

ACCLAMATIONS IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE: NEW EVIDENCE FROM APHRODISIAS

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(Plates III–VII)

This article has been engendered by yet another important discovery made during the current excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria, of a unique series of acclamatory texts in honour of a local benefactor, Albinus.¹ The texts were inscribed, probably in the first half of the sixth century, on the twenty columns of the west portico of the Agora, nineteen of which survive. They provide relatively little information either about Albinus or about the history of Aphrodisias; but they are of outstanding interest as the fullest series of inscribed acclamations which has yet been identified anywhere. The purpose of this article is to consider the status and function of acclamations in late Roman society, and their relationship to earlier practice, in order to assess the full significance of the texts presented here.

I. Acclamations in the Roman world

‘Acclamation’ is the term regularly used in modern accounts, to describe the expression, in unison, of wish, opinion or belief, by a large gathering of people, often employing conventional rhythms and turns of phrase. The modern word ‘acclamation’ is drawn from the function of such expressions which is most recognizable to modern audiences—the approving acclamation of individuals. But the term—which is now too well-established to be abandoned—is applied to an activity which, in the ancient world, had a much wider range of functions. There is no one standard word in Latin—*conclamatio*, *vox*, *adclamatio*—or in Greek—*phōnē*, *ekboēsis*, *euphēmia*, among a larger range of terms. For this reason, the occasions on which acclamations are used have not always been recognized or understood; it is only by the identification of some of the characteristic terminology, and by the discriminating analysis of a wide variety of texts that our understanding of the phenomenon has gradually been advanced.²

The earliest acclamations attested, throughout the ancient Near East, are religious: those shouted in honour of a deity by his worshippers, and the cries which had an essential function in certain religious and ritual ceremonies.³ Examples of the latter are to be found deeply established in Roman practice: the acclamation of ‘Triumphe’ was essential to a triumph, as was ‘Talassio’ to a wedding.⁴ The best example of the former, the standard acclamation of a deity, and of the uses to which this could be put, is to be found in the vivid account of the apostle Paul’s experiences at Ephesus (*Act. Ap.* 19. 23–41). When the silver-workers at Ephesus wished to express their opposition to Paul’s preaching, they held a meeting among themselves, and then took up the acclamation (*ekrazon*), ‘Great is Artemis of the Ephesians’. This was sufficient to rouse the city, and ‘they’ (the subject is not given, but appears to be the general population) rushed to the theatre. There was at first confusion, and a variety of acclamations (*ekrazon*); but eventually they established unison: *φωνή ἐγένετο μία ἐκ πάντων, ὡς ἐπὶ ὥρας δύο κρίζοντες· μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων*. As Professor Robert has pointed out in a recent analysis of this passage, the cry which the silversmiths used to rouse the crowds, and which was then used to unite a confused crowd—‘Great is Artemis of the Ephesians’—will have been one of the standard acclamations used in the worship of Ephesian Artemis.⁵

¹ The excavations at Aphrodisias have been conducted since 1961 by Professor Kenan T. Erim of New York University, with the support of various sponsors, chiefly of the National Geographic Society.

² The fundamental modern study is still the brilliant book by Erik Peterson, *Εἰς θεός*, published in 1926 (referred to hereafter as Peterson). Since then, there has been no single study of the subject, but a series of illuminating observations on the use of acclamations has been made by Professor Louis Robert; the references will be found in the notes which follow. There is a useful summary of the

material, and a good bibliography, by T. Klauser, art. *Akklamation* in *RAC* 1 (1950), 213–33, with comments by L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (1953), 379 n. 95; there are important discussions in J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (1972), and in Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (1976).

³ See the summary by Klauser, art. cit. above.

⁴ See S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971), 65 ff.

⁵ L. Robert, *CRAI* (1982), 55–7.

Acclamations were also used—as they still are—by secular meetings, to indicate assent or approval. We have several accounts of such acclamatory assent by municipal legislative bodies. An excerpt from the proceedings of the city council at Tyre in 174 includes the acclamatory formulae by which the councillors indicated their assent, *epephonēsan*;⁶ a decree of the early third century from Mylasa ends with a fragmentary record of the acclamations at a public assembly in Greek, but introduced by the Latin term ‘*succlam(atum) est*’;⁷ fragments from a similar document, including the word ‘*suclam[atum]*’, were found at Pisidian Antioch;⁸ a decree from Chalcis, of the third century, is interspersed with the assenting acclamations of the councillors—*synedroi*—and of the people, introduced by *eb(oēsan)*, *eb(oēse)*;⁹ and the acclamations of a public meeting at Oxyrhynchus in about 300 are recorded in full in a papyrus.¹⁰ Private fraternities also used acclamations in this way; a record of the proceedings of the Athenian Iobacchi in 178 includes their assenting acclamations, introduced by *ex(eboēsan)*.¹¹ By the mid fourth century it appears to be established practice for church councils to approve proposals by acclamation; thus, for example, several canons of the Council of Serdica of 343 are put forward with the final phrase, ‘*Si hoc omnibus placet*’, followed by the response, ‘*Synodus respondit: Placet*’.¹² It has in the past been argued that, during the second century, the Senate came increasingly to indicate assent by acclamation; but it has recently been demonstrated that there is very little solid evidence for such a development up to the mid third century.¹³ After that date there is very little reliable evidence for senatorial procedure; but the *Gesta Senatus* of 438 record the approval of the Theodosian Code by the Roman Senate with cries of ‘*Placet*’ as well as more complex acclamations.¹⁴

The most widely attested function of acclamations, which can be derived partly from religious and partly from legislative practice, is that properly described as acclamation—the honouring of an individual. The simplest form of such acclamations gives a man a particular epithet, just as in the formulae honouring the gods—so-and-so is great, or good, or patriotic, *philopatris*; it can be shown how such acclamations by public assemblies underlie the terminology of the abundant decrees with which the cities of the Greek East honoured prominent citizens.¹⁵ At Rome, the most obvious example of a title bestowed by acclamation is that of Imperator, granted by *conclamatio*.¹⁶ It is clear that a whole range of epithets came to be so used; thus Livy could conceive of Camillus being acclaimed at his triumph as ‘*Romulus ac parens patriae, conditorque*’.¹⁷

Above all, such acclamations were used to honour rulers; and acclamation increased steadily in importance as part of the ceremonial surrounding Roman emperors.¹⁸ It is clear that by the first century A.D. the practice was already well and widely established. We know that Germanicus was acclaimed at Alexandria; a papyrus records a speech, almost certainly made by him there, together with the acclamatory interjections of the crowd; another papyrus preserves an edict by him rejecting acclamations, τὸς ἐπιφθόνους ἔμοι καὶ ἰσοθέους

⁶ *OGIS* 595; compare the account of a meeting in Egypt in 192: τῶν π[α]ρ[ε]στῶτων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιφωνή[σ]άντων, A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* II (1934), 241. 33–4. For a useful collection of evidence on the use of acclamations in legislative and judicial contexts see J. Colin, *Les villes libres de l'Orient Gréco-Romain* (1965), Ch. IV, ‘Le vote par acclamations populaires’.

⁷ *OGIS* 515.

⁸ J. G. C. Anderson, *JRS* 3 (1913), 284–7.

⁹ *Syll.*³ 898.

¹⁰ *P. Oxy.* 41, whence *Select Papyri* II, 239; there is a summary by Jones, *LRE* 722. For the occasion see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (1971), 34 n. 45; on the acclamations see E. Peterson, *RhM* 78 (1929), 221–3. Acclamations by the Council at Oxyrhynchus are cited in *Select Papyri* 240, of 370; for their use by the Council see Bowman, *op. cit.*, 104–6.

¹¹ *Syll.*³ 1109. 10–30. Compare also the reference to *euphēmiai* at a meeting of a corporation—perhaps of bankers—in fifth-century Egypt, *PSI* 1265. 12.

¹² Mansi III, 23 B, 23 D, 24 C; cf. 23 A; in several other canons there are variations on this formula, but

without the preceding invitation of assent.

¹³ R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984), Ch. 8. I am particularly grateful to Dr Talbert for letting me see the relevant passages in proof stage.

¹⁴ The *Gesta Senatus* are conserved and published as an introduction to the Theodosian Code; there is a useful summary by Jones, *LRE* 331. For a comparison of the acclamations in the *Gesta* with those recorded in the *Historia Augusta*, as a possible indication of senatorial practice in the later fourth or early fifth century, see B. Baldwin, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981), 138–49.

¹⁵ L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 215–16; *REG* 94 (1981), 360–1.

¹⁶ Caesar, *BC* 2. 26. 1: ‘conclamatio’; Tac., *Ann.* 3. 74. 6: ‘conclamabantur’. In general, see Weinstock, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 108 ff.

¹⁷ Livy 5. 49. 7.

¹⁸ The fundamental study is that of A. Alföldi, first published in *MDAI (R)* 49 (1934), 79–88, reprinted in *id.*, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (1970).

ἐκφωνήσεις ὑμῶν.¹⁹ But it would be a mistake to see this as a purely eastern phenomenon; a year later, on the news of Germanicus' supposed recovery from illness, the crowds at Rome responded with the acclamation, 'Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus'.²⁰ That acclamations were common currency in Italy in the first century is also suggested by the graffiti at Pompeii, acclaiming private citizens—e.g. 'Popidio Rufo feliciter'—or emperors—e.g. 'Augusto feliciter', 'Iudiciis Augusti Augustae feliciter. Vobis salvis, felices sumus perpetuo'.²¹

The emperors were acclaimed by a variety of gatherings, but most notably at the theatre and the circus, where they confronted the largest number of citizens on a regular basis, and where the crowd was already attuned to shouting in support of performers and competitors. From the early years of the empire, emperors understood the value of this activity, and took a hand in encouraging and orchestrating it.²² But these occasions also provided the opportunity for yet another kind of acclamation, acclamatory requests. Under the empire a well-established tradition of using such public occasions to make wishes and grievances known to the emperor continued and perhaps increased.²³ We know of requests being made in the same way to provincial authorities—the best known being the cry 'Christianos ad leonem'.²⁴ A less dramatic example is provided by the fascinating mosaic, probably of the mid-third century, from Smirat in Tunisia, which depicts *bestiarii* fighting with leopards. It records, verbatim, the request from the *bestiarii* through a herald for payment, and then records the crowd's response: 'Adclamatum est: "exemplo tuo, munus sic discant futuri! Unde tale? Quando tale? Exemplo quaestorum munus edes, de re tua munus edes, (i)sta dies."' In response to this pressure, Magerius, apparently a local magnate and very probably the owner of the mosaic, gives generously ('Magerius dat'), and the crowd responds with further acclamations: 'Hoc est habere, hoc est posse, hoc est ia(m)! Nox est iam! munere tuo saccis missos.'²⁵ Here, as often elsewhere, the crowd uses acclamation to make requests and to honour someone (see further below, p. 189); in the *Gesta Senatus* (above, n. 14) the senators use acclamation for both these purposes, as well as for giving validating assent.

It is clear, therefore, that acclamations had a variety of functions. It is also clear that in the Graeco-Roman world they were in common use. Frequent public entertainments provided regular occasions for acclamations; but the story of the silversmiths at Ephesus makes it clear that an acclamatory gathering could easily be summoned. The meeting there was eventually addressed by a municipal magistrate—the *grammateus*—and is described as an *ekklesia* (*Act. Ap.* 19. 35, 40). Similarly, Charito of Aphrodisias is probably reflecting second-century practice when, at various points in his novel, *Chaïreas and Callirhoe*, he depicts the people as resorting to acclamation to obtain a request.²⁶ Libanius' accounts indicate that acclamations 'formed a continuous accompaniment of public life'.²⁷

It is this very frequency which makes it difficult to compare the acclamations of the Roman imperial world with similar phenomena in other societies. It is also the regular use of acclamations which seems to have enabled various gatherings in the ancient world to enunciate complex and specific sentiments. Modern commentators tend to assume that any complex acclamation requires previous preparation, or extensive crowd manipulation. But modern black American audiences can be heard to respond to a religious or political address with long phrases, often taken from the address itself, and based on an established verbal rhythm. There is clearly an opportunity for an individual or a group to put forward a

¹⁹ Speech: *P. Oxy.* 2435. Edict: *Select Papyri* II, 211, whence V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (1955), 320 b.

²⁰ Suet., *Gaius* 6. 1; cf. also the acclamation on the death of Tiberius cited in the commentary on text 11, below. For metre in acclamations, see below, p. 189.

²¹ Popidius Rufus: *CIL* IV. 3. 7346, to be taken with 7343; Augustus: *CIL* IV. 427, cf. 2460; 'Iudiciis . . .': *CIL* IV. 1074, whence with commentary, G. O. Onorato, *Iscrizioni Pompeiane* (1958), no. 89 (cf. no. 90). In view of this evidence, it is necessary to treat with caution Tacitus' descriptions of such behaviour as new (e.g. at *Ann.* 16. 4–5); that

this is a recurrent criticism is suggested by its use by Libanius of acclamations at Antioch: ἐν γε τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἐλέγτο οὔτε ἐπράττετο, *Or.* 41. 15.

²² Alföldi, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 82–3.

²³ See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 157–92.

²⁴ Tertullian, *Apol.* 40. 2. On the phenomenon, see T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 158–60; more extensively, R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1967), 170 ff.

²⁵ Published by A. Beschaouch, *CRAI* (1966), 134–57.

²⁶ *Chaïreas and Callirhoe*, I. I. 11, 3. 4. 17, 7. 3. 10.

²⁷ Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 209.

cry or a slogan for repetition—as exemplified by the silversmiths at Ephesus. Modern and ancient authors agree in calling this ‘manipulation’ when it is practised by their opponents; this can be seen in accounts of the use of slogans by the crowd in St. Petersburg in February 1917²⁸ or in Libanius’ accounts of events at Antioch.²⁹ There can be no doubt that such ‘guidance’ was regularly offered by partisan individuals or groups. But it seems likely that the audience in a Roman theatre, who were constantly using acclamations, and were able to produce quite complex phrases in unison, would not simply have repeated any euphonic phrase proposed to them, regardless of its content. As in the case of the St. Petersburg crowds, the acceptance and use of partisan slogans, from whatever source, can validly be seen as an expression of public opinion; it was regularly so accepted in the ancient world.

It is commonly assumed that acclamations came gradually into increasing use under the Roman empire; but the observations above suggest that this assumption may only reflect the nature of our evidence. What is certain is that, from the later second century A.D. there was a steady increase in recording and reporting acclamations verbatim. Already in the first century the acclamations of the Alexandrians in praise of Germanicus and Vespasian had been recorded in papyri.³⁰ Such reports were not yet considered appropriate for a historical narrative; describing Nero’s introduction of cheer-leaders from Alexandria to orchestrate public acclamations at Rome, Suetonius (*Nero* 20. 3) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 14. 15) merely describe the event. The acclamations themselves, however, clearly were recorded, and Cassius Dio, writing in the early third century, was able—and willing—to report the phrases used (61. 20. 4–5). The acclamations of the emperor by the Senate were first inscribed under Trajan;³¹ and the examples of inscriptions and papyri including citations of acclamations, which are listed above (p. 182), date from the later second or the third century. In the third century, for the first time, the inscribed Acta of the Arval Brothers include a record of their acclamations of the imperial family.³² The acclamations of a group of officers for Constantine in 320 are preserved in a law of Constantine.³³

There seems to have been a further increase in such recording in the fifth century. The Senate’s acclamations at the introduction of the Theodosian Code have already been mentioned (p. 182). A few acclamations are recorded in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus in 431, and we have a full account, in a Coptic narrative, of the acclamations by the crowd at Constantinople in response to the news of the Council’s deliberations.³⁴ From the Acts of the ‘Robber Synod’ held at Ephesus in 449 we have a full verbatim account of the acclamations at a public meeting held at Edessa.³⁵ Long accounts of acclamations made at the Council appear in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and records of acclamations appear regularly in the Acts of succeeding councils; several reports of acclamations by other assemblies are incorporated in the Acts of the council held at Constantinople in 536 (see further below, p. 187). From the same period we also have, conserved in the *De Ceremoniis*, verbatim accounts of the acclamations at the accession of the emperors Leo, Anastasius and Justin I.³⁶ It is also in the fifth century that the acclamations by the circus factions at Constantinople apparently began to be recorded.³⁷

In the case of these written accounts of public events, the increase in the recording of acclamations may be seen as due, in part, to a general increase in verbatim recording, which itself may have resulted from technological developments. Among the skills which became more widespread—and probably more refined—under the Roman empire was stenography. By the fourth century, Libanius described teachers of stenography as direct

²⁸ See, for example, the discussion by G. Katkov, *Russia 1917* (1967), 251. The acclamations themselves, it should be noted, are not strictly comparable to ancient ones; there were relatively few slogans, and they were circulated in pamphlets, and displayed on banners.

²⁹ On Libanius’ account, see R. Browning, *JRS* 42 (1952), 16; cf. also R. MacMullen, *op. cit.* (n. 24), 173 n. 13.

³⁰ For Germanicus, see n. 19; Vespasian: *Acta Alexandrinorum*, ed. H. A. Musurillo (1954), 30–1.

³¹ Plin., *Pan.* 75. 2: ‘Ante orationes principum tantum eius modi genere monimentorum’ (that is, bronze tablets) ‘mandari aeternitate solebant, acclamationes quidem nostrae parietibus curiae

claudabantur’. Pliny, using acclamations to reinforce his argument, implies that they are customary; contrast n. 21.

³² *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, ed. G. Henzen (1874), 45–6.

³³ *Cod. Theod.* 7. 20. 2.

³⁴ Published in French by P. Batiffol, ‘Un épisode du Concile d’Éphèse’, *Mélanges Schlumberger* (1924), 28–39.

³⁵ Published, with a German translation of the Syriac original, by J. Flemming, *Akten der Ephesenschen Synode* (1917).

³⁶ *De Cer.* 410–12, 418–25, and 426–30.

³⁷ Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 245–6.

rivals of teachers of rhetoric in providing a training which was widely sought after. Some of these stenographers may have risen to great heights in government service, but others were available to help a poet or to copy sermons.³⁸ It was apparently in the fourth century that verbatim accounts of legal proceedings were first regularly taken.³⁹ Such a development can help to explain the increasing tendency, from the second century A.D., to record the full minutes of the Senate and of other bodies.⁴⁰

If, therefore, the increase in the evidence for acclamations were limited to such verbatim reports, it could be argued that it reflected nothing more than this general increase in recording. It is the increase, over the same period, in the use of acclamations in formal, public inscriptions which suggests that the status of acclamations was in fact changing, and that they were coming to be seen increasingly as worthy of record. Acclamatory formulae, which were already regularly found in private, funerary inscriptions, came gradually to be considered appropriate for inclusion in public honorific inscriptions. Adolf Wilhelm first drew attention to a series of honorific texts from the third century, which are prefaced or followed by the invocation *eutuchēi* with the vocative of the name—or of the given name, *signum*—of the person honoured.⁴¹ Two inscriptions among those he cited, honouring Bryonianus Lollianus of Side and his wife, can now be dated to the latest third or early fourth century;⁴² and a further example from the later third century is an inscription from Lapithos honouring C. Leontichus Illyrius.⁴³ In all these cases the acclamation accompanies a more formal text. Similarly, the acclamatory term *eutuchōs* is found preceding or following more formal texts, but it also comes to stand alone; thus in the third century a series of *eutuchōs* acclamations, in honour of priests of Apollo, were inscribed at Cyrene.⁴⁴ On the mosaic at Smirat (above, n. 25) Magerius recorded the occasion of his acclamation in the amphitheatre, still with its context. One of the earliest datable examples of inscribed acclamatory formulae, honouring a private citizen and without any accompanying text, is a group of texts from Cyrene, some in mosaic and some in stone, very probably—as with the Smirat mosaic—commissioned by the honorand, Hesychius the Libyarch, at some time in the first half of the fourth century.⁴⁵ By the fifth century acclamations of prominent citizens and benefactors are regularly found in public inscriptions; at Aphrodisias, as well as the texts published here, two such inscriptions honour citizens of the later fifth and of the sixth centuries (unpublished).

A similar development can be traced in the appearance of inscribed acclamations of emperors. A useful example is provided by the inscriptions on milestones. On these, the earliest acclamations which have been identified date from the reign of Caracalla; from then on, acclamatory formulae appear to be considered an acceptable alternative to the more standard kind of dedicatory text.⁴⁶ The largest group of milestones with acclamatory inscriptions was found in Palestine, and dates from the reign of Julian. Bradford Welles, in publishing four of these texts, commented that the acclamations 'are a reflection of the emperor's fight against Christianity, which used similar slogans'; but I would prefer to follow Peterson in seeing these texts simply as a further example of the use of acclamations in such a context.⁴⁷ Thus, only a few decades later, acclamations of the Christian emperors Arcadius and Honorius are found on milestones near Heraclea Salbace.⁴⁸ In a parallel development, during the third century some cities issued coins with inscriptions praising emperors in acclamatory formulae.⁴⁹ Inscribed acclamations also begin to appear in other

³⁸ Lib., *Or.* 31. 28 and 33, with Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 242–3. More generally, see H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (1965), 448–50. For minute-taking at church meetings see the passage from Augustine, below, p. 186.

³⁹ R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (1966), 24 and cf. 25–7; I am grateful to Professor F. Millar for this reference.

⁴⁰ J. H. Oliver and R. E. Palmer, 'Minutes of an act of the Roman Senate', *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 320–47, especially 323–4.

⁴¹ *WS* 24 (1902), 599–600.

⁴² C. Foss, *ZPE* 26 (1977), 161–71.

⁴³ T. Mitford, *Byzantion* 20 (1950), 136, no. 10, explained at *Bull. Ép.* 1951, 236a, pp. 206–8.

⁴⁴ L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi–xii, 548 ff.; on the acclamation εὐτύχως 'felicitate', see Peterson, 223.

⁴⁵ J. M. Reynolds, *JThS* 20 (1960), 286, no. 5 and 287 n. 1. The date must be after Diocletian's creation of the province of Libya, but before the abandonment of the house in which they were found, probably in 365 (R. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia* (1971), 89).

⁴⁶ O. Hirschfeld, 'Die römischen Meilensteine', *Kleine Schriften* (1913), 703–54, especially 719.

⁴⁷ Four were published by Welles in *Gerasa*, ed. C. H. Kraeling (1938), 489–90, nos. 345–48; another three in R. E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* II (1905), 230 and 337; see Peterson, 270–3.

⁴⁸ *MAMA* vi, 94 and 95; see also J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II (1954), 199–200, nos. 123 and 124.

⁴⁹ e.g. *SNG von Aulock* 590, Nicaea; 6080, Tarsus. See B. Pick, *Journ. Int. archéol. numismatique* 1 (1898), 451–63.

places where we would expect dedicatory inscriptions. An excellent example is provided by a pair of altars found at Ancyra, with acclamations of a single emperor, probably Caracalla: Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι. Εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν Κύριον. Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι. Εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν ἀνείκητον.⁵⁰ Acclamations were apparently also seen as appropriate to the publication of an imperial edict; the Aphrodisias copy of Diocletian's Price Edict conserves, at the end of the main text, a fragmentary acclamation: 'Feli[citer. Mul]tis annis [. . .].'⁵¹

This epigraphic evidence suggests that the increased recording of acclamations, described above, reflected not just a general increase in verbatim recording, but also a particular concern to record acclamations. From simply providing the vehicle for public approval and assent, which could be translated into the prose of an honorific decree or dedication, acclamatory expressions had come to be considered worthy of recording and conserving in their own right. It seems that this is yet another example of a general trend which Constantine was able to recognize and articulate. In 331 he specifically encouraged gatherings of provincials—probably, in particular, provincial assemblies—to praise or blame governors by acclamation: 'iustissimos autem et vigilantissimos iudices publicis adclamationibus conlaudandi damus omnibus potestatem, ut honoris eis auctiores preferamus processus, e contrario iniustus et maleficus querellarum vocibus accusandis, ut censurae nostrae vigor eos absumat'.⁵² Provision was to be made for the acclamations (*voces*) of the provincials to be reported to the emperor himself. The system so established clearly continued to function for a long time. By 371, *provinciales* bringing acclamations to the emperor were entitled to use the public post.⁵³ An example of the system in action is provided by a letter of the Praetorian Prefects of 439–42 to the proconsul of Asia, written in response to the praises of the proconsul, which had been expressed in acclamations (*ekboēseis*) by the provincial assembly of Asia and sent to the prefects.⁵⁴ Another inscription at Ephesus of the late fifth or early sixth century records the judicial decision of the *comes domesticorum* Phlegethius as having been influenced by 'the *ekboēseis* of this splendid metropolis of the Ephesians'—the acclamations of a gathering, very probably the Council, representing the city of Ephesus.⁵⁵

Such arrangements do of course assume that acclamations at public meetings were recorded, and must have been made possible by the general increase in verbatim recording and minute-taking discussed above. In the evolution of church assemblies we can see the same process; it is illuminated by a letter of Augustine, describing the occasion of the election of Eraclius, his successor as Bishop of Hippo, in 426. Augustine quotes the acclamations used at the election; he also gives us an idea of their function: 'A notariis ecclesiasticis excipiuntur quae dicitis; et meus sermo et vestrae acclamationes in terram non cadunt. Apertius ut dicam, ecclesiastica nunc gesta conficimus; sic enim hoc esse, quantum ad homines attinet, confirmatum volo.' The presence of the *notarii* ensures that both address and acclamations are preserved; and it is the two together which go to make up 'gesta ecclesiastica'.⁵⁶

It is the records of ecclesiastical assemblies in the fifth and sixth centuries which provide the most abundant evidence for the composition of acclamations and their arrangement (see the references below, in sections II and III); they also allow us to observe changes in their use over the period. Acclamation had played a part in the church councils of the fourth century (above, p. 182 and n. 12), but only for the purpose of expressing assent. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 appears to have been the first occasion when acclamations were extensively used by opposing parties in such a gathering. The bishops of Asia and of Egypt engaged in an energetic exchange of demands and insults, expressed in acclamatory formulae; they are introduced with words such as *exeboēsan*, standard terminology for acclamations. That this was unusual is implied by the intervention of the presiding imperial representatives, suggesting that such conduct was inappropriate: αἱ ἐκβοήσεις αἱ δημοσικαῖ

⁵⁰ *SEG* VI. 64, and S. Mitchell, 'Inscriptions of Ancyra', *AS* 27 (1977), 64, no. 1.

⁵¹ This part of the Aphrodisias text has not yet been published; the reading comes from study of the fragments by J. M. Reynolds. It is hoped to include a full text of the Diocletianic Edicts from Aphrodisias in the forthcoming publication of the later inscriptions.

⁵² *Cod. Theod.* I. 16. 6, retained as *Cod. Just.* I. 40. 3.

⁵³ *Cod. Theod.* 8. 5. 32.

⁵⁴ Now published as *Ins. Eph.* 44; see *Bull. Ep.* 1961, 537.

⁵⁵ Most recently published as *Ins. Eph.* 1352; for the date see *PLRE* II, Phlegethius 2.

⁵⁶ Aug., *Ep.* 213.

οὔτε ἐπισκόποις πρέπουσιν οὔτε τὰ μέρη ὠφελήσουσιν. But the Egyptian bishops insisted—‘we shout (*krazomen*) through piety’. They also made a significant request, that their acclamations (*phōnai*) should be conveyed to the emperor: τὰς φωνὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ.⁵⁷ Such a request—probably in the same phrase—is included in the Coptic record of the cries of the crowd at Constantinople in 431: ‘Let our cries be taken to the *basileus*’.⁵⁸ In 449, the acclamations of a church assembly at Edessa were reported as significant evidence to the ‘Robber Synod’ at Ephesus (above, n. 35). In a letter written in the spring of 450 to the clergy and people of Constantinople, Pope Leo refers to their acclamations, which had been sent to him: ‘De vestrae tamen devotionis pietate gaudemus, et in sanctae plebis acclamationibus, quarum ad nos exempla delata sunt, omnium vestrum probavimus affectum’.⁵⁹ At a church assembly at Constantinople in 518 the crowd made the same demand—δέομεθα τὰς ὅλας φωνὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ—and were finally calmed only when the patriarch responded to their acclamations by assenting: ‘we will convey all your *ekboēseis* to His Tranquillity’.⁶⁰ Those acclamations were recorded, preserved, and submitted as evidence to the Council which met at Constantinople in 536. The same Council also received a verbatim account of acclamations by a church assembly held at Tyre in 518, with a covering letter from the patriarch Epiphanius, in which he stated: ‘They have added below in the attached letter the acclamations (*phōnas*) uttered in the church by the Christians of Tyre . . . thereby presenting evidence of their inspired zeal (τὸν ἔνθεον αὐτῶν ζήλον)’.⁶¹ In the same year, 518, a church assembly at Syrian Apamea included in their acclamations the request, ταῦτα ἄκτα τῷ βασιλεῖ; these too were submitted in evidence in 536.⁶²

It is evident, therefore, that, at least by the fifth century, acclamations at both secular and ecclesiastical assemblies were known to be recorded, and that they were considered to have a certain right to attention from higher authorities, and in particular from the emperor himself. This situation must have been brought about, or at least encouraged, by Constantine’s law of 331, which has been criticized as naively misconceived, and as delivering power into the hands of clagues and their organizers.⁶³ It has been suggested above that modern commentators, influenced by the gloomy observations of Libanius and others, may tend to overestimate the control which clagues could exercise on crowds who were themselves well accustomed to the use of acclamations (above, p. 183); but that is not to say that they exerted no influence. The manipulation of acclamations was clearly recognized as a problem in antiquity, not least by Constantine himself, who undertook specifically to establish their authenticity, ‘si verae voces sunt, nec ad libidinem per clientelas effusae’.⁶⁴ This being so, it is all the more surprising that he and his successors were apparently prepared to receive and respond to reports of acclamations.

The explanation, however, seems to lie in the essential preoccupation with unity which characterizes Constantine in particular, but also his successors, and which is reinforced by the exclusivity of Christianity. The idea that unanimity is more authoritative than diversity is not new. The many accounts of acclamations which we have regularly stress the unison—*mia phōnē*, as in the passage from the Acts of the Apostles quoted above—and unanimity—*mia psychē*—with which everyone—*pantes, pas o laos*, or as in texts 11 and 20 below, the whole city—utters an acclamation.⁶⁵ Thus, for example, John Chrysostom describes a crowd acclaiming a benefactor: ὡσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος μίαν ἀφίᾳσι φωνήν, συμφώνως ἅπαντες κηδεμόνα καλοῦντες.⁶⁶ At the Council of Ephesus it was the bishops themselves who made the assertion: πάντες οἱ ἐπισκόποι ἀνεφώνησαν· Αὐται πάντων αἱ φωναί· ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν· αὕτη πάντων ἡ εὐχή.⁶⁷

This idea recurs constantly; and it is frequently linked with the suggestion that such unison must be evidence of divine inspiration.⁶⁸ This seems already to have been a commonplace in the second century; when Apuleius was acclaimed by the crowd at Oea,

⁵⁷ ACO II. I. I., 70 and 93.

⁵⁸ Batiffol, op. cit. (n. 34), 32, 36, 38.

⁵⁹ Ep. 59, PL 54. 867 A.

⁶⁰ ACO III. 71–6 (acclamations), 76 (speech).

⁶¹ ACO III. 85–7 (acclamations), 84 (letter).

⁶² ACO III. 102–3. The various assemblies of 518 were discussed, and most of the acclamations translated, by A. Vasiliev, *Justin I* (1950), 137–44.

⁶³ So Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 241.

⁶⁴ loc. cit., n. 52. On ancient suspicion of such manipulation, see above, n. 29.

⁶⁵ So Peterson, 189–93.

⁶⁶ *De inan. glor.*, ed. M.-A. Malingrey (1972), 4. On this vivid account of the acclamation of a benefactor, and his later rejection, see E. Peterson, *RhM* 78 (1929), 221–3; L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII, 569 ff.

⁶⁷ ACO I. I. 2, 54.

⁶⁸ Peterson, 144 ff.

Pontianus took this as an omen: 'consensum publicae vocis pro divino auspicio interpretatur'.⁶⁹ The same idea recurs in Cassius Dio's account of an outbreak of acclamations at the circus in 196: οὕτω μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας ἐπιπνοίας ἐνεθουσίασαν.⁷⁰ At the 'Robber Synod' of 449 the bishops declared: 'These *phōnai* are of the Holy Spirit'.⁷¹ Epiphanius referred to the inspired zeal of the assembly at Tyre (above, p. 187). More explicitly, John, patriarch of Constantinople, in his letter covering the acclamations of the crowd there in 518, said: θεία τις οὐρανόθεν γέγονε κίνησις τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ.⁷² When Severus, the monophysite leader, was acclaimed at Antioch in 512 by everyone—ὡσπερ ἔκ ἑνὸς στόματος (compare Chrysostom, above)—this unanimity was recognized as a 'manifest sign' of the divine purpose.⁷³

The idea that unanimous acclamations are more than just an expression of opinion, but have a divinely inspired authority, is ancient, and may relate to the use of acclamations in religious ceremonies (as discussed above). Peterson drew attention to the regular references to acclamations in response to miracles, both pagan and Christian.⁷⁴ It is as manifestations of a divine impulse, as well as of public opinion, that acclamations are significant; and this is most important of all in the validation of the authority of leaders, both secular and ecclesiastical. Thus Eusebius describes the election of a third-century pope, Fabian: τὸν πάντα λαὸν ὡσπερ ὑφ' ἑνὸς πνεύματος θείου κινήθηεντα, προθυμίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ μίᾳ ψυχῇ, 'ἄξιον' ἐπιβοῆσαι.⁷⁵ By the fourth century, acclamations had an established part in the election of bishops.⁷⁶ The steady increase in the acclaiming of Roman emperors has been touched on (above, p. 182); already under Trajan Pliny found it appropriate to dwell at some length in his Panegyric on an account of the Senate's acclamations for Trajan, with the observation: 'multa fecimus sponte, plura instinctu quodam et imperio'.⁷⁷ By the later fifth century, the accounts in the *De Ceremoniis* suggest that popular acclamation at Constantinople regularly formed part of the ceremonial of declaring a new emperor (above, n. 36); and in the Christian Empires of East and West such acclamations could be seen as reflecting the popular acclamation of the ancient Kings of Israel.⁷⁸ It was this function of acclamations, as validating and reinforcing authority, which survived into the mediaeval period, when their role in expressing public opinions and requests had atrophied.⁷⁹

It seems that it is this function of acclamations which came to be increasingly respected, particularly as the traditional institutions for the expression and conveying of power fell into disuse. It is entirely appropriate that a panegyric, such as Pliny's, should attribute importance to acclamations; both are part of a new relationship between ruler and ruled, outside the old institutions. When the honours accorded to a benefactor, or an emperor, come to be inscribed in the acclamatory formulae used by an assembly, this suggests the decreasing relevance of the intermediate authorities who would in the past have translated the expression of such honours into the traditional language of an honorific decree or dedication. Before considering the implications of this more fully (Section IV), it will be helpful to consider the structure of acclamations (Section II), and against this background, the new set of acclamations from Aphrodisias (Section III).

II. The structure of acclamations

From all the evidence discussed above it is possible to get a very good idea of the rules governing the structure of individual acclamations, and their ordering and use. It is clear that these rules held good over a long period, and throughout a very large area of the

⁶⁹ Apul., *Apol.* 73.

⁷⁰ Dio 75. 4. 5; cf. Peterson, 145. Dio's account struck C. R. Whittaker, *Historia* 13 (1964), 363, as 'the height of naiveté', but is defended by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 236-7.

⁷¹ *ACO* II. 1. 1, 89.

⁷² *ACO* III. 76.

⁷³ John of Beit Aphthonia, *Vita Severi*, ed. and trans. M. Kugener, *PO* 2 (1904), 238. Severus showed proper respect for the status of acclamations: 'the great Severus delighted more in cries than in praises' (ibid. 242).

⁷⁴ Peterson, 213 ff.

⁷⁵ *HE* 6. 29, cited by Peterson, 145.

⁷⁶ See the passage from Augustine cited above, and E. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae* (1946), 118-20; I am grateful to Professor Robert for drawing my attention to this classic study.

⁷⁷ *Pan.* 73. 2; in general, 71-5.

⁷⁸ e.g. at the crowning of Saul, *I Sam.* 10. 24, and of Solomon, *I Kings* 1. 39.

⁷⁹ On the function of ritual chants and acclamations in Byzantine imperial ceremonial the standard work is still O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee* (1956); on the use of acclamations by both eastern and western emperors see Kantorowicz, op. cit. (n. 76).

empire; and the acclamations from Aphrodisias can be shown to adhere closely to them.

Acclamations by any gathering seem to follow a certain standard outline: those to be acclaimed are honoured in descending order of importance.⁸⁰ First, in many cases, there is an assertion of belief in God; then honours are paid to the emperor(s), sometimes to church dignitaries, to imperial officials—sometimes by name and sometimes by office—and then to local dignitaries. Only after such an introduction would an acclaiming assembly normally proceed to specific acclamations, whether praises of some individual, or requests. Such a structure can be seen, for example, in the acclamations of the assembly at Oxyrhynchus in *c.* 300 (n. 10), in the *Gesta Senatus* of 438 (n. 14) or in the accession acclamations of the later fifth century in the *De Ceremoniis* (n. 36). The same order was used in the abusive acclamations of a crowd at Antioch in 388;⁸¹ it is implied in the account of a crowd in Alexandria in the 480s, acclaiming first the emperor Zeno, then the patriarch ‘as well as the prominent men of the city’, before launching into their specific concerns.⁸² In 535–6 Theodahad, in his attempt to placate Justinian, proposed that Justinian should always be acclaimed first in his dominions: ‘when the people of Rome are acclaiming (*euphēmounta*) they will always proclaim (*anaboēsein*) the emperor first, then Theodahad, in theatres and horse-races, and wherever else this sort of thing should take place’.⁸³ The *Acta* of the church councils provide the largest number of examples; thus, a series of acclamations at the Council of Chalcedon opens: Εἰς θεὸς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας· πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων· τῶν μεγάλων βασιλέων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῆς συγκλήτου· πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν ἀρχόντων· τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη.⁸⁴ Seventy years later the proceedings of a church assembly at Tyre show the same structure: τοῦ Αὐγουστου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· τῆς Αὐγουστῆς πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· τῆς συγκλήτου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· τῶν ἐπάρχων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· Ἰωάννου κόμητος πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ πατριάρχου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· εἰς θεὸς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας· ὁ μέγας θεὸς τοῦτο παράσχευ.⁸⁵ Such an arrangement is not unique to the ancient world; a recent report from Iran describes a crowd of about 2,000 prisoners chanting ‘God is great. Khomeini is our leader. Death to Bani-Sadr. Death to Rajavi, etc.’⁸⁶ In ancient gatherings—as we know is the case, again, in present-day Iran—each phrase will have been repeated several times, and in some records the number of repetitions is conserved—so, for example, in the *Gesta Senatus*, and in the records of the church at Hippo.⁸⁷ After such an opening, the assembly would start to make specific acclamations and requests, but these would be regularly interspersed with repetitions of these expressions of loyalty.⁸⁸

The inscribed acclamations for Albinus at Aphrodisias follow exactly such a pattern. The first five texts form an entirely conventional opening, honouring the authorities in just the way described above. The fourteen surviving texts which follow are concerned with the specific function of praising Albinus; but it will be seen from the commentary that most of these texts use ideas and phrases which can be paralleled among other acclamations from a wide variety of places in the empire.

The other aspect of these acclamations which is entirely typical is their syllabic structure. Paul Maas first analysed late Roman acclamations thoroughly, to show that they tended to follow a metrical structure based, like later Byzantine verse, on the number of syllables and their accentuation, rather than on vowel-length.⁸⁹ By the middle Byzantine period, when all acclamations were pre-composed, such a structure was carefully adhered to, and was reinforced when the acclamations were given a musical accompaniment.⁹⁰ In the acclamations of the late Roman period, many of which were clearly improvised, the structure is far less consistently maintained; they are more properly described as ‘rhythmical’ than as ‘metrical’.⁹¹ What is clear is that it was the use of a certain range of easily recognized rhythms which made it possible for large assemblies, throughout the

⁸⁰ Peterson, 149 ff.

⁸¹ Lib., *Or.* 56. 16, as analysed by O. Seeck, *RhM* 73 (1920), 84–101, at p. 89.

⁸² Zach. *Rhet., Vit. Sev.*, *PO* 2 (1904), 35.

⁸³ Procop., *BG* 1 (v). 6. 4.

⁸⁴ *ACO* II. 1. 2, 110.

⁸⁵ *ACO* III. 85.

⁸⁶ *The Times*, 5, 12.1983. There are many accounts of crowds in present-day Iran maintaining acclamations for long periods.

⁸⁷ Aug., *Ep.* 213 (cited above, p. 186); on this see the analysis by O. Hirschfeld, ‘Die römische Staatzeitung und die Akklamationen im Senat’, *Kleine Schriften* (1913), 682–702.

⁸⁸ See Peterson, 146 ff.

⁸⁹ *BZ* 20 (1912), 28–51.

⁹⁰ On these developments see in general E. Kantorowicz, *op. cit.* (n. 76).

⁹¹ See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, Appendix C, 318–33.

empire, not only to pronounce standard acclamations, but to vary and improvise them. It is surely right to see this widespread familiarity with the use of syllabic rhythm as the precursor of Byzantine verse forms.⁹²

The acclamations for Albinus can be broken down into phrases, of which over half have a paroxytone ending. The most common structure turns out to be a grouping of twelve syllables, most of which make reasonable dodecasyllabic lines, or one of groups of eight and seven syllables, which Maas showed to be the most common arrangement in the acclamations recorded in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, and which can be seen as prefiguring the later 'political verse' of fifteen syllables. The rhythm of these acclamations, therefore, is exactly what might have been expected.

III. Acclamations for Albinus

The particular purpose of these acclamations is to honour Albinus, apparently a citizen of Aphrodisias, since he is described as 'lover of his country', *philopatris*, in 7, 17 and 19. He is praised for his general generosity, and for his particular benefaction in building—more probably restoring—the portico in which these inscriptions were displayed (6, 15). Among these praises is included a prayer for the defeat of his enemies (11) and a request for his admission to the Senate (13). He is also the subject of a fragmentary and uninformative honorific epigram found in the same portico (not yet published); but this simply continues the theme of his generous benefactions. We have no further information about him. Although 'philopatris like your ancestors' (17) suggests that he came from a local family of some standing, the name Albinus is not otherwise attested at Aphrodisias—and indeed is far more common in the western empire. A possible explanation of the mysterious ΠΕΡΔΕ (6, 10) is that it is the vocative of a name; but I have found no such name in Greek, Latin or Asia Minor nomenclature.

The only other solid fact we can extract about Albinus is that he was of the rank *lamprotatos/clarissimus* (9, 13, 16, 17, 20). In the first five centuries of the Roman empire this rank always indicated membership of the senatorial order; but from the middle of the fifth century it became separated from effective membership of the Senate.⁹³ Since Albinus, while a *clarissimus*, is apparently not yet a member of the Senate (13), this suggests a date after the middle of the fifth century, although even this argument is shaky. 'To the Senate' could indicate a celebration of Albinus' appointment to the Senate (although from the parallels I doubt this); or *lamprotatos* could perhaps be used in anticipation of Albinus' elevation. The texts are unlikely to be later than the late sixth century, when public secular inscriptions at Aphrodisias peter out. Within this period, it is difficult to be more precise. The epithet *philopatris* (in 7, 17, 19 and the epigram) is only otherwise found, in the late Roman inscriptions of Aphrodisias, of two other benefactors, Rhodopaeus and Eugenius, both of whom, I believe, should be dated to the first half of the sixth century.⁹⁴ Two of the texts honouring Rhodopaeus use the rare verb *lēthargein* and a derivative;⁹⁵ the verb is only otherwise attested at Aphrodisias in our no. 20. Other parallels with these acclamations are provided by two texts from Beirut honouring Marthanius, who served as a military commander under Justinian;⁹⁶ while one of these texts only hints at similarity with no. 8, the other provides the only parallel to the unusual phrasing of no. 20 (see commentary on each). It therefore seems to me very likely that these acclamations should be dated to the first half of the sixth century. Such a date would agree with the dating of other acclamations at Aphrodisias (see below, p. 196) and would agree very well with the script.

The following group of inscriptions is cut on the columns of the portico which forms the west side of the Agora at Aphrodisias, and lies immediately east of the east court of the Hadrianic baths. The columns lie where they originally fell beside their bases, and no. 8,

⁹² For the abundant discussion on this topic see the critical bibliography by M. Alexiou and D. Holton, *Mandatophoros* 9 (1976), 22–34. I am very grateful to Margaret Alexiou for her help in analysing the acclamations for Albinus.

⁹³ Jones, *LRE* 529.

⁹⁴ For the texts see L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 127–33; their dating is discussed in my forthcoming publication of the later inscriptions from Aphrodisias.

⁹⁵ L. Robert, *op. cit.* above, 129.

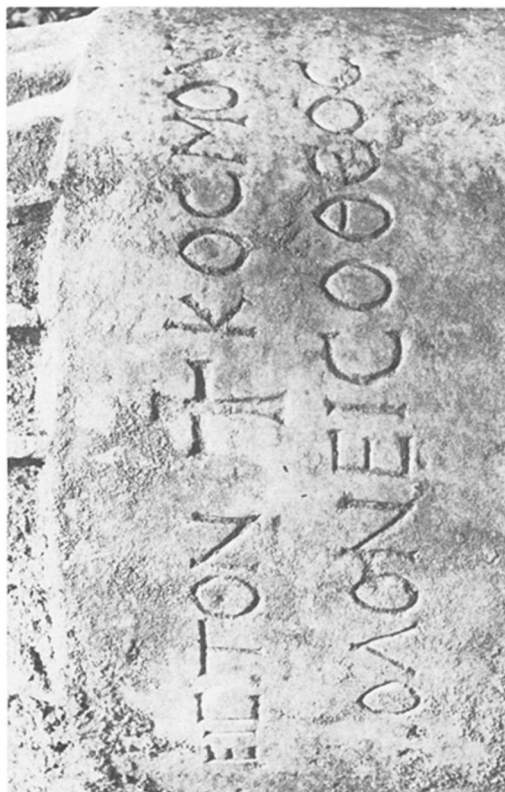
⁹⁶ For his career see, most recently, G. Dagron and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Belleten* 42 (1978), 407–11.



(3)



(4)



(1)

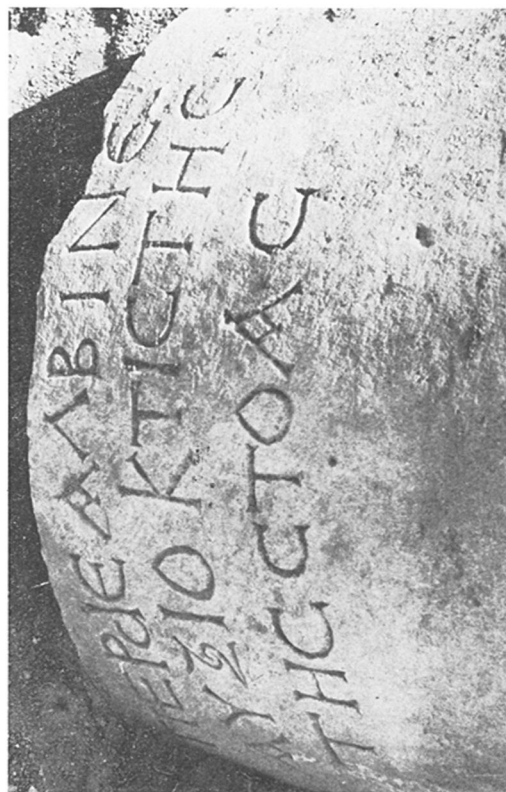


(2)

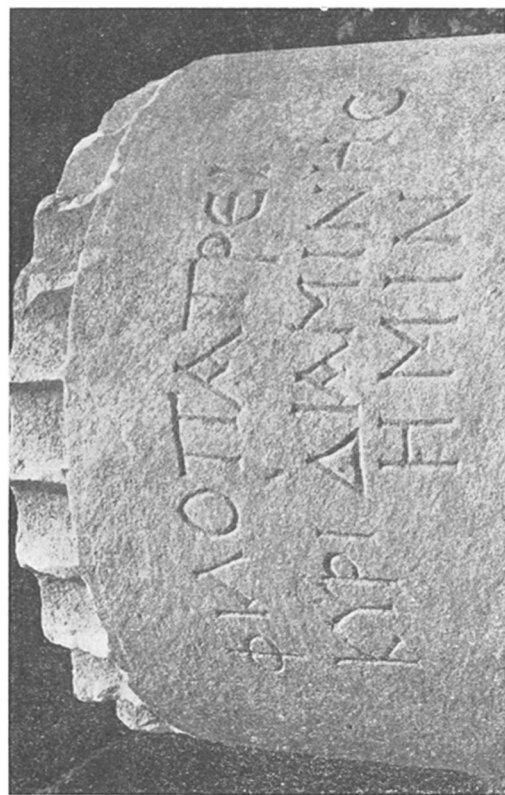
(1) INSCRIPTION 1. (2) INSCRIPTION 2. (3) INSCRIPTION 3. (4) INSCRIPTION 4. Photos M. Rouché/M. Dufrenoy.



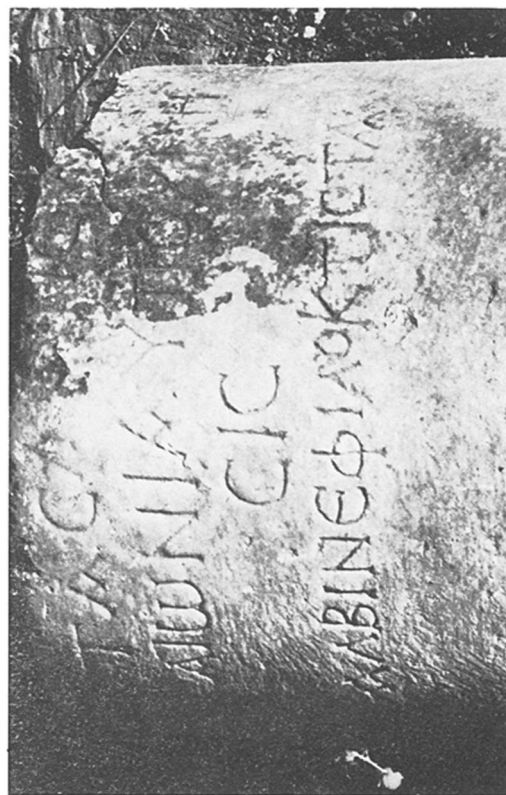
(1)



(2)



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(4)

(1) INSCRIPTION 5. (2) INSCRIPTION 6. (3) INSCRIPTION 7. (4) INSCRIPTION 8. Photos M. Rouché/M. Dufenci.



(2)

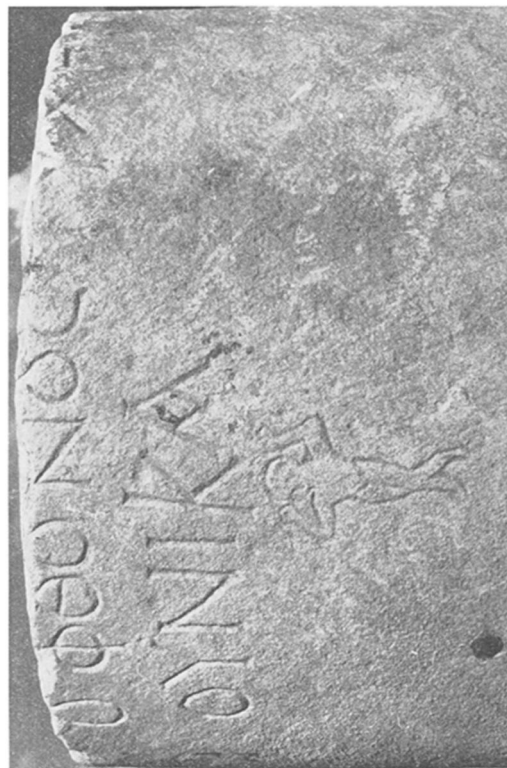


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(1) INSCRIPTION 9. (2) INSCRIPTION 10. Photos M. Roueché/M. Dufrenoy.



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(3)

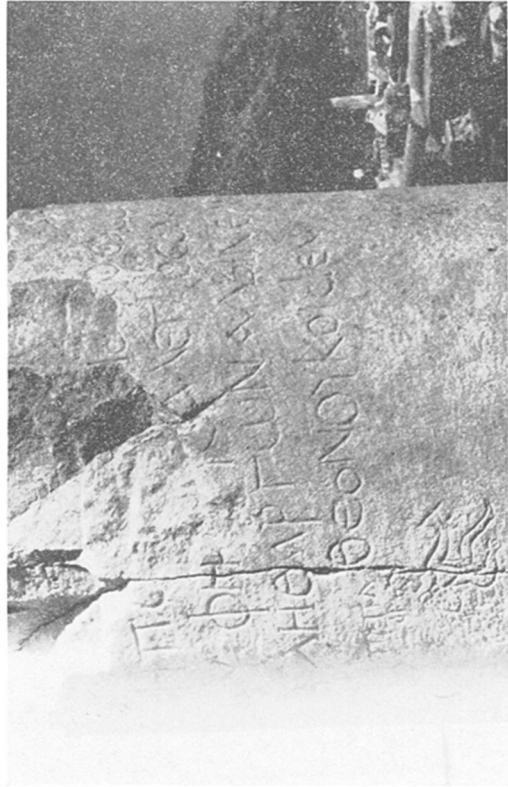


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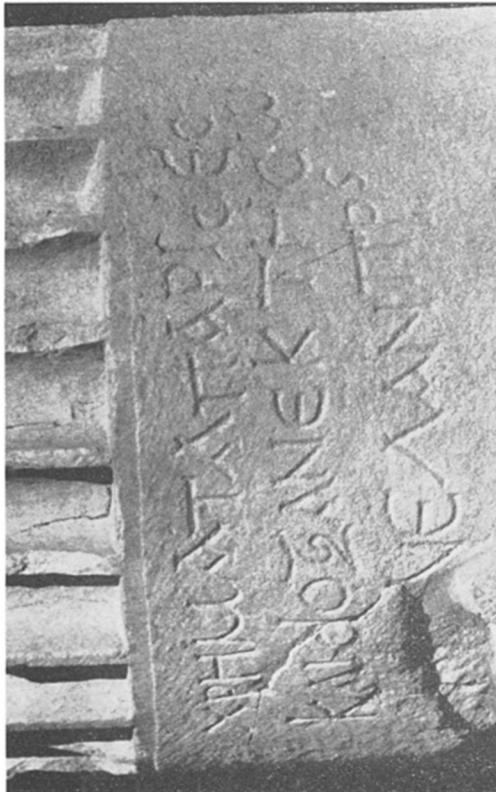
(1) INSCRIPTION 11. (2) INSCRIPTION 13. (3) INSCRIPTION 14. Photos M. Rouche/M. Dufenci.



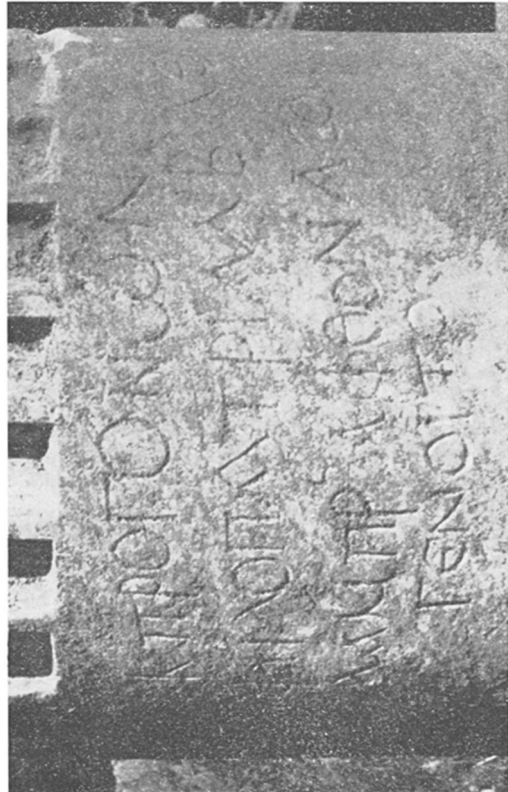
(3)



(4)



(1)



(2)

(1) INSCRIPTION 16. (2) INSCRIPTION 17. (3) INSCRIPTION 18. (4) INSCRIPTION 20. Photos M. Roueché/M. Duféni.

which is very weathered, may never have been covered; it was copied by Charles Fellows in 1840, and published by him (*An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* (1841), 358, no. 63, whence republished by Boeckh as *CIG* 2809b). The inscription was seen again by the expedition of 1904, led by P. Gaudin, and was published, from a squeeze made by them, by Th. Reinach (*REG* 19 (1906), 297, no. 212, whence republished by H. Grégoire, *IGC* 273). The area was further investigated by the French expedition of 1905, led by G. Mendel; they found nos. 1, 4 and the lower part of 13, which were published, from copies provided by Mendel, by Grégoire, *IGC* 271 and 274, with the reading of no. 13 appended to no. 274. No. 1 was republished from Grégoire's edition by Peterson (78, no. 4). All the previously published texts were found again by the current expedition in a comprehensive excavation of the area which also uncovered the new material presented here.

The portico consists of twenty columns, of which nineteen have been found, all of identical proportions, and originally on identical bases: the bases are all still in position. There is a striking contrast with the south portico of the Agora, also apparently restored in the later fifth or sixth century, where a series of irregular and unmatched bases was used. The columns, *c.* 0·75 m in diameter, are smooth to a height of 1·73 m, and fluted above. They are made in two sections; the join between the two is not always at the same point, being sometimes below and sometimes above the line where the fluting begins, but the overall effect is uniform and elegant. Each of the surviving columns bears an inscription cut just below the fluting, at a distance varying from 0·30 to 0·05, on the west face of the column. The inscriptions were, therefore, on the face sheltered by the roof of the portico, and are almost all very well preserved, even retaining traces of red paint in the letters. The letters are clearly cut, with deep triangular trenches. They vary substantially in size—mostly between 0·04 and 0·07, but occasionally from 0·03 to 0·09—and in form, with both square and lunate forms of alpha, delta, epsilon, mu and omega. There is, however, no doubt that these texts form a series, to be read from left to right—that is, from north to south. They were probably carved in that order; the lettering is at its most formal at the northern end of the portico, and becomes more cursive towards the south. As indications of abbreviations there are scrolls in nos. 9, 13, 16, 17 and 20, and a letter above the line in no. 5.

Plates III–VII:

Texts

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1. | Εἰς τὸν <i>cross</i> κόσμον
ὄλον εἰς ὁ θεός |
| 2. | Πολλὰ τὰ
ἔτη τῶν
βασιλέων |
| 3. | Πολλὰ τὰ
ἔτη τῶν
ἐπάρχων |
| 4. | Πολλὰ τὰ
ἔτη τῆς
συνκλήτου |
| 5. | Πολλὰ τὰ
ἔτη τῆς
μητροπό(λεως) |

6. ΠΕΡΔΕ ᾿Αλβῖνε
αὕξι ὁ κτίστης
τῆς στοᾶς

7. Φιλόπατρι
κύρι ν. διαμίνης
ἡμῖν

8. The surface is worn, and the upper edge is chipped.

Τὰ σὰ [κτ]ίσματα
αἰωνία ν. ὑπόμνη-
σις
᾿Αλβῖνε φιλοκτίστα

9. This inscription has been almost entirely erased by a large cavity cut into the column, almost certainly intended to lodge one end of a beam ; this was presumably done at a time when the portico had fallen into partial disrepair, and was being occupied by squatters.

[.]!ΤΙΖΙC
[.....]C
[.....]ΗΜΟ
Γ! [..]!ΟΝ
5 ᾿Αλβῖνε λαμπρ(ότατε)

10. ΠΕΡΔΕ
᾿Αλβῖνε ΗΔΕ
τὶ ἐχαρίσω

11. Ὅλη ἡ πόλις τοῦ-
το λέγι· τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
σου τῷ ποταμῷ.
ὁ μέγας θεὸς τοῦτο
5 παράσχη

12. This column is lost ; but there can be no doubt that it was inscribed.

13. The inscription on this column is divided by the join between the upper and lower sections of the column. The upper part has fallen in such a way that the first part of l. 1 cannot be read, and there seems little hope of moving it at present. The lower part was copied by Mendel, and published by Grégoire under *IGC* 274 ; he seems to have assumed that it was on the same stone as no. 4.

[..... ᾿Α]λβῖνος
ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) τῆ συν
κλήτῳ

14. As in the case of no. 13, the inscription spanned the join between the upper and lower sections of the column; the upper section is now lost, and may have contained a further line, although what remains makes sense as it stands. Immediately below the inscription is a small naked female figure—perhaps Tyche ? ; compare no. 20.

[? . . .
ὁ φθόνος τύχην
οὐ νικᾷ

15. This inscription also spans the join between the upper and lower sections of the column, both of which survive.

Αὔξι ᾿Αλβίνος
ὁ κτίστης καὶ τούτου
τοῦ ἔργου

16. The surface is chipped below, at the left.

Χρήματα παρίδες
καὶ δόξαν ἐκτίσω
[᾿Αλβί]νε λανπρ(ότατε)

17.

Ἐκ προγόνων
φιλόπατρι ᾿Αλβίνε
λανπρ(ότατε) ἄφθονά σοι
γένοιτο

18. The column is cracked, and the surface broken away at the left.

[?Κτίσμα] πόλι παρέχων
[?καὶ ἐν τ]ούτῳ εὐφημίτε

19.

Τοῖς κτίσμασίν σου
τὴν πόλιν ἐφεδρύνας
᾿Αλβίνε φιλόπατρι

20. The column is cracked, and parts of the surface are lost.

Ἡ πό[λις ὄλ]η ὁμοφώνως
εὐφη[μ]ῆσα λέγι· ὁ σοῦ
ληθαργῶν, ᾿Αλβίνε λανπρ(ότατε),
θεὸν οὐκ οἶδεν

Immediately below and to the left is a small seated male figure, holding something in each hand ; above this, in small letters, is inscribed

Πάπα
¶ι

Some way below this is cut a further inscription, in shallow lettering, apparently different from that of no. 20. Letters : 0.035–0.05.

Νικῶ ἡ
τύχη
τῆς πό-
λεως

In publishing nos. 4 and 13 Grégoire wrote συγκλήτου, συγκλήτω ; his copy of no. 13 from Mendel had ΛΑΝΤΡ.

No. 9, l. 1, where Fellows saw some traces of letters, was omitted by Reinach.

In no. 19, l. 2, the omicron of πόλιν is written over the pi.

Translation

1. God is one, for the whole world!
 2. Many years for the emperors!
 3. Many years for the eparchs!
 4. Many years for the Senate!
 5. Many years for the metropolis!
 6. PERDE Albinus—up with the builder of the stoa!
 7. Lord, lover of your country, remain with us!
 8. Your buildings are an eternal reminder, Albinus, you who love to build.
 9. [. . .] Albinus *clarissimus*.
 10. PERDE Albinus, behold what you have given!
 11. The whole city says this: 'Your enemies to the river! May the great God provide this!'
 12. is lost
 13. [. . .] Albinus, the *clarissimus*, to the Senate!
 14. [? . . .] envy does not vanquish fortune.
 15. Up with Albinus, the builder of this work also!
 16. You have disregarded wealth and obtained glory, Albinus *clarissimus*.
 17. Albinus *clarissimus*, like your ancestors a lover of your country, may you receive plenty.
 18. Providing [?a building] for the city, he is acclaimed [?in it also].
 19. With your buildings you have made the city brilliant, Albinus, lover of your country.
 20. The whole city, having acclaimed (you) with one voice, says: 'He who forgets you, Albinus *clarissimus*, does not know God'.
- Below this: The fortune of the city triumphs!

Commentary

1. On the acclamation εἷς θεός, which is found over a long period in pagan, Jewish and Christian contexts, see the book of that name by Erik Peterson (n. 2). The phrase occurs in a wide variety of inscriptions, and in the records of several ecclesiastical assemblies (Peterson, 149 ff.), often as the opening acclamation: thus at Constantinople in 431 (Batiffol, op. cit. (n. 34), 32, 34, 36, 37), at Edessa in 449 (Flemming, op. cit. (n. 35), 15), at Chalcedon in 451 and at Tyre in 518 (cited above, p. 189). Its use in this position is not adequately explained by Peterson's interpretation of the phrase as primarily apotropaic (so Mouterde, reviewing Peterson, *MUB* 12 (1927), 291-2); in such contexts it is better understood as asserting the right belief of an assembly, just as the following acclamations of the secular authorities assert its loyalty. The particular formula used here is not attested elsewhere; but the phrase εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅλον is found in the New Testament, describing the extent of the Christian mission (e.g. Mark 14. 9, 16. 15). This is, therefore, an assertion of belief in the orthodox and world-wide catholic faith.
- 2-4. The assertion of right belief is followed by declarations of loyalty, in one of the most ancient and widespread acclamatory formulae, πολλά τὰ ἔτη/*multos annos* (see Peterson, 150, 167-8).
- 3, 4. For the adjacent acclamations of Senate and eparchs, see the citation from the meeting at Tyre (p. 189). The eparchs are almost certainly the praetorian and city prefects, as in the acclamations at Antioch described by Libanius (*Or.* 56. 16, with Seeck, loc. cit. (n. 81)); they are perhaps acclaimed as representative of the imperial administration as a whole—compare the acclamation of Senate and *archontes* at Chalcedon, cited above (p. 189). If so, this would explain the absence of a specific acclamation for the governor of Caria.
5. For acclamations of cities see *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 319; 1969, 369, and references there.

6. Αὔξι, with the nominative, is one of the most standard acclamatory formulae (Peterson, 181–3; L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII, 23). With this phrase and its reiteration at no. 15, compare, for example, at Ephesus: αὔξι Ἀμβ[ρόσιος] ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) ἀνθ[ύπατος], ὁ ἀνανεω[τῆς] τοῦ ἔργ[ου] τούτου (most recently published as *Ins. Eph.* 2045; cf. 1313, 1321). ΠΕΡΔΕ Ἀλβίνε appears again in no. 10. Among suggestions as to its possible meaning are: a transliteration of Latin ‘Per te’ (T. D. Barnes); a transliteration of ‘Perde’, in the sense of ‘spend extravagantly’, as at *OLD* s.v. 6, such transliterations being well-attested in acclamations—so Alan Cameron, *Porphyrus the Charioteer* (1972), 76–8, and cf. also P. Maas, *Kleine Schriften*, 494–5 (C. P. Jones); an abbreviated form of περιιδέ, in the sense ‘look around’—for elision of this type, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (1976) I, 306 ff. (A. C. Dionisotti). I feel that it might be easier to accommodate an epithet than a verb in these phrases; but the only possibility of this kind is an otherwise unattested name.

7. Ον φιλόπατρις see above, p. 190. The epithet is reasonably frequent in inscriptions of the Roman imperial period; it is one which we know to have been assigned by acclamation (L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 215).

For διαμένειν in acclamations, see Peterson, 174–5; cf. Flemming, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 15–16.

8. Κτίσματα, here and in 19, can have a wider sense than just ‘buildings’; see L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 116. For the phrasing here compare the fragmentary acclamation of Marthanius at Beirut (*MUB* 8 (1922), 96–100), which should perhaps be restored as: Μαρθανίου/στρατηλάτου/πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη/[τὰ σὰ κ]τίσματα/[? αἰωνία ὑπομνήσις] *vel sim.*; for Marthanius see above, p. 190 and n. 96. Φιλοκτίστης is used most notably of Justinian, in a series of brick stamps at Mesembria (V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische . . . Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (1964), no. 153; cf. I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 20 (1966), 262 no. 1, for Justinian on Mt. Sinai); it appears in an acclamatory formula on a mosaic near Sidon: Λεοντίου φιλοκτίστου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη (*Bull. Ep.* 1961, 783, cf. also 835). Ὑπομνήσις, unexpected in this context, may have been selected for its rhythm.

10. On ΠΕΡΔΕ see on no. 6. ΗΔΕ also presents difficulties: the particle ἡδέ appears inappropriate, and I prefer the interpretation ἰδέ, ‘behold’, suggested by Margaret Alexiou. Alternatively, C. P. Jones proposes a transliteration of *ede* ‘give’.

11. Ὅλη . . . λέγι: compare no. 20, and at Edessa, ὄλη ἡ πόλις τοῦτο βοᾷ (Flemming, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 16 and 19). For this emphasis on the unanimity of acclamations, see above, p. 187.

τοὺς . . . ποταμῶ: the construction here, with a dative of the recipient and no verb, is standard for wishes and requests in acclamations; compare no. 13 and e.g., ἄλλος ἐπίσκοπος τῇ μητροπόλει (Flemming, *op. cit.*, 19) or the phrases cited at p. 187 above. The expression ‘to the river’ rather than being specific, appears to belong to an old tradition of formulae of rejection; compare at Rome in A.D. 21, ‘Tiberius in Tiberim’ (Suet., *Tib.* 75. 1; cf. H. A., *Commod.* 17. 4 and S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 348 n. 1), and at Constantinople in 431, ‘Throw them into the Tigris and the Rhone’ (Batiffol, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 32–33). ὁ . . . παράσχη: see the acclamation by the assembly at Tyre, cited above (p. 189); compare also, at Antioch in 484: Μέγας ὁ θεός, καὶ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ συμφέρον παράσχου (Malalas, *ex. de insid.* 166).

13. For the construction, see on no. 11; for some of the implications of the request, see above, p. 190, and further, below, p. 197.

14. For acclamations against φθόνος cf. at Chalcedon: ἀπείη φθόνος τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας (*ACO* II. 1. 2, 155; see Peterson, 34–6). Such phrases are also particularly frequent on buildings in the late Roman period, in what L. Robert has called an ‘*épigrafié des linteaux*’ (*REA* 1960, 354 = *OMS* II, 870; *Hellenica* XIII, 265 ff.). Among such texts, a possible parallel is provided by an inscription from Isauria, emended by L. Robert to read: [κ]τίστα, σε φθόνος οὐ νικήσι (*Hellenica* XI–XII, 23); it is very likely that our text opened, similarly, with an address to Albinus on the missing upper portion. The *tychē*, therefore, is very probably Albinus’ own fortune; the little figure—female, but with no further attributes—drawn below the text might be a representation of *Tychē*. But it seems likely that the acclamation is also concerned with the fortune of the building itself, which is an extension of Albinus’ own fortune; φθόνος is something from which both people and their achievements must be protected, as is implied by the ‘*épigrafié des linteaux*’.

15. This text rephrases no. 6 (where see commentary). It seems likely that such repetition will have been helpful in maintaining unison during a long succession of varied acclamations.

16. The sentiment is an ancient commonplace; it also appears in a newly discovered epigram at Aphrodisias, honouring a governor of ? the mid fifth century.

17. The formulae ἐκ, ἀπὸ and διὰ προγόνων are all used in this sense in the inscriptions of the first to third centuries at Aphrodisias; compare, e.g., φιλόπατριν διὰ προγόνων (first/second century, *REG* 19 (1906), 117, no. 39).

ἄφθονα: compare, at Chalcedon, the acclamation of the emperors: φιλοχρίστοι, ἄφθονα ὑμῖν (*ACO* II. 1. 2, 140).

18. The restoration here is only tentative.

19. Ἐφεδρύνας is for ἐφαιδρύνας.

20. ὄλη . . . λέγι: this is a more emphatic restatement of the phrase introducing no. 11; here, as there, the emphasis is on unanimity (see p. 195).

ὁ . . . οἶδεν: This extraordinary expression is apparently paralleled in one other inscription, an acclamation found at Beirut, honouring Marthanius, commander under Justinian (see above, p. 190, and n. 96). The text has only been published in capitals, in a footnote, by C. Ghadban (*Ktēma* 5 (1980), 107–8, n. 33): Μαρθανίου / στρατηλάτου / πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη / ΟCΙΟΥΛΑΝΘΑΝΝΩΝ / ΘΕΟΝΟΥΚΕΧΙ *cross*. In the light of our inscription I would read the last two lines as: ὁ σ(ι)ου λανθάνων / θεὸν οὐκ ἔχι. The use of λανθάνω in the active to mean ‘forget’ is irregular, but not unknown; it is so used in later Greek (e.g. Theoph. Cont. 95. 10) and earlier usage implies such a sense (see *LSJ* s.v. A.3). The form was probably chosen for its rhythm; in the Aphrodisian text it is replaced by ληθαργέω, a more unusual word (see above, p. 190) but with the same meaning, and the same number of syllables. The expression in both these acclamations seems extraordinarily extravagant; I have found no further parallels.

The small figure cut below the text, with the word πάπα, could represent Albinus (?) perhaps as ‘father of the city’ / *patēr tēs poleōs* (see C. Roueché, *GRBS* 20 (1979), 173–85)? The text below that is cut in a shallower and perhaps a later hand; the acclamation of the *Tychē* of a city is a commonplace.

IV. The changing function of acclamations in the later Roman empire

The inscribed acclamations for Albinus are unique in their completeness; but they belong to a larger group of acclamations recorded at Aphrodisias, fragments of which have been discovered over the last few years. In the Hadrianic Baths, elements were found of a series of painted acclamations, including one apparently honouring Anastasius (491–518). A series of small plaster fragments from the Theatre stage carry recognizable acclamatory phrases, also painted. Several columns of the portico immediately east of the Theatre show traces of acclamations, which were presented in a painted panel on the column, and subsequently overpainted with further acclamations. Further columns and blocks, with similar traces of acclamatory texts painted in several layers, have been found, re-used, in the vicinity of the Theatre, but their original position cannot be determined; among these last, the appearance of the rank *megaloprepestatos/magnificentissimus* suggests a fifth to sixth-century date. The script of these painted texts is generally similar. As well as these traces of groups of acclamations, two loose blocks—apparently statue bases—have been found with inscribed acclamations for local citizens, one of the later fifth and one of the sixth century. All this material—which is largely very fragmentary and difficult to interpret—will be included in my forthcoming publication of the later inscriptions from Aphrodisias. Its interest here is as indicating that, in the fifth and sixth centuries, acclamations were regularly being ‘published’ at Aphrodisias—so regularly that sets of acclamations were in some cases painted on top of earlier ones. It has been emphasized above that the phrasing of the acclamations for Albinus corresponds very closely to other records of acclamatory assemblies; and there seems to me to be no doubt that all these recorded acclamations must be seen, not just as expressions of respect set out in acclamatory formulae, but as actual records of acclamations uttered on a particular occasion. If this is correct, then the abundant traces of acclamations at Aphrodisias offer us an intriguing insight into public activity in a late Roman city.

There is no evidence for the regular meetings of any popular assemblies after the early fourth century, although *ad hoc* public meetings continued to be held, often in the theatre;⁹⁷ it seems reasonable to assume that the acclamations recorded at Aphrodisias in or near the Theatre were made at such meetings, or perhaps even in association with an entertainment. A large proportion, however, of the inscribed acclamations which have been found elsewhere, like those for Albinus, honour the benefactors who built or restored the structures on or in which they are inscribed. Moreover, the acclamations for Albinus include an adjuration against *phithonos* (14; cf. also 17) of a kind which is typical of the late Roman phenomenon, identified by Professor Robert, of prophylactic prayers and acclamations inscribed on buildings (see on no. 14). It seems to me very likely that the acclamations for Albinus, those found in the Baths of Hadrian at Aphrodisias, and others found in similar locations, should be understood as recording the acclamations made at a ceremony of dedication or inauguration, held at the building itself, and intended both to give honour to the donor and to obtain divine protection for the donor's work.

There is abundant evidence that sacred and secular buildings were dedicated in antiquity,⁹⁸ and that the dedicatory ceremonies were significant events;⁹⁹ but we have no detailed account of what took place. Pliny, for example, celebrated the dedication of a temple which he had built in Tuscany with a feast;¹⁰⁰ Archippe, a benefactor at Cyme in the late second or first century B.C., inaugurated her gift of a new *bouleuterion* with a sacrifice and a feast.¹⁰¹ Similarly, benefactors would distribute money to celebrate the inauguration of a building they had given.¹⁰² They would do the same on the occasion of the erection of statues in their honour, conducting the distribution in front of the statues themselves.¹⁰³

This evidence suggests what we would in any case expect, that a crowd would assemble in or near the new structure; and it would not be surprising if they had proceeded to acclaim benefactor and benefaction. The only possible evidence to this effect which I have been able to find is provided by the fullest record that we have of any dedication, in the various accounts of the dedication of Constantinople by Constantine. According to a confused eighth-century narrative, when the statue of Constantine was dedicated in the Forum, it was honoured with many 'hymn-singings', *hymnōdiai*, and the city was acclaimed: εὐφημισθῆ ἡ πόλις κληθεῖσα Κωνσταντινούπολις, τῶν ἱερέων βοῶντων· εἰς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας εὐόδωσον ταύτην, Κύριε.¹⁰⁴ If there is any historical tradition in this account, it would suggest that acclamations were used at dedicatory ceremonies. It is my belief that they were so used, and that the acclamations honouring Albinus originated on such an occasion, the dedication of the stoa which he had (re)built. This interpretation would agree with the reference to 'this work' (15); with the injunction 'behold what you have given' (10); and, if it has been correctly restored, with the statement 'in this he is acclaimed' (18, reading εὐφημίτε as for εὐφημεῖται).

These inscriptions, therefore, may give us some idea of what secular occasions might have brought together the population of a late Roman city, after the abandonment of the regular assemblies of the earlier period. They will have gathered most often for public entertainments, but also for ceremonial activities, such as the welcoming of a governor, or the dedication of a building. All such gatherings are likely to have used acclamations.

A striking feature of the acclamations for Albinus, however, is that they are not limited to praising him, and wishing him and his achievements well. They include a wish for the defeat of his enemies (11), which would seem to suggest some competitive political activity within the city; and they also include a request for his admission to the Senate (13). This last could only be granted by the emperor; and its inclusion here therefore indicates that these acclamations were expected to reach the attention of the imperial authorities—either

⁹⁷ See Jones, *LRE* 722 ff.; Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 238.

⁹⁸ See Wissowa, art. 'Dedicatio', *RE* IV (1901), 2356-9; Koep, art. 'Dedicatio', *RAC* III (1957), 643-7.

⁹⁹ For speeches made on these occasions see references at F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 607 n. 88.

¹⁰⁰ *Ep.* 4. 1, 5-6.

¹⁰¹ *Ins. Kyme* 13. ii, whose relevance was pointed

out to me by Riet van Bremen.

¹⁰² Plin., *Ep.* 10. 116, 1, describing the practice in Bithynia.

¹⁰³ See A. Wilhelm, *MDAI(A)* 51 (1926), 1-2; *Bull. Ep.* 1944. 162; *Ins. Kyme* 13. iii.

¹⁰⁴ *Parast.* 56, with translation and commentary in Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin (edd.), *Constantinople in the 8th century; the Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* (1984).

perhaps automatically, as the acclamations of a provincial governor were sent, or more probably, as part of a dossier sent to back a request by Albinus to the emperor. The other praises of Albinus would simply serve to emphasize his suitability.

If this is correct, it throws an interesting light on Albinus' generosity as a benefactor. It suggests that benefactions to one's home city, at this period, might be undertaken as a route to preferment beyond the hierarchy of the city itself. Such a situation may well have brought immediate benefits to the cities; there is evidence from Aphrodisias certainly, and perhaps from other cities in Asia Minor, of substantial benefactions by private citizens in the later fifth and early sixth centuries.¹⁰⁵ Essentially, however, the idea subverts the old concept of life within the bounds of the city state. That concept was already subverted by Constantine's provision for acclamations to be sent to the central imperial authorities, bypassing not only the provincial government, but also the cities' own institutions.¹⁰⁶ Such provision increased an already existing tendency for individual citizens to look directly to the imperial government for assistance or preferment; this slowly evolving attitude of mind can be seen as among the most important factors in the transformation from the Roman to the Byzantine world.

The other important implication of this reading of these texts is that the right of popular acclamations to imperial attention, discussed above (p. 187), could be extended to acclamations by a provincial gathering on a purely local and ceremonial occasion. This therefore illustrates how the enhanced status of acclamations in this period could shift the focus of such ceremonial activity: as well as its ostensible function, it could serve as an opportunity to express a 'political' opinion.

It seems to me that it is possible to trace a process by which, after the political institutions of the early empire had withered away, public gatherings for the purpose of entertainment or of ceremony were endowed with a new importance; and the encouragement given to acclamations by such gatherings—for the reasons discussed above (p. 187)—stimulated this development. For a time, therefore, in the fifth and sixth centuries, such 'non-political' gatherings assumed a 'political' function, as the participants took upon themselves the role which had been devised for them by those in power, and followed it through. Such a development is not unique to the ancient world: a similar account can be given, for example, of attitudes to the rule of law in eighteenth-century England. 'The rhetoric and the rules of a society are something a great deal more than sham. . . . They may disguise the true realities of power, but, at the same time, they may curb that power and check its intrusions.'¹⁰⁷ In this way, the authorities who accepted the validity of acclamations in confirming their own power, found themselves for a time forced to accept a far wider range of acclamations and public gatherings as significant.

It is against this background that we can perhaps understand the increasing importance which the sources seem to give to civic violence and riots in the fifth and sixth centuries, particularly when the circus partisans are involved. It has rightly been argued that most of this activity was not politically motivated.¹⁰⁸ But this does not mean that it was not politically significant; the sources find it appropriate to list riots regularly among other events of political importance. The riots themselves were not a new phenomenon, but they were granted a new significance. They were regularly characterized by acclamations and acclamatory requests, so that the major riot in Constantinople of 532 can be called after the acclamation of the rioters, Νίκα.¹⁰⁹

The eventual response of the authorities was not to abandon the rhetoric—that was too deeply engrained—but, over time, to institutionalize the process of acclamations. The way in which acclamations which had been, for a time, immediate and spontaneous, became absorbed into ritual and standardized, can be seen in the accounts of the church councils. As has been said, the use of acclamations by opposing sides at the Council of Chalcedon was clearly unexpected, and shocked the presiding authorities (p. 186). At the Council held at Constantinople in 536, acclamations were submitted as evidence to support partisan views

¹⁰⁵ For Aphrodisias see, provisionally, C. Roueché *GRBS* 20 (1979), 182.

¹⁰⁶ As observed by Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 216. On the wider issue, see F. G. B. Millar, *JRS* 73 (1983), 76–96.

¹⁰⁷ E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters* (1975), 265.

¹⁰⁸ Cameron, *Circus Factions*, Chapter x.

¹⁰⁹ On the revolt see A. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II (1949), 449–56; *Circus Factions*, 278–80.

(p. 187). By the time of the fifth ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 553, acclamations seem to have been restricted to a formal, validating function. At certain points the bishops all produced a series of acclamations—thus anathematizing Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ibas—which were followed by a formal statement: ‘post acclamationes’ (or ‘exclamationes’) ‘sancta synodus dixit’, etc.¹¹⁰ The acclamations on this occasion, and at all subsequent councils, appear to have become a regular and standardized part of the proceedings, used to validate the agreed conclusions of the councils, rather than to support different points of view; but they continued to employ many of the formulae found in the fifth-century councils, rather than returning to the simple ‘placet’ and other formulae of approval, of the fourth-century councils. Similarly, the circus factions were given an increasing role in formal imperial ceremonial during the sixth century, even if it took a little longer for their behaviour to become as well regulated as that of the bishops.¹¹¹

The great interest of the texts presented here is that they provide an example, from a provincial city, of an activity otherwise only extensively attested in the major cities of the empire. Their inscribing indicates the importance attributed to acclamations in the late Roman period (as discussed above); the formulae used show both the prevalence of standard phrases and ideas over a wide distance and time-span, and also the way in which these could be developed for particular purposes. The closer analysis of these texts, in my view, suggests the need to re-evaluate an activity which modern commentators have tended to view with a certain disdain, but which can provide an important insight into the political dynamics of late Roman society.

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¹¹⁰ Mansi IX, 229 (Theodore), 346 (Ibas).

¹¹¹ *Circus Factions*, Chapter IX, especially 249 ff.