί]||δων.

46 Tod 1985: no. 204; Gehrke 2004: 1019; Henderson 2020: 22–24. For ancient references to the oath: Demosthenes 19.303, Lykurgos, against Leokrates 76, Stobaeus 4.1.48, Pollux 8.105–06.

47 Chankowski 2010: 315 notes that the existing sources do not provide evidence of an ephebic oath outside Athens. However, he also emphasises that testimonies from various sources suggest that securing the values and commitments of society and treaties or agreements through oaths taken by *epheboi* was a common practice.

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period: two from Kyaneai and Myra and one from Xanthos. The term *synepheboi*, which can be defined as an ephebic cohort, is also attested in Athens (for *philoi* lists, see de Lisle 2020: 8–9, 61–98). Earlier examples show that friends who were *epheboi* together usually described themselves as *philoi gorgoi kai synepheboi* (fierce friends and fellow ephebes). By the end of the first century AD, the term *philoi gorgoi* had fallen into disuse, with *synepheboi* being used on its own. The *synepheboi* essentially denote the sense of camaraderie that characterises the ephebic community. All *epheboi* established a collective identity as a group of peers based on the concept of *synepheboi*. The earliest attestation of *synepheboi* is a funerary inscription from Kyaneai (T1.2), which was erected by an ephebic cohort/fellow *epheboi* under Saretios in honour of their friend/fellow Seleukos, son of Seleukos, whom they identified as *heros*: οἱ σὺν Σαρητίῳ | συνέφηβοι Σελεύκῳ | Σελεύκου τῷ συνε|φήβῳ. The second example is quite similar. In an epitaph from Myra (T2.1), the ephebic group led by the gymnasiarch Ptolemaios erected an inscription for their friend, Hermapias, who is described as a *heros*. The final example comes from Xanthos (T7). Once again, the συνέφηβοι erected a funerary inscription in honour of Eutycheus, the son of Appelleides, whom they identified as a *bouleutes* and a *pantarchon*: Εὐτυχέα Ἀπ|πελλείδου | τοῦ Εὐτυχέ|ους βουλευ|τὴν παντάρ|χοντα μνή|μης χάριν | οἱ συν<έ>φηβοι. In the first inscription, based on the expression οἱ σὺν Σαρητίῳ συνέφηβοι, Saretios must have been the leader of a group of *epheboi*, comparable to the ephebic officials known as systremmatarchs in Athens (de Lisle 2020: 13, 25–26). These systremmatarchs (team captains) were ephebes who led *systremmata* ('teams' or 'bands') of ephebes. There could be ten or more systremmatarchs in a year. It can therefore be assumed that the younger ones were divided among them. The Aspendos inscription also refers to the systremmatarchs (T10).[48] The association of Eutycheus with συνέφηβοι, which describes him as both a *bouleutes* and a *pantarchon* in the Xanthos inscription, must be due to the fact that he was the magistrate – that is, a *pantarchon* – of the ephebic cohort.

The Termessos inscription (T11.1) probably paraphrases the Kyaneai inscription. There are *topoi* inscriptions marking the seating areas reserved for *epheboi* carved into the four rows of the cavea of the Roman theatre at Termessos. Across two of these rows, only the word ἐφήβων survives. In the other two rows, however, appear the phrases 'ἐφήβων Ἡλιοφοριανῶν' and 'ἐφήβων Αὐτ[ο]μ<ε>νι[ανῶν(?)]'; '*epheboi* Heliophorianoi' and '*epheboi* Automenianoi' are formed from adjectives derived from the personal names Heliophoros and Automenes. These were likely used to describe the *epheboi* led by Heliophoros and Automenes, as in the case with the Kyaneai inscription.[49]

The office of *ephebarchos* is also attested in Lykia, Pamphylia and Pisidia, and appears to have existed in Oinoanda (T4), Side (T9), Termessos (T11.2) and Apollonia (T12). At Oinoanda, the *ephebarchos* was responsible for offering a sacrifice at the Demostheneia Festival, suggesting that the *ephebarcheia* was a liturgical office. In Termessos, the expression ἐπὶ ἐφηβάρχου | Οβριμοτου Ἑρμαίου Οβρι|μοτου in the list of victors in an *agon* suggests that the *ephebarcheia* was named after someone in the gymnasium. Similarly, in Side, an *ephebarchos* was included in the honouring of the *demiurgos* P. Aelius Paion in the mid-second century AD. Finally, an unpublished inscription from Myra attests to the existence of an *archephebos*, the leader of the *epheboi* (T2.2).[50]

In summary, the funerary inscription of Glaukos, which provides new data on the *ephebeia* during the Roman Imperial period, offers an opportunity to reassess the institution. The original findspot of the inscription remains its most obscure aspect. Its presence in the Antalya Museum suggests that it may have originated from a city in Lycia, Pamphylia or Pisidia. While the name 'Glaukos' is also found in Pisidia, its connection to the Homeric tradition of Lycia initially supports a Lycian origin. Inscriptions related to the *ephebeia* are primarily found in Lycia, and inscriptions from these three regions are primarily found in Lycia. Torch races are attested in Lycia and Pisidia, but not in Pamphylia. Further evidence linking the inscription to Lycia is the mention of Euthene, Glaukos' foster mother, whose name is only recorded at Olympos. The fact that the name of Demetrios, the biological father, is predominantly attested in the same city is also striking. Although the evidence from Pamphylia is very limited, the Aeolic character of the name Euthene strongly suggests that the inscription may derive from one of the Aeolic settlements of western Pamphylia, or from a city culturally influenced by them (see 'Line-by-Line Commentary', above). Nevertheless, western Lycia is unlikely to be the origin of the

[48] It is possible that the inscription honouring a woman named Paulina refers to the *epheboi* (Dow 1962: 144; Chankowski 2010: 540, no. 435). The first line of the problematic inscription could perhaps be revised as ἐπὶ ἐφηβάρχου: compare with T11.2. Alternatively, the inscription could be associated with *neaniskoi* (or *neoi*), as in *Thyatira*. *TAM* V.2 949, 987, 994, 1007–09, 1015.

[49] Kennell 2009: 329 argues that Heliophoros and Automenes made significant contributions to financing the *ephebeia* in the city, which is why these definitions were created.

[50] I would like to express my gratitude to my colleague, Associate Professor Dr Burak Takmer, for providing me with information about this inscription.

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stone, as materials from that region were typically sent to the Fethiye Museum rather than the Antalya Museum. While Olympos appears as an option for plausible origin based on the currently available evidence, the possibility that the stone came from another eastern Lycian or western Pamphylian city should not be ruled out.

Conclusion

This article introduces a new funerary inscription, dated to the end of the second and beginning of the third century AD. It was found within the borders of Antalya province and is now housed in the Antalya Necropolis Museum. However, its exact provenance remains unknown. Our knowledge of the *ephebeia* in Roman Imperial Asia Minor is limited due to the scarcity of inscriptions. Therefore, the content and iconography of the presented inscription stand out for their contribution to, and new insights into, the ephebic institution of Anatolia. The inscription reveals that an *ephebos* candidate named Glaukos, the foster child of Lysimachos and Euthene, died aged 17 during the *enkrisis*. It turns out that the age at which participation in the *ephebeia* begins in the unidentified city to which the inscription belongs is 17. However, Glaukos would not automatically qualify as an *ephebos* at that age, as he would first have to undergo an examination (*enkrisis*). Although *enkrisis* generally refers to a procedure that occurs before joining an *agon*, and the age group associated with *enkrisis* in the examples is *paides*, the inscription presented here shows that *epheboi* candidates from gymnasium groups were also subjected to *enkrisis*, and that they could join the *epheboi* in the gymnasium only after passing this examination in Roman Imperial Asia Minor. Therefore, it seems appropriate to broaden the definition of *enkrisis*, which is only partially defined in dictionaries, to encompass both the examination required before participating in an *agon* (agonistic *enkrisis*) and the examination conducted before joining the *ephebeia* in the gymnasium (gymnastic *enkrisis*).

The round altar bearing Glaukos' inscription was richly decorated with a relief depicting Glaukos with short hair and wearing a *chiton*. His right arm is kept inside the *chiton* and extended downwards, while he holds a torch in his left hand. This suggests that he belonged to one of the city's elite families, as *ephebeia* became a matter of personal finance in the Roman Imperial period. According to the inscription, Glaukos was the son of Demetrios, but was raised by Lysimachos and Euthene as their foster son. His foster family gave him the opportunity to become an *ephebos*. Clearly, being a foster child was not a legal obstacle to joining the *ephebeia*. In addition to physical suitability, the wealth of the family appears to have been sufficient for becoming an *ephebos*. However, the absence of any public office held by either Lysimachos, Glaukos' foster father, or Demetrios, his biological father, suggests that Glaukos was from a wealthy family, but not among the wealthiest in the city. This demonstrates that the *ephebeia* was accessible to children from less affluent families during the Roman Imperial period, particularly during the second and third centuries AD in southern Anatolia.

The inscription probably originates from the regions of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia within the borders of Antalya province, as inscriptions discovered in these areas are generally brought to the Antalya Museum. Inscriptions highlighting various aspects of *ephebeia* have therefore been compiled explicitly from these three regions, forming the ephebic testimonia of southern Asia Minor. Lycia emerges from this testimony as the region with the largest number of inscriptions relating to *epheboi*. Additionally, inscriptions from these regions referencing torch races have been incorporated into the study based on the torch held by Glaukos. While such races are attested in Lycia and Pisidia, there is no evidence confirming their presence in Pamphylia. Although the name 'Glaukos', to whom the inscription is dedicated, is also attested in Pisidia, its association with the Homeric hero links it more closely with Lycia. The most significant connection between the inscription and Lycia, however, is provided by the name Euthene, Glaukos' foster mother, which is attested exclusively at Olympos. The name Demetrios, the biological father, is likewise predominantly attested in the same city. On the other hand, the Aeolic character of the name Euthene also appears to connect the inscription with Pamphylia. Therefore, the probable provenance of the inscription should be sought in either Lycia or Pamphylia. More specifically, an eastern Lycian or a western Pamphylian city appears more likely, since finds from western Lycia are generally transferred to the Fethiye Museum. Accordingly, although Olympos seems to be a plausible choice in light of the onomastic evidence, other options should be considered. Phaselis, for instance, draws attention due to its proximity to the Aeolian settlements in Pamphylia. Furthermore, it is known that certain artefacts were transferred from this city to Attaleia during the Arab raids.[51] Consequently, while a definitive conclusion cannot be reached among Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia regarding the inscription's findspot, the weight of the evidence, inclines towards an origin within the first two of these regions.

Despite the limited number of inscriptions, evidence of the *ephebeia* institution can be found in the cities of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia in southern Anatolia. This institution is documented in the Lycian cities of Kyaneai,

[51] For Phaselis inscriptions reused in the city walls of Attaleia, see *TAM* II.3 1191, 1210; for those found within the city, see *TAM* II.3 1183, 1217.

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Myra, Kibyra, Oinoanda, Patara, Xanthos and Kaunos, as well as in the Pamphylian cities of Perge, Side and Aspendos, and the Pisidian cities of Termessos and Apollonia. The ephebic system in this region developed in parallel with the development of gymnasia from the Hellenistic period onwards (second and first centuries BC) and continued until the third century AD. The earliest examples are found in Kyaneai (second century BC), Perge (second–first century BC) and Kaunos (Hellenistic period). Examples from other cities seem to belong to the Roman Imperial period.

In Kyaneai, in line with the nature of the Hellenistic *ephebeia*, the institution involved a procession in which the ephebes participated, followed by a sacrificial ritual led by the gymnasiarch. Subsequently, there were competitions in the gymnasium, including javelin throwing, archery and possibly catapulting. In Perge, the gymnasium served as a prestigious educational centre for the local *epheboi* and *neoi*, as well as individuals from outside the city. In addition to the *paidikon gymnasion* from the early Imperial period, three gymnasia dating from the late Flavian period have also been documented in Perge. The presence of a separate gymnasium for children, in the form of a *paidikon gymnasion*, as well as at least two other gymnasia in the city dating to the Roman Imperial period, suggests that the tria gymnasia refer to different age categories and building structures. Gymnasia for different age categories are also attested in Patara. In Kaunos, separate gymnasiarchs were responsible for two age categories (*epheboi* and *neoi*), and the *ephebeia* was organised as a two-year programme within the city. In Kibyra, the responsibility for protecting the gymnasium and all its revenues appears to have been assigned to the *epheboi* and the *demos* within the city under oath.

Inscriptions from the Imperial period attest to the term *synepheboi* in three Lycian cities: Kyaneai, Myra and Xanthos. There are also inscriptions marking the seats reserved for the *epheboi* in the Roman theatre of Termessos, carved into four rows of the cavea. The office of *ephebarchos* is documented in several cities, including Oinoanda, Side, Termessos and Apollonia, while the title *archephebos* is attested only in Myra. In Oinoanda, the *ephebarcheia* appears to have functioned as a liturgical office, while in the gymnasium of Termessos, it carried an eponymous role.

Epigraphic evidence from the Imperial period confirms that torch races were held in the Lycian cities of Oinoanda, Xanthos and Idebessos. These races may have been incorporated into festivals or served as the final test in gymnastic competitions. Torch races are also known to have been held in the Pisidian city of Termessos, as evidenced by the existence of a *lampadarchos* in the city, whereas the title of *agelarches* is attested in the aforementioned cities of Lycia. While there is limited evidence to suggest that all participants in southern Anatolia were *paides*, the torch held by Glaukos may imply the involvement of *epheboi* in these races.

Ultimately, this newly introduced inscription offers two new pieces of information about the *ephebeia* in the Roman Imperial period. Firstly, it appears to be the first inscription to mention the age of admission, which seems to be 17. Secondly, it shows that *epheboi* candidates from gymnasium groups also underwent the *enkrisis*. An in-depth analysis of the new information provided by the inscription reveals strong similarities between the gymnasium and *agon* admission procedures, particularly with regard to the age limit, the *enkrisis* procedure and participation in torch races.

In conclusion, compared with the number of inscriptions relating to gymnasia and *gymnasiarchoi* in southern Asia Minor, those from the Imperial period that mention *epheboi* are scarce to the extent that a striking contrast is revealed. Nevertheless, the inscription of Glaukos is a notable exception, providing valuable insights into key questions surrounding the *ephebeia*.

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Figure 1: Detail of the altar, view 1 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).

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Figure 2: Detail of the altar, view 2 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).

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Figure 3: Detail of the altar, view 3 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).

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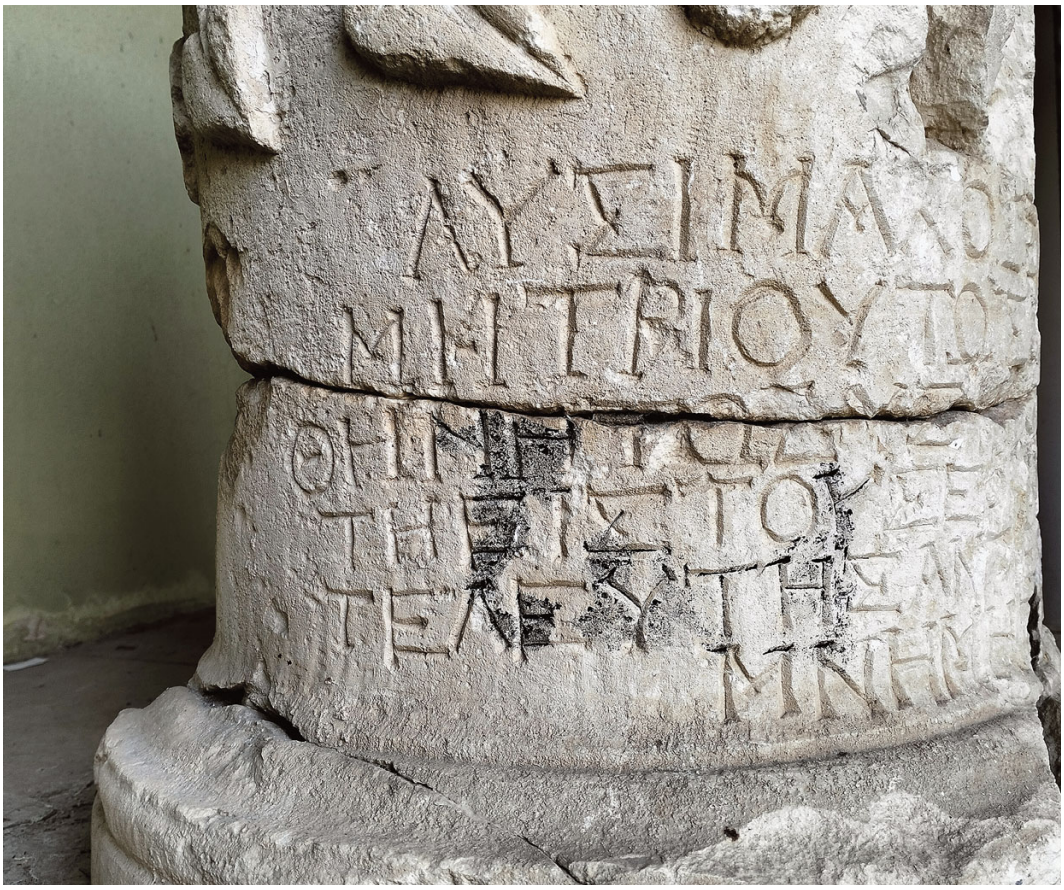

Figure 4: Detail of the altar, view 4 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).



Figure 5: Detail of the altar, view 5 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).

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Figure 6. Detail of the altar, view 6 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).



Figure 7. Detail of the altar, view 7 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).

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Figure 8. Detail of the altar, view 8 (photo by N. Gökalp Özdil).

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Testimonia

City	*Inscription*	*Date*	*Edition*
Kyaneai T1	T1.1 τελεῖν δὲ τὴ]ν τελετὴν συ[μ]πομπευόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων κ[αὶ] | [θύοντος τοῦ γυμνασι]άρχου βοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βω[μ]οῦ τοῦ ἀνατεθ[η]σομένου T1.2: οἱ σὺν Σαρητίῳ | συνέφηβοι Σελεύκῳ | Σελεύκου τῷ συνε|φήβῳ	Second century BC Roman Imperial period	Heberdey, Kalinka 1897: 28; *TAM* II.1 75; Robert 1937: 399–405; Gauthier 1996: 22–23; Chankowski 2010: no. 380 Davies 1895: 111, no. 24; Chankowski 2010: no. 382
Myra T2	T2.1: οἱ συνέφηβοι | οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες | ὑπὸ γυμνασίαρχον | Πτολεμαῖον Ἰάσονος || τοῦ Ἰδαμάξου | Ἑρμαπίαι Ἑρμακότου | τῷ ἑαυτῶν συνε|φήβωι | *vac*. ἥρωι *vac*. T2.2: ἀρχέφηβος / Unpublished	First century BC–first century AD	Şahin 1999: 46–47, no. 11; *SEG* 49.1924; Chankowski 2010: no. 383
Kibyra T3	ὀμνύτωσαν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐ[ν]ια[υ]τὸ[ν] οἱ ἔ[φ]η[β]οι | ἐν τῶι γυμνασίωι τὸν πάτριον ὅρ[κ]ον συνφυλά[ξ]ειν τὴν | [γ]υμνα- σιαρχίαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς [π]όρους αὐτῆς.	AD 72/73	I.Kibyra, no. 43; Chankowski 2010: no. 376, 377; additionally: I.Kibyra, no. 42
Oinoanda T4	ἐφήβαρχος βοῦν α'	AD 124	Wörrle 1988; *SEG* 38.1462; Chankowski 2010: no. 375
Patara T5	γυμνασιαρχοῦσαν πολυτελῶς πάσης ἡλι|[κίας]	Beginnings of second century AD	Engelmann 2016: 325–29
Kaunos[52] T6	T6.1: γυμνασιαρχοῦντος τῶν μὲν ἐφήβων | Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου | τῶν δὲ νέων | Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μεγαλέοντος | οἱ ἐφη- βεύσαντες διεταί. T6.2: γ]υμνασιαρχήσαντα [πά|σης ἡλικίας…]	Hellenistic Period Late reign of Hadrian / reign of Ant. Pius	Marek 2006: no. 41, also 42 Marek 2006: no. 139; *SEG* 56.1194
Xanthos T7	Εὐτυχέα Ἀπ|πελλείδου | τοῦ Εὐτυχέ|ους βουλευ|τὴν παντάρ|χοντα μνή|μης χάριν| οἱ συν<έ>φηβοι.	Roman Imperial period	*TAM* II.1 382; Chankowski 2010: no. 370

[52] Although Kaunos, which is geographically a city on the border of Lycia and Caria, is mostly considered as a Carian city (Pseudo Skylax 99), it was administratively included in Lycia from the Flavian period onwards: Şahin, Adak 2007: 93 and 291; Takmer 2007; Marek 2011: 57–62; Adak, Wilson 2012: 13–14; Şahin 2013: 32–37.

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Testimonia (cont.)

City	*Inscription*	*Date*	*Edition*
Perge T8	ll.24–27: γ[υμνα]|σίαρχος ἠγήσατο τοῦ γυμνασίο[υ πρε]|[π]όντως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ [νέων]| σωφροσύνης προέστη l.64: [— — —]ν τῶν νέων καὶ ἐφήβων [— —] ll.70–72: τοῖς δὲ ἐφήβ[οις καὶ] | τοῖς νέοις [ο]ὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὠ[φέλειαν] | περιγίνεσθαι·	Second–first century BC	I.Perge, no.14; *SEG* 38.1396; Chankowski 2010: no. 432–33
Side T9	Λεωνίδας Πάπου, ἐφήβαρχος	Mid-second century AD	I.Side II, no. 70; Chankowski 2010: no. 436
Aspendos T10	οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίου] | οἱ περὶ Φλάουιον Σωσίπα[τρον] | καὶ περὶ Κλαύδιον [Π]ῤῥῳν [καὶ --] | περὶ Ξενοκλέα Δημάρ[χου] | καὶ οἱ περὶ Φηρέαν Ἀφροδ[ᾶ(?)] | καὶ οἱ περὶ Δημήτριον Ἀρε[τᾶ(?)]	Roman Imperial period	Dow 1962: 142–44; Chankowski 2010: no. 435
Termessos T11	T11.1: ἐφήβων Ἡλιοφοριανῶν | Ἑρμαίου δὶς Αρτειμου | ἐφήβων Αὐτ[ο]μ<ε>νι[ανῶν(?)] | ἐφήβων | ἐφήβων	Roman Imperial period	*TAM* III.1 872, BIII, lines 37–41

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[53] For abbreviations of epigraphic editions see AIEGL online (https://aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html).

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