

## CAPInv. 1912: *he hiera mousike peripolistike Aureliane oikoumenike megale synodos*

### I. LOCATION

i. Geographical area	Egypt
ii. Nome	Oxyrhynchites (U19)
iii. Site	Oxyrhynchus

### II. NAME

i. Full name (original language)	ἡ ἱερά μουσική περιπολιστική Αὐρηλιανὴ οἰκουμένη μεγάλη σύνοδος (Pap.Agon. 1, l. 13)
ii. Full name (transliterated)	<i>he hiera mousike peripolistike Aureliane oikoumenike megale synodos</i>

### III. DATE

i. Date(s)	225 (?) - 299 AD
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### IV. NAME AND TERMINOLOGY

i. Name in other forms	<p>Pap.Agon. 2: ἡ ἱερά σύνοδος <i>he hiera synodos</i></p> <p>Pap.Agon. 3 = P. Oxy. XXVII 2476: οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκο[υμένης] περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται κ[αὶ] ἡ ἱερά μο[υ]σι[κ]ῆ περιπολιστικῆ οἰκουμένη[ι]κῆ [Διοκλητιανὴ Μαξι]μιανὴ εὐσ[ε]βή&lt;ς&gt; εὐτυχῆ&lt;ς&gt; σεβαστῆ μεγάλῃ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖτων ἱερω[ι]κῶν στεφαν[ι]τῶν, <i>hoi apo tes oikoumenes peri ton Dionyson technitai kai he hiera mousike peripolistike oikoumenike Diokletiane Maximiane eusebes eutuches sebaste megale synodos ton peri ton Dionyson techniton hieronikon stephaniton</i></p> <p>Pap.Agon. 4 = P.Oxy. Hels. 25: ἡ ἱερά μουσική οἰκουμένη περιπολιστικῆ Γαλλινῆ μεγάλη σύνοδος <i>he hiera mousike oikoumenike peripolistike Galliene megale synodos</i></p> <p>Pap.Agon. 5 = P. Oxy. 31 2610: ἡ ἱερά μουσική καὶ περιπολιστικὴ μεγάλη οἰκουμένη μεγάλη σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖτων ἱερονικῶν στεφανιτῶν καὶ τῶν τούτων συναγωνιστῶν <i>he hiera mousike kai peripolistike megale oikoumenike megale synodos ton peri ton Dionyson techniton hieronikon stephaniton kai touton sunagoniston</i></p> <p>P.Oxy. XIV 1691: ἡ ἱερά σύνοδος <i>he hiera synodos</i></p> <p>PSI V 450v: ἡ ἱερά σύνοδος <i>he hiera synodos</i></p> <p>SB 28.16959: ἡ ἱερά μουσική περιπολιστικῆ Γαλλινῆ μεγάλη σύνοδος <i>he hiera mousike peripolistike Galliene megale synodos</i></p>
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<b>ii. Name elements</b>	Cultic:	<i>hiera</i>
	Geographical:	<i>oikoumenike</i>
	Personal:	<i>Aureliane, Diokletiane, Maximiane, Galliene</i>
	Professional:	<i>technitai hieronikai stephanitai</i>
	Status-related:	<i>technitai hieronikai stephanitai</i>
	Theophoric:	<i>peri ton Dionyson</i>
	Other:	<i>mousike, peripolistike, megale, eusebes, eutuches, sebaste</i>
<b>iii. Descriptive terms</b>	σύνοδος <i>synodos</i>	
<b>Note</b>	<i>synodos passim</i> in all documents indicated.	

## V. SOURCES

<b>i. Source(s)</b>	Pap.Agon. 1 (27 Dec. AD 273 - 25 Jan. AD 274) PSI V 450 verso (AD 225 - 275) P.Oxy. XIV 1691 (AD 291/2) Pap.Agon. 3 (26 Jul. AD 288) Pap.Agon. 2 (26 Jan. - 24 Febr. AD 274) Pap.Agon. 4 (26 Febr. - 26 Mar. AD 264) Pap.Agon. 5 (late III AD) SB XXVIII 16959 (AD 261 - 267)
<b>Note</b>	Other editions: Pap.Agon. 1 = SB XVI 13034 = BGU IV 1074 = SB I 5225 Pap.Agon. 3 = P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 Pap.Agon. 2 = BGU IV 1073 = M.Chr. 198 Pap.Agon. 4 = P.Oxy. Hels. 25 Pap.Agon. 5 = P.Oxy. XXXI 2610
<b>Online Resources</b>	<a href="#">Pap.Agon. 1 = TM 16348</a> <a href="#">PSI V 450 verso = TM 31137</a> <a href="#">P. Oxy. XIV 1691 = TM 21971</a> <a href="#">Pap.Agon. 2 = TM 18516</a> <a href="#">Pap.Agon. 3 = TM 17010</a> <a href="#">Pap.Agon. 4 = TM 15809</a> <a href="#">Pap.Agon. 5 = TM 30441</a> SB 28 16959: <a href="#">TM 99922</a>
<b>i.a. Source type(s)</b>	Papyrological source(s)
<b>i.b. Document(s) typology &amp; language/script</b>	All texts are in Greek.  Pap.Agon. 1: Diploma concerning membership in the <i>synodos</i> of the Dionysian artists  PSI V 450 verso: Extract from land and property register  P.Oxy. XIV 1691: Lease of land at Senokomis  Pap.Agon. 2: Official letter from the boule  Pap.Agon. 3: Privileges of Athletes and Dionysiac Artists  Pap.Agon. 4: Privileges of an Artist of Dionysus  Pap.Agon. 5: Diploma for an athlete (?)  SB 28 16959: Document concerning an <i>agon</i> in Hermopolis

## VII. ORGANIZATION

ii. Leadership	<p>Pap.Agon. 1 l. 21: ἄρχων γραμματεὺς <i>Archon</i> (and?) <i>grammateus</i></p> <p>Pap.Agon. 3 l.16: ἀρχιερεὺς, <i>archiereus</i></p> <p>Pap.Agon. 4: ἀρχιερεὺς, <i>archiereus</i> (l. 10, 39, 43)</p>
iii. Members	<p>Pap.Agon. 1 l.14: οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς [αὐ]τῆς συνόδου, <i>hoi apo tes autes synodou</i></p> <p>Pap. Agon. 2 l. 11: οἱ σύλλογοι τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου, <i>hoi syllogoi tes hieras synodou</i></p> <p>Pap. Agon. 3 : οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκο[υ]μένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται <i>hoi apo tes oikoumenes peri ton Dionyson technitai</i> (ll. 12-13); οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται ἱερονῖ[κ]αι στεφαν[ῖ]ται (l. 14) <i>hoi peri ton Dionyson technitai hieronikai staphanitai</i></p> <p>Pap. Agon. 4: οἱ τῆν ἱερὰν σύνοδον νέμοι[τε]ς <i>hoi ten hieran synodon nemontes</i> (l. 3); οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, <i>hoi apo tes oikoumenes peri ton Dionyson</i> (l.15); οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται ἱερονίκα στεφανίται καὶ οἱ τούτων συναγωνισταίς, <i>hoi peri ton Dionyson technitai hieronikai staphanitai kai hoi touton synagonistai</i> (l.15)</p> <p>PSI V 450 verso: οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἱερονίκα, <i>hoi apo tes hieras synodou kai ateleis hieronikai</i>, ll. 55-56.</p> <p>P. Oxy. 14 1691: οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου, <i>hoi apo tes hieras synodou</i>, ll. 2-3.</p>
iv. Officials	<p>Pap.Agon. 1: Secretary (ll. 11, 15, 20, 22, 25): γραμματεὺς, <i>grammateus</i>: [Marcus] Aurelius Apollodidymos, son of Ploution.</p> <p>"Officers" (l. 17): ἄρχοντες (τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς συνόδου), <i>archontes</i>.</p> <p>First officer/magistrate (ll. 17, 18-19): πρῶτος ἄρχων, <i>protos archon</i>: [Marcus Aurelius (cf. l. 18)] Sarapammon.</p> <p>Secretary (l. 17): γραμματεὺς, <i>grammateus</i>: [Marcus Aurelius (cf. l. 20)] Paulus.</p> <p>Officer of the laws/constitution (ll. 18, 22-24): ἄρχων νομοδείκτης, <i>archon nomodeiktēs</i>: Marcus Aurelius Silvanus.</p> <p><i>Archon</i> (and?) <i>grammateus</i> (l. 21): ἄρχων γραμματεὺς; (?) Marcus Aurelius Paulus.</p> <p>ἀρχιγραμματεὺς <i>Archigrammateus</i> (?) l. 83 and γραμματεὺσας (cf. Pap.Agon. 6 = <a href="#">CAPInv. 1952</a>) τῆς συνόδου, <i>grammateusas tes synodou</i> (l. 26):: Marcus Aurelius Pto. . .</p> <p>Pap. Agon. 3: First officer/magistrate (ll. 19, 23): ἄρχων πρῶτος, <i>archon protos</i> [cf. Plut. Pomp. 68.1]: Marcus Aurelius Herakleios Commodus alias Nicantinoos.</p> <p>[Second] officer/vice-president and secretary (ll. 20, 27): ἀντάρχων γραμματεὺς, <i>antarchon grammateus</i>: Marcus Aurelius Agathokles alias Asterios.</p> <p>Officer of the laws/constitution (ll. 21, 30): ἄρχων νομοδείκτης, <i>archon nomodeiktēs</i>: Aurelius Kasullas.</p> <p>Pap. Agon. 4: "Officers" (l. 20): ἄρχοντες (τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς συνόδου), <i>archontes</i>.</p> <p>First officer/magistrate (l. 20): ἄρχων πρῶτος, <i>archon protos</i>, Marcus Aurelius ...gus also called Antinous. (cf. l. 22: ἀντάρχων πρῶτος, <i>antarchon protos</i>).</p> <p>[Second] officer/vice-president and secretary (l. 21): ἀντάρχων γραμματεὺς, <i>antarchon grammateus</i>, Marcus Aurelius ..on, son of Anubion (cf. l. 25: ἄρχων γραμματεὺς, <i>archon grammateus</i>).</p> <p>(Officer, cf. Pap. Agon. 3) of the laws/constitution (l. 21): νομοδείκτης, <i>nomodeiktēs</i>, Titus Aelius Agathodaemon (cf. l. 28: ἄρχων νομοδείκτης, <i>archon nomodeiktēs</i>).</p>
v. Other staff	<p>Pap.Agon. 3: ? President of the games (ll.32-33: διοικήσας τὸν ἀγῶνα, <i>dioikesas ton agona</i>): Marcus Aurelius Horion</p> <p>It is tempting to push this to <i>dioiketes</i> if a formalised position, given the similarities to that civil position in Egypt at the time, but I can find no parallel (MG)</p>

### viii. Obligations

Pap.Agon. 1: Marcus Aurelius Apollodidymos pays 250 denarii for his entrance into the association here, l. 15 (cf. [CAPInv. 1939](#)).

Pap.Agon. 3: Aurelius Hatres apparently pays an entrance fee of 850 denarii (l. 15), and makes several (but unnumbered) payments for the temples of the emperors. Whether this payment was for entrance to the association itself, or whether he paid this as part of his accession to high priest is not entirely clear. With respect to the former particularly, one wonders why he would pay an entrance fee to an association that he was presumably already a part of. Possibly this was just recording that he had actually made the payment, or that it was an annual cost that all members were required to pay (although there is no evidence for any of this within the document itself).

Pap. Agon. 4: Marcus Aurelius Serenus paid 250 Attic drachmas (l. 25)

The reason behind the differing amounts is entirely unclear, unless the reading of Pap.Agon. 3 is incorrect (which it may well be, given the similarity between the costs that appear in the other documents). It may be the case, however, that high-priest was to pay more than the other officials (although cf. [CAPInv. 1939](#)).

### ix. Privileges

Pap.Agon. 1: ll. 1-3 contain a summary of the various imperial warrants in a letter of Claudius, but which appear to have begun under Augustus.

ll. 3-5: summary of edict of Hadrian confirming privileges bestowed on the association, "inviolability, seating precedence, exemption from military service, immunity from public duties, to keep untaxed all that they earn from private business or the games (?) ... not to supply guarantors, exemption from special (?) taxes [*ἀνεισφορία aneisphoria* here], communal sacrifice, not to be forced to supply billets for foreigners, nor to be imprisoned in any prison . . ."

ll. 5-7: A letter from Septimius Severus to the association confirming the privileges granted by earlier emperors.

ll. 7-8: A letter from Severus and Caracalla to the association upholding the privileges that the association currently receive.

ll. 8-9: A letter from Severus Alexander confirming the earlier edicts of Severus and Caracalla.

Pap. Agon. 3: ll. 1-4: Letter of Claudius to society allowing *εἰκόνας eikones* and confirming privileges conferred by Augustus, namely the erection of images with which the emperor may be worshipped and confirmation of "the rights and favours granted you by the god Augustus."

ll. 4-7: Decree of Hadrian concerning privileges namely "inviolability, seating precedence, exemption from military service, immunity from public duties, to keep untaxed all that they earn from private business or the games (?) ... not to supply guarantors, exemption from special (?) taxes [*ἀνεισφορία aneisphoria* here], communal sacrifice, not to be forced to supply billets for foreigners, nor to be imprisoned, . . . ed, or liable to the death penalty."

ll. 7-11: Letter of Severus confirming their privileges: "all the rights and favours that you have had from the beginning, bestowed by emperors before me, those I also maintain with the intention of preferring and holding in esteem men of artist . . . religious rites."

ll. 11-12: Letter of Alexander confirming the decisions (presumably relating to privileges) of Caracalla and Severus, and earlier emperors.

ll. 12-17: Letter from society to members, confirming the appointment of Aurelius Hatres of Oxyrhynchus as high priest (see above).

ll. 17-33: ratification of this letter dated by games at Panopolis and the current officers of this association (see above).

Pap. Agon. 4: ll. 1-2: Summary of an edict of Hadrian confirming the privileges granted to the association, namely "inviolability, seating precedence, exemption from military service, immunity from public duties, to keep untaxed all that they earn from private business or the games (?) ... not to supply guarantors, exemption from special (?) taxes, communal sacrifice, not to be forced to supply billets for foreigners, nor to be imprisoned..."

ll. 3-5: A letter from Septimius Severus to the association confirming the privileges granted by earlier emperors.

ll. 6-7: A letter from Severus and Caracalla to the association noting that none of the privileges bestowed upon the group would be revoked.

ll. 8-9: A letter from Severus Alexander confirming both the edicts of Severus and Caracalla.

ll. 10-14: A letter from Marcus Aurelius Serenus to the senate requesting confirmation of his privileges (dating to the reign of Gallienus).

Pap.Agon. 5: ll. 2-8 reproduces the letter of Severus appearing in Pap.Agon. 3 ll. 7-11, and above Pap.Agon. 1 ll.5-7, confirming the privileges of the association: "all the rights and favours that you have had from the beginning, bestowed by emperors before me, those I also maintain with the intention of preferring and holding in esteem men of artist . . . religious rites," the letter of Severus and Caracalla from Pap.Agon. 1 ll. 5-7, and Alexander (cf. Pap.Agon. 3 ll. 8-9).

## VIII. PROPERTY AND POSSESSIONS

<b>ii. Realty</b>	P. Oxy. XIV 1691: rental of three arourae for 2500 dr (one of the lessees, Aurelius Diogenes, son of Diogenes, was a member of this association).
<b>iii. Income</b>	<p>Pap.Agon. 3: What is this fee that Aurelius Hatres paid "by imperial decree"? A membership cost? If annual then 850 denarii per year per member. A payment for being leader or an official? Therefore, 850 denarii per official position?</p> <p>Other documents reveal that 250 denarii or 250 Attic drachmas were membership fees (see VII.viii Obligations).</p>

## IX. MEMBERSHIP

<b>i. Number</b>	At least 4-5 (as officials seem to suggest, see e.g. Pap.Agon. 3 and above), but significantly larger.
<b>ii. Gender</b>	Men
<b>Note</b>	The recorded names are male names.
<b>iii. Age</b>	Adults
<b>iv. Status</b>	<p>Roman citizens, due to the date (and because of their privileges).</p> <p>Pap.Agon. 1: Marcus Aurelius Apollodidymos, son of Ploution, an Oxyrhynchite Marcus Aurelius Sarapammon, an Alexandrian and a Hermopolite Marcus Aurelius Paulus, an Antinoopolite Marcus Aurelius Silvanus, a Hermopolite, a citizen of Rome [why is this included here given the date?] and Athens, also Rhodes and Pergamon (?) Marcus Aurelius Pto. . .</p> <p>Pap.Agon. 3: [Marcus] Aurelius Hatres, son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis is an Oxyrhynchite (and he was appointed at Panopolis). Marcus Aurelius Herakleios Commodus alias Nicantinoos is a citizen of Antinoopolis, Panopolis, Hermopolis, Lycopolis, and Oxrhynchus. Marcus Aurelius Agathokles alias Asterios is a citizen of Alexandria, Antinoopolis, and Lycopolis. [Marcus] Aurelius Kasullas, citizen of Panopolis and Antinoopolis. Marcus Aurelius Horion (possibly as president of the games) is a citizen of Hermopolis, a colonist of Antioch and a "citizen of many other cities" (l. 32: καὶ κóλων Ἄντιοχεὺς μητροπολίτης καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πόλεων πολίτης, <i>kai kolon Antiocheus metropolites kai allon pollon poleon polites</i>). Marcus Aurelius Agricolaos is a citizen of Panopolis.</p> <p>Pap.Agon. 4: One of the association's officers is an Alexandrian citizen (Titus Aelius Agathodaemon, ll. 21, 28). One officer is a citizen of Leontopolis (Marcus Aurelius ...on, son of Anubion, ll. 21, 25).</p> <p>The new high priest—Marcus Aurelius Serenus, son of Serenus, also called Ptolemaeus—is an Oxyrhynchite (ll. 17, 24), who was apparently elected in Antinoopolis (l. 24).</p>

**vi. Proper names and physical features**

PSI V 450v: Agathos Daimon alias Theon, son of Agathinos, grandson of Adon, whose mother is Sarapias

Pap. Agon. 1: Marcus Aurelius Apollodidymos, son of Ploution  
Marcus Aurelius Sarapammon  
Marcus Aurelius Paulus.  
Marcus Aurelius Silvanus  
Marcus Aurelius Paulus also known as Antinous.  
Marcus Aurelius Pto. . .

Pap. Agon. 2: Aurelius Apollodidymos, son of Ploution

P.Oxy. 14.1691: Aurelius Diogenes, son of Diogenes

Pap. Agon. 3: [Marcus] Aurelius Hatres, son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis;  
Marcus Aurelius Herakleios Commodus alias Nicantinoos;  
Marcus Aurelius Agathokles alias Asterios;  
[Marcus] Aurelius Kasullas;  
Marcus Aurelius Horion (possibly as president of the games);  
Marcus Aurelius Agricolaos.

Pap. Agon. 4: Marcus Aurelius ...gus also called Antinous;  
Marcus Aurelius Serenus, son of Serenus, also called Ptolemaeus;  
Marcus Aurelius ...on, son of Anubion;  
Titus Aelius Agathodaemon

## X. ACTIVITIES

**ii. Meetings and events**

Pap.Agon. 1 appears to have been composed during the first Capitolia of AD 273-74 (Il. 15-16 and Remijsen 2014: 198 n. 6)

Pap.Agon. 3: It seems that the synodos had been active in the games at Panopolis.

Pap.Agon. 4: Participation in games at Antinoopolis.

## XI. INTERACTION

**i. Local interaction**

If these documents do all represent the same association as they seem to, then it (or more precisely, its members) appears to have been present in several communities:

Pap.Agon. 1: found U19 Oxyrhynchus; the Capitolia here began in c. AD 273, and see Remijsen 2014: 198 nn. 5-6.

Pap.Agon. 3: found U19 Oxyrhynchus; suggests participation in the games at Panopolis

Pap.Agon. 4: found U19 Oxyrhynchus; suggests participation in games at Antinoopolis

Pap.Agon. 5: found U19 Oxyrhynchus

SB XXVIII 16959: found U15 Hermopolis

The officials seem to be from various parts of Egypt: this shows the large network at national (and at times international) level that this association enjoyed.

## XII. NOTES

**i. Comments**

It is likely that [CAPInv. 1930](#), [CAPInv. 1935](#), [CAPInv. 1938](#), and [CAPInv. 1939](#) overlapped with this association.

### iii. Bibliography

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## XIII. EVALUATION

### i. Private association

Certain

#### Note

These are private associations, but certainly enjoy significant imperial privilege (as the Pap.Agon. papyri clearly illustrate).