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The Themis Leonideios in the Light of a New Inscription

Yeni Bir Yazıt Işığında Themis Leonideios

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Abstract: A newly discovered inscription from Antiokheia Paralios, commonly known as Antiochia ad Cragum, commemorates an athlete named Aur(elius) Salvianus, who won the *pankration* competition in the boys' category during the first celebration of the *themis Leonideios*, established by Aur(elius) Leonidas. The inscription proves a crucial role in resolving uncertainties surrounding the *themis*, and significantly enhances the understanding of its nature and scope. It offers fresh interpretations of expressions found in other related inscriptions and it enables more precise inferences regarding the founding process of the *themis* and the life of its founder, Leonidas. Moreover, it establishes a clear timeline for both the founding and concluding dates of the *themis*. Additionally, it provides the basis for essential corrections and updates to previously published inscriptions related to the *themis Leonideios*.

Keywords: Antiochia, Rough Cilicia, Leonidas, *Themis Leonideios*, Pankration, Salvianus

Öz: Resmi belgelerde Antiokheia Paralios olarak geçen, ancak genel olarak Antiochia ad Cragum adıyla bilinen kentte bulunan yeni bir yazıt, Aur(elius) Leonidas tarafından kurulan *themis Leonideios*'ün ilk kutlamasında, çocuklar kategorisinde *pankration* yarışmasını kazanan Aur(elius) Salvianus adlı bir sporcuyu onurlandırmaktadır. Bu yazıt, *themis Leonideios*'a ilişkin belirsizliklerin giderilmesinde kritik bir rol oynamakta; bunun kapsamına, niteliğine ve diğer ilgili yazıtlarda geçen ifadelerle dair yeni ve açıklayıcı yorumlar sunmaktadır. *Themis*'in kuruluş süreci ve kurucusu Leonidas'ın yaşamı hakkında daha kesin çıkarımlar yapılmasına olanak tanımaktadır. *Themis*'in kuruluş ve sona erme tarihleri için açık ve güvenilir bir zaman çizelgesi oluşturulmasını sağlamaktadır. *Themis Leonideios* ile ilgili daha önce yayımlanmış yazıtlar üzerinde bazı zorunlu düzeltmeler ve güncellemeler yapılmasını mümkün kılmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Antiochia, Dağlık Kilikia, Leonidas, *Themis Leonideios*, Pankration, Salvianus

Introduction

During the Roman Principate Period, coastal cities experienced significant economic growth. Thanks to the wealth they acquired, cities of all sizes entered intense competition with their neighbours in various areas. In the case of settlements in Southern and Southwestern Anatolia, one of the key aspects of this competition was the organisation of *themides*, named after their founders. Starting especially from the last quarter of the 2nd

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century CE onward, *themides* began to be organised in almost every medium-sized city located along or near the coast¹. These competitions were a significant part of civic life and served as a way both for cities and individuals to demonstrate their wealth and influence. One notable example of this is the *themis Leonideios*, celebrated every four years² in the city of Antiochia ad Cragum, known in official records as Antiokheia Paralios (Antiochia Maritima)³. This competition was founded by Aur(elius) Leonidas, son of Leonidas⁴ and grandson of Kendas⁵. It has been documented in both Antiochia and Lamos. In addition to honouring its founder, Leonidas, records show that three athletes in Antiochia⁶ and one in Lamos⁷ achieved success in this *themis*.

The Honouring of Aur(elius) Salvianus with a Possible Statue

Description: Antiokheia Paralios (Figs. 1–2), one of the prominent port cities of Rough Cilicia in the province of Cilicia, is situated in the Güneyköy Neighborhood of Gazipaşa District, Antalya Province. Toward the end of 2024, a rectangular inscribed base was unearthed during excavations conducted by the Coordinator Excavation Directorate at the site. The base was discovered northwest of the monumental gate, at the eastern entrance of the street, within the north portico, positioned between the northern stylobate and the adjacent shops, directly south of the east wall of East Shop No. 7 (Figs. 3–4). The white marble is remarkably well-preserved and remains intact. It is notable for its considerable height in proportion to its relatively narrow width (Figs. 5–6). Its design suggests that the rear side was intended to rest against a wall or similar architectural support to ensure structural stability. This assumption is

¹ Pleket (2014, 368) associates the games, established in the 3rd century CE in regions such as Bithynia, Cilicia, and Pamphylia, with the regular visits of armies on their way to the eastern front. See also Mitchell 1990, 192.

² Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 153 no. 259 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 35 AntK 4. For the duration of a θέμις τετραετηρική, see Mitchell 1990, 189; Strasser 2001, 120–124; Farrington 2008, 242. Rouché (1993a, 174 and 178) admits that the contest is described as having a four-year cycle, taking place every three years.

³ The city is generally known as Antiochia ad Cragum, Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Κράγῳ. However, some recent official fragments from the city (Hoff & Howe 2020) support the idea that the name of the city should be Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Παράλιου, as already seen on coins, see Imhoof-Blumer 1895, 287–289; Head 1911, 717. On the name of the city, see Hoff *et al.* 2021, 137–140. See also, *AE* 2021 no. 1351–1352. Inscriptions honouring the city's own citizens do not include the name of the city. Only in one inscription, the phrase [Ἀντιο]χέων πόλι[εως] appears, see Bean & Mitford 1965, 41 no. 44 = *AE* 1967 no. 522 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 41–42. AntK 20. For the usage of *Antiochia Maritima*, see also Scholz 1901, 41 no.75.

⁴ For the interpretation as Leonides, see Bean & Mitford 1965, 36 no. 41.

⁵ For the interpretation as Kendes or Kendos, see Bean & Mitford 1965, 36. For the name Κενδης, see also Zgusta 1964, 51. It is not known who is referred to Kendas in this inscription. However, in a funerary inscription from the city (Bean & Mitford 1970, 185 no. 205 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 42 AntK 25) one of the persons who jointly (κοινῶς) built the tomb is named Kendas, son of Tbōs. These may have been the same person. Indeed, in line 6 of the tomb inscription, the use of the form τῇ πόλι instead of τῇ πόλει as the dative case for the term ἡ πόλις, indicates that the times in which these two Kendas lived overlapped. In this case, Kendas and Nana, who generously performed the gymnasiarchy in the city, could be siblings. For the inscription of Nana, see Bean & Mitford 1965, 34 no. 37b = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 37 AntK 14b. See also Siekierka *et al.* 2021, 1115–1116 no. 1059.

⁶ Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 152 no. 258 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 34 AntK 2; Bean & Mitford 1965, 36 no. 41 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 35 AntK 18; Bean & Mitford 1965, 36 no. 42 = Robert 1966, 87 = Pleket 1969, 48 no. 44 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 36 AntK 11.

⁷ Paribeni & Romanelli 1914, 170 no. 120 = Hagel & Thomaschitz 1998, 15 Ada 10.



Fig. 1. Map of Cilicia Tracheia and location of the Antiochia ad Cragum

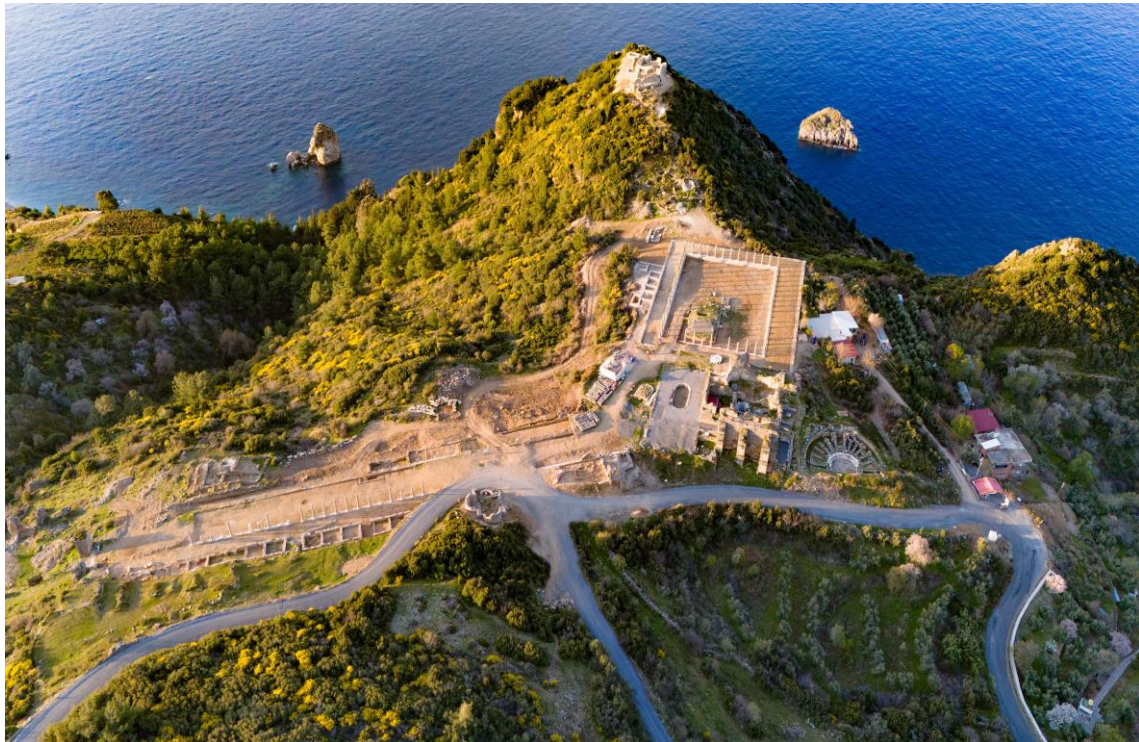


Fig. 2. General view of Antiochia ad Cragum



Fig. 3. Colonnaded Street and location of the inscription



Fig. 4. The location of the inscription

reinforced by the entirely unworked condition of the rear surface. The lateral surfaces are likewise only roughly finished, indicating that their visual appearance was not a priority. On the upper surface of the base, one corner contains a hole accompanied by a distinct

depression⁸. This feature likely represents the footprint of an object, most likely a statue, that once stood there. The diagonally opposite corner is broken, although the damaged area does not match the dimensions of the preserved hole. This localized breakage may point to the former presence of a similar footprint in that area. The base bears a twelve-line inscription; one line is carved on the upper moulding, and the remaining eleven lines on the main body. The inscribed surface is undamaged, and the text is fully preserved. However, the execution of the lettering lacks precision. The letters E and Σ appear in two different forms, and the last two lines are particularly carelessly rendered. Additionally, there are noticeable inconsistencies in the letter height. The single line on the upper moulding features letters measuring 2,8 cm in height, while some letters on the body reach up to 3,3 cm. As the lines progress downward, the height of the letters gradually decreases, with some measuring as little as 1,5 cm.

Dimensions: H.: 102 cm (inscribed field: 51 cm); width of the pediment: 48 cm (inscribed field: 46); pediment depth: 29 cm (inscribed field: 24 cm); Lh.: 1,5–3,3 cm.

Inv. No ANT24.SC.YZT.002.



Fig. 5. The honouring of Aur(elius) Salvianus



Fig. 6. The honouring of Aur(elius) Salvianus

⁸ On the top surface of the base, in the front left corner, there is a small 4 cm diameter hole with a depth of 2 cm at its center, surrounded by an oval indentation measuring 16.50 × 10.50 cm.

τύχη ^{vac.} ἀγαθῇ .

Αὐρ. Σαλβιανὸν Ἀδρί-
ου Ἀντιοχέα, πατρό-

With good fortune!

- 4 βουλὸν, νεικίῃσαν-
τα παιδῶν πανκρά-
τιν θέμιδος ἀ' Λεω-
νιδείου, ἀγωνοθε-
8 τοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος
Λεωνίδα Λεωνίδου Κενδου,
προκαθεζομένου Λεω-
νίδου πατρὸς τοῦ ἥρωος.
εὐτύχει ^{vac.} Εὐστόχει.

Aur(elius) Salvianus, son of Adrias, citizen of Antiochia, patroboulos, victor in the boys' pankration at the first celebration of the themis Leonideios, (held) under the eternal agonothetes Leonidas, son of Leonidas, son of Kendas, (and) under the presidency of Leonidas, father of the hero. Good luck, Eustokhios!

Among the competitions centered on physical struggle, wrestling seems to have been particularly popular in the mountainous region of Cilicia. Yet, since it likely encompassed multiple forms of combat – including boxing, wrestling, and kicking – and perhaps due to limited financial means, the only discipline attested within the scope of the *themis Leonideios* in Antiochia is the πανκράτιον. The fact that all five inscriptions currently known from the city and Lamos refer exclusively to the pankration casts doubt on the existence of other programs within the competition. The categories documented in this competition are παῖδες (boys) and ἄνδρες (men). Given that all available evidence from the city pertains solely to this competition, it appears unlikely that another contest was organised by a different private individual in the city. This new inscription records that Aur(elius) Salvianus⁹ competed in the boys' category during the first celebration of the competition. Previously, it was known that Salvianus had achieved victory in the same category during the second celebration¹⁰. With this new evidence, it is now recorded that an athlete secured consecutive victories in the boys' category of a contest organised by a private individual¹¹. This finding clearly demonstrates that no distinctions or special considerations were observed within the boys' category of the

⁹ For the transcription as Salbianos, see Pilhofer 2005, 236 C 50. For Salbianus in inscriptions found in different places, see Feissel 2009, 582 no. 637; Grünbart 2023, 258 no. 40.

¹⁰ Bean & Mitford 1965, 36 no. 42 = Robert 1966, 87 = Pleket 1969, 48 no. 44 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 36 AntK 11.

¹¹ At Termessos, an individual is credited with winning the boys' wrestling category at both the third and fifth celebrations of a *themis*, see Baz 2025, 133–135 no. 1. The epigraphic evidence, however, complicates this conclusion. The victor of the third celebration is named simply Chares (*TAM* III 194), whereas a newly published inscription records the winner as M. Aurelius Ploutarchianus Chares. Although these figures could, potentially, represent the same athlete, the unknown interval between the celebrations of the *themis*, the substantial variation in the recorded names, and the broader pattern whereby athletes are otherwise attested only in connection with a single competition together suggest that the inscriptions may, in fact, refer to victories in different contests.

themides competitions, which were based on ἄγῶνες γυμνικοί and organised by private individuals¹². Moreover, the intermediate category of ἄγένειοι¹³ (the beardless youths), which fell between boys and men, was seldom favoured in such *themides*¹⁴. In the absence of this intermediate category, however, the division of age groups in these contests does not appear to have been strictly defined¹⁵.

The absence of the *ageneioi* category in *themides* named after private individuals can be attributed to several reasons. This age group includes the short age range that this category covers, the uncertainty regarding which category foreign athletes, whose exact ages could not be determined, should compete in, the debates surrounding this issue, and the relatively small number of participants compared to other categories. However, despite the broader age range, the lack of distinction in the boys category and the absence of the *ageneioi* category reveal significant age differences, as well as unfair physical competition, among the athletes participating in *themides*. This is vividly exemplified by Salvianus' participation in both the first and second celebrations of the competition. Many younger athletes, still in the process of physical development, were in the same category with older and larger athletes, who were either about to complete their physical development or had already completed it. For this reason, Salvianus must have brought exceptional pride to both his family and his hometown with the remarkable success he achieved during the inaugural celebration of it. It remains uncertain whether athletes from surrounding cities took part in the inaugural celebration. However, the inscription's reference to Salvianus as a citizen of Antiochia¹⁶ may be regarded

¹² Initially, the competitions appear to have been primarily categorised into just παῖδες and ἄνδρες, see Remijsen 2019, 19; Bai 2024, 78. However, in later periods, even athletes competing within the category of παῖδες in many international competitions with wide participation were subdivided according to their age to ensure fair competition. For the sub-classification in the category of παῖδες, see Frisch 1988, 179–180; Couvenhes 1998, 60–61; Crowther 2009, 344–355; Remijsen 2019, 19–22; Shear 2021, 181–182; Bai 2024; Scharff 2024, 39–40. For age categories and nomenclature, see Rouché 1993b, 163; Pfeijffer 1998.

¹³ The category of ἄγένειοι generally covers the ages between 17 and 20, see Klee 1918, 48; Frisch 1988, 179; Bai 2024, 78.

¹⁴ This seems to be almost a common feature of the *themides* named after individuals. As a matter of fact, Heberdey (1923, 202) states that in the city of Termessos, where many athlete inscriptions were found, the absence of inscriptions for this category is not coincidental. Therefore, he notes that there was no tradition of organising competitions for athletes of this age group. An exception is documented in Telmessos, where a pankration athlete named M. Aurelius Hermagoras, alias Zosimos, won in this category at the *themis* of Prokleianeia, see TAM II, 24.

¹⁵ Therefore, the lack of a youth category leads to confusion and raises questions as to which category the athletes should be included in. Because childhood generally ends at the age of 14, see Favuzzi 1989, 282–283; Kosior 2016, 91–92. Robert (1967, 136) states that the category of παῖδες includes young boys up to the age of 17. Heberdey (1929, 42; 1934, 770), however, thinks that the age limit between παῖδες and ἄνδρες was 20, and that in the agon organised by private individuals, the competitors of ἄγένειοι age were included in the category of παῖδες.

¹⁶ There is no consistency in the decision to give or not give the ethnicon of the winning athlete in competitions. The absence of the ethnicon for the winning athlete is generally interpreted to mean that the athlete in question is a citizen of the city that organised the competition (Pfeijffer 1998, 23), and that the *themis* was just open to the citizens of the city, see Papakonstantinou 2019, 101. The absence of the ethnicon of athletes who succeeded in the category of ἄνδρες at the *themis Leonideios* confirms this conclusion. However, in this inscription, the ethnicon of Salvianus refers to his hometown. This can be interpreted as an emphasis on the

as a strong indication of such involvement. Similarly, many cities within the same cultural sphere were situated in the vicinity of the city, and father Leonidas held citizenship in both Lamos and Antiochia. Furthermore, the victory of Marcus Aur(elius) Phirmos of Anemourion in the ἄνδρες category at Lamos provides clear evidence that the competition had already been opened to athletes from other settlements. Consequently, it can be inferred that, from the very inception of the competition, participants from neighboring communities were actively involved.

The characterisation of Salvianus as πατρόβουλος indicates that his father, Adrias¹⁷, was one of the *bouleutes* of Antiochia and thus a prominent citizen of the city. The meaning of this title, which offers insight into Salvianus' future status, may vary depending on context¹⁸. In the present case, however, the term reflects a concrete etymological and contextual reality: Salvianus's father was indeed a *bouleutes*. Considering that benefactors in this period often avoided assuming official positions in provincial cities, the designation not only reflects an actual circumstance but may also imply a hereditary transmission¹⁹ of such a duty from father to son. However, if this were the case, one might conclude that all male children of a *bouleutes* father could become *bouleutes*, despite the limited number of *bouleutes* positions available in the cities. It is therefore more plausible that the term refers specifically to the individual deemed suitable by the father to succeed him, explicitly designated for this role²⁰. Salvianus should thus be understood as having been marked out from youth as his father's successor in the city council. Whether Salvianus was considered worthy of this position because he was the only or the eldest male child in the family, or because he distinguished himself through notable achievements at an early age, remains unclear. In recognition of one such noteworthy accomplishment, the inscription also employs an acclamation for Salvianus. The verb εὐτυχέω exhibits considerable variation in meaning depending on context and formality. The imperative εὐτύχει, for instance, commonly appears at the end of letters and petitions as a greeting or expression of well-being²¹. It is also frequently used to wish good fortune, typically accompanied by a personal name or *cognomen* in the vocative case, as in the present inscription. Although the athlete's name is given as Aur(elius) Salvianus, he is also

young athlete's significant achievement and as praise for his hometown. Therefore, this does not seem to be an obstacle to the participation in the *themis* from neighbouring cities. Likewise, at around the same time, an athlete named Aur(elius) Pasikrates, who won in *pankration* in the first celebration of the ἄνδρες category of a *themis* established in Korakesion was a native person, see Bean & Mitford 1965, 8 no. 4 = *SEG* 18 572 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 167 Krk 8.

¹⁷ For another Ἀδρία bearing the *nomen* Αὐρ(ήλιος), documented so far only in Antikyra, see *SEG* 16, 348.

¹⁸ Robert 1966, 87; Schwark 1970, 74–76; Dagron & Feissel 1987, 224–225 no. 756; Kleijwegt 1991, 265–266; Tsartsidis 2016, 33 no. 67.

¹⁹ For the evaluation as a hereditary βουλευτής see Veyne 1976, 266; Kleijwegt 1991, 265–266; Quaß 1993, 389; Seve 2004, 170 s.v. πατήρ; Mantas 2006, 169; Laes & Strubbe 2014, 175. See also Dmitriev 2005, 170 and 318–319; Heller 2015, 248; *AE* 2021 no. 1349.

²⁰ See also Levy 1902, 277; Robert 1966, 87; 1967, 131–132; Robert & Robert 1968, 509 no. 455 and 513 no. 463; Farrington 2008, 244 no. 21; Zuiderhoek 2009, 140; Pleket 2014b, 65; Baker & Thériault 2014, 113.

²¹ Mascellari (2018, 297) notes that, at the beginning of Hadrian's reign there is a distinct turning point marked by the disappearance or rather the deliberate exclusion of the greeting εὐτύχει from petitions, similar types of administrative communications, and letters.

accorded the nickname Εὐστόχιος²² or Εὔστοχος²³, derived from the verb εὐστόχειν²⁴, following the acclamatory expression εὐτύχει²⁵. This *cognomen* underscores the significance of his achievement and harmonises naturally with the success it commemorates.

Themis Leonideios

The exact date of the foundation of the *themis Leonideios* remains uncertain. However, since this inscription – the fourth athlete inscription in the city of Antiochia – honours an athlete who achieved success during the first celebration of the contest, its establishment date must naturally align closely with the inaugural celebration. Although it is not a decisive factor for a precise date on its own, the letter shapes of the inscription suggest the late 2nd century CE. Similarly, the term πατρόβουλος began to gain common usage during the same period²⁶. Furthermore, the resemblance²⁷ between certain pedestal fragments found on the stylobate steps of the colonnaded street, where the inscription was discovered, and those supporting the columns of the temple located to the northeast of the street, generally dated to the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE²⁸, provides additional evidence that the *themis* was established around this time. The celebration numbers of three out of four athlete inscriptions are known, and the names of the athletes who achieved success in these celebrations of the competition reinforce this timeline. Both Leonidas, the founder of the competition, and Salvianus, who won in the παῖδες category during the first two celebrations, bear only the *nomen* Aurelius²⁹. Although the existence of the ἄνδρες category in the second celebration of the *themis* is known³⁰, the name of the athlete who achieved success in this category and whether he carried the Aurelius *nomen* remains unknown. Nonetheless, this confirms the presence of both the παῖδες and ἄνδρες categories in the second celebration of the contest. While it is unclear which celebration it pertains to, an athlete who reached success in the ἄνδρες

²² For the interpretation of Εὐστόχι as the vocative form of Εὐστόχιος see also Masson 2000, 267. The name Εὐστόχιος is attested in Anatolia and elsewhere. For examples from Asia Minor, see *LGPNV/B* and *V/C*, *s.v.* Εὐστόχιος. For examples from other regions, see *LGPNI*; *III/A*; *IV*, *s.v.* Εὐστόχιος.

²³ The name Εὔστοχος is attested at Anazarbos in Cilicia Pedias, see *LGPNV/B*, *s.v.* Εὔστοχος. There is also Εὐστόχις, a male name, for examples see, *LGPNI*; *V/B*, *s.v.* Εὐστόχις. Additionally, this word may be interpreted as εὐστόχει in the imperative mood. However, in this case, the consecutive use of two imperatives could result in an awkward and inelegant expression.

²⁴ The meaning of εὐστόχειν is “to hit the mark”, as noted in Liddell & Scott, *s.v.* εὐστοχέω. There is also the adjective εὔστοχος, meaning “aiming well” and “making good shots”, see Liddell & Scott, *s.v.* εὔστοχος.

²⁵ For the use of εὐτύχει or εὐτύχι, see Wilhelm 1902, 596–600; Robert 1960b, 559; 1967, 111–112; Roueché 1984, 185; Masson 2000, 267; Queyrel 2001, 376–377; Yangaki 2010; Avcu & Uzunoğlu 2024, 198. There is also an inscription from Haifa bearing the reading Εὐτυχῶς Εὐστοχίῳ κτλ., see Lifshitz 1963, 92–93; Yangaki 2010, 260 no. 86.

²⁶ Laes & Strubbe 2014, 175. See also Robert 1966, 87 no. 6. Likewise Bean & Mitford (1965, 37) state that the use of the salutation εὐτύχει followed by the *signum* recurs with some regularity in the honorific texts of the third century.

²⁷ Hoff *et al.* 2013, 161; 2015, 302.

²⁸ Hoff *et al.* 2009, 6; 2013, 156; Dodd 2020, 51; Erdoğan *et al.* 2020, 2. Giobbe (2013, 137) states that the second half of the second century CE is also likely.

²⁹ Kleijwegt (1991, 265) also, on the basis of Salvianus’ *nomen*, dates the second round of boys’ *pankration*, to the late second or early third century CE.

³⁰ Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 152 no. 258 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 34 AntK 2. See Fig. 8.

category during one of the later celebrations bears the *praenomina* M. Aurelius³¹. This suggests that this celebration must represent at least the third or a subsequent celebration, occurring after 212 CE, rather than being the missing category from the first celebration. Similarly, the category at Lamos, whose specific celebration remains unknown, must also date to after 212 CE. This is supported by the athlete Phirmos, who was successful in the ἄνδρες category at Lamos and also carried the *praenomina* M. Aur(elius)³². Of course, there are many examples of inscriptions from other regions that bear only the *nomen* Aurelius after 212 CE, or the *praenomen* and *nomen* M. Aurelius before 212 CE³³. However, the changes observed in the *praenomina* of athletes participating in this competition, along with the notable presence of individuals bearing the *praenomen* and *nomen* M. Aurelius in inscriptions from cities near Antiochia and among the competitors participating in this contest, suggest a distinct pattern in name usage. Therefore, considering that Aur. Salvianus did not bear the *praenomen* Marcus in the second celebration of the competition, and that it was tetraeteric, the inscription can be more precisely dated to between 200–205 CE. Consequently, the *themis* Leonideios was likely established around the year 200 CE.

In this inscription, the expression ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος³⁴, along with τοῦ ἥρωος³⁵, is used to refer to the son Leonidas. Since the first celebration of the *themis* and its formulation are unknown, it has been suggested that Leonidas likely died before the second celebration of the contest, and that his father took on all responsibility for its continuation thereafter³⁶. The use of the same formulation for the son Leonidas, starting from the very first celebration of the *themis* raises several possibilities. The first possibility is that father Leonidas founded the competition in honour of his son, who passed away at a young age³⁷. The second possibility is that Leonidas died during the first celebration of the competition. However, in

³¹ The inscription has not been seen again. See also Corrigenda 2.

³² See also Paribeni & Romanelli 1914, 173.

³³ On the dates of the inscriptions bearing the names Aurelius and M. Aurelius, though he has dealt with inscriptions from Lydia, see Blanco-Pérez 2016. Although the inscription (Paribeni & Romanelli 1914, 170 no. 120 = Hagel & Thomaschitz 1998, 15 Ada 10) bears the *praenomen* of Marcus, Farrington (2008, 244 no. 14) dates it as late 2nd–3rd c. CE. However he (2008, 244 no. 19) dates the inscription (Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 153 no. 259 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 35 AntK 4) honouring Leonidas by the *boule* and *demos* of Antiochia after 212 CE, though the inscription does not bear the *praenomen* of Marcus.

³⁴ For the connection of the phrase ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης δι' αἰῶνος to death, see also *I.Ephesos* 14, p. 77 no. 1107. On the use of δι' αἰῶνος and the use of this expression with a task performed, see Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 153–154; Robert 1960b, 294–295; 1966, 83–85; 1969, 811; Bean & Mitford 1962, 193 no. 9; Cf. Kah 2018, 278 no. 20.

³⁵ The expression ὁ ἥρωος has been used twice in the second celebration of *themis*, in the category of ἄνδρες, see Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 152 no. 258 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 34 AntK 2, see also Fig. 8. Likewise, in the inscription from Lamos, the latest in date, it is used for Kendas, the father of Leonidas. Thus, the phrase is clearly used to refer to a deceased individual. For the term, see also Robert 1960a, 13 no. 3; 1965, 207 no. 3; 1966, 85; Dagron & Feissel 1987, 115 no. 72; Chanotis 2011, 218.

³⁶ Strasser 2001, 116. Bean & Mitford (1965, 36), however, states that it was conducted by the founder under his father's presidency. Further, Farrington (2008, 244), states that in the inscription documented at Lamos, which must date after the year 212 CE, both the father and the son were simultaneously *agonothetes*.

³⁷ In planned initiatives, as in the newly published inscription from Termessos (Baz & Öztürk 2025, 74), expressions such as ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ, or other formulations conveying a similar meaning may be included. Heberdey (1923, 199; 1934, 769) also cites commemorating the memory of the deceased as one reason for organising contests. See also Pleket 2014, 369.

this case, since the contest had already commenced, the term προκαθεζόμενος would not have been used for father Leonidas in this celebration. The third possibility is that Leonidas passed away prior to the first celebration of it, having personally managed the entire organisation of the event and made announcements inviting participation. The phrase προκαθεζομένου Λεωνίδου πατρὸς τοῦ ἥρωος used for father Leonidas in the inscription points more strongly to the third possibility. Similarly, the honouring of the son Leonidas by the *boule* and *demos* of Antiochia as αἰώνιος ἀγωνοθέτης³⁸ and his characterisation as ὁ ἥρωος can also be interpreted as a strong indication of this assumption. It remains unclear, however, when the city administration honoured the son Leonidas. The absence of the inscription commemorating the athlete who won the men's category at the first celebration of the competition presents a significant obstacle to making a reliable comparison. Nevertheless, the lettering in this new inscription, as well as in the inscription honouring Leonidas, at least, allow an inference regarding the time period during which the honouring did not occur. In this new inscription, there is noticeable inconsistency in the writing of the epsilon and sigma letters. At times, they are rendered in the classical style, while at other times, they take on a distorted form resembling the letter C. By contrast, the inscription honouring Leonidas, is more carefully crafted and exhibits consistency in its lettering. Therefore, it can be concluded that the two inscriptions were not created by the same lapicide, or during the same time period.

The phrase προκαθεζομένου Λεωνίδου, πατρὸς τοῦ ἥρωος, used in reference to the father Leonidas in this inscription, continued in subsequent celebrations of the *themis* held in the city of Antiochia. The term προκαθεζόμενος³⁹ normally indicates that father Leonidas primarily presided over it⁴⁰. It is not known whether his son, Leonidas, took any direct measures to ensure the competition's continuity. Nevertheless, being honoured as ὁ δι' αἰῶνος ἀγωνοθέτης in all celebrations of the competition can be interpreted as a reflection of the significant effort he devoted to its establishment and maintenance⁴¹. However, he may not have considered all the details for the continuity of it, or



Fig. 7. The honouring of Leonidas

³⁸ Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 153 no. 259 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 35 AntK 4, see also Fig. 7. In this context, the phrase ὁ δι' αἰῶνος ἀγωνοθέτης used for the son seems to be more of an honorary designation. The use of προκαθεζομένου καὶ ἀγωνοθετοῦντος for the father in the inscription at Lamos, while the son continues to be described as ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος, is another indication that this expression for the son was used honorific. That this title is primarily honorary and it continues after the death of a person see also Bean & Mitford 1962, 193 no. 9.

³⁹ For the meaning and use of the προκαθεζόμενος see Strasser 2001, 123–127.

⁴⁰ Likewise Bean & Mitford (1965, 36) state that it was conducted by the son under his father's presidency.

⁴¹ It is generally stated that this initiative was a foundation established to ensure the continuity of *themides*, see

been able to implement them. The fact that father Leonidas was referred to as προκαθεζόμενος instead of being described as the ἀγωνοθέτης of the competition can be seen as a sign of this. In any case, even if Leonidas established a financial resource to sustain the continued existence of the competition, it is unknown to what extent these funds covered, or would cover, the expenses of the first and subsequent celebrations of it. The effective continuation of the competition depends on the determination displayed in this matter and the quality of the hospitality provided. As a result, participation in subsequent celebrations of the *themis* will increase, and the existence of it will be strengthened. This situation will inevitably lead to expenses exceeding the planned amounts. If the city administration does not provide support, and a financially capable individual does not take on the role of *agonothetes* for the *themis*, the celebrations will likely not be effectively carried out following the sudden death of its founder. Consequently, the desired outcome may remain unachieved, even during the inaugural celebration. Even if a foundation is established to ensure the survival of the competition, the allocated budget for each celebration would likely remain constrained. Over time, inflation and rising expenses would inevitably lead to a decline in participants year after year, ultimately limiting the contest to a small number of athletes from the city itself. However, despite the sudden death of its founder, the *themis Leonideios* managed to endure and steadily grow over time. In this context, the use of the term προκαθεζόμενος to describe father Leonidas in this inscription makes particular sense. It indicates that the father did not merely preside over it. Rather, in an environment of uncertainty and doubt surrounding the organisation of the competition, he did not abandon the event founded by his son to its own fate. Instead, he personally assumed the responsibilities required for the competition with remarkable commitment, and although he was not formally referred to as the ἀγωνοθέτης, he fulfilled all the duties of that role⁴² in the best possible way, demonstrating exceptional dedication to ensure the survival of the event and acting as a de facto guarantor of its continuation. Apparently, father Leonidas did not consider these responsibilities as mere obligations. Despite facing the loss of his own father, Kendas⁴³, and eventually leaving the city of Antiochia, where the contest had been established, he remained deeply committed throughout his life to perpetuating the memory of his son and ensuring the continuation of the competition⁴⁴. Therefore, his profound interest in sports, particularly in πανκράτιον, likely played a significant role in shaping this attitude. In this context, it is plausible that he personally encouraged his son to establish it.

Strasser 2001, 116. See also Çokbankir 2011, 319–324.

⁴² For the possible duties of an *agonotethes* see Dio Chrys. *or.* 68. 8. 11; *TAM V/2*, 1017; *SEG* 19, 335. See also van Nijf 2020, 245–246.

⁴³ Since Kendas is described as ὁ ἥρωας in the inscription at Lamos (Paribeni & Romanelli 1914, 170 no. 120 = Hagel & Thomaschitz 1998, 15 Ada 10), it is likely that he passed away sometime between the years 212 and 225 CE.

⁴⁴ The exact procedure of the competition is not known. However, the fulfilment of the responsibilities promised by his son to the administration and inhabitants of Antiochia at the time of the establishment of it may serve as another reason for Leonidas, the father, to demonstrate great devotion to its survival. However, the contest was also documented at Lamos sometime after 212 CE, although the exact reason is unknown. Therefore, it seems highly unlikely that a guarantee was initially provided for the continuity of the competition in the city of Antiochia and that this assurance was kept.

The last inscription documenting the *themis Leonideios* in the city of Antiochia belongs to an athlete who achieved success in the ἄνδρες category, although it is unknown which celebration was. However, due to the presence of the *praenomina* M. Aure[lius], this inscription, as previously mentioned, cannot be associated with the ἄνδρες category of the first celebration of the contest. In this case, it is likely that the inscription belongs to the third celebration of the contest at the earliest. Therefore, the event must have been documented in Lamos no earlier than the third celebration, and after the year 212 CE. Considering that father Leonidas met all the needs of the competition, presided over it, and was also a citizen of Lamos⁴⁵, a plausible explanation for the contest being documented in Lamos is a formal request made to Leonidas by the city of Lamos. Depending on the success of the *themis* and the increase in the number of participants, it is possible that the officials of Lamos, leveraging the fact that Leonidas was one of their citizens, provided a better environment for the athletes or more favourable conditions for organising the *themis*. These factors may have ultimately influenced Leonidas. Likewise, the lack of strong will displayed by the officials of the city of Antiochia to sustain it, to host athletes, or to encourage broader participation in *themis*, could be one of the factors behind the competition being held in Lamos⁴⁶. Indeed, while the inscriptions for father Leonidas found in Antiochia only use the term προκαθεζομένου, in Lamos, the term προκαθεζομένου καὶ ἀγωνοθετοῦντος is used⁴⁷. This could indicate both that father Leonidas devoted greater attention to it and that some changes were made to the format of the contest in Lamos.

It is conceivable that it was organised alternately in both cities. However, the fact that the first and second celebrations of the *themis* were definitively documented in the city of Antiochia suggests that it was not initially organised in two cities alternately, between the two cities. The absence of the number of celebrations in the competition held in Lamos creates a notable ambiguity in this context. However, the designation of Marcus Aur(elius) Phirmos, an athlete of Anemourion origin who won in the ἄνδρες category of the *themis* at Lamos, as τρις Θεμιοείκης allows for an inference on this matter. Indeed, the fact that athletes are only mentioned with the competition in which they participated, and not with their past achievements, appears to be a characteristic feature of such *themides*. Therefore, the phrase in the inscription from the city of Lamos seems more likely to refer to three consecutive successes in the same competition⁴⁸, namely the *themis Leonideios*, rather than distinct *themides*. Similarly, another possibility is that one of the categories of the *themis*, such as παῖδες or ἄνδρες, was organised separately in each city. However, the fact that the second celebration of the *themis* in both categories is documented in the city of Antiochia suggests otherwise. Considering the communication possibilities of the time and the

⁴⁵ Λεωνίδου | Κένδου βουλευτοῦ τῆς | τε ἡμετέρας πόλεως | καὶ Λαμωτῶν κτλ. see Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 153 no. 259 = Paribeni & Romanelli 1914, 172 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 35 AntK 4.

⁴⁶ For other potential reasons why the contest took place at Lamos, see also, Altın 2022, 114.

⁴⁷ However, the term ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος was kept for the honorary founder of the *themis* at Lamos.

⁴⁸ The term θεμιοείκης has rarely been documented. Its rare usage and etymology suggest that it is more likely to be associated with success achieved in a local *themis*. See also Baker & Thériault 2014, 114 and 116. For the term also see Pleket 1998, 130.

participation of neighbouring cities, holding the *themis* alternately or staging each celebration in a different location could cause confusion regarding participation. For this reason, the relocation of it to the city of Lamos at a date after 212 seems more plausible.

It is uncertain how many times the event was organised in total. Considering that the term τρις Θεμεονείκης was used solely to denote the success of the celebration of the *themis* at Lamos, it can be concluded that it was likely held at least six times. Nevertheless, the mention of father Leonidas always as προκαθελζόμενος and the association of such *themides* with their founders raises significant doubts about the continuation of the contest following the death of father Leonidas. Therefore, taking into account that the tetraeteric *themis* was likely established around the year 200 or shortly thereafter, along with its number of celebrations and the age of father Leonidas, it can be inferred that this event probably came to an end around the year 230. As with many other *themides* bearing an individual's name, the specific prizes awarded to athletes participating in this contest remain also uncertain. Given the linguistic connection between ἡ θέμις and τὸ θέμα, a basic prize could have been a certain amount of financial reward⁴⁹. The abundance of inscriptions commemorating athletes who achieved success in such *themides* suggests that the preservation of the athlete's name was among the honours conferred by the *themis*⁵⁰. Therefore, another significant prize was undoubtedly the commemoration of the victorious athlete's name⁵¹, potentially accompanied by the erection of a statue. In some inscriptions, the expression τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστησεν specifies who erected the statue, often the *agonothetes*⁵². In the case of this inscription, however, it remains unclear who honoured Salvianus and there is no phrase definitively confirming the erection of a statue. The ambiguity surrounding the identity of the person or group responsible suggests that the *themis* organisation itself may have undertaken this role. Although the inscription does not explicitly confirm the existence of a statue, its formulation implies that one was erected. Moreover, certain marks on the base honouring the athlete further support the probable presence of a statue.

It is not known whether all inscriptions honouring other athletes within the scope of the *themis* contain such marks. However, Bean & Mitford observed that the base of the athlete, bearing the *praenomina* M. Aurelius, and honoured after achieving success in the ἄνδρες category, carried a statue⁵³. At Lamos, although M. Aurelius Phirmos is described as τρις Θεμεονείκης, his name is given in the nominative case rather than the accusative case, which

⁴⁹ For possible rewards of θέμιδες, see Strasser 2001, 119; Farrington 2008, 241–243. See also Çelgin 2007, 36–37.

⁵⁰ See also Doğancı & Altın 2023, 162–163. Recording the winner of a competition also enabled the creation of a semi-public, living archive of the event that can be seen by everyone.

⁵¹ The names of winning athletes in the competitions are recorded not only by the competition organisation but also by the cities themselves, see Pfeijffer 1998, 23–24.

⁵² For an example see TAM V/2, 1017.

⁵³ Bean & Mitford 1965, 36. This inscription has not yet been found and re-examined. The upper part of the inscription published by Heberdey & Wilhelm (1896, 152 no. 258) is missing entirely. The inscription published by Heberdey & Wilhelm (1896, 152 no. 259), honouring Leonidas, is also entirely broken at the top today. Similarly, Bean & Mitford (1965, 36 no. 42) noted that the upper part of the other inscription honouring Salvianus was also damaged.

typically indicates an honour. Unfortunately, verifying the inscription and the base has not been possible. However, the use of the nominative case for the name does not preclude the existence of a statue⁵⁴. Whether a foreigner or a citizen of the city that organised the contest, commemorating the competition winner in a prominent city location appears to have been a significant source of motivation for the athlete, and indicates the great value placed on the athlete's achievement by the city's inhabitants. This inscription was found on the outer side of the northern section of the colonnaded street⁵⁵, one of the city's most impressive construction projects, and a location bustling with crowds throughout the day. Given its placement, the inscription must have originally stood in a prominent and visible position on the row of steps along the northern side of the colonnaded street. Other inscriptions associated with *themis Leonideios* were also located in close proximity to the colonnaded street. Similarly, in many cities, particularly in Termessos, most statue pedestals and honorific inscriptions documenting the agons were placed alongside major benefactors and high-ranking magistrates in the busiest and most prominent urban spaces, such as the colonnaded street, the agora, and gymnasium⁵⁶. This practice, which promoted athletic activity, also appears to explain the proliferation of *themides* organised by private individuals in medium-sized cities.

This new inscription presents variations in the letter forms. The second celebration of the *themis*, however, indicates a lack of consistency in the inscriptions from the same time period. For instance, in the inscription honouring Salvianus, who competed in the παῖδες category in the second celebration of the *themis*, the name of competition is given as πανκράτιν. The term πανκράτιν was also used in the honour inscription of the first celebration. In contrast, in the inscription for the athlete who succeeded in the ἄνδρες category in the second celebration of the *themis*, the word is correctly written as πανκράτιον. Even more notably, the formulation in the inscription from the ἄνδρες category in the second celebration of the *themis* differs significantly from other *themis Leonideios* inscriptions. In other inscriptions, the phrase δι' αἰῶνος Λεωνίδα is followed by the names Λεωνίδου Κενδου. However, in the inscription in question, only the word ἥρωος, which refers to the son Leonidas, appears, and the word ἥρωος is repeated at the end, again referring to the son Leonidas. Although the inscriptions belonging to the second celebration of the *themis* should have been created almost simultaneously, the differences in formulation observed in these inscriptions present a very intriguing situation. The variations in letterforms and the different spellings of words

⁵⁴ For a similar example from Termessos, see Baz & Öztürk 2025, 73f.

⁵⁵ Heberdey & Wilhelm (1896, 153) reported the location of the inscription honouring Leonidas, the founder of the competition, "*Nahe der Hallenstrasse, vielleicht in situ*". The inscription of the second celebration of the contest in the category of ἄνδρες is still buried in the ground and located just south of the intersection between the colonnaded street and the agora, see also Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 152. Other inscriptions have not yet been found. However, Bean & Mitford (1965, 36 no. 41) described the locations of the inscription honouring the athlete with the *praenomina* M. Aurelius as "*immediately to the south of the street, near its bend*" and the other inscription honouring Salvianus (1965, 36 no. 42), "*immediately below the street near its bend*". Therefore, the missing inscriptions should also be situated close to those that have been discovered. In this case, this new inscription appears to be the only one located in a different place compared to the others.

⁵⁶ van Nijf 2000, 191; Çelgin 2007, 36 n 26; Baz & Öztürk 2025, 75.

among the inscriptions suggest that they might have been created by different masons. However, even if the stonemasons imposed their preferences on spelling and letterforms, and the masters carving the inscriptions differed, it is highly likely that the masters simply engraved the text provided to them. Therefore, the differences in formulation, especially between the inscriptions of the athletes honoured at the same celebration, suggest the possibility that the *παῖδες* and *ἄνδρες* categories were held at different times, and that new texts were given to the stonecutters.

All inscriptions related to the *themis Leonideios* were found in the immediate vicinity of the colonnaded street. Therefore, the inscriptions related to the *themis Leonideios* also contribute to a clearer understanding of the renovation process of the colonnaded street and enable more precise inferences regarding the construction dates of significant structures located in its vicinity. The area known as the colonnaded street is quite long, measuring approximately 166 meters in length and 12.10 meters in width⁵⁷. The exact date of the creation of this area and its initial use as a street remains uncertain. Considering that it provided spatial expansion toward the eastern part of the city, required no significant physical intervention to be opened it up for use, offered a suitable environment for residents to rest or spend leisure time, and presented an extraordinary view, it is possible that the area was opened for use either from the moment the city was founded or shortly thereafter, depending on the city's expansion⁵⁸. Likewise, the exact date when the columns that transformed the appearance of this area were erected remains unknown. However, traces found on the stylobate in this area, along with several base fragments discovered on the stylobate steps⁵⁹, have been noted⁶⁰ to resemble the column bases of the temple located to the northeast of the street, which is generally dated to the late 2nd century and early 3rd century CE⁶¹. The findings recovered from this street so far have also been dated to the 3rd century CE⁶². In this context, the absence of the *praenomen Marcus* in the name of Aur. Salvianus, the victor of the first and second celebrations of the tetraeteric *themis*, could serve as a basis for evaluating the chronology of the column installations along the street. This evidence indicates that the erection of the columns — and thus the renovation of the street — could not have occurred after the year 205 CE. This situation also supports the proposed 3rd-century CE date for the

⁵⁷ Erdemgil & Özoral 1975, 61. However, Hoff *et al.* (2013, 161) give the length of the street as 150 metres. See also Hoff *et al.* 2015, 302; Yılmaz Erkövan 2025, 56.

⁵⁸ Erdemgil & Özoral (1975, 61) also identify the colonnaded street and the agora as the oldest structures of the city.

⁵⁹ It remains unclear whether this conclusion was reached because not all column bases were examined, or simply because only a few base fragments were recovered.

⁶⁰ However, it is noted that the columns on the colonnaded street are slightly smaller than those of the temple and rest on Attic-type bases. See Hoff *et al.* 2013, 161; 2015, 302.

⁶¹ Hoff *et al.* 2009, 6; 2013, 156; Dodd 2020, 51; Erdoğan *et al.* 2020, 2. Giobbe (2013, 137) states that the second half of the second century after Christ is also likely.

⁶² Excavations carried out in 2012 along the Colonnaded Street uncovered 17 coins and two weights, which have been dated to the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE, see Hoff *et al.* 2013, 163. Comparable examples of roof tiles used to cover the galleries and shops lining the street have also been dated as early as the 4th century CE, see Yılmaz Erkövan 2025, 68.

construction of the arch⁶³ located at the eastern end of the street, one of the city's prominent architectural features, and suggests that it was most likely built as part of the broader construction activities undertaken during this period. The building projects carried out at that time, along with the establishment of the *themis*, serve also as strong indicators of the city's economic prosperity and demonstrate that there was no significant decline or stagnation in the urban economy during these years. The construction activities also raise the question of whether the renovation works along the street preceded the establishment of the *themis*, or vice versa. Of course, it is not possible to provide a definitive answer to this question. However, considering that the city's splendor was intended to be displayed to participants or visitors, it appears more plausible that the *themis* was organized in conjunction with the street's renovation, or that its establishment was planned accordingly. The posthumous honouring of Leonidas, the founder of the *themis*, by the *boule* and *demos* of Antiochia may further serve as evidence of the collaboration between the city administration and his family, as well as of the planning process underlying the establishment of the *themis*.

Corrigenda et addenda

This new inscription also allows for corrections to be made to some of the *themis Leonideios* inscriptions found in the city of Antiochia. Among the inscriptions requiring corrections, the one recorded by Bean & Mitford⁶⁴ in 1965 particularly stands out. This inscription concerns the honouring of Salvianus for his success in the παῖδες category of the second celebration of the *themis*. The new inscription begins with the phrase τύχη ἀγαθῇ, which is located at the top of the inscription block. However, in the edition transmitted by Bean & Mitford, the usage of τύχη ἀγαθῇ or ἀγαθῇ τύχη is not present⁶⁵. Bean & Mitford described the inscription block they published with the phrase “*the top damaged*”. Salvianus is honoured in both inscriptions. Likewise, the inscription in question is identical to the new inscription, except for the number β', which indicates the second celebration of the *themis*, and the line arrangement. Therefore, this phrase might also be expected to appear in the upper part of the inscription published by Bean & Mitford. The same possibility may apply to other related inscriptions as well. In their edition, Bean & Mitford tentatively identified the name of Aur. Salvianus' father as either Ἀδαῖος or Ἀδέας, expressing uncertainty. Similarly, L. Robert approached the matter with scepticism⁶⁶, though he did not propose an alternative reading. This new inscription confirms Robert's objection and reveals that Salvianus' father's name must, in fact, have been different, namely Ἀδρίας. Bean & Mitford also cautiously interpreted the number of celebrations of the *themis* in their publication marking it as β'(?), indicating

⁶³ The arch is dated to the 3rd century CE in terms of materials and workmanship, see Erdemgil & Özoral 1975, 58.

⁶⁴ Bean & Mitford 1965, 36 no. 42. See also Robert 1966, 87; Pleket 1969, 48 no. 44; Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 36 AntK 11.

⁶⁵ Interestingly, this expression does not appear in any other inscriptions found in the city. The only other recorded instance of the expression ἀγαθῇ τύχη is in a fragment of an inscription near the colonnaded street, as documented by Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 152.

⁶⁶ Robert 1966, 87 no. 2.

uncertainty. Given that *themis Leonideios* is tetraeteric, and that there would have been a considerable age difference if Salvianus had participated in the third celebration of the boys' category, it seems unlikely that Salvianus would have competed in this category again. Therefore, the transmission by Bean & Mitford does not appear suspect. They recorded the last line of the inscription as [εὐ]τύχι⁶⁷ vac. TOY –. Bean & Mitford made no suggestion regarding the second word of the line. However, Robert completed the letters TOY in the second word of the line as Τού[η]⁶⁸, which is the vocative form of the name Τού[ης]. The imperative form must once again be followed by a *cognomen*, as suggested by L. Robert. There is a notable similarity between the letters Y and X, and both inscriptions exhibit the same formulation. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to interpret the letters TOY in the second celebration of *themis* as parts of the word [Εὐσ]τόχ[ι], corresponding to the epithet found in this inscription. In the light of this, it appears more accurate to accept the revised version of the inscription as presented on the right side, below.

Bean & Mitford 1965, p. 36 no 42 = Robert

1966, p. 87 = Pleket 1969, p. 48 no 44 =

Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, p. 36 AntK 11.

Revised Edition

	[τύχη ἀγαθῇ]
Αὐρ. Σαλβ[ια]νὸν Ἀδ[αί]-	Αὐρ. Σαλβ[ια]νὸν Ἀδ[ρί]-
ου ? Ἀντιο[χ]έα, πατρ[ό]-	ου Ἀντιο[χ]έα πατρ[ό]-
βουλον, νεικήσαντα	βουλον νεικήσαντα
παιδῶν πανκράτιν	παιδῶν πανκράτιν
θέμιδος β' ? Λεωνιδε[ί]-	θέμιδος β' Λεωνιδε[ί]-
ου, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος	ου ἀγωνοθετοῦντος
διὰ αἰῶνο[ς Λ]εωνίδα	διὰ αἰῶνο[ς Λ]εωνίδα
Λεωνίδου Κενδου προ-	Λεωνίδου Κενδου προ-
καθεζομένου Λεων[ί]-	καθεζομένου Λεων[ί]-
δου πατρὸς τοῦ ἡ[ρω]-	δου πατρὸς τοῦ ἡ[ρω]-
ος	ος
[εὐ]τύχι vac. TOY- -	[εὐ]τύχι vac. [Εὐσ]τόχ[ι]

Corrigenda 1

Heberdey & Wilhelm, in their study, completed⁶⁹ the right side of the first line of the inscription, which belongs to the ἄνδρες category of the second celebration of *themis*, as [Λ]εω[νίδ-]. Today, the letters εω are no longer clearly visible on the surface of the stone (Fig.

⁶⁷ The form of εὐτύχει soon evolved into the form [εὐ]τύχι, which appears more frequently in inscriptions, see Yangaki 2010, 249.

⁶⁸ For Εὐτύχι Τού[η], see Robert 1966, 87 no. 3; 1967, 111; Robert & Robert 1967, 552 no. 623.

⁶⁹ Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896, 152 no. 258 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 34 AntK 2.

8). Thus, it is not possible to definitively determine the name. However, the name Νέων, which includes the letters εω, is also attested in the city. Furthermore, the 10th line of the inscription, which contains a questionable transcription, should read [πατὺρ τ]οῦ ἥρωος instead of [νιοῦ (?) τ]οῦ ἥρωος, as seen in the inscription honouring the athlete who achieved success in the second celebration in the category of ἄνδρες.

Corrigenda 2

Other corrections can be made for the inscription documenting success in the ἄνδρες category, where only the *praenomina* M(arcus) Aurelius are known. In the edition provided by Bean & Mitford⁷⁰, there appears to be sufficient space after the *praenomina* M. Aure[lius] in the first line to accommodate one additional name. However, in the second line, the name Iulian[us] is also presented as one of the athlete's names. This would imply that the athlete has four names, which, though plausible, is uncommon. A more likely interpretation is that Iulian[us] represents the name of the athlete's father, rather than belonging to the athlete himself. Although Bean & Mitford also published the second celebration



Fig. 8. The second celebration in the men's category

in the παῖδες category, they appear to have included additional words in this inscription. Given that the formulations of the *themis Leonideios* inscriptions are identical, it seems more accurate to interpret the completion provided between lines 10–13 of this inscription, [αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λε]ωνίδου [Κενδου, τοῦ πα]τρὸς τ[οῦ ἥρωος], as [Λε]ωνίδου πα]τρὸς τοῦ ἥρωος.

Conclusion

This newly discovered inscription has not only contributed to the numerical increase in the documented presence of the *themis Leonideios* in the city, but has also significantly enriched our understanding of its character. By providing important details and contextual nuances, it has paved the way for more precise analyses and deeper interpretations regarding the nature and role of the *themis*. Furthermore, it has enabled more accurate comparisons with other *themis Leonideios* inscriptions, allowing key similarities and distinctions in their formulations and content to be identified. Such comparisons not only deepen our knowledge of the *themis Leonideios*, but also facilitate meaningful comparisons with other *themides*. Moreover, the corrections and additions made to previously published inscriptions, thanks to the insights gained from this discovery, further demonstrate how new findings can refine existing records and underscore the dynamic, evolving nature of epigraphic studies.

⁷⁰ Bean & Mitford 1965, 36 no. 41 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 35 AntK 18.

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* Abbreviations of epigraphical editions and reference works follow the "Liste des abréviations des éditions et ouvrages de référence pour l'épigraphie grecque alphabétique (GrEpiAbbr – Version 03, Septembre 2024)" developed by the *Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine*.

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