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# The Stadium at Aphrodisias

KATHERINE WELCH

## Abstract

This article presents the preliminary results of an ongoing campaign of architectural and archaeological documentation of the Stadium at Aphrodisias. A combination of stylistic and historical evidence suggests that the Stadium was part of the monumental building program undertaken in the city in the first century A.D. The Stadium has a peculiar form in that it has two *sphenonai* (curved ends) rather than one. It is one of a small group of such stadia in the Greek world that epigraphical evidence suggests had a specific name: στάδιον ἀμφιθέατρον ("amphitheatral stadium"). The unusually complete archaeological record at Aphrodisias indicates that throughout the Imperial period the Stadium was used not only for Greek athletic competitions, but also for Roman spectacles such as gladiatorial games and *venationes*. In Late Antiquity a small stone amphitheater was built into its eastern *sphenone*, obliterating part of the Stadium's running track. It is argued that this was a way of making permanent an arrangement that had always been temporary in past centuries. Gladiatorial contests had largely ceased by the time that the amphitheater was built into the Stadium, indicating that amphitheaters such as this one were intended not for gladiatorial games, as is often supposed, but for the *venationes* that seem to have flourished at the site well into the sixth century, long after they had been officially banned in all cities of the eastern Roman empire.\*

## INTRODUCTION

Since the early 19th century, travelers to Aphrodisias have noted the Stadium as one of the city's

most remarkable survivals.<sup>1</sup> Located at the northern edge of the site, at some distance from the ancient civic center, its imposing marble auditorium is 270 m in length and has 30 tiers of seating with space for 30,000 people,<sup>2</sup> making it the single best-preserved ancient stadium and also one of the largest. The building exhibits a striking combination of both grandeur and austerity (fig. 1).

In 1993, my collaborator, Andrew Leung of the University of Pennsylvania, and I began a thorough architectural and archaeological documentation of the Stadium. We have produced a plan of the building (fig. 2), and are now generating a series of detailed drawings, including a state plan (at a scale of 1:50) of the *cavea*, which comprises 40 wedges of seating (figs. 3–4). No accurate plans have previously been drawn nor has any type of publication on the Stadium appeared.<sup>3</sup> In fact, stadia of the Roman period in general have been little studied, perhaps because so few of them are well enough excavated to make a detailed publication feasible. Although the Stadium at Aphrodisias has been above ground since antiquity, it has suffered surprisingly little damage. Unlike many other monuments at the site with more complicated histories, the Stadium is virtually untouched, making it an ideal candidate for a comprehensive study that will be useful for subsequent analyses of other stadia of the Roman period. This

\* This article is a preliminary report on the Stadium, which will be published in detail as part of the new Aphrodisias monograph series. The Stadium Project has been funded by New York University, as well as by the Archaeological Institute of America (Kenan T. Erim Awards in 1993 and 1996), the American Philosophical Society, and the American Research Institute in Turkey. I would like to thank C. Ratté and L. Bier for their help in interpreting the architecture of the Stadium as well as its urban context; D. Romano for many useful discussions about the architecture of stadia in general; and E. Badian, A. Chaniotis, K.M. Coleman, E.R. Gebhard, C.H. Hallett, T. Käfer, A. Leung, and R.R.R. Smith for their helpful comments.

The following abbreviations are used:

Golvin	J.-C. Golvin, <i>L'amphithéâtre romain: Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et ses fonctions</i> (Paris 1988).
Reynolds	J.M. Reynolds, <i>Aphrodisias and Rome</i> (JRS Monograph 1, London 1982).
Robert	L. Robert, <i>Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec</i> (Limoges 1940).

Roueché

C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (JRS Monograph 6, London 1993).

<sup>1</sup> L. Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1838) 97–98, pl. LV, 108 and 109; W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* I (London 1842) 529; C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* III (Paris 1849) 164, 167, pl. CLVII; C. Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor* (London 1852) 251–52; Society of the Dilettanti, *Antiquities of Ionia* III (London 1840) 66–67, pls. X–XII.

<sup>2</sup> This is the figure arrived at if each spectator is allotted 0.50 m of linear space per seat. For a plan of the site, see R.R.R. Smith and C. Ratté, "Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1993," *AJA* 99 (1995) pl. I.

<sup>3</sup> The building was discussed in passing by L. Crema, "I monumenti architettonici afrodisiensi," *MonAnt* 48 (1939) 240–44; and by K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite* (London 1986) 67–70; and Erim, "Aphrodisias: Results of the 1968 Campaign," *TürkArkDerg* 17:1 (1968) 43–57.



Fig. 1. View of the Stadium at Aphrodisias from the east

article presents the results of our documentation to date and situates the Stadium at Aphrodisias in its wider architectural and cultural contexts.

Stadia were rectilinear or U-shaped buildings that were used for athletic competitions (footraces, boxing, wrestling, the *pankration*, and the *pentathlon*).<sup>4</sup> The building type first appears in the Archaic and Classical periods as a simple structure with a rectangular race course (*dromos*) and earthen embankments on the long sides for spectator seating (as at Olympia). In the Hellenistic period the banks of seating were built in stone (as at Priene), and in some cases a sphendone was added so that the building had one straight and one curved end (as at Delphi). By the second century A.D., Roman architectural practices had affected the form of stadia in the Greek East, so that most were now built partially or wholly on level ground by means of vaulting, as at Perge. These

new monumental stadia had freestanding facades and *analemmata* (retaining walls) at the straight end of the building, as well as proportionally larger caveas with a sophisticated system of spectator circulation in the substructures, including annular vaulting and sometimes *vomitoria* typical of Roman spectator buildings in the West.<sup>5</sup>

#### DESCRIPTION

##### *Plan and Dimensions*

The cavea is 270 m long and 59 m wide, and the track surface (*dromos*) is 238 m long. The track is a little wider than is usual in other stadia; it is 40 m wide at its widest point at the center of the building and 31 m wide at its narrowest point closer to the ends of the building. The long sides of the cavea are thus not parallel to one another, but curve noticeably toward the middle, giving the track a slightly

<sup>4</sup> See D.C. Young, "Athletics," in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger eds., *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome II* (New York 1988) 1131–42 with bibliography. On the mechanics of stadium races, see S.G. Miller, "Turns and Lanes in the Ancient Stadium," *AJA* 84 (1980) 159–66.

<sup>5</sup> On the architectural history of stadia, see P. Aupert, "Évolution et avatars d'une forme architecturale," in C. Landes ed., *Le stade romain et ses spectacles* (Latres 1994) 95–106; DarSag 1449–56, s.v. *Stadium* (S. Dorigny); EAA 464–68, s.v. *Stadio* (P. Sommella); RE 3 A 2 (1929) 1967–73, s.v. *Stadion* (der Bau) (E.R. Fiechter). For specific buildings, see: A. von Gerkan, *Milet II.1: Das Stadion* (Berlin 1921);

A.M. Colini, *Stadium Domitiani* (Rome 1943); C. Gasparri, "Lo stadio panatenaico," ASAtene 52–53 (1974–1975) 313–92; P. Aupert, *FdD II: Topographie et architecture: Le stade* (Paris 1979); S.G. Miller's forthcoming *Nemea II: The Stadium*. See also D.G. Romano, *Athletics and Mathematics in Ancient Corinth: The Origins of the Greek "Stadion"* (Philadelphia 1993); P. Roos, "In Search of Ancient Stadia and Hippodromes in Anatolia," *OpAth* 20 (1994) 179–88; and Roos, "On the Connection between Theatre and Stadium in Anatolian Cities," in H. Malay ed., *Erol Atalay Memorial* (Izmir 1991) 165–68.

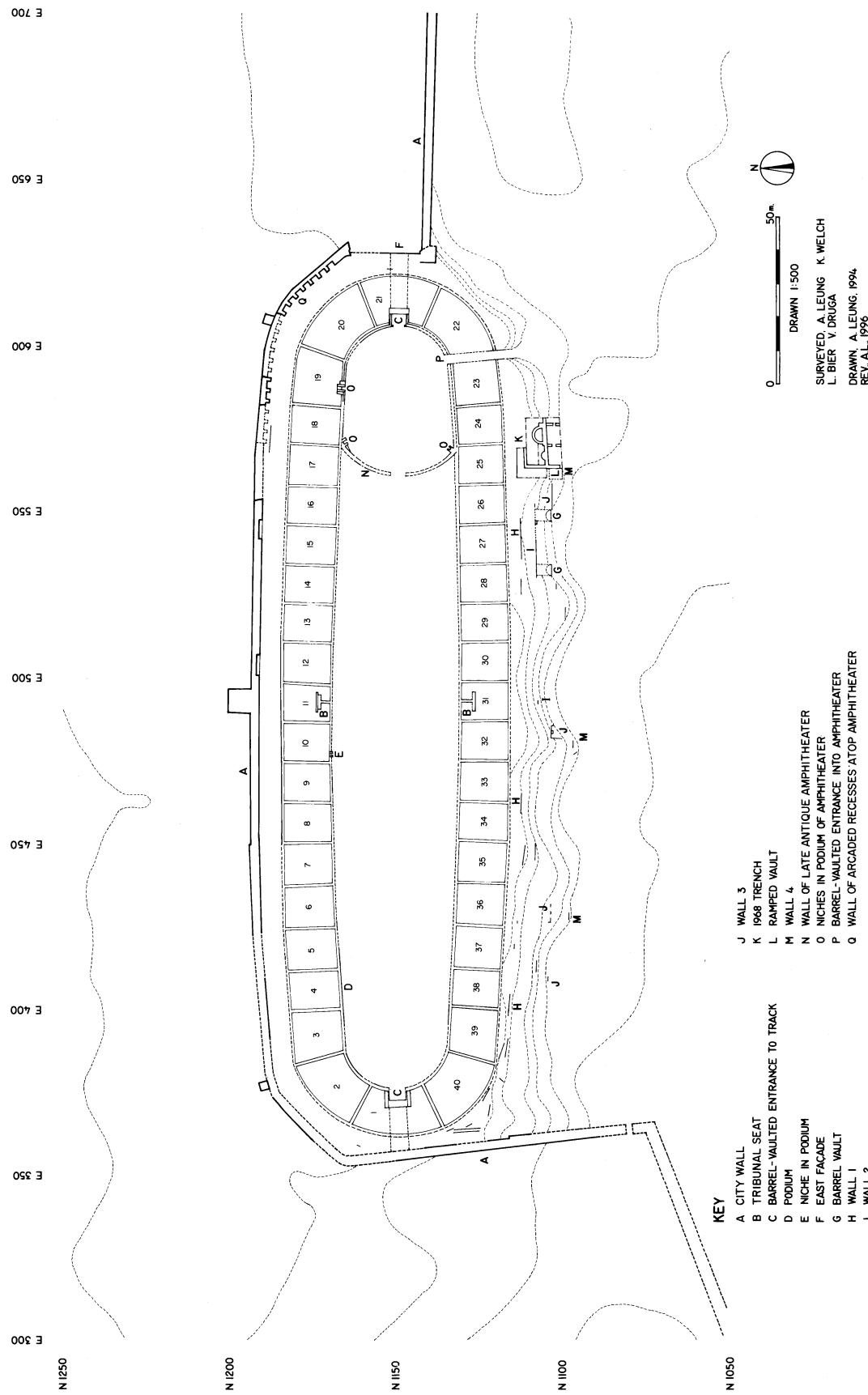


Fig. 2. Plan of the Stadium

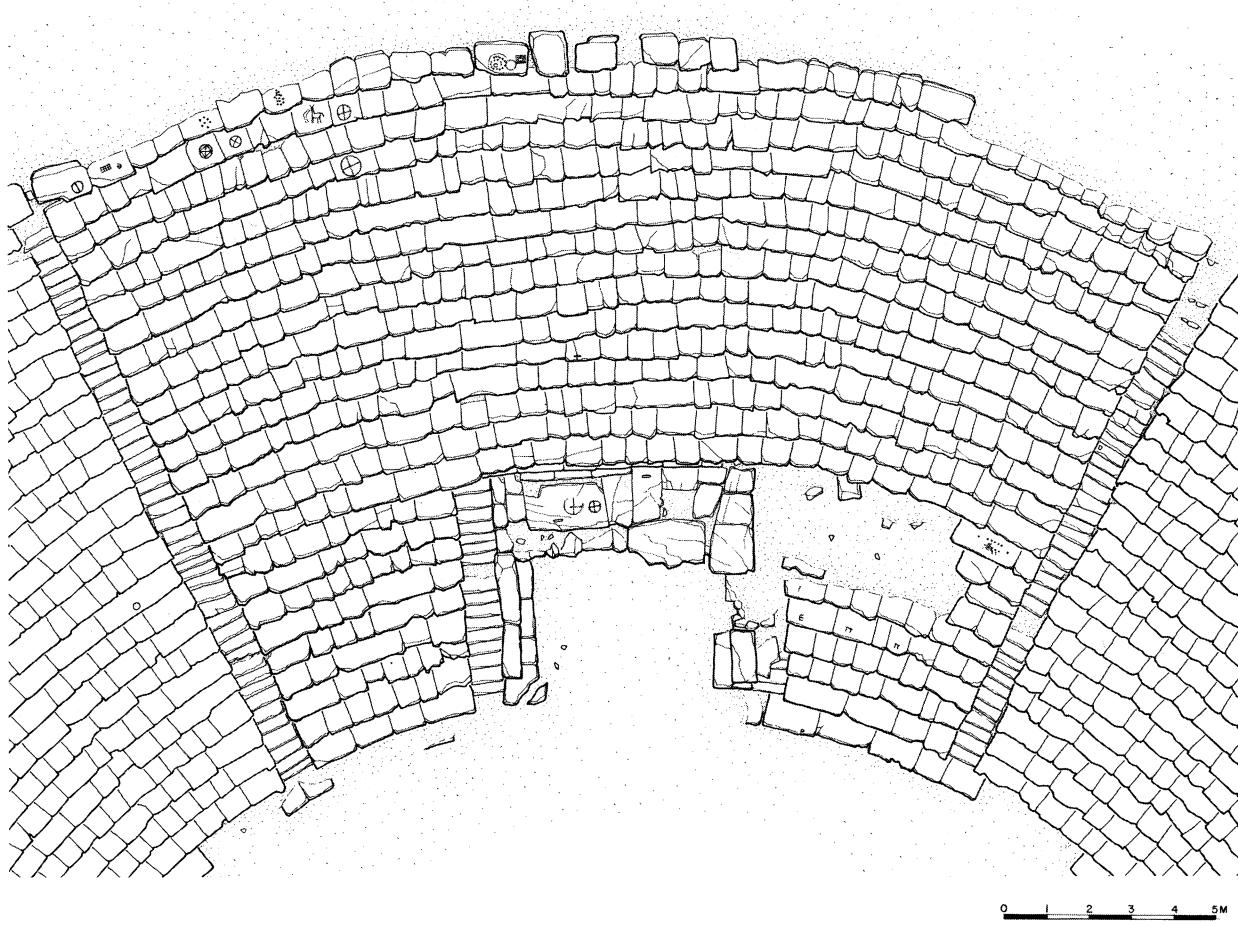


Fig. 3. Wedge 1, with tunnel. (A. Leung)

elliptical shape (figs. 1–2).<sup>6</sup> In plan the Stadium has two curved ends (sphendonai). Without the sphendonai, the length of the straight section of the running track (from wedge 4 to 18 on the north side of the building, and from wedge 24 to 38 on the south side of the building) is ca. 180 m. Using a foot measurement of 0.295 (the same foot measure used in the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias and probably also in the city grid),<sup>7</sup> this dimension of 180 m corresponds closely to the canonical measure of one stade (600 ft, or approximately 177 m).

#### Cavea

The cavea is 10 m high, measuring from the top of the podium to the highest preserved row of seats

(row 26). The lower third of the cavea was dug down below ground level, while the upper part rested on embankments of packed earth, above ground level. There are 40 wedges of seats (*kerkides*), which we have numbered 1–40 (fig. 2). Wedge 1 coincides with the western entrance to the running track, and the numbering moves clockwise, along the north side to wedge 21 at the eastern end and back again along the south side of the building. The largest wedges of seats at the short ends of the building (wedges 1 and 21) are 22.5 m wide at the top of the cavea, and the straight wedges on the long sides are 12 m wide.

The seating has an architecturally severe appearance, with few but effective decorative features and design accents. The seats at the edges of the *kerkides*

<sup>6</sup> Early travelers to the site, such as members of the Society of the Dilettanti, restored the sides of the Stadium as parallel in their drawings, assuming that the convex shape was due to settling or to earthquakes. However, a mild swelling was intended in the planning of Greek and Roman stadia (it is evident as early as the fourth-century B.C. stadium at Olympia), probably because of the dynamic op-

tical effect that it generated. The use of this device in the Stadium at Aphrodisias is especially pronounced—a detail whose significance is addressed below.

<sup>7</sup> On the foot measurement used at Aphrodisias, see R.R.R. Smith and C. Ratté, "Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1995," *AJA* 101 (1997) 13.

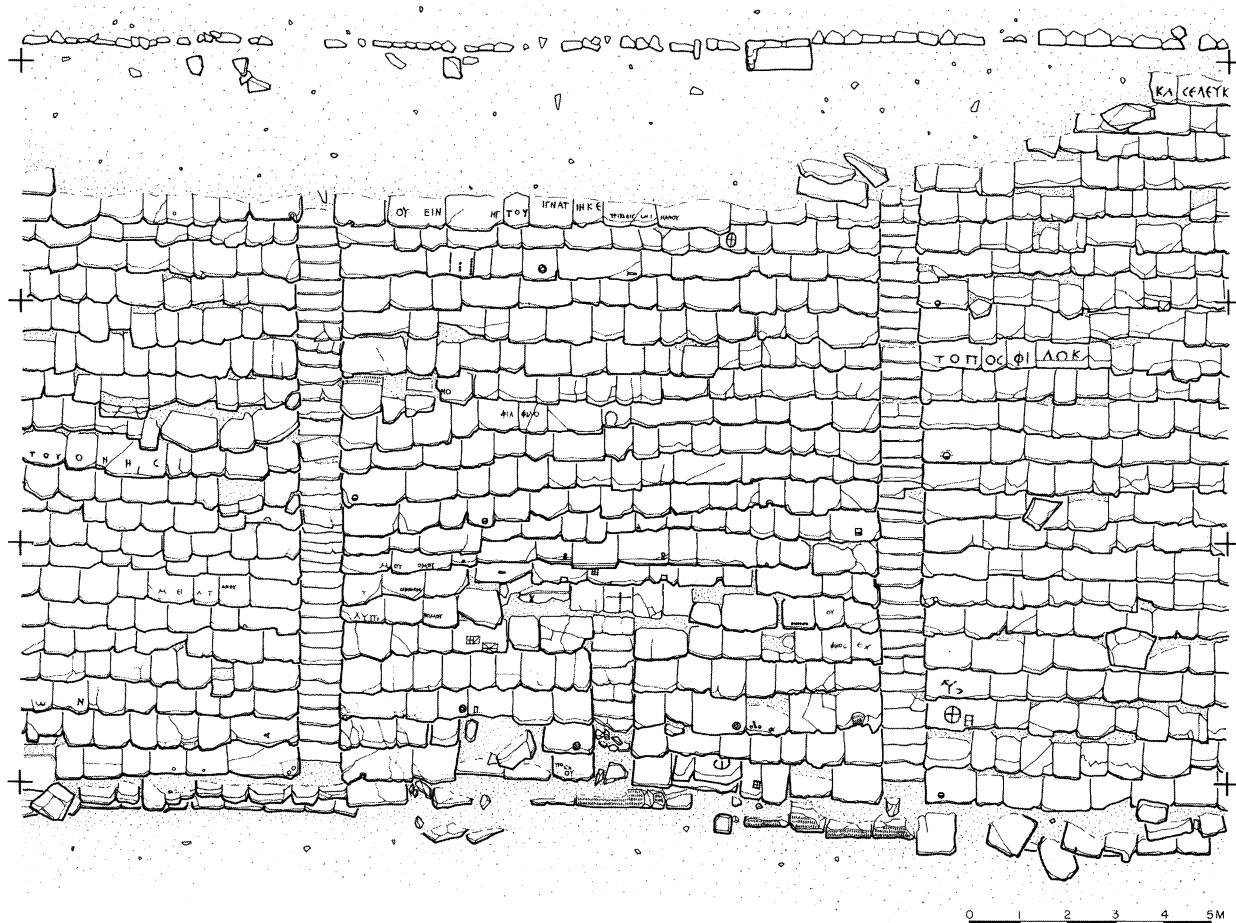


Fig. 4. Wedge 11, with tribunal seat. (A. Leung)

are supported by lion's-foot moldings (fig. 5). Wedges 11 and 31, which are halfway down the long sides of the building, have high-backed tribunal seats (fig. 2: B). Wedges 1 and 21, at the east and west ends of the building, have barrel-vaulted tunnels 4 m wide (fig. 2: C; fig. 6), which lead from outside the building down into the dromos, sloping at an angle of 15°. Since these tunnels gave access not to the cavea but to the track, they were clearly used for performers, not spectators. The keystones of the arches of the tunnels that face inside the building were sculpted with busts of divinities: a winged Hermes is still visible on the keystone of the western tunnel (fig. 7); the keystone of the eastern tunnel is too battered for identification of the bust, but it is likely to have been Herakles—the standard counterpart to Hermes in an athletic context. The running track is separated from the seating by a high podium (1.60 m), which has simple moldings at the top and bottom. The podium (fig. 2: D), which is still largely buried, had one square niche (fig. 2: E) or "refuge" for use by stadium personnel

and performers, located in wedge 10, just west of the central wedge with the tribunal seats (fig. 8).<sup>8</sup>

#### *Exterior*

On its north and west sides, the exterior of the Stadium is covered by the city wall, which was built up against it. Part of the Stadium's facade is still visible, however, in the eastern sector of the building (fig. 1; fig. 2: F), where it has a fine marble ashlar facing crowned by a stout cyma molding (fig. 9). On the long, south side of the Stadium, the building's exterior is mostly buried. The visible remains suggest that it consisted simply of an earthen rampart supported by blind barrel vaults (fig. 2: G) situated perpendicularly to the long axis of the Stadium, and a series of retaining walls (made of roughly hewn limestone and schist blocks, fieldstone, and coarse mortar) that run parallel to the long axis of the Stadium.

Wall 1 (fig. 2: H) marks the back of the cavea and functioned as a retainer for the highest row of seats.

<sup>8</sup> Dimensions of the niche: H. 1.60 m, W. 1.0 m, D. 1.20 m.



Fig. 5. Stadium seat with lion's-foot molding, wedge 21



Fig. 6. Wedge 21, with view of the tunnel



Fig. 7. Wedge 1 tunnel, with detail of the keystone

It follows the slightly convex contour of the cavea all along the south side of the Stadium. The distance between this wall and the top preserved row of seats

(row 26) is approximately 5 m, leaving room for perhaps four more rows of seats above and an ambulatory for spectators approximately 3 m wide. (It is probable that each wedge originally had 30 rows of seats, and that the upper four rows of seats were removed and used in the construction of the Late Antique city wall, where many reused Stadium seats can now be seen.) A second wall (wall 2, fig. 2: I) is located approximately 5 m south of wall 1 and runs parallel to it. Like wall 1, it follows the mild *entasis* of the seating. Another retaining wall (wall 3, fig. 2: J) that was exposed in a large trench dug in 1968 (fig. 2: K) has two apses that were cut into it in Late Antique times. In 1996 a careful study of the architecture in the 1968 trench was undertaken, which revealed a ramped vault (fig. 2: L) supported by a retaining wall (wall 4, fig. 2: M) and a layer of marble chips in the scarp above. The ramped vault and the layer of marble chips have the same degree of slope, suggesting that both this vault and the earthen embankment above it were part of the original construction of the Stadium. This arrangement of built features and earthworks together functioned to retain the outward thrust of the embanked cavea.



Fig. 8. Wedges 10 and 11. Niche in podium in wedge 10 at the left.



Fig. 9. East facade

The evidence suggests, then, that the long south, and probably north, sides of the Stadium consisted simply of an earthen rampart strengthened by a skeleton of walls and vaulting. The building seems to have had a finely constructed facade of marble ashlar blocks only on its short ends, a feature of the building's architecture that was probably dictated by the need for access tunnels (fig. 9). The Stadium has no substructures for spectator circulation, as exist in many other Roman stadia. Spectators had to climb up to the top of the building from outside from where they would descend to their seats, much as in a theater (except that in theaters, spectators could also enter through the orchestra and ascend to their seats, whereas in the Stadium spectators could not enter the cavea from the track level). There seem to have been five main access points for the audience, which were aligned with the major north-south streets in the residential section of the site just south of the Stadium (as revealed by the 1995 geophysical survey).<sup>9</sup> These access points are today marked by five prominent mounds regularly spaced along the south flank of the Stadium. From the civic center of Aphrodisias to the south, the exterior of the Stadium would probably have had the appearance of a low, grassy hill, much as it does today.

#### DATE

The date of the Stadium is difficult to determine because, unlike many other monuments at Aphrodisias (the Theater, for example), there are no sur-

viving inscriptions associated with its construction. Nevertheless, stylistic and historical criteria allow us to arrive at a probable date for the building. As mentioned above, there are several well-preserved stadia of Asia Minor datable to the second century A.D. on the basis of their architectural style and their similarity to other types of more securely dated buildings, such as theaters. These have vaulted substructures that provide for spectator circulation beneath the cavea (as at Aspendos, Sardis, and Silyon), as well as monumental facades and analemmata on at least one side of the building (Ephesos, Aizanoi, and Antioch on the Meander). The stadium at Perge is the best-preserved example of this High Imperial type of stadium, built on level ground, in a wealthy city of the second century A.D. At Perge the whole cavea is built up on vaults, and every third vault has a vomitorium that allows spectators to enter and exit the stadium without having to climb up to the top of the building and back down again. By contrast, the Stadium at Aphrodisias, which was also built on level ground, lacks a monumental facade and uses only minimal vaulting for structural purposes. The lower part of the cavea was dug down into the ground, and the upper part of the cavea was supported by earthen embankments, a method of construction typical of Hellenistic stadia, for example, those at Priene and Miletos. These architectural features might indicate that the Aphrodisian stadium was built before the second century A.D.

A more specific date for the building may be sug-

<sup>9</sup> See Smith and Ratté (*supra* n. 7) figs. 9 and 13. For the results of the 1996 fieldwork, see R.R.R. Smith and C.

Ratté, "Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1996," *AJA* 102 (1998) 225–50.

gested on other grounds. The Stadium at Aphrodisias is part of a small group of stadia that are quite similar in both architectural form (all have two sphendonai) and construction technique (all have caveas dug out of the earth, and lack monumental facades on their long sides). One of these stadia is situated close to Aphrodisias, at Laodikeia in Phrygia,<sup>10</sup> and the second is located farther away at Nikopolis, in northwestern Greece.<sup>11</sup> A third possible example, the stadium at Nysa in Caria, is probably to be discounted.<sup>12</sup> The stadium at Laodikeia was dedicated to the emperor Titus in A.D. 79.<sup>13</sup> The stadium at Nikopolis is earlier—probably Augustan—since Strabo (7.7.6, C 325) mentions it, and says that it was built for the Actian Games (which were instituted imme-

<sup>10</sup> The stadium at Laodikeia, which has never been properly surveyed, is well preserved but is overgrown and buried to a height above its podium. It has two barrel-vaulted tunnels at either end, like the Stadium at Aphrodisias, and it is approximately the same size as the Stadium at Aphrodisias, if slightly smaller. See the Society of the Dilettanti, *Antiquities of Ionia* II (London 1797) 31–32, pl. XLVIII; W.M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* I (London 1895) 45, 72–73; J. des Gagniers et al., *Laodicée du Lykos: Le Nymphée* (Paris 1969); G.E. Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (London 1971) 247–57.

<sup>11</sup> The little-known stadium at Nikopolis is discussed by F. Krinzingen: "Nikopolis in der augusteischen Reichspropaganda," in E. Chrysos ed., *Nikopolis* I (Preveza 1987) 109–20, esp. 117. It had a dromos that was dug down into the earth, and its seating (which no longer survives) was supported on vaulted substructures of concrete.

<sup>12</sup> The stadium at Nysa was restored with two sphendonai in W. von Diest in *Nysa ad Meandrum* (Berlin 1913) 42–44, pl. VI, and this plan has been widely reproduced. The restoration does not seem to be based on good archaeological evidence, however. This building, which straddles a torrent bed with a barrel vault below the running track for canalization, is clearly the structure referred to by Strabo (14.1.43, C649) as an "amphitheater": "[Nysa] is a double city, so to speak, for it is divided by a torrential stream that forms a gorge, which at one place has a bridge over it, joining the two cities, and at another is adorned with an amphitheater, with a hidden underground passage for the torrential waters" (Ἔστι δ' ὡσπερ δίπολις, διαιρεῖ γάρ αὐτὴν χαράδρα τις, ποιῶσα φάραγγα. ἡς τὸ μὲν γέφυραν ἐπικειμένην ἔχει, συνάπτουσαν τὰς δύο πόλεις, τὸ δ' ἀμφιθεάτρῳ κεκόσμηται, κρυπτὴν ἔχοντι τὴν ὑπόρρυσιν τῶν χαραδρῶν ὑδάτων). Recent excavation has demonstrated that the north end of the stadium at Nysa was curved: V. Idil, "Nysa (Sultanhisar)," *Rehberce, Ankara Profesyonel Turizim Rehberleri Dernegi yayin organi* 4 (1996) 28–38 (see plan 4, p. 35). The south end of the stadium, however, has been completely washed away by the torrent; nor was it visible at the time of the German campaign at Nysa, which generated the plan of the building. There is nothing to rule out that the stadium had a conventional plan, with only one curved end. Indeed, the restoration of the building with two curved ends may have been based on an acquaintance with the nearby Stadium at Aphrodisias, which has two curved ends, and on Strabo's use of the term "amphitheater."

diate after Octavian's victory in 31 B.C.). These two stadia, similar in architectural form to the one at Aphrodisias, are externally dated to the Early Imperial period, suggesting that the Stadium at Aphrodisias could also date to sometime in the first century A.D.

Another piece of evidence that points to an Early Imperial date for the Stadium is an inscription that mentions a sacred contest at Aphrodisias in the first century A.D. called the Ἀφροδείσια Ἰσολύμπια.<sup>14</sup> The *Aphrodeisia Isolympia* presumably formed part of the main festival of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias. In a city whose fame rested on its cult of Aphrodite, this contest would have required an appropriately grand architectural setting. It might then be sug-

Two recent articles have demonstrated that in the Early Imperial period the terminology for Roman entertainment buildings (especially the oval building that we would later know as the "amphitheater") was still in flux; it was not until the second century A.D. that this word became more narrowly defined. In the first century A.D., the word signified a building with seats all the way around (in contrast with the theater where the seats were arranged in a semicircle). For example, Josephus (*AJ* 15.341) uses "amphitheater" to refer to a building at Caesarea Maritima that clearly functioned as a hippodrome (it is 300 m long, has *carceres* and a barrier down the center); see Y. Porath, "Herod's 'amphitheatre' at Caesarea: A Multipurpose Entertainment Building," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East* (*JRA Suppl.* 14, Ann Arbor 1995) 15–27; J.H. Humphrey, "Amphitheatrical Hippo-stadia," in A. Raban and K.G. Holm eds., *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (New York 1996) 121–29; and R. Étienne, "La naissance de l'amphithéâtre: Le mot et la chose," *REL* 43 (1965) 213–20.

<sup>13</sup> An earthquake destroyed Laodikeia in A.D. 60 (*Tac. Ann.* 14.27; *Oros.* 7.7.12). The stadium was probably constructed after the earthquake, either as an entirely new structure or as a replacement of an earlier stadium. Inscriptions attesting to the building are as follows: *IGRR* IV, 845: [Αὐτόκρ]ά[τορι] Τίτῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ, ὑπάτῳ τῷ ζ' Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ νιώ, καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ, Νεικόστρατος Λυκίου τοῦ Νεικοστράτου τ[ὸ] στάδιον ἀμφιθέατρον λευκόλιθον ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέθηκεν, τὰ προσλείψαντα τοῦ ἔργου τελειώσαντος Νεικοστράτου τοῦ κληρονόμου αὐτοῦ, καθιερώσαντος Μάρκου Οὐλπίου Τραιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου. *IGRR* IV, 861: Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Τατίαν Νεικοστράτου τοῦ Περικλέους νέαν ἥρωιδα, διά τε τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀρχάς τε καὶ λει[τ]ουργίας καὶ ἐργ[επι]στασίας καὶ διὰ τ[ὸ]ν πρόθειον αὐτῆς [Νεικόστρατον. δς, [μετὰ τὰ] τῶν ἀλλων ὧν πᾶ[ρεσ]χεν ιεράτευσέν [τε] τῆς πόλεως καὶ [ἀνέ]θηκεν τὸ τε στά[διον] ἀνφιθέατρον [λευκόλιθον καὶ τὰς . . .

<sup>14</sup> The inscription, which is from Rhodes and records the victories of a runner in a series of sacred contests, has been dated by L. Robert to the first century A.D. on the basis of the script: "Deux inscriptions agonistiques de Rhodes," *ArchEph* 1966, 108–18; Roueché 163. The designation *ἰσολύμπια* means that the contest was modeled on those of the Classical circuit in Greece.

gested that the building of the Stadium was associated with an increased importance of this contest in Julio-Claudian times when it proved timely to promote Aphrodisias's connections with the *gens Julia* through Aphrodite. In short, one can see both the Aphrodeisia Isolympia and the Stadium as part of Aphrodisias's rise to prominence in the Early Imperial period. In addition to the festival of the goddess, the new cult of the emperors would have required new kinds of events such as venationes for which, as we will see, the Stadium provided an ideal venue. An Early Imperial date for the Stadium makes most sense in historical terms, and it coincides well with the stylistic evidence outlined above.

#### URBAN CONTEXT

The Stadium is situated at the northern edge of the site and is oriented due east–west.<sup>15</sup> The building is not oriented exactly along the lines of the orthogonal city grid, however, but is turned about 3° to the east from this alignment. The city grid, which was used for the major streets, private housing, and most public buildings at Aphrodisias (such as the two Agoras and the Bouleuterion), probably dates, at the latest, to the end of the first century B.C., when a new civic center was constructed, perhaps after the city was sacked by the army of Labienus in 40 B.C. The Stadium's slightly different alignment (due east–west) could simply indicate that, because it was located at the edge of the city, no effort was made to align it exactly with the street grid. More probably, though, the different alignment indicates that the Stadium was laid out at a different time from the main city grid—either later or earlier.<sup>16</sup> How much earlier or later is difficult to say, but we may suggest one possible scenario.

<sup>15</sup> See the plan published in Smith and Ratté (supra n. 2) pl. I.

<sup>16</sup> On the city plan of Aphrodisias, see Smith and Ratté (supra n. 7) 13–14, with n. 27 where the Stadium is discussed by Ratté; and R.R.R. Smith, "Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias, 1989–1992," in *Aphrodisias Papers 3* (*JRA Suppl.* 20, Ann Arbor 1996) 45–49. On the sack of Labienus, see Reynolds 99–103, nos. 11 and 12.

<sup>17</sup> See Reynolds 1–6, 26–32, 101–103, nos. 5, 12.

<sup>18</sup> See D.J. MacDonald, "Some Problems in Aphrodisian Numismatics," in R.R.R. Smith and K. Erim eds., *Aphrodisias Papers 2: The Theatre, a Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin-Types* (*JRA Suppl.* 2, Ann Arbor 1991) 169–75.

<sup>19</sup> App. B *Civ.* 1.97 (C453–54); hence Sulla's subsequent special connection to Venus/Aphrodite; see E. Gabba ed., *Appiani bellorum civilium liber primus* (Florence 1958) 265–67.

<sup>20</sup> See Smith (supra n. 16) 46; J. de la Genière, "Premières recherches sur Aphrodisias prémomaine," and D. Theodorescu, "Le Temple d'Aphrodite," in J. de la Genière

While there is no explicit evidence for organized athletic festivals at Aphrodisias earlier than the first century A.D., there is no reason to think that they were not taking place in the Hellenistic period as part of the festival of the goddess. Epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological evidence indicates that before the Early Imperial period Aphrodisias was a developed Hellenistic polis with a well-known temple, a theater, and meetings of the *ekklesia*.<sup>17</sup> The town was known for its cult certainly by the end of the second century B.C., when we first hear of the name Aphrodisias in inscriptions and on coins carrying the image of Aphrodite.<sup>18</sup> The cult was important enough in the early 80s B.C. for Sulla, at the behest of the Delphic oracle, to have dedicated an ax and a golden crown in the sanctuary after the First Mithridatic War.<sup>19</sup> On these general grounds, therefore, it is likely that a festival of Aphrodite was being celebrated already in Hellenistic times.

Such a festival required three structures: an altar for religious rituals, a theater for acting and musical events, and a dromos for athletic competitions. There is evidence for a Hellenistic predecessor of the Theater and also for the Temple of Aphrodite.<sup>20</sup> This presents the possibility that the Stadium also had a Hellenistic predecessor—a Greek-type dromos marked out with a 600-ft long running track with banks of earth for spectator seating, as was usual for stadia before the Roman period. Indeed, we know that there was a gymnasium at Aphrodisias (of uncertain location) in the Late Hellenistic period,<sup>21</sup> and this indicates that there may have been a running track as well.<sup>22</sup> We may suggest that the Stadium, like the Theater and Temple, had a less monumental predecessor in the Hellenistic period, which was rebuilt on a grander scale in Early Imperial times.

and K. Erim, *Aphrodisias de Carie* (Paris 1987) 53–67 and 87–97, respectively.

<sup>21</sup> The gymnasium is attested in an inscription that records a prominent citizen having been buried there; see Reynolds 151–53, no. 29.

<sup>22</sup> Gymnasia were often built quite close to stadia, or even adjoining them (see the plans in J. Delorme, *Gymnasium*, Paris 1960). This is the case, for example, at Laodikeia, which has a stadium (comparable in architectural form to the Stadium at Aphrodisias) with a gymnasium-bath complex just to its southeast: see Bean (supra n. 10) fig. 46. Recent geophysical work at Aphrodisias in 1995 revealed a large, rectangular enclosure, surrounded by shops, just southeast of the Stadium that might be interpreted as part of a gymnasium, though its function is by no means certain, since only a small part of the structure has been excavated: see Smith and Ratté (supra n. 7) figs. 9–11, with discussion of trench AN 1, pp. 10–12.

It may be no coincidence, then, that the three buildings at Aphrodisias that have slightly different axes than the main city grid (the Theater, Temple, and Stadium) constitute the essential architectural components required by any town that had a sanctuary and cult festival.<sup>23</sup>

## FUNCTIONS

### *Athletics*

The primary purpose of a stadium was to provide a venue for athletic competitions and for spectators to watch these competitions. A variety of athletic contests are known to have taken place at Aphrodisias. The earliest attested athletic contest is the Aphrodeisia Isolympia in the first century A.D., known from the Rhodian inscription mentioned above. The Aphrodeisia Isolympia contest does not seem to have been internationally important enough, however, to appear with any regularity in Greek inscriptions outside Aphrodisias (the Rhodian inscription contains the only attestation). We also hear of a "city contest" (*πολειτικὸς ἀγών*) in an inscription from Aphrodisias, dated to the early 180s A.D.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that the term "city contest" was meant to indicate this contest's lesser status with respect to the international Isolympic festival. The title of this "city contest" implies that the money used to pay for it came from civic funds (that is, from the temple treasury, instead of private sources), as would also have been the case with the Aphrodeisia Isolympia. The Aphrodeisia Isolympia and the "city contest" are both poorly known (each being attested in a single inscription), probably because the epigraphical record of Aphrodisias consists principally of private benefactions.

<sup>23</sup> The Theater, Temple, and Stadium at Aphrodisias all have different alignments, suggesting that they were laid out at different times. Such a situation was usual in Greek sanctuaries, whose urban layout was generally agglomerative, rather than being based on a uniform grid: examples include Olympia (H. Lauter, *Architektur des Hellenismus* [Darmstadt 1986] fig. 20), Pergamon (Lauter fig. 9), Delos (Lauter fig. 21), Epidavros (Lauter fig. 24), Samothrace (Lauter fig. 25), Corinth (R.E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities* [New York 1962] fig. 14), Elis (Wycherley fig. 15). Sanctuaries laid out according to a uniform grid, such as Priene (Lauter fig. 3), were rarer.

<sup>24</sup> Roueché 176, no. 51, lines 15–16.

<sup>25</sup> Roueché 174–75, no. 54.

<sup>26</sup> Roueché 177–78, 212–21, nos. 79–86. The statue bases, all similar in style and proportions, were found in the same sector of the site: the "Water Channel" area, northeast of the civic center. Roueché suggests that this might have been the location of the gymnasium for boys; it was common in prosperous cities to have different gyms for differ-

The athletic contests at Aphrodisias about which we know the most were those mentioned on statue bases of prominent individuals who paid for them in the context of lively local euergetism. In the 180s we hear of the *Lysimachea*, established by M. Flavius Antonius Lysimachus, who was "sophist, high priest, *gymnasiarch, stephanophoros, neopoios, and agonothetes* in perpetuity of the Lysimachean contests."<sup>25</sup> There was also a contest called the *Philemoniae*, held for the first time in 182, which was evidently for young male athletes, as suggested by eight statue bases that honor local boys for victories in this contest: three Boy Boxers, four Boy Runners, and a Boy Pankratiast.<sup>26</sup> In the mid-third century the emperors Gordian and Valerian awarded sacred status to two new contests at Aphrodisias: the *Attalea Gordiane Capetolia* and the *Valeriana Pythia*.<sup>27</sup> The Attalea Gordiane Capetolia and the Aphrodeisia Isolympia are the only Aphrodisian contests mentioned in victors' lists from sites other than Aphrodisias. This suggests that few contests (apparently only the Aphrodeisia Isolympia) had international status until the mid-third century, when the city became the capital of the new province of Caria-Phrygia.<sup>28</sup>

The scale and infrastructure of such festivals may be gleaned from two remarkably detailed lists of prizes for contests at Aphrodisias. Prize money was given to the winners in a series of contests including: heralds, writers of encomia, poets, harp players, harp singers, pyrrhic dancers, trumpeters, pythic flautists, comedians, tragedians, adult long-distance runners, young stadium-runners, pentathletes, wrestlers, boxers, and pankratiasts, adult pentathletes, boy stadium-runners, colts, chariots with horses, and chariots with colts.<sup>29</sup> The substantial sums of money

ent age groups: young men, adults, and older men; see Delorme (supra n. 22); D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 585, 854–55, 1446 n. 49; P. Gauthier, "Notes sur le rôle du gymnase dans les cités hellénistiques," in M. Wörrle and P. Zanker eds., *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild in Hellenismus* (Munich 1995) 1–11.

<sup>27</sup> Roueché 179–82.

<sup>28</sup> Aphrodisias was not a major athletic center, but a number of local athletes gained an international reputation, most conspicuously the Olympic and Pythic victor Aurelius Achilles, on whom see C.P. Jones, "Two Inscriptions from Aphrodisias," *HSCP* 85 (1981) 107–29; and Roueché 202–206, no. 72. On the province of Caria-Phrygia, see C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989) 1–4.

<sup>29</sup> Reimbursement also went to the *xystarch*, and to those responsible for the supplying of straps, the releasing of the pulleys, the sand-pit and the mud-pit, and for oil: Roueché 168–74, nos. 52 and 53.

involved (5,000 denarii of prize money went to a pankratiast, for example) are an indication of the civic importance of such contests.<sup>30</sup> Of the events listed, the musical and acting events took place in the Theater and the gymnastic events in the Stadium. Bareback horse-racing could have been held in the Stadium, but it is less likely that races with chariots were held in this building. Chariot-racing needed a wide track for turns and is likely to have been held in an open field rather than in the Stadium, which—as recent excavation has shown—lacks the central barrier commonly found in hippodromes, and whose track was only 40 m wide (by contrast, hippodrome/circuses have tracks measuring between 50 and 70 m in width).<sup>31</sup>

#### *Processions*

Cult festivals comprised three essential elements: a procession (*πομπή*), a sacrifice (*θυσία*), and contests (*ἀγώνες*). Greek religious processions ended at the main shrine or temple of the honored god where a sacrifice was made. That stadia were used for processions during cult festivals is suggested by the account of the Procession of Ptolemy II, which, along with an athletic contest, was part of an elaborate festival in Alexandria in the third century B.C.<sup>32</sup> According to Athenaeus, part of the procession took place in the city's stadium.<sup>33</sup> It included four-wheeled carts in which stood statues, followed by a procession of priests, priestesses, and sacred guilds, and then a showering with sweetmeats of the populace assembled in the stadium.<sup>34</sup> At Aphrodisias, the oblong shape and large seating capacity of the Stadium would have made it a natural candidate for viewing the *pompe* of Aphrodite, as would the barrel-

vaulted tunnels (4 m wide) at either end of the building, which could have been used for entry and exit of those marching in the procession. At Aphrodisias, the goal of the pompe would have been the Temenos of Aphrodite. I suggest, on the basis of analogy with Alexandria, the possibility that the starting point of the goddess's procession was somewhere close to the Stadium.

#### *Imperial Cult Festival*

The unusually complete architectural and epigraphical record at Aphrodisias provides important insight into the archaeology of the imperial cult festival. An imperial cult festival typically featured Roman forms of entertainment (gladiatorial games, wild beast shows, and executions), as well as traditional Greek athletic events (races, boxing, wrestling, etc.). The evidence indicates that at Aphrodisias both of these types of performances were held in the Stadium. While it is well known that Roman spectacles were held in theaters in the Greek East, it is not well known that stadia were also used for such spectacles. I have discussed elsewhere the evidence for Roman games having been held in stadia.<sup>35</sup> The following is a brief summary of the Aphrodisian evidence for this practice.

That the Stadium at Aphrodisias was used for gladiatorial games and venationes is suggested first by the architecture of the building itself. Its podium is 1.60 m in height, which is excessively tall if the building had been used only for athletic displays (the Theater's podium after the orchestra was converted for Roman spectacles is comparable in height: 1.50 m; fig. 10). In addition, the podium had one square "refuge" (fig. 8), such as are found in the podia

<sup>30</sup> See further M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens* (Munich 1988) 151–82.

<sup>31</sup> It has recently been suggested by Humphrey (supra n. 12) that stadia such as those at Aphrodisias and Laodikeia were used for chariot-racing, in addition to athletic events. He argues that these buildings with two sphendona were designed to be longer and wider than the Classical stadium precisely to accommodate a wide range of events, especially equestrian ones. There are some difficulties with his suggestion. First, the stadium at Laodikeia is not 380 m long, as stated by Humphrey and in the standard reference works on stadia (supra n. 5); it is approximately 270 m in length (the same length as the stadium at Aphrodisias). Second, recent excavation (in 1996) inside the dromos of the Stadium at Aphrodisias revealed no trace of a central barrier (the possibility remains, however, that a temporary wooden barrier could have been used for chariot races, if such were held in this building). Third, while the stadia at Aphrodisias and Laodikeia have performance floors that are longer (230 m) than the canonical Greek stadium (190 m), it is not clear if this increased

length was motivated by functional or purely formal considerations (that is, the aesthetic effect of two sphendona; on which, see infra).

<sup>32</sup> Ath. 5.197–203; *ἀγώνες* associated with this festival: Ath. 5.203a. See E.E. Rice, *Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983); and, recently, K.M. Coleman, "Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Roman Amphitheater," in W.J. Slater ed., *Roman Theater and Society: E. Togo Salmon Papers I* (Ann Arbor 1996) 49–68.

<sup>33</sup> Ath. 5.197c: *ποιησόμεθα καὶ τὴν τῆς πομπῆς ἐξῆγησον. ήγετο γάρ διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν σταδίου.* Rice (supra n. 32) 34–35 hypothesizes that the procession mustered somewhere close to the stadium, which functioned as a prime viewing station for distinguished spectators before the procession traveled through other parts of the city.

<sup>34</sup> Ath. 5.200b: *πάντες κοσμίως ἐγλυκάνθησαν οἱ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ.*

<sup>35</sup> K. Welch, "Roman Spectacles in Greek Stadia: Asia, Athens, and the Tomb of Herodes Atticus," forthcoming in *JRA* 11 (1998).



Fig. 10. Theater at Aphrodisias. View of orchestra from the northeast.

of amphitheaters, where gladiatorial games were held in the Roman West, and in theaters in the Greek world whose orchestras were converted for this purpose (for example, at Magnesia on the Meander and Miletos).<sup>36</sup> Both the podium and the refuge seem to be original features of the Stadium.

Moreover, in areas where there are integral stretches of podium in the building, one can discern a system of regularly spaced cuttings for ropes in the podium's crowning molding. These cuttings, which exist in the central sector of the building as well as in both curved ends, are easiest to see in the western sector of the building where the original podium is best preserved (fig. 11).<sup>37</sup> The holes, which are spaced about 2 m apart and whose openings are

4 cm wide, were for ropes that suspended a system of nets during venationes (fig. 12).<sup>38</sup> Their fairly regular spacing and uniform appearance suggest that they are original, not secondary, features of the structure.

Given Aphrodisias's close connection with Rome and its particular interest in the imperial cult, gladiatorial displays probably began here early in the first century A.D. That the imperial cult festival was taking place at Aphrodisias in the Early Imperial period is suggested by two inscriptions, both dated to the first century A.D. on the basis of the style of the script. The first is a statue base honoring one Papylos, who was agonothetes of the "contests of the Augusti" (*ἀγῶνες τῶν Σεβαστῶν*).<sup>39</sup> The second is an

<sup>36</sup> See Golvin 239–42, 319–20, and, e.g., pl. VIII.5 (amphitheater at Lucera).

<sup>37</sup> In the eastern sector of the Stadium, the original podium is mostly obscured by the Late Antique amphitheater that was built over it. Nevertheless, one can see that the cuttings existed here too.

<sup>38</sup> There are also holes 0.10 m in diameter at periodic intervals; these were for larger wooden posts used to an-

chor the net system tightly. The drawing in fig. 12 is by A. Leung and was based on a reconstruction drawing of the podium of the theater at Stobi by F.P. Hemans III (E.R. Gebhard, "Protective Devices in Roman Theaters," in D. Mano-Zissi and J. Wiseman eds., *Stobi II* [Beograd 1975] fig. 4).

<sup>39</sup> Roueché 161–62, no. 48.



Fig. 11. Stadium. Top of podium (wedge 39) with cuttings for ropes. View from above.

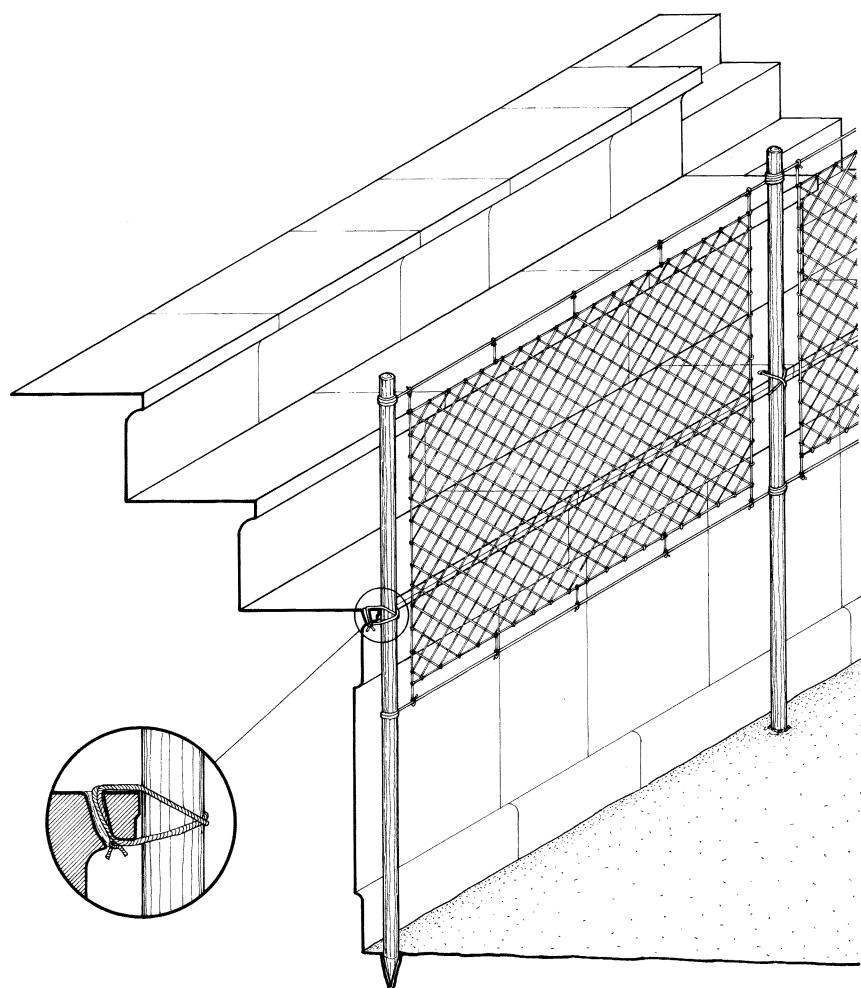


Fig. 12. Reconstruction of the podium of the stadium with wooden post and net system, 2.5 m in height. (A. Leung)

inscription of a *familia* of gladiators and condemned criminals (*μονομάχοι, καταδίκοι*) belonging to one Ti. Claudius Paulinus, a high priest of the imperial cult.<sup>40</sup> Since the orchestra of the Theater at Aphrodisias was apparently not converted for gladiatorial games until the mid-second century,<sup>41</sup> Paulinus's gladiators of the first century would have performed somewhere else: most likely in the sphendone of the Stadium, where boxers and pankratiasts generally performed.

Apart from gladiatorial games, the oblong shape of the Stadium at Aphrodisias made it a natural venue for wild beast shows. At Aphrodisias there is both epigraphical and sculptural evidence for such venationes.<sup>42</sup> An inscription (dated on prosopographical grounds to the late first/early second century A.D.) reads: "Of Zeno Hypsikles, son of Hypsikles the natural son of Zeno, high-priest, the familia of single combatants, convicts and bull-catchers."<sup>43</sup> Bull-catching (which involved pursuing the bulls on horseback and then mounting them) would seem to be out of the question in the Theater, whose orchestra, even when converted for gladiatorial shows, was still only 25 m wide. Again, the stadium is the most likely venue for such events.

In addition to gladiatorial games and venationes, there is epigraphical evidence that *damnatio ad bestias* took place at Aphrodisias. Two of the inscriptions mentioned above attest to *katadikoi* (condemned people) as part of *familiae* owned by priests of the imperial cult.<sup>44</sup> One of the inscriptions is dated on the basis of letterforms to the first century and the other on prosopographical grounds to the early sec-

ond century. It is safe to say that both date well before the mid-third century when Aphrodisias was made provincial capital and became subject to the jurisdiction of a Roman governor. This suggests that *damnatio ad bestias* was being practiced as part of the imperial cult festival in Aphrodisias before there was any question of direction or suggestion from Roman authorities.<sup>45</sup> Public executions at Aphrodisias, when they occurred, may have been held in the Stadium; Christian martyrologies indicate that stadia functioned as a venue of public executions in the Greek East.<sup>46</sup>

At Aphrodisias, then, the Stadium seems to have been a main venue for gladiatorial and wild beast shows until the orchestra of the Theater was converted in the Antonine period. Wild beast contests (especially large-scale ones) probably continued to be held in the Stadium even after the Theater's conversion,<sup>47</sup> since the Stadium's oblong shape was well suited to such contests. A striking conclusion to emerge from this survey of the evidence for the imperial cult festival at Aphrodisias is that the Stadium was regularly used for Roman spectacles for nearly a century before the Theater was converted, and for centuries before a permanent amphitheater was built into its east end in Late Antiquity (a feature of the building discussed below).<sup>48</sup>

#### SEATING ARRANGEMENTS

The seats of the Stadium have inscriptions on them that reserve space in the building for particular groups and individuals. They are thus an important source of information about the composition of the

<sup>40</sup> Robert 170, 318–19, no. 157; Roueché 62, no. 13, pl. VIII.13.

<sup>41</sup> The Theater's orchestra seems to have been converted during the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 139–161) by Ti. Claudius Zelos, high priest of the imperial cult; see J. Reynolds, "Epigraphic Evidence for the Construction of the Theatre," in Smith and Erim (supra n. 18) 19; also Colvin 237–46. It is conceivable that the orchestra of the Theater was used for gladiatorial games before it was converted specifically for this purpose. However, the smaller performance space (an orchestra of less than 20 m in diameter) and the difficulty of protecting the spectators would probably have made it a less desirable venue for violent spectacles.

<sup>42</sup> Roueché nos. 14 and 15 (inscriptions commemorating *familiae* including gladiators, wild beast fighters, and condemned criminals); nos. 40 and 41 (pl. XI: reliefs showing venationes); no. 44 (epitaph of bull-rearer).

<sup>43</sup> Φαμιλία Ζήνων[ος] τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ φύσει Ζήνωνος Ὑψικλέους ἀρχιερέως μονομάχων καὶ καταδίκων καὶ ταυροκαθαπτῶν. . . . Robert 170, no. 157; Roueché 63, no. 14.

<sup>44</sup> Roueché 62–63, nos. 13 and 14.

<sup>45</sup> The other instances of *damnatio ad bestias* attested by inscriptions took place in cities that did not have such free status: Aprus, Thessalonica, Amastris, Smyrna, Kibyra, Ephesus, Miletos, Hierapolis; see Robert 58–59, 320–21, and L. Robert, *Hellenica VII* (Paris 1949) 141–47.

<sup>46</sup> Polycarp (in the second century) and Pionius (in the third century) were both burned alive in the stadium at Smyrna; see L. Robert, *Le martyre de Pionios prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington, D.C. 1994) 114–15.

<sup>47</sup> Some epigraphical support for this supposition is provided by two inscriptions on the seats of the Stadium possibly to be restored as φιλοκυνῆγων ("lover of venationes"), one in wedge 20 at the east end of the Stadium in the area of the Late Antique amphitheater, and one closer to the middle of the building in wedge 12; see Roueché 80, 85, 88; Robert 323. The inscriptions on the seats of the stadium are difficult to date, but it is safe to suppose that the bulk of them come from the High Imperial or Late Antique periods.

<sup>48</sup> Infra 565–69.

stadium-attending populace and social stratification at Aphrodisias. Many of the inscriptions are now quite worn and only visible early in the morning when they are illuminated by raking light. Because of the increase in tourism at Aphrodisias in recent years, many of the inscriptions are now in danger of being effaced entirely. Our state plan is intended in part to capture a permanent graphic record of these inscriptions, the epigraphical character of which can help to determine the relative chronology of the different types of inscriptions and to clarify aspects of the sociology of seating distribution at Aphrodisias, such as the degree to which seating reservations were casual or official.

The best preserved of these inscriptions were studied and published by Charlotte Roueché in 1993.<sup>49</sup> Since then more inscriptions have been found. Some of the texts are private graffiti such as game boards and pictures (e.g., an animal confronting a net in wedge 1, row 25, as noticed by Roueché; see fig. 3). Some suggest official allocation of seats, such as those spread out over a whole row reserving it for an official body: for example, a *syntechnia* (guild) of Gardeners in wedge 28. More ephemeral, probably, were the seating reservations for individuals (e.g., "Place of Stratonikos"). Some, however, give more information, such as "Place of Apollonios the Sculptor" (wedge 15) and "Place of Attalos the Senator" (wedge 29). There are also references to delegations from other cities: for example, the citizens of Antioch on the Meander (wedge 28), and probably Kibyra (wedge 27) and Miletos (wedge 10). The majority of the attested groups, however, are local: Goldworkers (wedge 23), Tanners (wedge 10), and Sacred Ephebes and *neoi* (wedge 32).<sup>50</sup>

Some preliminary conclusions may be drawn from the inscriptions published by Roueché. The best wedges of seats were those halfway down the long axis of the building where the tribunal seats were located (wedges 11 and 31) and where the spectators had the best view of the footraces. This is the sector of the building in which the most important people, including priests, archons, and the agonothetes (contest presidents and judges), had their seats. In wedge 11 on the north side of the Stadium are a number of inscriptions attesting to seats for *oikonomoi* (see

plan of this wedge, fig. 4), city officials charged with the administration of public money to pay for public contests and to arrange for sacrifices.<sup>51</sup> As the *oikonomoi* were in charge of civic funds, their prominence in the cavea of the Stadium may be connected with the use of this building for the *agones* (contests) associated with the publicly funded festival of Aphrodite. Also conspicuously seated were a group of sacred *oikonomoi* and sacred ephebes in wedge 32 (the wedge just east of the wedge with the tribunal seat, on the south side of the building). In the wedges surrounding those with the judges' boxes were seated visiting dignitaries from other cities, some of whom had better seats than others. Visitors from Miletos were seated prominently in the wedge next to that of the *oikonomoi*, while the more local Antiocheans (Antioch on the Meander, modern Başaran) and people from Mastaura (near modern Nazilli) were seated further down the length of the building.

While spectators do seem to have been seated by guild in the Stadium, there is no clear evidence that the populace was seated by tribe in this building, as they probably were in the Theater.<sup>52</sup> This is probably because the Theater was regularly used for meetings of the *demos* while the Stadium was not. In addition, the Theater had a seating capacity of about 8,000, whereas the Stadium could seat up to 30,000. There may have been more concern that seating be regulated in the Theater than in the Stadium, which had more than enough space for the inhabitants of Aphrodisias as well as its neighboring communities.

The presence of women's names on some of the seats is significant. Two women (Ignatia and Hypsikleis) were seated in the prestigious part of the stadium where the judges sat (wedge 11), but at the back of the cavea as was usual for women's seats (see fig. 4).<sup>53</sup> In the adjoining wedge 12, another woman's name—Klaudia Seleukeia—appears at the back of the seating. In the Greek world women had never been allowed to attend athletic games, while in the West women were banned from attending athletic festivals from the time of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 44.3; *Nero* 12.4).<sup>54</sup> It may be suggested that the presence of women's names in the Stadium at Aphrodisias is connected with the Stadium's use as a venue for Roman spectacles during the yearly imperial cult fes-

<sup>49</sup> Roueché 119–28. See also E. Rawson, "Discrimina Ordinum: The Lex Julia Theatralis," *BSR* 55 (1987) 83–114; J. Kolendo, "La répartition des places aux spectacles et la stratification sociale dans l'Empire romain," *Ktema* 6 (1981) 301–15; D.B. Small, "Social Correlations to the Greek Cavea in the Roman Period," in S. Macready and F.H. Thompson eds., *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (London 1987) 85–93; F. Kolb, "Sitzstufeninschriften aus dem Stadion von Saitta (Lydia)," *EpigAnat* 15 (1990) 107–19; and Kolb, "Zur

Geschichte der Stadt Hierapolis in Phrygien: Die Phylen-inschriften im Theater," *ZPE* 15 (1974) 255–70.

<sup>50</sup> Roueché 84–99.

<sup>51</sup> RE 17 (1937) 2118–19, s.v. Oikonomos (E. Ziebarth); Magie (supra n. 26) 61.

<sup>52</sup> Roueché 44–47, 121–23.

<sup>53</sup> Rawson (supra n. 49) 83–114, esp. 89–90.

<sup>54</sup> The evidence for women having been excluded from athletic festivals is fully presented in Welch (supra n. 35).

tival. In an unpublished inscription of the third century from Aphrodisias, there is a record of one Klaudia Seleukeia Tibereina, who was High Priestess of Asia (priestess of the imperial cult festival in the province of Asia).<sup>55</sup> The family of a woman who served as High Priestess of Asia is likely to have maintained the same troupes of gladiators and wild beast fighters that performed in the Stadium. If this Klaudia Seleukeia is the same woman, or a relative of the woman, whose seating inscription appears in the stadium (the name is not a common one at Aphrodisias), her prominent seat in the building may be connected with its use for the games of the imperial cult.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STADIUM-AMPHITHEATER FORM

It should be emphasized that in terms of function the Stadium at Aphrodisias was probably no different from other stadia of the Roman period: it was the venue for both Greek and Roman spectacles. In terms of architectural form, however, it was unusual. We may now ask if the uncommon architectural form of the Stadium at Aphrodisias had any broader cultural significance. As stated above, most Roman-period stadia are U-shaped in plan with one straight end and one curved end. The Stadium at Aphrodisias, which has two sphendonai, is part of a small group of stadia that have the same plan as well as a similar construction technique. Two of these stadia are situated quite close to each other (Aphrodisias and Laodikeia) and the third is in northwestern Greece, at Nikopolis. This unusual type of stadium seems to have had its own particular name: inscriptions from Laodikeia refer to the stadium there as τὸ στάδιον ἀμφιθέατρον ("the amphitheatral stadium").<sup>56</sup>

The stadia at Laodikeia and Nikopolis are buried and overgrown to the extent that one cannot study them in great detail. But in certain respects, it is clear that they resembled the Stadium at Aphrodisias. They are approximately the same size (ca. 270 m in length) and they have two sphendonai as well as a pronounced swelling in plan that gives them the visually dynamic effect of an ellipse. They have a similar construction technique (monumental

facade only at the short ends, earthen embankments on the long sides), a type of construction that is characteristic of amphitheaters of the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods.<sup>57</sup> The podia of the stadia at Laodikeia and Nikopolis are buried, but on analogy with the Stadium at Aphrodisias (which is 1.6 m high), they probably also had unusually high podia (most Roman-period stadia have podia of about 1 m in height).<sup>58</sup>

These architectural features imparted something of the appearance of a Roman amphitheater to a traditionally Greek type of building. That the individuals responsible for building the Stadium at Aphrodisias could have been acquainted firsthand with amphitheater architecture in Italy is suggested by the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* of 39 B.C. in which we hear that "the ambassadors of the . . . Aphrodisians should be allowed to sit as spectators in the area reserved for senators at contests and gladiatorial combats, also hunts and competitions of athletes, should any occur in the city of Rome or within one mile of the city of Rome."<sup>59</sup> The traveling back and forth of these ambassadors during the Late Republic encouraged a free flow of ideas between Rome and the provinces. In the case of the Stadium at Aphrodisias, such exchange manifested itself, one might argue, in the subtle borrowing of the forms of one Roman building type—the amphitheater. The Stadium at Aphrodisias can be seen, then, as a marriage between the standard U-shaped Hellenistic stadium and the oval Roman amphitheater.

That this conflation of stadium and amphitheater was the result of considered planning is further suggested by the evidence of other Greek-Roman architectural conflations at Aphrodisias: for example, in the Sebasteion, which in plan is reminiscent of the Forum Iulium in Rome, and in the Theater built by C. Iulius Zoilos (a freedman of Octavian), which combines both a Hellenistic *proskenion* (raised stage) and a Roman *scaenae frons* (a wide, tall back wall with columnar and statuary decoration).<sup>60</sup> Other such buildings of Greek-Roman type occur at Ephesus in the Augustan period. The Basilica at Ephesus, for example, is effectively a combination of a Hellenistic stoa (it is elongated, and open on one side) and a Roman basilica (it has two aisles and a nave). The

<sup>55</sup> Inscription: Aphrodisias inv. no. 77.124. High priesthood of Asia: S.J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesos, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden 1993) 76–113; M.D. Campanile, *I sacerdoti del koinon d'Asia (I sec. a.C.–III sec. d.C.)* (Pisa 1994); S. Sahin, *Die Inschriften von Arykanda* (Bonn 1994); P. Herz, "Asiarchen und Archierai," *Tyche* 7 (1992) 93–115; also L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta VI*, 38; C.P. Jones and R.R.R. Smith, "Two Inscribed Monuments of Aphrodisias," *AA* 1994, 468.

<sup>56</sup> *IGRR* IV, 845 and 861, quoted above (supra n. 13).

<sup>57</sup> Golvin 32–44, pl. XXII.

<sup>58</sup> The podia of true amphitheaters range from 1.7 to 3.5 m in height: Golvin 314–16.

<sup>59</sup> Reynolds no. 8, lines 76–77.

<sup>60</sup> N. de Chaisemartin and D. Theodorescu, "Recherches préliminaires sur la *frons scaenae* du théâtre," in Smith and Erim (supra n. 18) 29–66.

monument of C. Memmius, too, has been seen as a conflation of a Hellenistic mausoleum-style tomb and a Roman triumphal arch.<sup>61</sup> Such amalgamations are understandable in cities that had close Roman connections (Ephesos was the provincial capital of Asia). That Aphrodisias chose to build a hybrid stadium-amphitheater probably reflects its close relationship with Rome. The “amphitheatral stadium” was a building that conveyed the suggestion of Roman architectural forms, while allowing Greek cultural identity to remain intact.

As argued above, architectural style as well as historical probability suggests that the Stadium at Aphrodisias was built in Early Imperial times. Its conflation of both Greek and Roman architectural forms provides additional support for this Early Imperial dating. The Stadium may well have been part of the monumental building program that was initiated at Aphrodisias by C. Iulius Zoilos and that continued into the Julio-Claudian period. The Stadium, along with the new Temple, Theater, the North and South Agoras, and Sebasteion, would have provided a suitably monumental backdrop for civic life in a town that had come into prominence in the triumviral period due to Roman patronage.

Where might this “amphitheatral stadium” type have originated? Aphrodisias has the best preserved such stadium, but it was perhaps Nikopolis that witnessed the creation of this new architectural type.

<sup>61</sup> W. Alzinger, *Augusteische Architektur in Ephesos* (Vienna 1974) 16–20, fig. 2 (Memmius Monument), 26–37, fig. 17 (Basilica); also U. Otschar, “Zum Monument des C. Memmius,” *Öjh* 60 (1990) 57–85; A. Bammer et al., *Das Monument des C. Memmius* (Ephesos VII, Vienna 1971).

<sup>62</sup> That the stadium at Nikopolis was conceived and planned in Rome, rather than locally in Greece, is suggested by its construction technique. It is made of concrete faced with a type of brickwork (*opus testaceum*) that is typical of Early Imperial Rome, but unparalleled in other buildings at Nikopolis and anywhere else in Greece, as far as I am aware. The bricks are uniform in size and are set into a fine concrete matrix with tight interstices. The appearance of the brickwork is comparable to that of the Tiberian phase of the Castra Praetoria in Rome, the earliest securely dated Roman building constructed entirely in brick: see J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (New Haven 1981) 46–48, fig. 18. This would seem to indicate that the work crews responsible for the construction of the stadium at Nikopolis had come from Rome and in turn suggests imperial involvement in the building’s construction.

<sup>63</sup> N. Purcell, “The Nicopolitan Synoecism and Roman Urban Policy,” in *Chrysos* (supra n. 11) 71–90.

<sup>64</sup> Imperial victory began to be commemorated at Aphrodisias in the triumviral period, when a statue of Victory was set up by a prominent citizen of Aphrodisias who was ambassador to the authorities in Rome and a priest of Roma. Its inscription (fragments of which were found reused in a field wall north of the Stadium) reads: “I, Vic-

First, the stadium at Nikopolis was built for the prestigious Actian Games, instituted by Augustus.<sup>62</sup> Second, Nikopolis was a city that was unusual in being a genuine Greek-Roman hybrid.<sup>63</sup> The city was founded by Augustus in commemoration of his victory over Antony and Cleopatra in 31 B.C., and its population, drawn from surrounding towns in Epirus and from the veterans of Octavian’s army, comprised roughly equal numbers of Greeks and Romans. It seems fitting that this novel, stadium-amphitheater type should have been created for Nikopolis, a city whose populace had both Greek and Roman cultural agendas. It is possible, then, that the stadium at Nikopolis, with its associations with Octavian’s imperial victories, provided architectural inspiration for Aphrodisias’s stadium, where associations with imperial victory will certainly have been welcome.<sup>64</sup>

Taken together, these facts allow us to hypothesize a scenario for the conception and diffusion of the “amphitheatral stadium” building type: it was created for Nikopolis in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., was then taken up in the Early Imperial period at Aphrodisias (like Nikopolis, a Greek city with strong connections to Rome), and was subsequently adopted in the Flavian period at a city near Aphrodisias: Laodikeia.<sup>65</sup> While this exact scenario cannot be proven, one can say with confidence that there are only a few known examples of stadia of this particular type, and two of the three of them

tory, am always with Caesar, of divine descent . . .” (the stimulus for the Victory monument may have been Caesar’s victory at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. or Octavian’s at Actium): Reynolds nos. 28–32. The theme of imperial victory occurs also in the scaenae frons of the Theater at Aphrodisias (dedicated in 28 B.C.), which was decorated with three, or perhaps four, pairs of acroterial Victories. The largest pair of these statues, which stood in the Ionic second story, each carried trophies, indicating that the statues alluded to military victory (probably those of Octavian-Augustus); see R.R.R. Smith, “Sculpture from the Theatre: A Preliminary Report,” in Smith and Erim (supra n. 18) 74–79. The reliefs of the Sebasteion, which is Julio-Claudian in date, contain a similar profusion of Nike figures: K.T. Erim, “Récentes découvertes à Aphrodisias en Carie, 1979–80,” *RA* 1982, 166 fig. 8; and Erim 1986 (supra n. 3) fig. 159a; Smith, “The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,” *JRS* 77 (1987) 98.

<sup>65</sup> Laodikeia’s connections to Rome were also considerable. In the first century there were Romans living at Laodikeia: see des Gagniers et al. (supra n. 10) 265–66, 325–26; the city had been the seat of a conventus in the time of Cicero, who watched a gladiatorial show there in 50 B.C. (*Att.* 5.21.9, 6.3.9); and M. Antonius had awarded Roman citizenship to many Laodiceans in the 40s, after the city resisted Labienus (hence the prominence of names at Laodikeia beginning with “M. Antonius”): see A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1937) 63–64, n. 53; Magie (supra n. 26) 986–87, n. 23.



Fig. 13. Late Antique amphitheater at the east end of the Stadium. View from the southwest.

(Nikopolis and Laodikeia) date from the Augustan and Flavian eras, respectively. This would suggest that this type of building was a short-lived architectural experiment, specific to a time of shifting self-definitions in the Early Imperial period.<sup>66</sup> The “amphitheatral stadium” is best seen as the result of a specific set of cultural circumstances of the early Empire, an architecturally dynamic period when Greece was first adapting to Roman rule.

#### THE APHRODISIAS STADIUM IN LATE ANTIQUITY

In Late Antiquity the west, north, and part of the east sides of the Stadium were enveloped by the northern circuit of the Late Antique (mid-fourth century) fortification walls (fig. 2).<sup>67</sup> The construction of the north face of this city wall involved a considerable engineering effort as it necessitated cutting

back the massive earthen embankment that supported the cavea on the north side of the Stadium. The western entrance tunnel in wedge 1 was blocked, while the eastern tunnel in wedge 21 was left open, presumably so that it could be used as a fortified gateway. In addition, at some point in Late Antiquity the eastern sphendone of the Stadium was converted into a small oval amphitheater (fig. 13). Other Roman stadia have small amphitheaters at one end, but the Aphrodisian example is unusually well preserved and its chronology is better understood than that of any of the other examples, making it an excellent candidate for an investigation of this important feature of stadium architecture in the Late Antique period.<sup>68</sup>

The amphitheater was created by building a semi-circular wall (fig. 2: N) that connected the two sides

<sup>66</sup> Compare another spectator building of this era (built by Juba II at Caesarea in Mauretania) that has architectural elements of both the amphitheater and the stadium: it is 100 m long and has two curved ends like an amphitheater, but it has straight long sides like a stadium: Golvin 112–14, pl. XXVII.

<sup>67</sup> Date of the city wall: Roueché (supra n. 28) 35–45.

<sup>68</sup> The subject of conversion of stadia into amphitheaters has not yet been studied. It is cursorily mentioned, for example, in a recent article on the architecture of Roman stadia by Aupert 1994 (supra n. 5) 102. Since few stadia in Asia Minor are exposed down to the track level, it is difficult to know how widespread the phenomenon of conversion of stadia was in the Greek East (for example, the Hellenistic stadia at Miletos and Priene, and the Roman

stadium at Aizanoi were not converted into amphitheaters). On the Greek mainland it was apparently quite rare (Athens being the only known example). For the known conversions (Athens, Laodikeia, Aspendos, Perge, Ephesus), see Gasparri (supra n. 5) 335, fig. 12; Travlos 498, fig. 632; Society of the Dilettanti (supra n. 10) 31–32; R. Pococke, *Antiquities of Ionia* II (London 1797) 72, pl. XLVIII and 104; Laborde (supra n. 1) 97; Texier (supra n. 1) 164; J. Keil, *Ephesus* (Vienna 1955) 50–52. As suggested by Crema (supra n. 3) 244, such transformations of stadia into amphitheaters may have been the inspiration for the elliptical enclosure (probably a decorative fishpond) built into the south end of the “garden hippodrome” of the Flavian palace in Rome in the fifth century.



Fig. 14. Detail of niche in the podium of the Late Antique amphitheater. Cuttings for ropes are visible at left.

of the auditorium, creating a roughly oval space. This wall is made of rubble, spolia, and mortar, and it has a door (made of reused cornice blocks) at its center that is 4 m wide (the door was designed so that its width was the same as the barrel-vaulted entrance into the Stadium in wedge 21, on the opposite side to the east). A new podium 1.80 m in height was added in front of the lowest row of seats of the Stadium and at least three square niches or "refuges" (made of reused stadium seats) were included in the podium along the north edge of the arena (figs. 2: O and 14). In addition, the crowning blocks of the Late Antique podium exhibit a series of cuttings for ropes (fig. 14). The cuttings were for tension ropes, which were used to support nets that protected the spectators. They are practically identical in form to the earlier cuttings found in the crowning molding of the Stadium itself, discussed above, except that they are not as regularly spaced. Taken together, the high podium, the "refuges," and the cuttings for ropes in the podium of this Late Antique structure indicate that Roman arena spectacles were held here.

There is also a barrel-vaulted tunnel (fig. 2: P), which was cut through the cavea under the seating, that gave access (for arena personnel and combatants, not for spectators) to the arena of the amphitheater from the city side of the Stadium to the south. Finally, there is a curtain wall of arcaded recesses (fig. 2: Q) built in straight sections at the *summa cavea* level of the Stadium along the line of the city wall (figs. 13, 15).

The date of the amphitheater built into the Stadium at Aphrodisias may be reconstructed from several pieces of evidence. First, the arcade and the masonry used for the amphitheater are built of the same type of rubble and coarse mortar matrix (a more haphazard type of construction than that used for the city wall, which consists in its outer face of reused marble blocks). Second, the portico of arcaded recesses at the *summa cavea* of the Stadium exists only where the amphitheater exists, that is, only at the east end of the building. Just to the west of the amphitheater the arcaded portico ends (at wedge 16) and the regular city wall construction begins to the west. These observations make it likely that the arcaded portico was constructed together with the amphitheater. Moreover, one can discern a horizontal seam in the construction of the north face of the city wall just at the point where this wall with blind arcades on its inner face begins to rise (fig. 16), indicating that it and the associated amphitheater were constructed after the city wall was built, after the mid-fourth century A.D. The purpose of this arcaded portico was to provide a monumental backdrop for the amphitheater. Its stylized architecture was a distant reflection of the columnar porticos that crowned the caveas of the great amphitheaters of the High Empire, such as the Flavian Amphitheater (Colosseum) in Rome.

The insertion in Late Antiquity of an amphitheater into the eastern sphendone of the Stadium has important cultural implications. Since the new struc-



Fig. 15. Late Antique portico of arcaded recesses at the top of the Stadium. View from the southeast.

ture obliterated the starting lines at the eastern end of the Stadium and shortened the 600-ft long dromos by approximately 70 ft (20 m), such an architectural change was only possible at a time when athletic festivals had declined. It is difficult to determine exactly when athletic festivals ceased at Aphrodisias; the latest securely datable evidence for athletic festivals at Aphrodisias comes from the reigns of Gordian and Valerian in the mid-third century A.D.: sev-

eral new athletic festivals were introduced when Aphrodisias became capital of the newly created province of Caria-Phrygia. It is uncertain, however, how long these festivals continued to be held.<sup>69</sup> The date of the Late Antique amphitheater in the Stadium at Aphrodisias can give us some notion of when these particular festivals ended, however. Since the amphitheater dates to the mid-fourth century or later, this suggests that by the mid-fourth century, athletic

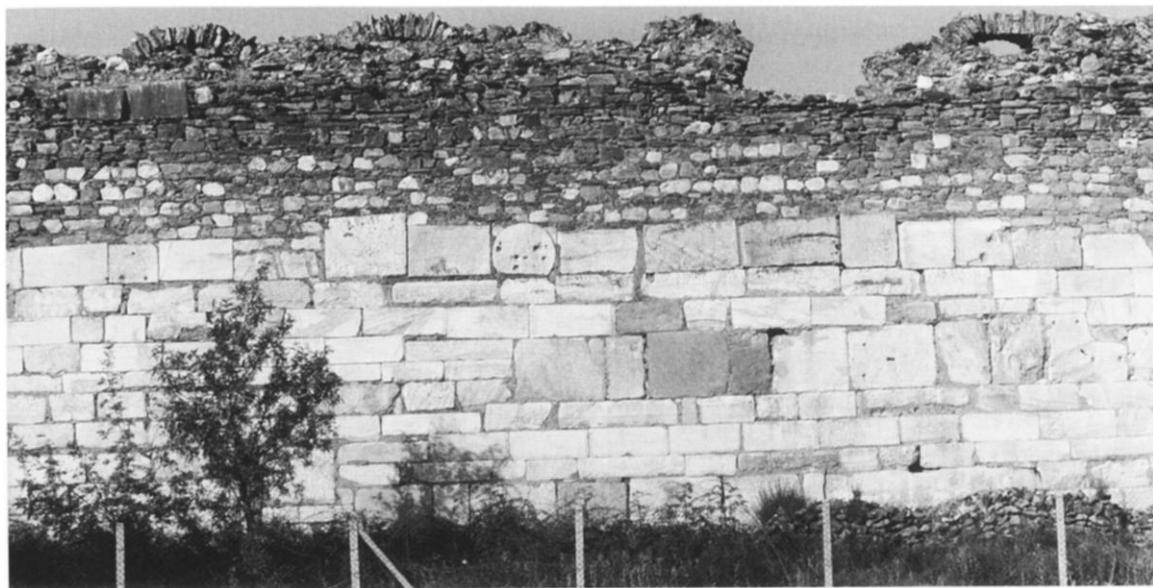


Fig. 16. City wall at the east end of the Stadium (wedge 20). View from the northeast.

<sup>69</sup> Indeed, the chronology of the decline of athletic festivals in different parts of the Greek world in general is not well understood because of a scarcity of evidence. Festivals seem to have continued longer in the East than they

did on the Greek mainland. For example, the original Olympic festival at Elis was abolished in A.D. 392 but the Olympia at Antioch in Syria continued until its abolition by Justinian in A.D. 521 (Cedrenus 323D; Malalas 417).

festivals—which for centuries had been such an important component of civic and cult life at Aphrodisias—were probably in decline.

A terminus ante quem for the Late Antique amphitheater is suggested by inscriptions mentioning circus factions (blues and greens) on its seats.<sup>70</sup> Such inscriptions do not signify that chariot-racing took place in the Stadium; they are instead related to a major expansion of the activities of the circus factions that took place during the later fifth century when they extended their responsibilities to include not only chariot-racing but the provision of all other forms of entertainment (athletics, plays, and venationes).<sup>71</sup> By the time that these inscriptions were incised onto the seats of the Stadium (end of the fifth century or early sixth century), the amphitheater had already been built. I suggest, then, a terminus ante quem of the early sixth century for this structure.<sup>72</sup> That the surviving inscriptions attesting to blues and greens occur only at the east end of the Stadium and not elsewhere in the building suggests that by the early sixth century only the east end of the Stadium, where the amphitheater was located, was being used. This by extension suggests that the running track of the Stadium was no longer in use and that athletic contests, even of a vestigial sort, had ceased altogether.

It is commonly supposed that amphitheaters such as the one at Aphrodisias were built into stadia for the purpose of staging gladiatorial shows.<sup>73</sup> While it is true that in Rome there is considerable evidence for gladiatorial games continuing into the fifth century,<sup>74</sup> outside of Rome gladiatorial combats are not mentioned in the literary sources after the reign of Arcadius (A.D. 383–408)—a combination of expense and Christian disapproval seems to have been responsible for their disappearance. A useful indicator of

the prevalence of gladiatorial games in the Greek East in Late Antique times is the work of Libanius, who frequently mentions venationes in the provincial capital of Antioch, but mentions gladiators only once in a description of his youthful activities of A.D. 330.<sup>75</sup> On the basis of this evidence, it is safe to suppose that in the Greek East gladiatorial contests had become rare by the mid- to later fourth century. This in turn suggests that the amphitheater in the Stadium, which dates to sometime after the mid-fourth century, was constructed not for gladiatorial games (as is popularly thought), but for venationes.

This fact has relevance for the issue of the decline of venationes. In A.D. 498 Anastasius passed an edict suppressing wild beast shows in all cities of the Greek East.<sup>76</sup> Consular diptychs and literary sources, however, indicate that at least in Rome and Constantinople venationes continued until the early sixth century. The chronology of the amphitheater in the Stadium at Aphrodisias and the presence of inscriptions attesting to factions on its seats suggest that venationes flourished well into the sixth century (after the official ban)—not only at Constantinople and at Rome, but at the provincial level as well.

Finally, it may be suggested that the insertion of an amphitheater into the east end of the Stadium was simply a way of making permanent an arrangement for wild beast shows that during past centuries, because of the importance of athletic festivals (which required the whole dromos), had to have been temporary. Building a permanent stone amphitheater became desirable in Late Antique times because it was less expensive than putting on animal shows in a temporary venue whose barriers and nets had to be constructed anew every year. True amphitheaters (oval in shape, and a quintessentially Roman archi-

<sup>70</sup> For these, see Roueché 86–87.

<sup>71</sup> The first definite evidence that factions were responsible for entertainments other than chariot-racing is a reference to pantomime dancers of the four colors at Constantinople in 490 (Procop. *Bell. Pers.* 24.2); see Roueché 129–40; and A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976), who argues that the change was a state-sponsored consolidation of responsibility for entertainments.

<sup>72</sup> The seventh-century date suggested for the amphitheater by Erim 1986 (supra n. 3) 69 is too late. The archaeological and inscriptional records indicate that civic life at Aphrodisias was relatively impoverished by the mid-sixth century A.D. (Roueché [supra n. 28] xxv–xxvii).

<sup>73</sup> Aupert 1994 (supra n. 5) 102; Sommella (supra n. 5). It has also been suggested that the amphitheaters built into stadia were the venue for the execution of Christians as

part of the imperial cult festival: Robert (supra n. 46) 115. This is unlikely since the killing of Christians ceased under Constantine, long before such amphitheaters began to be built into stadia in the Greek East, as the Aphrodisian evidence now suggests.

<sup>74</sup> The latest evidence for gladiatorial shows is a contorniate of Valentian III of the mid-fifth century. See A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medallions* (Berlin 1976) 204; G. Ville, “Les jeux de gladiateurs dans l’empire chrétien,” *MEFRA* 72 (1960) 273–335, esp. 331; and the discussion in Roueché 76–79.

<sup>75</sup> Lib. *Or.* 1.5.

<sup>76</sup> *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (London 1882) 23; A. Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain sous le règne d’Odoacre* (Bonn 1966) 60–62; A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973) 228–30.

tectural form) had been very rare in the Greek world throughout the Imperial period, being built only in cities with the strongest Roman connections, such as Roman colonies or provincial capitals.<sup>77</sup> The amphitheater finally "arrived" in the Greek world only in Late Antiquity, when stadia in many Greek cities, such as Aphrodisias, were outfitted with permanent oval arenas. The compromising of the Greek dromos that this involved represents the final step in the evolution of Roman spectacles in the Greek world from a foreign practice in the Early Imperial period, to

a Graeco-Roman cultural institution with a status equal to that of athletics in the High Imperial period, and finally to a type of entertainment that supplanted Greek-style athletics altogether in Late Antiquity.

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<sup>77</sup> See K. Welch, "Negotiating Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World: Athens and Corinth," forthcoming in B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon eds., *The Art*

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*of Ancient Spectacle* (Studies in the History of Art, Washington, D.C.).