Author: STELLA SKALTSA

CAPInv. 927: **hoi boukoloi**

I. LOCATION

i. Geographical area	Western Asia Minor
ii. Region	Mysia
iii. Site	Pergamon

II. NAME

i. Full name (original language)	οἱ βουκόλοι (I.Pergamon 485 l.1)
ii. Full name (transliterated)	*hoi boukoloi*

III. DATE

i. Date(s)	i BC - ii AD

IV. NAME AND TERMINOLOGY

i. Name in other forms	οἱ χορεύσαντες βουκόλοι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τριετηρίδα, *hoi choreusantes boukoloi ten ep' autou trieterida* (I.Pergamon 486A l. 3; MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 ll. 6-7)	
ii. Name elements	Cultic:	*boukoloi* (herdsmen): male members of Dionysiac communities. See also CAP Inv. 59 for further info on the term.

V. SOURCES

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i.	**Source(s)**	Sources in chronological order: - SEG 40: 1136 (around or after 27 BC) - SEG 40: 1135 (around or after 27 BC) - IPergamon 485 (f. i AD) - IPergamon 487 (l. i AD?) - IPergamon 488 (l. i AD?) - MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 (109/110 AD) - IPergamon 486A (f. ii AD - Hadrianic times) - IPergamon 486B (f. ii AD - Hadrianic times) - IPergamon 222 + IPergamon II p. 509 (i or ii AD) ? (the name of the *boukoloi* is fully restored: see MDAI(A) 17 [1892]: 190)
	Note	- SEG 40: 1136: BE 1992: 81; 1994: 482; Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 93 - SEG 40: 1135: SEG 29: 1264; BE 1992: 81; 1994: 482; Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 92 - IPergamon 485: Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 94 = AGRW 115 = Harland 2014: no. 110 - IPergamon 487: Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 97 - IPergamon 488: Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 96 - MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31: IGR IV 386 = Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 98 = AGRW 116 =Harland ID no. 559 - IPergamon 487A: IGR IV 396a; Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 99 - I.Pergamon 487B: IGR IV 396B; Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, 187 n. 376 - I.Pergamon 222 + I.Pergamon II p. 509: Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 95
	Online Resources	SEG 40:1136 SEG 29: 1264 = SEG 40: 1135 I.Pergamon 485 = AGRW ID $_{515}$ I.Pergamon 487 I.Pergamon 488 MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 I.Pergamon 486A I.Pergamon 486B I.Pergamon 222 + I.Pergamon II p. 509
i.a.	**Source type(s)**	Epigraphic source(s)

i.b. Document(s) typology & language/script	- SEG 40: 1135: dedication by the *archiboukolos* Herodes to Dionysos Kathegemon - SEG 40: 1136: dedication by the *archiboukolos* Herodes to Augustus. - I.Pergamon 485: honorific inscription for Soter, son of Artemidoros, *archiboukolos*, by the *boukoloi* - I.Pergamon 487: probably an honorific inscription for the son (name not preserved) of Philadelphos - I.Pergamon 488: honorific inscription for the priestess Sosipatra by Theodotos, *archiboukolos* - MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31: honorific inscription for Caius Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus by the *choreusantes boukoloi* - I.Pergamon 486A: probably an honorific inscription for Iulius (possible for Caius Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus, though the text is badly preserved). - I.Pergamon 486B: list of titles of officials (not all titles are necessarily related to the *boukoloi*) - perhaps register of new members (Schwarzer 2006: 159) or of *archiboukoloi* (Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, 187 n. 376). - I.Pergamon 222 + I.Pergamon II p. 509: dedication of a *stibadeion* to Dionysos Kathegemon and the [*boukoloi*] (note, however, that the name is fully restored). All in Greek.
i.c. Physical format(s)	- SEG 40: 1136: altar of white marble with a raised round outcrop on top with a slight depression, moulded on top and bottom. Two small horns in the corners above the upper moulding. Carved on the front side a garland with oak leaves (allusion to the *corona civica* granted by the senate) and a capricorn (the birth sign of Augustus, see Suet. *Aug.* 94.12) carrying a cornucopia (allusion to peace and prosperity). H. 50 x W. 31-25 x Th. 26.5 cm. - SEG 40: 1135: altar of white marble, moulded on top and bottom. Carved on the front side a kantharos (drinking vessel related to Dionysos) around which wine branches and ivy tendrils are twined. H. 50.5 x W. 32 x Th. 27 cm. - I.Pergamon 485: Slab of white marble broken into two fragments. The stone is tapering upwards. An ivy crown in low relief on the upper part of the stone. H. 96.5 x W. 32.5-37.5 cm - I.Pergamon 487: three fragments of a block of marble. H. 56 x W. 53 x Th. 24.5 cm. - I.Pergamon 488: marble stele. An ivy wreath is carved below the inscription. H. 39 x W. 34 cm. - MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31: slab of white marble with a recess panel, broken on the right side and below - I.Pergamon 486A: fragment of a slab of white marble - I.Pergamon 486B: fragment of a slab of white marble - I.Pergamon 222 + I.Pergamon II p. 509: marble stele broken into two fragments (See below XII.i).
ii. Source(s) provenance	- SEG 40: 1135 + 1136: found reused in 1978 in the 'hall of benches' in Pergamon. - I.Pergamon 485: there is some inconsistency in the accounts for the findspot of the stele: Curtius (1873: 39) reports that the stele was located 'in einem christilichen Haus'. According Fränkel (1899: 323, following Μουσεῖον) the stone was found in the ancient theatre of Pergamon. - I.Pergamon 487: SW side of the Upper Agora. - I.Pergamon 488: found reused in a private house, not far away from the so-called 'Basilika'. - MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31: findspot unknown. - I.Pergamon 486A: found in the theatre. - I.Pergamon 486B: found in the theatre terrace. - I.Pergamon 222 + I.Pergamon II p. 509: found reused in the Byzantine wall.

VI. BUILT AND VISUAL SPACE

ii. References to buildings/objects	τ[ὸ σ]τιβάδε[ιον, *t[o s]tibade[ion* (I.Pergamon 222 l. 4) - Note however that is not entirely certain whether this insctiprion is related to the *boukoloi*, as their name is fully restored. Schwarzer (2006: 159) interprets the *stibadeion* as a dining hall and identifies it with the built bench in the elongated hall in the 'Hall of benches'.

VII. ORGANIZATION

ii. Leadership	ἀρχιβουκόλος, *archiboukolos* (I.Pergamon 485 l. 3; 487 l. 5 [partly restored]; 486A l. 6 [partly restored]; 486B l. 3; 488 l. 1; MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 l. 12; SEG 40: 1135 l. 2 + 1136 l. 2)
iii. Members	βουκόλοι, *boukoloi* (I.Pergamon 485 ll. 1, 7; MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 l. 14)
iv. Officials	γραμματε[ύοντ]ος, *grammateuontos* (I.Pergamon 487 ll. 10-11) δια]ταξίαρχος, *[dia]taxiarchos* (I.Pergamon 487 l. 6 [partly restored - for the restoration see Wilhelm 1892; followed by Quandt 251-4; by Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 97)]; MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 l. 10)
v. Other staff	

IX. MEMBERSHIP

i. Number

In I.Pergamon 485 (ll. 7-25) the names of eighteen *boukoloi* are recorded. Together with the *hymnodidaskaloi* (two in total, ll. 26-28), the *seilenoi* (three in total, ll. 29-32; the *choregos* in line 32 was probably the leader of *chorus* consisting of *seilenoi*; see Ohlemutz 1969: 111), there were twenty-two members in total honouring the *archiboukolos*, Soter son of Artemidoros.

ll. 7-32:
εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ βουκόλοι·, *eisin de hoi Boukoloi*
Λ. Ἀν[ε]ίνιος Γάλλος, *L. An[e]inios Gallos*
Περιγέν[η]ς Περιγένους, *Perigen[e]s Perigenous*
Μηνόδωρος Ἀσκληπιάδου, *Menodoros Asklepiadou*
Ἑρμαΐσκος Ἑρμαΐσκου, *Hermaiskos Hermaiskou*
Λ. · Ἰούλιος Διοκλῆς, *L. Ioulios Diokles-*
Τρύφων Τρύφωνος Κοράλλης, Tryphon Tryphonos Koralles
Διομήδης Διομήδους, Diomedes Diomedous
Ἑρμαΐσκος Ποσιδωνίου, Hermaiskos Posidoniou
Μηνογένης Ἀσκληπιάδου Μιννᾶς, Menogenes Asklapiadou Minnas
Νικόμαχος Νικομάχου, Nikomachos Nikomachou
Ἑρμογένης Ἀγαθοβούλου, Hermogenes Agathoboulou
Λ. · Ἀνείνιος Ἰουλιανός, L. Aneinios Ioulianos
Γ. Ἰούλιος Ῥοῦφος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδείσιος, G. Ioulios Roumos ho kai Aphrodeisios
Ἀσκληπιάδης Ζωτα[ί]ου Ἐπίνεικος, Asklepiades Sota[i]ou Epineikos
Ἀγαθόβουλος Ἑρμογένους, Agathoboulos Hermogenous
Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου Πόπλιος, Apollonios Apolloniou Poplios
Ἰοῦστος, Ioustos
Ἀπολλώνιος., Apollonios
ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι·, *hymnodidaskaloi*
Μηνόφιλος Ἡρακλείδου Φῆλιξ, *Menophilos Herakleidou Phelis*
Ἀσκληπιάδης Μόσχου Πάρις., *Asklepiades Moschou Paris*
Σειληνοί·, *Seilenoi*
Μηνόφαντος Μηνοφάντου Πολύβιος, *Menophantos Menophantou Polybios*
Θάλαμος Ἀσκληπιάδου, *Thalamos Asklepiadou*
Π. Οὐήδιος Νάσων, χορηγός., *P Ouedios Nason, choregos*

In MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 the names of two *choreusantes boukoloi*, two officials (*archiboukolos* and *diataxiarchos*) and thirteen *boukoloi* are preserved (ll. 6-27). The list of names for *boukoloi* is incomplete as the stele is broken below.

οἱ χορεύσαντες βου[κόλοι τὴν ἐπ'], *hoi choreusantes Bou[oloi] ten ep]*
αὐτοῦ τριετ[ηρίδα]·, *autou tret[erida]*
Αὐφιδία Πώλλα Ποπλί[ου], *Auphidia Polla Popli[ou]*
Κλαύδιος Κουαδρᾶ[τος], *Klaudios Kouadra[tos]*
διαταξί[αρχος]·, *diataxi[archos]*
Γάιος Σείλιος Μάξ[ιμ— —], *Gaios Selion Max[im--]*
ἀρχιβού[κολος]·, *archobou[kolos]*
Λ(ούκιος) Ἀνείνιος Φλα[— —], L(oukios) Aneinios Phla[--]
βουκό[λοι]·, Boukoloi
Κλ(αύδιος) Ἔπαφος ὁ Διαδο[— —], Kl(audios) Epaphos ho Diado[--]
Φ(λάουιος) Ἰούλιος Διοκλ[ῆς], Ph(laouis) Ioulios Diokl[es]
Μένανδρος Μενάνδρου Ἀσ[— —], Menandros Menandrou As(--)
Καπίτων Μηνοφά[ντου], Kapiton Menopha[ntou]
Τ(ίτος) Φλάουιος Ἀθην[— —], T(itos) Phlaouios Athen[--]
Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Βάσσος [Κλαυδιανός(?)], *G(aios) Ioulios Bassos [Klaudianos(?)]*
Βίων Βίωνος, *Bion Bionos*
Ἑρμαΐσκος Ἀπολλ[— —], *Hermaiskos Apoll[--]*
Χαρμίδης Εἰκαδί[ου], *Charmides Eikadi[ou]*
Τι(βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Λίνδος, *Ti(berios) Kl(audios) Lindos*
Τ(ίτος) Φλάουιος Σεκ[οῦνδος], *T(itos) Phlaouios Sek[oundos]*
Φιλέταιρος Φιλε[ταίρου], *Philetairos Phile[teirou]*
Ἐπίνεικος Ἐπιν[είκου], *Epineikos Epin[eikou]*

ii. Gender

Men
Women

Note

In I.Pergamon 488 a woman, holding the priesthood of an unspecified deity, is attested.

In MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 among the two *choreusantes boukoloi* who honoured Iulius Quadraturs is a woman, Αὐφιδία Πώλλα Ποπλί[ου], *Auphidia Polla Popli[ou] (l. 8). Her name precedes the name of the male* boukolos.

In I.Pergamon 486A another woman is attested among the choreusantes boukoloi, *Ioulia Po[...] (l. 6).*

iv. Status	Five out of the eighteen *boukoloi* in I.Pergamon 485 were Roman citizens. Nine out of the seventeen members in MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 were Roman citizens. The women among the *choreusantes boukoloi* (MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31; I.Pergamon 486A l. 5) bear Roman names. The *archiboukolos* Lucius Aninius Flaccus (MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31 l. 13) was probably a member of the *hymnodoi theou Sebastou kai theas Romes* (I.Pergamon 374 A l. 11 see CAP Inv. 1653).
v. Relations	In I.Pergamon 485 Ioustos (l. 24) and Apollonios (l. 25) may have been the children of Apollonios son of Apollonios Poplios, mentioned in the line (l. 23) preceding these two names - this is Fränkel's assumption (1899: 325) given the absence of patronymics. On possible relations between the *boukoloi* see Harland 2014: 125.

X. ACTIVITIES

ii. Meetings and events	θεία μυστήρια, *theia mysteria* (I.Pergamon 485 l. 6): according to Ohlemutz (1969: 111) the *theia mysteria* was a private festival of the boukoloi, to be distinguished by the state-organized *mysteria*, led by the archpriest of Dionysos Kathegemon. (not followed by other scholars) The following names may not designate functionaries of the association but rather all those involved in the dramatic and choral performances in the Dionysian mysteries: ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι, *hymnodidaskaloi* (I.Pergamon 485 l. 26) σειληνοί, *seilenoi* (I.Pergamon 485 l. 29) χορηγός, *choregos* (I.Pergamon 485 l. 32)
iii. Worship	*theia mysteria* (I.Pergamon 485 ll. 3-6): the *archiboukolos* Soter, son of Artemidoros, presided over the *theia mysteria* in honour of Dionysos Kathegemon. οἱ χορεύσα[ντες τὴν ἐπ'] αὐτοῦ τριε[τηρίδα], *hoi choreusa[ntes] ten ep] autou trie[terida] (I.Pergamon 486A ll. 3-4)*
Deities worshipped	Dionysos Kathegemon Augustus

XI. INTERACTION

i. Local interaction	In about 27 BC, Herodes, the *archiboukolos* set up two altars, one to Dionysos Kathegemon (SEG 40: 1135) and another one to Augustus (see XI.ii). It seems that the *boukoloi* paid their respect to the emperor, while at the same time fostered the cult of Dionysos Kathegemon, a civic cult in Pergamon since the reign of Eumenes II. The *archiboukolos* Soter presided the trieteric festival in honour of Dionysos Kathegemon, which included festivals and mysteries (IPergamon 485). The *choreusantes boukoloi* (MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31; IPergamon 486A) honoured the priest of Dionysos Kathegemon, Caius Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus, a prominent Pergamane citizen with a distinguished political career (e.g. proconsul of Asia in 109/110 AD: for his career see Halfmann 1979: 112).
ii. Interaction abroad	The *boukoloi* endorsed the imperial cult as suggested by the altar dedicated to Augustus (SEG 40: 1136). In honouring Caius Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus, a prominent Pergamane citizen with a distinguished political career (e.g. proconsul of Asia in 109/110 AD: for his career see Halfmann 1979: 112), the *boukoloi* paid their respects, not only to an affluent and distinguished local benefactor but also to a representative of the Roman Imperial power.

XII. NOTES

i. Comments

The two altars dedicated to Dionysos Kathegemon and Augustus respectively constitute the earliest attestation of *boukoloi* in Pergamon (around or shortly after 27 BC). The altars were found in the so-called 'Hall of benches' (Podiumsaal), which has been identified as the meeting place of the *boukoloi* (on the 'Hall of benches' see Schwarzer 2008). The remaining inscriptions (seven in total) pertaining to the Pergamene *boukoloi* date to the first and second centuries AD. None was found in the 'Hall of benches'.

I.Pergamon 222 + I.Pergamon II p. 509, a dedication to Dionysos Kathegemon and an unknown collectivity, has been attributed to *boukoloi* in light of the fact that in Pergamon Dionysian groups are mostly attested as *boukoloi* and not as *mystai*. (e.g. Jaccottet 2003, vol.2, no. 95). However, note that τοῖς [βουκόλοις] (l. 2) is fully restored.

It is hard to judge whether Sosipatra, the ἱέρηαν, *hierean* attested in I.Pergamon 488 l. 2 was indeed a priestess of Dionysos or a priestess of another deity. Given that a homonymous Sosipatra was priestess of Athena in Pergamon (I.Pergamon 492) the latter seems more probable.

ii. Poland concordance

MDAI(A) 24 [1899]: 179 no. 31: Poland B 398c

I.Pergamon 485: Poland B 398a

I.Pergamon 486A+B: Poland B 398b

I.Pergamon 487: Poland B 398d

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XIII. EVALUATION

i. Private association

Possible

Note

The abundance of the epigraphic record about the *boukoloi*, spanning a period of roughly two centuries (from 27 BC to the 2nd c. AD), points to a durable group. However, the durability of the group seems to be directly linked to its involvement in the civic cult of Dionysos Kathegemon and the mysteries celebrated in his honour. Any evidence of an internal organization other than that for the conduct of the dramatic performances is missing. The *boukoloi* were in charge of the organization of the choral and dramatic performances in honour of Dionysos Kathegemon, presided over by the *archiboukolos*.
Although the *boukoloi* are considered a 'private cult association' by modern scholars (e.g. Horster 2011: 64), the absence of terms like *thiasos*, *synodos* etc. to designate the group would rather point to a loosely formed group, whose *raison d'être* seems to have been the organization of the Dionysian performances.