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AELIUS ARISTIDES AS TEACHER*

Education was the core activity of the Greek sophists, the πεπαιδευμένοι or 'those who have received an education', during the Roman period.[1] Publius Aelius Aristides (*c.*117–180 CE) is by far the best known of them. He studied under the grammarian Alexander of Cotiaeum, received additional training from the sophists Polemo and Herodes Atticus,[2] and then made a successful speaking tour through Asia Minor and Egypt.[3] Aristides' career seemed assured, with his good connections among the Roman intelligentsia, but a serious illness struck him on his way to the imperial capital.[4] A series of health issues led him to a long period of convalescence at the Asklepieion at Pergamum until 147, which he combined afterwards with stays and

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[1] For the Second Sophistic, see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969); G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic. A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London, 1993); M. Gleason, *Making Men. Sophists and Self-presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ, 1995); S. D. Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome. The Second Sophistic, Cultural Conflict and the Development of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2001); T. Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic* (Oxford, 2005). On higher education, see H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité*, sixth edition (Paris, 1965; first published 1948); T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 1998); Y. L. Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2001); R. Cribiore *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ, 2001).

[2] On Aristides's early years, see C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam, 1968), 10–13; C. A. Behr, 'Studies on the Biography of Aelius Aristides', *ANRW* 34.2 (1994), 1141–55; J. M. Cortés, *Elio Aristides. Un sofista griego en el Imperio Romano* (Madrid, 1995), 1–14; J. Downie, *At the Limits of Art. A Literary Study of Aelius Aristides' Hieroi logoi* (Oxford, 2013), 7–11. On Aristides in Athens, see C. P. Jones, 'Three Foreigners in Attica', *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 222–4.

[3] On the trip to Egypt, see Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 14–22; Cortés (n. 2), 15–37; Downie (n. 2), 11–14. See also A. Petsalis-Diomidis, *Truly Beyond Wonders. Aelius Aristides and the Cult of Asklepios* (Oxford, 2010), 118–19.

[4] On the trip to Rome, see Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 23–4; Cortés (n. 2), 38–54; Petsalis-Diomidis (n. 3), 119. Aristides' speech to Rome (*Or.* 26 K) was composed in 154 CE: see J. H. Oliver *The Ruling Power. A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides* (Philadelphia, PA, 1953).

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brief appearances at Smyrna and other cities.[5] It is therefore commonly believed that his career failed because of his poor health and also because he disliked teaching and performing in public.[6] Aristides would rather be a pure lover of speeches,[7] concerned with his literary afterlife[8] and devoted to the production of exemplary speeches for future generations (especially after his retirement in 170), as he maintained at the end of his *Sacred Tales* (*Or.* 47–52): 'it is more important for me to revise some things which I have written; for I must converse with posterity'.[9]

However, Aristides defined himself as a 'teacher' (διδάσκαλος).[10] He considered himself to be deeply committed to oratory as a socially relevant activity (even in the direst of circumstances[11]), and he always had some involvement with private tutoring of affluent people, such as the sophist Damianus of Ephesus.[12] In fact, the *Sacred Tales* were composed as a justification of his career: the dry testimony of the god Asclepius' favour (*Or.* 47–9) evolves into an elaborated defence of Aristides' own art (*Or.* 50–1), providing evidence of his accomplishments as orator and poet (*Or.* 50.14–70), his efforts on obtaining

[5] On Aristides at Pergamum, see S. Nicosia, *Elio Aristide. Discorsi Sacri* (Milan, 1984), 16–21 and 192–7; C. P. Jones 'Aelius Aristides and the Asklepieion', in H. Koester (ed.), *Pergamon. Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development* (Harrisburg, PA, 1998), 63–76. See also Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 27–40; Cortés (n. 2), 55–86; Petsalis-Diomidis (n. 3), 167–220; Downie (n. 2), 14–17.

[6] K. Eshleman, *The Social World of Intellectuals in the Roman Empire. Sophists, Philosophers, and Christians* (Cambridge, 2012), 132–3, but see also S. C. R. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Oxford, 1996), 97–100 and 255; Whitmarsh (n. 1), 18–22; Downie (n. 2), 17–35.

[7] *Or.* 33.20: ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐρασταὶ καθαρῶς καταστάντες ἐτιμήθημεν τὰ πρέποντα ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων... ἐμοὶ δὲ λόγοι πάσας προσηγορίας καὶ πάσας δυνάμεις ἔχουσι.

[8] *Or.* 51.67: περὶ τῆς ὕστερον δόξης.

[9] *Or.* 51.52: σπουδαιότερόν μοί ἐστιν ἐπελθεῖν τινα τῶν γεγραμμένων: δεῖ γάρ με καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἀνθρώποις διαλέγεσθαι. See also *Or.* 51.56–67.

[10] *Or.* 31.7: προείλετο μὲν διδάσκαλον ἐξ ἁπάντων ὅντινα δὴ καὶ προείλετο, οὐ γὰρ ἔμοιγε εὐπρεπέστατόν ἐστι λέγειν. See J.-L. Vix, *L'enseignement de la rhétorique au II^e siècle ap. J.-C. à travers les discours 30–34 d'Aelius Aristide* (Brepols, 2010). Vix shows the depth of Aristides' involvement in his relationship with his students and provides a foundation for the discussion of the language of teaching.

[11] For example, when the great plague was at its height: *Or.* 33.6. See Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 102–3; Vix (n. 10), 77–83; J. Downie, 'Proper Pleasures: Bathing and Oratory in Aelius Aristides' *Hieros Logos* I and *Oratio* 33', in W. V. Harris and B. Holmes (eds.), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome and the Gods* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2008), 123–6.

[12] The *Birthday Speech to Apellas* (*Or.* 30) and his *Funeral Oration for Eteoneus* (*Or.* 31) were dedicated to former students. Aside from Vix (n. 10), 366–73, see also E. Berardi, *Elio Aristide. Epicedio per Eteoneo. Epitafio per Alessandro* (Turin, 2006); and V. Binder, M. Korenjak, and B. Noak (eds.), *Epitaphien. Tod, Totenrede, Rhetorik. Auswahl, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Rahden, 2007). On Damianus in particular, see Philostr. *V S* 2.23.605. Vix (n. 10), 23, also considers a teaching position at Pergamum mentioned in *Or.* 30.4.

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liturgical 'immunity' as a teacher (*Or.* 50.71–108),[13] and his public success (*Or.* 51.1–47), in front of selected groups of students and large gatherings.[14] Perhaps (as some have suggested) he had aspirations to be the tutor of the prince Commodus, Marcus Aurelius' son and heir.[15] In sum, although Aristides was an atypical sophist with respect to teaching, under certain circumstances he would have been willing to teach.

In the context of Aristides' campaign for his immunity, the present article argues that Aristides, while refusing many other appointments, may actually have set his sights on an appointment he deemed appropriate to his literary and intellectual accomplishments: teacher of the young. In a passage of the *Sacred Tales*, he surveys his efforts to obtain such a post at Smyrna, a splendorous metropolis with the most thriving sophistic schools,[16] during a public appearance at the Council Chamber:

> Again, something similar happened nearly a year before these things, when Pollio was governor of Asia. I had just now gone to the Council Chamber, after a long rest, as I said, since the god was encouraging me in oratory. All were in hopes that I would now also teach the young, the wretched sophists were dying with fear; not all, but those who had the sense to be distressed. I was chosen tax-collector.[17] (*Or.* 50.95–6)

[13] See *Or.* 50.71–94 for the year 153 CE. On tax exemptions and immunities, see *Dig.* 27.1.6.2. The sophist Claudius Ruphinus was immune orator at Smyrna: see *I.Smyrna* 602; Bowersock (n. 1), 30–42.

[14] On Aristides' narcissism, see G. Michenaud, R. Crahay, and J. Dierken, *Les Rêves dans les 'Discours Sacrés' d'Aelius Aristide* (Mons, 1972), 59–83. For the different tone of each of the *Sacred Tales*, see M.-H. Quet, 'Parler de soi pour louer son dieu: le cas d'Aelius Aristide (du journal intime de ses nuits aux *Discours sacrés* en l'honneur du dieu Asklépios)', in M. F. Baslez, P. Hoffmann, and L. Pernot (eds.), *L'invention de l'autobiographie d'Hésiode à Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1993), 211–51 ; L. Quattrocelli 'I pubblico dei *Discorsi Sacri* di Elio Aristide', in G. Abbamonte, L. Miletti, and L. Spina (eds.), *Discorsi alla prova* (Naples, 2009), 259–78.

[15] Like his master, Alexander of Cotiaeum, who tutored Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius. See C. G. Weiss, 'Literary Turns: The Representation of Conversion in Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', PhD thesis, Yale University (1998), 37–46. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus were on an imperial tour in 175–6, during which they met Aristides at Smyrna: see Philostr. *V S* 2.10; F. Gascó 'The Meeting between Aelius Aristides and Marcus Aurelius in Smyrna', *AJPh* 110 (1998), 471–8.

[16] On the sophistic schools, see Philostr. *V S* 1.21.518 (Scopelian), 1.25.531 (Polemo), 2.26.613 (Heraclides); K. Hopwood 'Smyrna: Sophists between Greece and Rome', in D. Braund and J. Wilkins (eds.), *Athenaeus and His World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire* (Exeter, 2000), 231–40. For a picture of Aristides' involvement at Smyrna, see C. Franco, *Elio Aristide e Smirne* (Roma, 2005).

[17] οἷον δ' αὖ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν τούτων ἐνιαυτῷ σχεδὸν γενόμενον ἐπὶ Πολλίωνος ἄρχοντος τῆς Ἀσίας. ἄρτι μὲν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον παρεληλύθειν ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς ἡσυχίας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τοῦ θεοῦ προαγαγόντος κατὰ τοὺς λόγους: ἅπαντες δ' ἦσαν ἐπ' ἐλπίδων ὡς καὶ δὴ συνεσοίμην τοῖς νέοις: ἀπωλώλεσαν δὲ οἱ δείλαιοι σοφισταὶ τῷ δέει, οὐχ ἅπαντες, ἀλλ' οἷς ἀνιᾶσθαι ἐπιμελὲς ἦν, ἡρέθην ἐκλογεύς.

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In this passage Aristides implies that the Smyrnaeans' alleged intention was to enroll him 'for the young men (τοῖς νέοις)'. But these assumptions proved incorrect. More often than not, to take Aristides' claims about himself at face value is risky. However, to explain which position Aristides had in mind, it would be interesting here to know more about these 'young people'.

This event is surely dated to 151–2, during the proconsulship of T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio, one year before the arrival of the new governor, C. Iulius Severus.[18] After resuming his career in 147, Aristides was expected to be involved in the civic affairs either of his native city (Hadrianoutherai) or his city of residence (Smyrna).[19] Between 147 and 152 he was, in fact, nominated at Smyrna for several religious and civic offices. Each time, however, he escaped such responsibilities by claiming his immunity as a practising orator.[20]

The Smyrnaean Council Chamber was an important landmark in Aristides' life. He chose this venue for his first public appearance after his convalescence, and it was there where he reportedly obtained his most resounding triumph over an Egyptian sophist in 167.[21] As he grew in popularity, it is likely that Aristides' close friends would have encouraged him to teach and accept students (προσίεσθαι τοὺς νέους).[22] Indeed, the leading Roman officials clearly hinted that convincing the Smyrnaeans to enrol him among the orators would help to have his immunity confirmed: 'It is one thing to be the first of the

[18] See Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 77–8, n. 56, and 135 (Appendix B). The identification of Aristides' Pollio is also confirmed in Behr (n. 2 [1994]), 1142–3, n. 3, and 1194. See also C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna. A History of the City from the Earliest Times to 324 A.D.* (Oxford, 1938), 268–9; A.-J. Festugière, *Aelius Aristide. Discours sacrés, avec notes de H.–D. Saffray, préface de J. Le Goff* (Paris, 1986), 103, n. 173; H. O. Schröder, *Heilige Berichte. Einleitung, deutsche Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Heidelberg, 1986), 115, n. 222, referring to R. Syme, 'The Proconsul of Asia under Antoninus Pius', *ZPE* 51 (1983), 278–9.

[19] A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 2009). For example, Pomponius Cornelius Lollianos was rhetor and asiarch: *I.Smyrna* 638. See B. Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale* (Paris, 2002), 336–7, no. 166. On a Smyrnaean inscription of 124/138 CE, with a list of 'patrons of the city', appears a certain Εἰσίδωρος σοφιστής (*I.Smyrna* 697.24), Claudia, the daughter of the sophist Nicetes (*I.Smyrna* 697.22), and the sophist Polemo (*I.Smyrna* 697.33–45).

[20] Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 77–84; Behr (n. 2 [1994]), 1209–12; Bowersock (n. 1), 36–40; Cadoux (n. 18), 267–72; Cortés (n. 2), 87–105; Downie (n. 2), 157–64; Eshleman (n. 6), 86–8; Nicosia (n. 5), 30–33 and 250–4.

[21] *Or.* 51.31–4 and 38. Aristides delivered nine speeches at Smyrna: see Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 128–30; Franco (n. 16), 368–71.

[22] As we surmise from a dream in which he relates a discussion on this issue with his friend Lucius: *Or.* 51.57–8.

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Greeks and supreme in oratory', remarked Iulius Severus, 'and another to be engaged in this and have pupils'.[23] Aristides, therefore, had strong reasons for appearing at the Smyrnaean Council Chamber.

Aristides' reference to his prospective teaching duties might seem vague, as he says that he 'would join' or 'would have dealings with' (συνεσοίμην) the 'young people' (νέοις). This, however, is clearly referring to an official appointment as teacher. He was eventually chosen as tax collector, but he avoids the technical term for this office, ἐκλογιστής, in favour of one with a better Attic pedigree, ἐκλογεύς,[24] as is typical of him in other instances.[25] Conversely, Aristides uses the verb σύνειμι with the Attic sense of 'to attend as pupil' (active voice) or 'to serve as a teacher' (middle-passive voice),[26] as in the following passage of Plato:

> And I replied to this: 'the same point, Protagoras, will serve me for a beginning as a moment ago, in regard to the object of my visit. My friend Hippocrates finds himself desirous of *joining your classes* (τῆς σῆς συνουσίας); and therefore he says he would be glad to know what result he will *get from joining them* (ἐάν σοι συνῇ.) That is all the speech we have to make.' Then Protagoras answered at once, saying: 'Young man, you will gain this *by coming to my classes, that on the day when you join them* (ἐὰν ἐμοὶ συνῇς, ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ἐμοὶ συγγένῃ) you will go home a better man, and on the day after it will be the same.' (Pl. *Prt.* 318a, emphasis added)

In this passage, Socrates asks Protagoras for a 'teaching philosophy' of sorts, in a question similar in terms to one found in another Platonic dialogue, *Gorgias*: 'What shall we get, Gorgias, *by coming to hear you* (ἐάν σοι συνῶμεν)? On what matters shall we be enabled to give advice to the state?' (*Grg*. 455d, emphasis added). Xenophon also uses the verb σύνειμι when he refers to the young fellows who followed Socrates.[27] Although Socrates was accused by Aelius Aristides of corrupting these 'young men' (νέοι),[28] he remained, in fact, one of the models

[23] *Or.* 50.87: ἕτερόν ἐστι πρῶτον Ἑλλήνων εἶναι καὶ ἄκρον ἐν λόγοις. . .καὶ ἕτερον διατρίβειν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ μαθητὰς ἔχειν.

[24] See Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 77, n. 54; Festugière (n. 18), 103, n. 176; Schröder (n. 18), 116, n. 224; Downie (n. 2), 158, n. 6. In general, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton, NJ, 1950), i.648, ii.1513–14.

[25] For example, he avoids the title of Ἀσιάρχης, referring to this office as 'the common priesthood of Asia' (ἡ ἱερωσύνη ἡ κοινὴ τῆς Ἀσίας; *Or.* 50.53 and 101 K), since ἱερωσύνη is widely attested in decrees from fifth-century BCE Athens. See *LSJ*, s.v. ἱερωσύνη; Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 61, n. 4, and 64, n. 15; Festugière (n. 18), 93, n. 103, and 104, n. 186; Schröder (n. 18), 118, n. 242; Downie (n. 2), 157, n. 5.

[26] *Or.* 31. 8, 32.17, 32.26, 34.9, 34.53: συνίεναι, συνεῖναι, and συνουσία referring to Aristides' activities as teacher. See Behr (n. 2 [1994]), 1163–77; Vix (n. 10), 324, 328–9, 389–91.

[27] Xen. *Mem*. 1.1.4: πολλοῖς τῶν συνόντων, τῶν συνόντων ἑαυτῷ; 1.2.8: τοὺς συνόντας; 1.3.1.

[28] *Or.* 2.335 K: Σωκράτης τοὺς νέους διέφθειρεν.

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for the later philosopher.[29] Aristides, therefore, using the verb σύνειμι, claimed an association with the first sophists in fifth- to fourth-century BCE Athens, reasserting their importance in education and politics.[30]

With this reference to the Athenian sophists, Aristides also wanted to emphasize the anxiety he created in his less-gifted rivals, the Smyrnaean σοφισταὶ. In another speech in which he defends his work as orator (*Or.* 33), he explicitly distinguishes himself from 'those execrable sophists' (οἱ κατάπτυστοι σοφισταὶ; *Or.* 33.29) who made large fortunes from their teaching. As he claims: 'I alone of the Greeks I know have set my hands to speeches not for the sake of wealth, reputation, honour, marriage or power' (*Or.* 33.20).[31] Aristides naturally thought that he had to be offered a more institutionalized position; when he failed to receive such an offer, he presumed that his enemies had a hand in it.[32]

Aristides was a well-known personality, customarily greeted whenever he made a public appearance.[33] He had become a famous orator after his trip to Egypt in 141, during which he had given public declamations,[34] and many 'excellent young men' (γνώριμοι νέοι) of Smyrna offered themselves as pupils.[35] In fact, Aristides had occasionally provided rhetorical instruction as a private tutor on request, as he claims:

> Indeed for those who were eager *to study with me privately* (ἰδίᾳ συνιέναι), I not only made myself available when I engaged in oratorical contests, but also more or less

[29] Socrates even appears in Aristides' dreams: *Or.* 50.15. On Aristides' Socratic posturing, see Downie (n. 11), 127–30.

[30] Aristides replied to Plato's *Gorgias* with his essay *To Plato. In Defence of Oratory*. See A. M. Milazzo, *Un dialogo difficile. La retorica in conflitto nei Discorsi Platonici di Elio Aristide* (Hildesheim, 2002).

[31] μόνοι δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν Ἑλλήνων οὐ πλούτου χάριν, οὐ δόξης, οὐ τιμῆς, οὐ γάμων, οὐ δυναστείας, οὐ προσθήκης οὐδεμιᾶς τοῖς λόγοις ἐπεχειρήσαμεν.

[32] Perhaps they were aware of Aristides' plans. See Vix (n. 10), 277: 'La crainte des autres sophistes devant cette concurrence laisse plutôt supposer qu'il avait déjà assuré ces fonctions auparavant et que son retour attisait ses peurs' ('The fear of the other sophists before this competition rather suggests that he had already assumed his duties earlier and that this return stirred up theirs fears'). Aristides later reproached the Smyrnaeans for not employing him: οἱ μήτε χρῆσθαι τολμῶντες (*Or.* 33.16 K).

[33] *Or.* 50.100–1.

[34] The inscription erected by the Greeks of Egypt at Smyrna in his honour 'for his honesty and his speeches' (ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθίαι καὶ λόγοις [*OGI* 709.12–13]) probably commemorated this successful tour. See M.-H. Quet, 'L'Inscription de Vérone en l'honneur d'Aelius Aristides et le rayonnement de la seconde sophistique chez les "Grecs d'Égypte"', *REA* 94 (1992), 379–401. See also Puech (n. 19), 140–5, no. 44; Petsalis-Diomidis (n. 3), 118–19.

[35] It has been argued that this term referred to the inner circle of students in contrast to the ἀκροαταὶ, the auditors. But, in other instances in Aristides, γνώριμος means 'distinguished person', i.e. *clarissimus* (as in 50.12, 16, 27, and 29). See M. Korenjak, *Publikum und Redner. Ihre Interaktion in der sophistischen Rhetorik der Kaiserzeit* (Munich, 2000), 126. *Contra* R. Cribiore 'Vying with Aristides in the Fourth Century: Libanius and His Friends', in Harris and Holmes (n. 11), 276.

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acted as an instructor in the ways in which I thought that they would be improved. (*Or.* 33.23, emphasis added)[36]

Young men between twenty and thirty years old from well-to-do families, the νέοι (or νεανίσκοι[37]), used gymnasia as venues for their physical and intellectual activities.[38] Aristides should have been familiar with these establishments, as he dreamt of conversing with a youth in training at one in Smyrna.[39] But he characterizes bathing in such places as a particularly degrading activity: 'instead of going to lectures, most of you spend your time at swimming-pools…It is impossible for jewellery lovers, bath addicts and admirers of the unworthy to understand oratorical lectures' (*Or.* 33.25).[40]

However, the privileged youth (γνώριμοι νέοι) of Smyrna did something other than bathing. They gathered for the elegiac poet Mimnermus in the gymnasium named Mimnermeion,[41] which would certainly have had a library containing copies of their patron's works and commemorative inscriptions.[42] Mimnermus' *Smyrneis*, a sort of

[36] καὶ μὴν τοῖς ἰδίᾳ συνιέναι σπουδάσασιν οὐκ ἀγωνιζόμενον μόνον παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδεικνύντα ἐπιεικῶς ἐξ ὧν ὤμην τι βελτίους ἔσεσθαι. On the interpretation of ἰδίᾳ συνιέναι, see Vix (n. 10), 324 and 547–8, n. 415.

[37] C. A. Forbes, *Neoi. A Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations* (Middletown, CT, 1933), 61–7; G. Sacco, 'Sui νεανίσκοι dell'età ellenistica', *RFIC* 107 (1979), 39–49; E. Cantarella, 'Neaniskoi: classi di età e passagi di status nel diritto ateniense', *MEFRA* 102.1 (1990), 37–51; B. Dreyer, 'Die Neoi im Hellenistischen Gymnasion', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* (Munich, 2004), 211–36; B. Legras, *Néotês. Recherches sur les jeunes grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (Geneva, 2006); R. Van Bremen, 'Neoi in Hellenistic cities: age class, institution, association?', in P. Fröhlich and P. Hamon (eds.), *Groupes et associations dans les cités grecques (III^e siècle av. J.-C.–II^e siècle apr. J.-C.). Actes de la table ronde de Paris, INHA, 19–20 juin 2009* (Geneva, 2013), 31–58. In general, see M. Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth. The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society* (Amsterdam, 1991). For further examples and parallels, see N. M. Kennell, *Ephebeia. A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Hildesheim, 2006), A. S. Chankowski, *L'Éphébie hellénistique. Étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 2010).

[38] J. Delorme, *Gymnasion. Études sur les monuments consacrés à l'education en Grèce des origines à l'empire romain* (Paris, 1960); F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Paris, 1992). On gymnasia as venues of instruction, see P. Scholz, 'Elementarunterricht und intellektuelle Bildung im hellenistischen Gymnasien', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* (Munich, 2004), 103–28; and see also Delorme (this note), 316–36; Korenjak (n. 37), 27–33; Cribiore (n. 1), 15–44; Eshleman (n. 6), 25–8.

[39] *Or.* 47.18–21.

[40] ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκροάσεις περὶ τὰς κολυμβήθρας οἱ πλείους διατρίβετε,.. οὐκ ἔνεστι λίθων ἐρῶντας οὐδὲ λουτρῶν ἐξηρτημένους οὐδ' ἃ μὴ δεῖ τιμῶντας τὰς περὶ τοὺς λόγους διατριβὰς γιγνώσκειν. Further on this dichotomy between oratory and bathing, see Downie (n. 11), 115–23.

[41] νέων Μιμνερμείου (*I.Smyrna* 215.9). See Cadoux (n. 18), 83, n. 2; Franco (n. 16), 415 and 440.

[42] As in the Archilocheion at Paros. See D. Clay, *Archilochos Heros. The Cult of Poets in the Greek Polis* (London and Cambridge, MA, 2004).

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national poem, was probably the main piece performed by the singers (ὑμνῳδοί) of the νέοι at festivals or state funerals.[43] His short elegies would also have been performed during the symposia of these local scions at Smyrna: verses such as 'we enjoy the blossoms of youth for a short time', 'precious youth is short-lived as a dream', 'May I die when I be no more concerned with secret love and suasive gifts and the bed, such things as are the very flowers of youth!' – all seem to have been well suited to these νέοι.[44]

Perhaps the Smyrnaeans were originally considering Aristides' appointment at the gymnasium of the νέοι, since gymnasia were typical venues in which sophists lectured.[45] Inscriptions provide an interesting parallel to the Mimnermeion in the Homereion, a gymnasium for elderly people (γερουσία) dedicated to Homer, 'the poet of Smyrna'.[46] We know that the sophist Scopelianus addressed to these elders his 'Epic of the Giants' (Γιγαντίας) for public performance by their sacred singers (ὑμνῳδοί), as well as treatises for advanced rhetorical instruction.[47] It would be tempting to suggest that Aristides could have been appointed by the Smyrnaeans as a professor in the Mimnermeion in the same way as Scopelianus became associated with the Homereion.[48] However, would Aristides have been suitable for this job?

Aristides' master, Alexander of Cotiaeum, lectured to his students (νέοι[49]) and wrote commentaries on poets, such as Homer and Pindar. Aristides was able to quote these authors from memory and

[43] ἡ σύνο- / δος τῶν νέων καὶ οἱ ὑ- / μνῳδοί (*I.Smyrna* 208.6–9). See also Cic. *Flac.* 31.75 (state funeral of a Roman citizen). For Mimnermus' poems, see A. Allen, *The Fragments of Mimnermus. Text and Commentary* (Stuttgart, 1993). On Mimnermus in public festivals, see E. L. Bowie 'Early Greek Elegy, Symposium, and Public Festival', *JHS* 106 (1986), 27–9.

[44] πήχυιον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄνθεσιν ἥβης / τερπόμεθα (Mimn. fr. 2.3–4); ὀλιγοχρόνιος γίγνεται ὥσπερ ὄναρ / ἥβη τιμήεσσα (Mimn. fr. 5.4–5); τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι, / κρυπταδίη φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνή, / οἳ' ἥβης ἄνθ εα γίγνεται ἁρπαλέα (Mimn. fr. 1.2–3). On Mimnermus at symposia of young people, see S. R. Slings, *Symposium. Speech and Ideology. Two Hermeneutical Issues in Early Greek Lyric, with Special Reference to Mimnermus* (Amsterdam, 2000), 25–8.

[45] Delorme (n. 40), 316–36; specifically on the νέοι, see Korenjak (n. 37), 46–8.

[46] *Or.* 22.21, 32.24. On the Smyrnaeans as descendants of Homer, see *Or.* 18.2.

[47] Ὁμηρείῳ [γε]ρῳυσίᾳ (*I.Smyrna* 214.11); οἱ ὑμνῳδοὶ / τῆς γερουσίας (*I.Smyrna* 644.17–18). On Scopelianus' epic compositions and the Homereion, see Philostr. *V S* 1.21.518; also *I. Smyrna* 206.8, 210.15, 211.8, 211.15, 212.10–11, and 891. The Homereion had a gymnasium (*I.Smyrna* 697.16–17) and a library (Strab. 14.1.37). See also J. P. Sánchez Hernández, 'Scopelianus and the Homerids: Notes on Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (*V S* 1.21.518)', *Mnemosyne* 64 (2011), 455–63.

[48] The sophist Heraclides paid for the construction of a fountain for olive oil and a golden roof for the gymnasium of the Asklepieion (Philostr. *V S* 2.26. 2), perhaps in imitation of the main anointing room of the gymnasium for the γερουσία (*I.Smyrna* 697.16–17). See Yegül (n. 40), 306.

[49] λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς νέοις μαθημάτων ἕνεκα τολμᾶν προϊέσθαι (*Or.* 32.16). See also Vix (n. 10), 386 and 531, n. 275.

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paraphrase them effortlessly.[50] But, besides being an avid reader of Ancient Greek poetry, even frequenting the company of poets of his generation (also *pepaideumenoi*[51]), he was an incidental poet himself.[52] His first poetic contribution was a Pindaric Paean dedicated to Apollo, composed during his unfortunate trip to Rome in 144.[53] To this poetic composition he added many others: some written in solitary reflection, others performed in private by a chorus of boys (as part of Aristides' treatment[54]) following the orders of the god Asclepius.[55] Finally, in 147 Aristides offered ten public performances in the Asklepieion of Pergamum with his compositions for choruses of boys and men whom he trained.[56] He became so proud of his poetic achievements that he actually records a dream in which he saw a children's school at Alexandria studying and singing his poems,[57] and he still seemed to have dreams of choruses of boys twenty years later.[58] His choruses were modelled on the ὑμνῳδοί or groups of young or mature men whose duties were to sing praises to both gods and emperors as in Roman Smyrna, where we even have ὑμνῳδοί praising the emperor Hadrian.[59] Since teachers acted as trainers to lead these groups in their public performances,[60] Aristides perhaps believed that he was eligible for a teaching position of the νέοι at Smyrna, as an author of

[50] For Alexander of Cotiaeum on Homer and Pindar and the sophists, see *Or.* 32.24 and 32.26 K. On Alexander, see Vix (n. 10), 373–89. On Homer and Pindar in sophistic education, see Marrou (n. 1), 229–64; Cribiore (n. 1), 185–219. For Aelius Aristides and Ancient Greek lyric, see E. L. Bowie, 'Aristides and Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic Poetry', in Harris and Holmes (n. 11), 9–30. See also Vix (n. 10), 350–1.

[51] Metrodorus (*Or.* 47.42 K) and Hermocrates of Rhodes (*Or.* 50.23–4). For the importance of poetry in the lives of the sophists in this period, see E. Bowie, 'Greek Sophists and Greek Poetry in the Second Sophistic', *ANRW* 33.1 (1989), 209–58.

[52] On the lost poetic production of Aristides, see F. Robert, *Les œuvres perdues d'Aelius Aristide: fragments et témoignages* (Paris 2012), 527–66.

[53] Compare *Or.* 50.31 (fr. 30 Behr) and *PO* 2.1. See Robert (n. 54), 528–33.

[54] *Or.* 50.38. On this therapy see also Nicosia (n. 5), 18, n. 53.

[55] *Or.* 50.39 = frs. 25, 32, 36–42 Behr. See Robert (n. 54), 540–1.

[56] *Or.* 50.43–5 = fr. 29 Behr. As a memorial of his triumph, he dedicated a tripod with an elegiac couplet: *Or.* 50.45. See Robert (n. 54), 537–40.

[57] *Or.* 49.4.

[58] *Or.* 47.30. See Bowie (n. 53), 214–20; E. Bowie 'Choral Performances', in D. Konstan and S. Saïd (eds.), *Greeks on Greekness. Viewing the Greek Past under the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2006), 73–7.

[59] Philostr. *V S* 530. συνυμνῳδοῖς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ (*ISmyrna* 595.16–17). On the parallel between Aristides' poetry and the ὑμνῳδοί, see Bowie (n. 60), 90–2.

[60] For example, the worship of Zeus and Hecate in Panamara (*I.Str.* 1101.7–10) was enhanced during the second century with choruses of boys, in the company of their supervisor (παιδονόμος), performing in the Council Chamber a song composed by the secretary (γραμματεύς).

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hymns for young people, such as: 'Come to Pergamon, young men (νέοι)' (*Or.* 50.38–9 K).[61]

In sum, Aristides claimed that the Smyrnaean assembly was giving serious thought to his official appointment as professor of the Smyrnaean νέοι. This would have been a very prestigious position: the gymnasium of the νέοι was called Mimnermeion for the elegiac poet Mimnermus, whose poems were surely the basis for the education of these νέοι, and it was, much like the Smyrnaean Homereion, a collegiate body (a σύνοδος[62]) of prestige. As Aristides composed poems for young people and occasionally trained them, he thought that he was therefore the perfect candidate for this post. He implies that his election as tax collector was motivated by his enemies, the Smyrnaean sophists, who envied him.

The final outcome was that Aristides was not offered a teaching position, but was nonetheless granted the privilege of immunity,[63] and he eventually retired to his estate at Laneion in Mysia in the 170s. There, he received news of the destruction of Smyrna after an earthquake in 178. Aristides decided to write an account of the disaster addressed to Marcus Aurelius, as an inducement to rebuild the city. In it he remembered the νέοι of Smyrna alongside other associations (also σύνοδοι[64]), and the very same Council Chamber where he had delivered his speeches and which was now in ruins:

> I who have endured all things, in what land am I to sing my monody? Where is my Council Chamber? Where are the assemblies of young and old (ποῦ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σύνοδοι) and their applause who gave me everything? (*Or.* 18.8)[65]

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[61] ἴκεσθε Περγάμῳ νέοι. See above, n. 57.

[62] ἡ σύνοδος τῶν νέων (*I.Smyrna* 209 and 208.6–7).

[63] A further emendation of the law (*Dig.* 27.1.6.10) also permitted exemptions for a number of individuals of outstanding merit (οἱ ἄγαν ἐπιστήμονες) without the burden of teaching. Judging from the words of the imperial letter (τὴν ἀτέλειαν…τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις; *Or.* 50.75), Aristides was probably included within this category. See Behr (n. 2 [1968]), 78, n. 58.

[64] ἡ ἱερὰ σύνοδος τῶν πε- / ρὶ τὸν Βρεισέα Διόνυσον / τεχνειτῶν καὶ μυστῶν (I.Smyrna 639.1–3); …ἡ σύνοδος τῶν μυστῶν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς πρὸ πόλε- / ως θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος (*I.Smyrna* 655.1–2).

[65] ὦ πάντα ὑπομείνας ἐγὼ, ποῦ γῆς νυνὶ μονῳδῶ; ποῦ μοι τὸ βουλευτήριον; ποῦ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σύνοδοι καὶ θόρυβοι διδόντων ἅπαντα.

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