Nessun dorma! : Changing nightlife in the Hellenistic and Roman East

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Objekttyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique**

Band (Jahr): **64 (2018)**

PDF erstellt am: **12.07.2024**

Persistenter Link: https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-816251

I

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NESSUN DORMA!

CHANGING NIGHTLIFE IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN EAST

1. The night in historical research[1]

Let me begin with the good news. Unlike the definition of so many other subjects studied by historians that of the 'night' is clear and unambiguous: it is the period between sunset and sunrise, between twilight and dawn. This definition is consistent and unalterable, regardless of culture and time. It holds true for Pharaonic Egypt and 21st-century Helsinki alike. To be sure, the duration of the night may differ depending on the season and location — from Hadrian's Wall to Dura-Europos and from Chersonesos in Tauris to Oxyrhynchus — but not its definition.

And now the bad news: beyond this clear and simple definition, everything that fills the night with life, from the economic, political, social, cultural, and religious activities of humans to the behavior of animals, everything that stimulates the senses, from shadows, street illumination, the moonlight, the odor of night flowers, or the touching of a naked body in the darkness

[1] For epigraphic publications I use the abbreviations of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. I am grateful to Matthew Peebles (Columbia University) and Emyr Dakin (CUNY) for correcting the English text. I have discussed some aspects of this subject in various articles: CHANIOTIS (2017), (2018a), and (2018b). Some overlaps and repetitions were unavoidable.

to the barking of dogs, the rhythmical call of the owl, the noise of revelers, the snoring of an old man, or the blaring of a car alarm, and everything that humans experience during the night, from dreams or the unwelcome visit of ghosts to pirate attacks, all of this differs depending on a vast array of factors including species, ecology, age, gender, social position, occupation, and historical context.

A nocturnal banquet is experienced differently by the host and his guests, the slave who serves, and the flute girl who entertains; waking up late in the morning is often a privilege of the higher social strata; religious faith may lead to interruptions of sleep for prayer. Mannerisms may also play a significant role in differentiating the experience of the night — for instance, it is somehow believed that insomnia leads to good poetry or original PhD dissertations.

The activities that unfold and the experiences that are sustained during the night depend on constantly changing factors that may range from technology and the organization of labor to religion. As examples of the former: the invention of electricity revolutionized night-life; 24-hour TV and radio have had a tremendous impact on our lives since their inception; and the development of aviation, radars, and infrared have increased the horrors of warfare. The obligatory nocturnal prayers in Christianity and Islam have had an impact on behavior during the night. Such diverse factors explain why nightclubs have only existed since the 19th century; why some societies have evening dresses and others do not; why segmented sleep prevailed in preindustrial European culture;[2] why specific forms of music, literature, and visual art are associated with the night — such as the nocturne and *Nachtmusik*, the Gothic novel and the sympotic dialogue, the film noir and the horror movie.

That nightlife differs depending on the historical context is not surprising. All human experiences and actions are subject to change, regardless of whether they take place during the day

[2] Ekirch (2005) 300-323.

or during the night. With this in mind, is there any reason for separating the history of the night from the rest of history? Historical research has answered the first question in an affirmative way, studying significant aspects of the night in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe, in the Ottoman Empire, and in the modern world.[3] Although the relevant studies have not radically changed our understanding of the past, viewing European, Ottoman, and modern societies from the perspective of the night has made the contours of certain phenomena sharper and even illuminated them (if you allow me this apparent oxymoron). Such phenomena include crime, policing and the maintenance of order,[4] witchcraft and Christian piety,[5] debating, feasting, and entertaining at the royal court,[6] the rise of street lighting,[7] differences between city and countryside,[8] the emergence of new forms of entertainment,[9] the relation between gender and nocturnal activities,[10] and of course the impact of technology.[11] These studies have taken a more or less synchronic approach, examining the various parameters that differentiate the way that the night is experienced within a community or a group of similar communities.

The Graeco-Roman world offers not only the possibility of another synchronic examination within one cosmopolitan culture, but also of multiple comparative and diachronic studies.

[3] Schivelbusch (1988); Ekirch (2005); Cabantoux (2009); Koslofsky (2011); Bourdin (2013); Wishnitzer (2014).

[4] Delattre (2000) 136-143, 268-324, 454-467; Ekirch (2005) 75-84; Cabantoux (2009) 159-190, 229-244; Koslofsky (2011) 128-156.

[5] Cabantoux (2009) 69-82, 135-137, 191-227; Koslofsky (2011) 28-90, 247-251.

[6] Ekirch (2005) 210-217; Koslofsky (2011) 90-127.

[7] Schivelbusch (1988) 79-134; Delattre (2000) 79-119; Ekirch (2005) 67-74; Cabantoux (2009) 249-262; Koslofsky (2011) 128-156.

[8] Cabantoux (2009) 245-249; Koslofsky (2011) 198-235.

[9] Schivelbusch (1988) 191-221; Delattre (2000) 147-204; Ekirch (2005) 213-217 (masquerades); Cabantoux (2009) 282-289; Koslofsky (2011) 93-103; Triolaire (2013).

[10] Ekirch (2005) 65-66, 220-222; Koslofsky (2011) 174-197.

[11] Schivelbusch (1988) 3-78 (various forms of lamps); Delattre (2000) 85-88, 112-115 (gas and electricity).

Of course, within the limits of this study, I cannot present a short history of the night in the Graeco-Roman world — *eine kleine Nachtgeschichte*, as it were — but I will attempt to historize ancient nights by focusing on the social and cultural factors that shaped nightlife in the Hellenistic World and the Roman East in a period of approximately 500 years, from Alexander the Great to the Severan dynasty, a period that I call 'the Long Hellenistic Age'. If this overview is very selective and at times impressionistic, this is not only because of the enormous breadth of the subject and the limited space allowed for this study, but also because of the lack of an extensive corpus of scholarly inquiries on the subject, with the exception of diachronic studies on dreams and of research on banquets, many of which typically continued after sunset.[12]

Exactly forty years ago, Murray Melbin expressed the hypothesis that in the modern world the night has become a new frontier, inviting humans to occupy and colonize it.[13] Since the 'Long Hellenistic Age' is a period of continually expanding frontiers, both in a literal and in a metaphorical sense, it is legitimate to ask whether the night was also treated like a frontier. To answer this question, I will briefly discuss certain universal and more or less perennial aspects of human perceptions of the night, and explain how such perceptions influence its representation. I shall argue that the association of the night with a relatively standard set of concepts and feelings determines how it is represented in the textual evidence, leading in part to its misrepresentation. After briefly addressing this methodological issue, I will examine the impact of social, political, and cultural factors on the night.

[12] A general collection of essays: SCIOLI / WALDE (2010). Dreams: HARRIS (2009); JOHNSTON (2010); HARRISON (2013); RENBERG (2015) and (2017a). Sleep: MONTIGLIO (2016). Banquets: MURRAY (1990); DUNBABIN (2003); VÖSSING (2004); STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP (2005); NADEAU (2010); SCHNURBUSCH (2011); KÖNIG (2012); WECOWSKI (2014). See also BECKER (2013).

[13] MELBIN (1978).

2. Universal perceptions of the night

One of my favorite songs is Cole Porter's *Night and Day* (as performed by Ella Fitzgerald):

> "Night and day, you are the one | Only you 'neath the moon or under the sun. | Whether near to me or far, | It's no matter, darling, | where you are. | I think of you night and day."

What this song (and our linguistic usage more generally) expresses is the polarity of day and night — an opposition that has prevailed for millennia and has not been defeated even by modern technology. Because of this polarity, 'night' is a marked word, as the linguists would say: a term that carries special social and cultural connotations, giving emphasis to a statement and, in this case, enhancing an emotional display. In Porter's song, the intensity of desire can only be really expressed when the partition of day and night is lifted, and the two become a continuum. To say "I love you" is one thing; to follow the statement "I love you" with the words "by day" would probably fail to generate much enthusiasm, but to say "I love you by day and night" is an emphatic, unconditional profession of emotion. This usage, appearing in a variety of contexts, has not changed for millennia. "Misfortune by day, misery by night" is an ancient Egyptian curse formula.[14] And in a letter written in Egypt 1900 years ago, a man implores the wife who had abandoned him: "I want you to know that ever since you left me I have been in mourning, weeping at night and lamenting during the day".[15] A writer's employment of "the night", in all its markedness, can also underline the weight of a commitment or a wish. This is why we often find the expression "by day and by night" in ritual texts such as oaths, charms, and curses.[16]

[14] HUGHES (1969) 46 and 48.

[15] *BGU* III 846 (Arsinoite nome, 2nd cent. CE): γινώσκειν σε θέλω ἀφ' ὡς ἐξῆλθες ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πένθος ἠγούμην νυκτὸς κλαίων ἡμέρας δὲ πενθῶν.

[16] Oaths: e.g. *I.Cret.* I.ix.1 (Lyttos, ca. 220 BCE): μὴ μὰν ἐγώ ποκα τοῖς Λυττίοις καλῶς φρονησεῖν μήτε τέχναι μήτε μαχανᾶι, μήτε ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε πεδ' ἀμέραν. Charms: e.g. *IGLS* 1, 220: λύσατε τὴν Ἰουλιανὴν ἀπὸ πάσης φαρμακίας

If 'night' is marked as a word, this is partly because the night as an interval of time has been marked since the dawn of humanity. From primeval times — when artificial light was provided by fire burning in a cave or a shelter, giving warmth and protecting from wild animals — humans engaged in a limited repertoire of nocturnal activities. The night provided time for recreation; for sex and sleep; for the joint consumption of food; for storytelling, singing and dancing around the fire; and for watching the stars and observing the phases of the moon. Furthermore, it offered the opportunity for dreaming and the experience of supernatural phenomena. Finally, the night was connected with dangers and the increased need for security measures. Although life in many historical periods has reached high levels of sophistication — through urbanization, technological advancement, and increased social complexity, among other factors — the principal activities, experiences, and perceptions of the night have demonstrated surprising persistence. The night never ceased to require defense measures. It has remained the privileged time for supernatural phenomena — people continue dreaming of dead relatives (although dreaming of the gods has somehow gone out of fashion),[17] and they still believe that the position of the stars and the phases of the moon influence their fortune and behavior. Perennially, the night provides the setting for conviviality in small groups — the family, the members of exclusive associations, conspirators — and on special occasions, it gathers masses of the like-minded in all-night celebrations and vigils. So, the night has been enduringly associated with a certain set of perceptions. It plays a great part in the creation of a sense of togetherness — initiation rites

… νύκτας καὶ ἡμέρας ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχὺ ἄρτι ἄρτι ἄρτι. Curses: e.g. *SEG* XXXVIII 1838 (Oxyrhynchus, 3rd cent. CE: κατάδησον καὶ ἀγρύπνησον Ματρώναν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη, ἧς ἔχις τὴν οὐσίαν, ἧς ἔχι ἐν νόῳ Θεόδωρος, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις, φιλοῦσα<ν> αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις, πάσᾳ ὥρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος αὐτῆς,[[ϰ[αὶ μηδένα]]]ἐκκτὸς Θεοδώρου ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, ἄρτι ἄρτι.

[17] On epiphanic dreams, see HARRIS (2009) 23-90; for their equivalent in early modern Greece (dreaming of saints), see STEWART (2012).

in secret societies usually take place in the night; it is intimately linked with fear and anxiety but also with erotic desire; and as the night commonly occasions sleep and dreaming, it is associated with death and is regarded as the most effectual time for the communication between mortals and the gods, the living and the dead.

3. Ancient stereotypes

Moving to the ancient world, the fact that the night is a marked time period and that the word 'night' is marked can easily be recognized in ancient texts whose authors chose to mention the fact that an incident took place in the night because this enhanced emotional arousal. For instance, the explicit reference of the authors of Hellenistic decrees to the fact that an enemy attack occurred during the night amplified the feeling of danger and increased the gratitude toward those who had averted it.[18] Because of the association of the night with fear — the expression 'nocturnal fear' is proverbial —[19] it is more likely that we will be told that a dangerous or frightful event occurred during the night than, for example, that a fisherman spread his net in the calm sea in the moonlight[20] or that a sailor followed the stars; because the night is oversexed, we get more information about erotic desire and the composition of love poetry in the night by sleepless men[21] than about resting

[18] E.g. *IG* II^2 1209 (Athens, ca. 319 BCE); *IG* V 2, 412 (Thelphousa, ca. 300 BCE). Further examples in CHANIOTIS (2017) 103-105.

[19] *Orphic Hymn to the Night* 3, 14 ed. QUANDT: φόβους νυχαυγεῖς; *Psalm* 90: οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινοῦ.

[20] Nocturnal fishing: AYODEJI (2004); SEIDEL (2012) 241-242.

[21] E.g. MELEAGROS, *Greek Anthology* 5, 8, 151, 155, 165, 166, 191, 197; 6, 162; 12, 125, 127, 137; Anonymous, *Greek Anthology* 5, 101; ASKLEPIADES, *Greek Anthology* 5, 150, 164, 167, 189. Cf. a graffito in Nymphaion: *SEG* LVIII 894 (3rd cent. BCE): [Θ]εοδώρα | Πίτθωνι χαί|ρειν· καλῶς | ποήσεις με, ἀγρυπνίσεις με ("Theodora to Pithon, greetings; you shall treat me well, you shall keep me awake all night").

after toilsome work in the fields; because the night is full of dangers, alertness and sleeplessness become favored qualities of leaders in command.[22] From Homer on, according to a literary *topos*, the military leader remains armed and awake the whole night long, while the ordinary soldiers sleep.[23]

Too often, explicit references to the night function as enhancers of emotional responses and magnifiers of the emotional impact of a narrative. This is why we have direct references to the fact that an earthquake occurred during the night. A late Hellenistic grave epigram for three victims of an earthquake states, for instance, that they were buried under the roof of their domicile and sent to the house of Persephone immediately after their supper.[24] That three members of a family were killed during an earthquake is bad enough; that this occurred in the darkness of the night underlines the special tragedy of this fate (though the fact that the victims died in their sleep offers some consolation). The night is further exploited to highlight the outstanding character of an achievement. For instance, the honorific inscription for the pankratiast Tiberius Claudius Rufus[25] stresses his laudable motivation in the pursuit of victory by mentioning the fact that "he endured to continue the fight until the night, until the stars came out, as his hope of victory encouraged him to fight more vigorously". Another reason for explicit

[22] SACERDOTI (2014).

[23] HOM. *Il.* 2, 24: οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα; SILIUS 3, 174: *uigili stant bella magistro*; 1, 245-246: [Hannibal] *somnum negabat naturae noctemque uigil ducebat in armis.*

[24] *IG* XII 8, 92 (Imbros, 2nd/1st cent. BCE: ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα | τοὺς τρισσοὺς νέκυας σταθμὸς ἔθαψε δόμου. … νύκτα δὲ πικροτάτην μεταδόρπιον ὑπνώσαντες | οἰκοῦμεν μέλαθρ[ον Περσεφόνης ζοφερόν] ("in the dark night the roof of the house buried the three dead … We slept a bitter night after dinner, and now we inhabit the dark palace of Persephone"). Cf. *CIL* VIII 17970a = *An.Ép.* 2009, 1771, Besseriani / Ad Maiores (Numidia), 267 CE: *[post terrae motum] quod [patria]e Pate[rno et] / Arcesilao co(n)s(ulibus) hora noc[tis - - somno fessis contigit]*; cf. *CIL* VIII 2481.

[25] *IvO* 54 (early 2nd cent. CE): ὅτι μέχρι νυκτός, ὡς ἄστρα καταλαβεῖν, διεκαρτέρησε, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν νείκην ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀγωνίσζεσθαι προτρεπόμενος.

references to the night is the occurrence of something extraordinary. We do not often find descriptions of people sleeping in the night; it was preferable to record the fact that their sleep was interrupted — by a dream, anxiety, grief, or erotic desire — or that they passed from sleep to death.

Consequently, by simply collecting references to the night in literary sources, inscriptions, and papyri, it is unlikely that we will completely grasp the complexity and specificity of the night in a given historical setting, since these references may be influenced by the function of the night as an intensifier. An author's decision to explicitly mention the night as the background of an event or to create a nighttime setting for a fictional narrative is intrinsically connected with widespread perceptions of the night and with the function of the night as an intensifier of empathy.[26] The image that we will construct based on such sources will be distorted. Some phenomena — sex and violence — will be over-represented. Night stories, of which we have plenty, are valuable as sources of information, but the sum of night stories does not constitute a history of the night.

For a diachronic, historical study of the night in the Hellenistic world and the Roman East, we need a different approach. We need to recognize significant developments over a relatively long historical period — even longer than the 'Long Hellenistic Age' that I will be discussing here — and to examine their impact on the night. As I shall argue, from roughly the mid-4th century BCE onwards, we may observe in the world of the Greek cities an increase in nocturnal activities, mainly religious activities and 'free time activities', such as visiting baths and gymnasia, and attending private and public dinners. The problem of providing safety during the night was addressed in a more systematic manner. This general trend culminated in the Imperial period, if we are to judge from the abundance of evidence for measures that made the night brighter, safer, and

[26] See the contribution by Koen DE TEMMERMAN in this volume.

more efficient.[27] In German, we might call this slow, gradual process an "Entnachtung". Important factors that set this process in motion include continuous wars (from the late 4th to the late 1st century BCE), the greater mobility of persons, stronger urbanization, the growth of voluntary associations, the wider diffusion of mystery cults than ever before, the dependence of cities on benefactors, changes in the position of women, and advancements in technology, science, and technical literature.[28] The aim of this study is not to discuss every aspect of the night in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods — e.g., I do not discuss travel, economic activities, and production —, but to highlight changes in nightlife and identify the most significant sociocultural factors that contributed to these changes.

I am not claiming that any of the nighttime activities that I will be discussing appeared *for the first time* in the 4th century BCE, in the Hellenistic world, or during the Imperial period. We do, however, observe an unprecedented diffusion of phenomena and institutions that were only sporadically attested in the Archaic and Classical period. Although it is not possible to have quantitative studies for most aspects of ancient history — the available data do not allow this — this does not mean that we cannot observe trends or that we cannot determine whether certain phenomena are more common in one place than in another or that they occur more often in one period than in another.

4. Factors that shaped nightlife in the 'Long Hellenistic Age' I: Security

Since the night is associated with dangers, real or imaginary, private and public, any individual will take some measures for the protection of a private house during the night, most

[27] As the contributions by Andrew WILSON and Leslie DOSSEY make clear, this trend reached its peak in Late Antiquity.

[28] For the impact of these factors in the Hellenistic period see CHANIOTIS (2018a).

communities will try to guard settlements, walls, gates, and forts, and sentries will be the priority of any cautious military commander. A strong awareness of the nocturnal dangers is revealed as early as the Solonian legislation, which provided for more severe punishments for crimes committed during the night than for those committed at daytime.[29] Similar laws existed in Hellenistic cities.[30] The priority given to protection during the night is also evidenced by a letter sent by Augustus to Knidos in 6 BCE. It concerns a man accused of the death of an enemy who, alongside some companions, had been harassing him three nights long; when a slave tried to empty a chamber pot on the assailants who were besieging the house, the pot fell and killed one of them. When Augustus was confronted with this case, he expressed his indignation that someone was put on trial for defending his own house during the night.[31]

Given the frequency of wars from the 4th century BCE to the establishment of *pax Romana*, including sieges and direct attacks against cities, it is hardly surprising that we have more textual evidence for the defense of cities than in earlier periods.[32] The measures that were recommended by the authors of military handbooks from the mid-4th century BCE on, especially keeping night-watches, night-guards, and dogs, are also

[29] DEM. 24, 113; cf. a law proposed by PL. *Leg.* 874 bc. For early Rome see *Lex XII Tab.* 2 and the contribution of Filippo CARLÀ-UHINK in this volume. For early modern Europe see EKIRCH (2005) 86-87.

[30] CHANIOTIS (2018a) 191-192. *IPArk* 17 (Stymphalos, ca. 300 BCE); *P.Halensis* 1 ll. 193-195 (Alexandria, 259 BCE).

[31] *I.Knidos* 34: ἐθαύμαζον δ' ἄν, πῶς … μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἀξίων πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν, ἐπ' ἀλλο[τρίαν] οἰκίαν νύκτωρ μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ βίας τρὶς ἐπεληλυ[θό]των καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἁπάντων ὑμῶν ἀσφάλειαν [ἀναι]ρούντων ἀγανακτοῦντες ("I am amazed that you do not show indignation against those who deserved to suffer every punishment, since they attacked another's house three times at night with violence and force and were destroying the common security of all"). For an analysis of the legal aspects of this text, see KARABATSOU (2010).

[32] On Hellenistic wars see CHANIOTIS (2005). I discuss measures for the protection of cities during the night in CHANIOTIS (2017) and (2018a) 89-193. Here, I only summarize the evidence.

found in contemporary inscriptions;[33] but the fact that recommendations were necessary shows that such measures were not to be taken for granted. It was only during a military emergency around 100 BCE that Tomis created a special guard of 40 men, who patrolled the city, guarded the gates during the day, and spent the night near them (see note 33). The office of the *nyktostratêgos* ("general of the night") existed in Ptolemaic Alexandria,[34] and it is conceivable that analogous offices that are attested in Asia Minor in the Imperial period (see below), already existed in Hellenistic times and were introduced under the influence of the Ptolemaic administration.

A new impetus for policing measures after sunset came from Augustus' responses to safety challenges. He may have introduced night-guards as early as 36/35 BCE,[35] and certainly established a regular service of *uigiles* in 6 CE, replacing the earlier system of *tresuiri nocturni*.[36] *Nyktophylakes* are often found in the eastern provinces, especially in Asia Minor and Egypt, and night watchmen are noted in Rabbinic sources from Roman Palestine.[37] We do not have relevant epigraphic evidence from Greece, but Apuleius mentions a *praefectus nocturnae custodiae* in Hypata, who allegedly inspected the town quite methodically, moving from house to house.[38]

[33] Measures in military handbooks: AEN. TACT. 22, 3 (mid-4th cent. BCE): νυκτοφυλακεῖσθαι; 22, 14 (watchdogs). PH. BYZ. D 94 ed. GARLAN 1974 (3rd/2nd cent. BCE): τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκκοιτίαι. Measures in inscriptions: *IGBulg* I² 324; V 5103 (Mesambria, late 2nd and 1st cent. BCE): φύλακες ἀμερινοί, φύλακες νυκτερινοί, περίοδοι; *Syll.*³ 731 = *I.Tomis* 2 ll. 14-16 (Tomis, ca. 100 BCE): παρακοιτήσοντας τὰς νύκτας; see also BRÉLAZ (2005) 83. Watchdogs: *SEG* XXIV 154 ll. 14-15; XXVI 1306 ll. 19-20; XLI 76; cf. PLUT. *Arat.* 7, 5 and 24; see CHANIOTIS (2005) 35, 121, 140.

[34] STRAB. 17, 1, 12; HENNIG (2002) 288-289 with note 34; BRÉLAZ (2005) 80.

[35] APP. *BCiv.* 5, 132, 547; cf. FUHRMANN (2012) 101-102.

[36] SABLAYROLLES (1996); FUHRMANN (2012) 116-118.

[37] Asia Minor: BRÉLAZ (2005) 82-83. Egypt: HENNIG (2002) 285-295; HOMOTH-KUHS (2005) 66-67, 76-77; FUHRMANN (2012) 67 and 77-78, 85-86, 130-131. Palestine: SPERBER (1970).

[38] APUL. *Met.* 3, 3; FUHRMANN (2012) 57.

That safety measures during the night are an obvious necessity, diachronically, does not mean that they were taken everywhere and always. The fact that such measures are more often attested from the Hellenistic period on does not mean that they did not exist earlier. The emergence of written evidence more likely reflects changes in the 'epigraphic habit', that is, the greatest diffusion of inscribed decrees from the 3rd century BCE on. Things are different in the case of two phenomena that one may more plausibly associate with social and cultural changes: measures for the protection of sanctuaries during the night and measures for the supervision of women.

Exiles, refugees, runaway slaves, and suppliants are known to have sought accommodation in sanctuaries for long periods of time already in the Classical period.[39] In the early Hellenistic period, a law from Samos (ca. 245 BCE) refers to these groups of people, and also to unemployed mercenaries, as unwelcomed guests in the sanctuary of Hera.[40] After the pacification of the eastern Mediterranean and the establishment of the Principate exiles and refugees no longer presented a problem, but runaway slaves and suppliants continued to seek protection in sanctuaries in numbers so large that the senate had to intervene in 22/23 CE and review the asylia rights of Greek sanctuaries.[41] Although the encampment of people in sanctuaries, sometimes in large numbers, is an old phenomenon, two new factors obliged the authorities to address the related safety issues: first, nighttime religious activities became more frequent, and second, the number of sanctuaries in which incubation was practiced increased (see below). Safety measures include prohibitions against keeping valuable objects in tents and thus attracting the attention of thieves, and prohibitions against the accommodation of visitors in porticos with the exception of those who had come to offer a sacrifice.[42]

[39] E.g. SINN (2003).

[40] *IG* XII 6, 169 ll. 9-10 and 21 (ca. 235 BCE); CHANIOTIS (2108a) 193.

[41] RIGSBY (1996) 580-586.

[42] *IG* V 1, 1390 ll. 34-39 (Andania, 1st cent. BCE or CE); cf. GAWLINSKI (2012) 143-149; *SEG* XXXVIII 1478 (Xanthos, 3rd/2nd cent.).

In the case of the office of the *gynaikonomoi* the interplay between social developments, safety issues, and nocturnal activities is clearer. The great diffusion of the office of the 'supervisors of women' truly is a Hellenistic innovation, directly connected with two significant developments: the increased visibility of women in public space[43] and the frequency of nocturnal religious celebrations (see below). The rape of a girl during a nocturnal religious festival, a *topos* in New Comedy,[44] exemplifies the threats that nighttime celebrations presented for the safety and honor of women of citizen status. *Gynaikonomoi* are already attested in the first half of the 4th century BCE but only in Thasos and Samos.[45] They were introduced in Athens in the late 4th century BCE and later in various cities in the Aegean, the Peloponnese, Crete, Asia Minor, and Alexandria. Their principal duty was the supervision of women during religious celebrations and funerals, which often took place before sunrise.[46]

As this overview shows, although nighttime safety issues are a perennial feature of Greek history, and probably as old as humanity, a variety of factors — the emergence of a technical literature, the frequency of military events affecting urban settlements, the increased mobility of women, the frequency of nocturnal activities in sanctuaries, and the introduction of policing measures in capitals (Alexandria, Rome) — strengthened the interest of civic authorities in nocturnal safety and their efforts to achieve it.

[43] E.g. VAN BREMEN (1996); STAVRIANOPOULOU (2006); GÜNTHER (2014).

[44] BATHRELOU (2012).

[45] Thasos: *SEG* LVII 820 (ca. 360 BCE). Samos: *IG* XII 6, 461 (ca. 400-350 BCE).

[46] For the evidence and bibliography see CHANIOTIS (2018a) 191-193 and below note 130.

5. Factors that shaped nightlife in the 'Long Hellenistic Age' II: Voluntary associations

Private clubs are already attested in Athens in the early 6th century BCE.[47] But we have to wait until the Hellenistic period to find significant evidence for private voluntary associations in many urban centers beyond Athens.[48] They spread especially in cities in which large numbers of foreign immigrants lived. In large urban centers of Greece, the shores of the Black Sea, and Asia Minor such as Athens, Kos, Delos, and Ephesos, later also Thessalonike, Smyrna, and Sardeis, private clubs served as a basis for communality and identity; but they are also attested in small cities in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and in the Near East.[49] In the main urban centers guilds became a primary mediator of social and economic interaction especially in the Imperial period. Finally, private associations were the basis of religious worship for larger groups within the urban populations than before the conquests of Alexander in the East. Private associations were not an invention of the Hellenistic period, but they were far more common and diverse in the cities of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods than they had ever been before. Several factors contributed to this: the mobility of people, the desire of immigrants to experience forms of community,[50] and

[47] Ustinova (2005) 183-185; Ismard (2010) 44-57.

[48] A selection of recent studies, in which earlier bibliography can be found: Kloppenborg / Wilson (1996); Parker (1996) 333-342; van Nijf (1997); Dittmann-Schöne (2001); Egelhaaf-Gaiser / Schäfer (2002); Zimmermann (2002); Arnaoutoglou (2003); Harland (2003); Baslez (2004); Gabrielsen (2007); Nigdelis (2010); Arnaoutoglou (2011a); Fröhlich / Hamon (2013); Gabrielsen / Thomsen (2015); Verboven (2017). For representative collections of texts from the Roman East, see Kloppenborg / Ascough (2011); Harland (2014); for Egypt see San Nicolò (1972).

[49] Athens: Parker (1996) 334-342; Ismard (2010) 146-404; Arnaoutoglou (2003) and (2011a). Kos: Maillot (2013). Delos: Baslez (2013). Thessalonike: Nigdelis (2010). Smyrna and Sardeis: Harland (2009) 145-160. Lydia: Arnaoutoglou (2011b). Syria: Gatier / Seigne (2006); cf. *SEG* LVI 1920; Posid. *FGrH* 87 F 10. Egypt: Cenival (1972); San Nicolò (1972); Monson (2006).

[50] Gabrielsen (2007); Harland (2009) 63-122.

the diffusion of cults that were based on initiation and exclusivity (see below).

Although the criteria for membership varied across the different voluntary associations, regular banqueting and convivial drinking was common to them all.[51] Greek inscriptions and papyri use a very diverse terminology for this practice: ἑστίασις, ἑστιᾶν, εὐωχία, οἰνοπόσιον, οἰνοποσία, οἶνος, πόσις, συμπόσιον.[52] Sometimes, this convivial drinking took place only once a month, on a particular day from which the association derived its name (e.g. *noumeniastai*, *dekatistai*).[53] Not all gatherings occurred after sunset, but conviviality in the night is sometimes explicitly mentioned in the sources.[54] Maintaining order was a serious problem, as we learn from the club of the Athenian Iobakchoi. An inscription of the second half of the 2nd century CE preserves detailed rules to be followed during the drinking sessions that were held on the ninth day of every month and on the festive days dedicated to Dionysos.[55]

As we can infer from member lists of associations, membership was often open to representatives of the lower social strata — that is, the social groups that in the past were excluded from the nocturnal drinking parties typically held by the wealthy elite.[56] Voluntary associations accepted foreigners, craftsmen,

[51] E.g. Posid. *FGrH* 87 F 10; Parker (1996) 335-336; Harland (2003) 57-61, 74-83; Gabrielsen (2007) 184; Harland (2014) 53-54, 271; Chaniotis (2018a) 194.

[52] A few examples: *I.Délos* 1520 (Delos, 2nd cent. BCE); *P.Lond.* VII 2193 (Philadelpheia, Egypt, 1st cent. BCE); *P.Mich.* V 243-244 (Tebtynis, 1st cent. CE); *IG* X 2, 1, 259 (Thessalonike, 1st cent. CE); *SEG* XXXI 122 (Athens, 121/122 CE); *I.Histria* 57 (2nd cent. CE); *SEG* IV 598 (Teos, 2nd cent. CE); *I.Ephesos* 2115 (3rd cent. CE).

[53] Chaniotis (2018a) 194.

[54] For references see Chaniotis (2018a) 194.

[55] *IG* II^2 1368. Discussions: Baslez (2004) 118-120; Jaccottet (2011); Arnaoutoglou (2016). For similar problems see e.g. *P.Lond.* VII 2193 (Philadelpheia, 1st cent. BCE); *P.Mich.* V 243 (Tebtynis, 1st cent. CE); *IG* IX^2 1, 670 (Physkos, ca. 150 CE).

[56] On the aristocratic nature of pre-Hellenistic symposia in Greece, see most recently Wecowski (2014), esp. 303-336.

slaves, and in some cases women as members,[57] and, naturally, professional *koina* consisted of craftsmen and the representatives of various trades. For instance, foreigner residents and craftsmen formed voluntary associations in Kos and Rhodes.[58]

With the diffusion of private associations, an activity of the later part of the day and the evening typically associated with the propertied classes was opened on specific days to larger groups of the population. The diffusion of the regular nocturnal conviviality of the private clubs coincides with — and was probably influenced by — conviviality in the Hellenistic royal courts and, later, in the imperial court.[59] The public banquet is a specific form of conviviality that in the cities of the Imperial period was for more common and open to larger groups of the population than in the past — including women, slaves, and foreigners — thanks to the contributions of benefactors (see below).

6. Factors that shaped nightlife in the 'Long Hellenistic Age' III: Benefactors

As private clubs extended the nightlife of large groups of the urban populations, the contributions of wealthy benefactors augmented nocturnal activities in other ways. The wealthy elite's benefactions to nightlife are primarily connected with the opening hours of baths and gymnasia, and the provision of public banquets.

[57] On the expanded membership, see POLAND (1908) 328-329; GABRIELSEN (2007) 179; ARNAOUTOGLOU (2011a); cf. HARLAND (2003) 28-53; MAILLOT (2013) 208.

[58] Rhodes: PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (1939-1940); MAILLOT (2009). Kos: MAILLOT (2013).

[59] Banquets in Hellenistic and imperial courts: VÖSSING (2004); STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP (2005); GRANDJEAN / HUGONIOT / LION (2013); esp. CAPDETREY (2013).

In the Imperial period, supervisors of the gymnasia (*gymnasiarchoi*) — an important liturgical position reserved for the elite — are sometimes praised for having abundantly supplied oil night and day (νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας) or for a large part of the night (τὸ πλεῖστον/ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς νυκτός), thus expanding the operation of these facilities.[60] Such generosity, attested sporadically in Asia Minor from the 1st century CE, was exceptional — which is why it is explicitly mentioned in honorific and commemorative inscriptions. For instance, Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, a great benefactor at Patara in Lykia, kept the gymnasium open for all age classes during his service as *gymnasiarchos*.[61] The largesse of some *gymnasiarchoi* became a model and inspiration for their successors. For instance, the first time that the gymnasium in Herakleia Salbake was open day and night was during the *gymnasiarchia* of Statilius [- -], son of Tryphon (73/74 CE).[62] His example was followed by another member of his family, Marcus Statilius Tryphon, in 124/125 CE,[63] and there may have been other emulators of this generosity in the fifty years that separate the one Tryphon from the other. In Aphrodisias, a priestess of the emperors offered oil to the gymnasium, probably in connection with a festival of the imperial cult, "also for the greatest

[60] *I.Magnesia* 163: ἀδιαλείπτως θέντα τὸ ἔλαιον ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός (Magnesia on the Maeander, 1st cent. CE); *SEG* LVII 1364: ἀλείψαντα δρακτοῖ[ς] νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων (Hierapolis, 2nd cent. CE); *MAMA* VI 105: [ἔ]τους ἡμέρας καὶ [ν]υκτὸς δρακτοῖς [ἀ]σαλεύτοις (Herakleia Salbake, 2nd cent. CE). More examples in notes 61-65.

[61] *SEG* LXIII 1344 ll. 9-12: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα π[ά]σης ἡλικίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ἀλε[ί]ψαντα δι' ὅλων ἡμερῶν καὶ ν[υ]κτῶν (early 2nd cent. CE).

[62] ROBERT / ROBERT (1954) 169-170 no. 56: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους δρακτοῖς ἀσαλεύτοις ἡμέρας πάσης καὶ νυκτός πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ("who served as gymnasiarchos for the entire year, providing olive oil through vases that were not removed, all day and night, first and only").

[63] ROBERT and ROBERT (1954) 190-191 no. 94; *MAMA* VI 105: γυ[μ]νασιάρχου τοῦ θσ' [ἔ]τους ἡμέρας καὶ [ν]υκτὸς δρακτοῖς [ἀ]σαλεύτοις. A good example of how priests followed the model of their predecessors and sought to surpass them in generosity is offered by the list of priests of the imperial cult in Galatia (*I.Ancyra* 2).

part of the night" (late 2nd cent. CE).[64] In the 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE, the gymnasium (and the baths) at Stratonikeia, remained open night and day during the great festivals of the Heraia and the Panamareia, for 10 to 22 days, thanks to the generosity of benefactors.[65] It is noteworthy that on these occasions access was provided to people of every age and property class (πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ), to citizens and foreigners, free individuals and slaves, men and women.

Also the bathing culture, which was significantly enlarged, diffused, and transformed in the eastern provinces during the Imperial period,[66] profited much from *euergetism*. Local benefactors made the greatest contribution towards the construction, upkeep, and improvement of bathing facilities.[67] Although baths were typically visited before sunset and dinner,[68] there were exceptions. Thanks to the generosity of benefactors in Stratonikeia during the second and early 3rd centuries CE, the baths of men and women remained open for a significant part of the night during the festivals of Zeus and Hera.[69]

[64] *MAMA* VIII 492b; *I.Aphr.* 12, 29 ii.

[65] *I.Stratonikeia* 281 (2nd cent. CE): γυμνα[σιαρχήσαντες πάσῃ τύχῃ καὶ ἡ]λικίᾳ ἀπὸ νυκτὸς μέχρι νυκ[τός]; 1050 + 1034 (2nd cent. CE): [ἔθηκαν ἔλ]αιον ἑλκυστὸν ἐ[γ λουτήρω]ν δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας [τὸ πλεῖσ]τον μέρος τῆς [νυκτός]; 1325A (late 2nd/3rd cent. CE): θέ[ντ]ας ἔλαιον ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς βαλανείοις καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀπαρατηρήτως καὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς νυ[κ]τός; 245 (late 2nd/early 3rd cent. CE): ἐγυμνασιάρχησαν … δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας; 222 (3rd cent. CE): γυμνασιαρχή[σαντες … ἡμέρας [ι′ ἐκ νυκτὸς ε]ἰς νύκτα; 224 (3rd cent. CE): γ[υμνασιαρ]χήσαντες κ(αὶ) ἡμέρας κβ′ ἐκ νυκτὸς ἰς νύκτ[α ἐν ἀμφοτέ]ροις τοῖς γυμνασίοις (3rd cent. CE). See also *I.Stratonikeia* 203, 205, 244, 246-248, 311, 312, 345. WILLIAMSON (2013) has studied how the competition among priests increased the glamour of these festivals.

[66] On the spread of Roman bathing in Italy and the provinces, see NIELSEN (1999); FAGAN (1999) 40-74; FARRINGTON (1999), with earlier bibliography.

[67] FAGAN (1999) 104-175.

[68] FAGAN (1999) 22-24. Greek inscriptions sometimes explicitly state that baths (and gymnasia) were open from sunrise to sunset: e.g. *IG* IV 597, 606 (Argos, Imperial period).

[69] *I.Stratonikeia* 254: text and translation in note 77; *I.Stratonikeia* 324: [ἐ]θήκαμεν δὲ κ[αὶ] τῶν γυναικῶν π[ά]σῃ τύχῃ καὶ ἡλ[ι]κίᾳ ἐν τοῖς γυναικίοις βαλαν[ί]οις ἀπὸ νυκτό[ς]. Cf. *I.Stratonikeia* 205, 245, 248, 311, 312, 324.

Public dinners (*deipnon*, *dêmothoinia*) for the entire population — to be distinguished from the joint dinners of magistrates and state guests — had a long tradition in Greek culture.[70] Apart from special cases, such as the Spartan and Cretan *syssitia*,[71] public *deipna* were typically held in connection with religious festivals and commemorative celebrations, and from the Imperial period onwards also in connection with the imperial cult.[72]

From the late Hellenistic period on, banquets were among the events that offered members of the elite an opportunity to show off their generosity. In addition to increasing the funds spent and the services offered (food, wine, entertainment), the benefactors also increased the number of participants by extending invitations to a broad cross-section of the population beyond the male citizens: married and unmarried women, freedmen and slaves, Romans resident in a city, and the people of the countryside. This trend continued in the Imperial period.[73] The popularity of public municipal banquets in the Imperial period is reflected by the introduction of the offices of the εὐποσιάρχης ("in charge of good drinking") and the οἰνοποσιάρχης ("in charge of wine-drinking") in Thrace and

[70] Greek public banquets: SCHMITT PANTEL (1992), esp. 260-289, for the vocabulary of public dining (γλυκισμός, δεῖπνον, δημοθοινία, ἑστίασις, ξενισμός).

[71] Sparta and Crete: SCHMITT PANTEL (1992) 60-81. Sparta: SINGOR (1999). Crete: TALAMO (1987); LAVRENCIC (1988).

[72] E.g., religious festivals: *IG* XII 5, 129 (Paros, 2nd cent. BCE); XII 7, 33, 389 (Amorgos, 2nd cent. BCE); *SEG* XXXIX 1244 ll. 35-46 (Kolophon, late 2nd cent. BCE). Commemorative celebration for Aleximachos: *IG* XII 7, 515 (Amorgos, late 2nd cent. BCE). Imperial cult: *I.Ancyra* 2 (late 1st cent. BCE - early 1st cent. CE).

[73] Examples from the late Hellenistic period (ca. 150-50 BCE): *IG* XII 5, 721 (Andros); XII 5, 863-865 (Tenos); XII 7, 33, 389, 515 (Amorgos). See also SCHMITT PANTEL (1992) 380-408. Imperial period: e.g. Pagai: *IG* VII 190; Akraiphia: *IG* VII 2712; Syros: *IG* XII 5, 660, 662, 668; *IG* XII Suppl. 238; Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 4330; Kolophon: *SEG* XXXIX 1244; Stratonikeia: *I.Stratonikeia* 192, 222, 254, 262, 295, 311, 312, 318, 664, 705. See also STAVRIANOPOULOU (2009).

Asia Minor[74] as well as by the construction of special facilities (*deipnistêria*).[75] Although these inclusive events could momentarily create the illusion of equality, they ultimately confirmed social barriers by explicitly referring to the participants' unequal social and legal statuses, making special spatial arrangements, and providing varied portions to different groups.

Traditionally, public banquets took place in the afternoon and were completed before sunset, however, the continuation of festivities into the night was possible, especially in the context of religious celebrations.[76] In the mid-2nd century CE, a priest and his wife in Stratonikeia

> "offered a complete banquet in the gymnasium to all the citizens, the foreigners, and the slaves and [- -]; they also offered a banquet to all the women, those of citizen status, the free women, and the slaves [- -]; they organized a contest at their own expense, paying for the most celebrated shows, throughout the day and for a large part of the night; and [- -] they offered olive

[74] *Euposiarchês* as a public function (not an office of a voluntary association) in the Imperial period: *IG* XII 8, 526 (Thasos, 2nd cent. CE); *IGBulg* I^2 51, 111, 131, 167, 186, 204, 254, (Odessos); *I.Kallatis* 32 (1st cent. CE); *I.Tomis* 79, 298; *SEG* XL 602; *I.Erythrai* 105; *I.Pergamon* III 35; *I.Smyrna* 244. *Oinoposiarchês* is attested as a public office only in Bithynia: *I.Iznik* 726 (Kios), 1071 (Nikaia); *SEG* LXII 978 (Nikaia); *TAM* IV 1, 20 (Nikomedeia).

[75] Mantineia: *IG* V 2, 268 (ca. 10 BCE-10 CE). Chalkis: *IG* XII 9, 906 (3rd cent. CE). Aphrodisias: *MAMA* VIII 413d (2nd cent. CE); cf. CHANIOTIS (2008) 64-65. Side: *I.Side* II no. 153 I.26 (3rd cent. CE). Tymbriada (Pisidia): *SEG* LV 1448 (2nd cent. CE).

[76] STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP (2005) 112-116. On the usual time of the *deipnon*, around sunset, see e.g. MERKELBACH / STAUBER (1998) 365-366 no. 03/05/04 (Notion, Imperial period): ἡνίκα δ' ἠέλιος μὲν ἔδυ πρὸς δώματα [νυκτός,] | δειπνήσας, ἦλθον μετὰ τοῦ μήτρω λο[έσασ]|θαι ("when the sun was setting towards the chambers of the night, after I had taken my supper, I came together with my maternal uncle to bathe"). Cf. PL. *Resp.* 328a7-8: ἐξαναστησόμεθα γὰρ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν παννυχίδα θεασόμεθα. See also DOSSEY (this volume). However, ritual meals often took place during the night; see PARISINOU (2000) 147-148. E.g. a cult calendar in Kos (ca. 350 BCE) stipulates that after the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus, the priest and the heralds go to the public building, where they are offered a reception by the *hieropoioi* "during that night": *IG* XII 4, 278 ll. 39-41: τουτῶ δὲ ἰόντω πὰρ τοὺς ἱαροποι̣[ὸ]ς ἐ̣ς τὸ οἴκημα τὸ δαμόσιον ἰα̣[ρε]ὺς καὶ κάρηκες, ἱαροποιοὶ δὲ ξενίζοντι τὸν ἱερῆ καὶ τὸς κάρυκας τα[ύ]τ̣αν τὰν νύκτα.

> oil to every property and age class in both baths, both day and night, to all the people, both to the locals and to the foreigners who had arrived as visitors".[77]

In 2nd-century-CE Bithynia, inscriptions listing benefactors regularly include the purposes for which money had been offered: drinking parties (*oinoposion*) and concerts (*symphônia*). The lighting of lamps (*lychnapsia*) suggests nocturnal feasts.[78] Nonnus, writing on Kadmos' visit to Samothrace, mentions a gold statue holding a torch, with the light of the flame falling on those who dined in the evening.[79] This mythological narrative reflects actual practices (see below). During celebrations for Artemis and Commodus in Ephesos, banquets of the *gerousia* were held under torchlight (ca. 180-192 CE).[80]

Admittedly, such services by benefactors, unattested in Greece and Asia Minor before the late Hellenistic period, were extraordinary and limited to certain festive days. But this immense generosity was only yet another piece in a great mosaic that filled the night with activities. Cult was one of the most important panels of this mosaic.

[77] *I.Stratonikeia* 254: ἐδεξιώσαντο ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντας τούς τε πολείτας καὶ ξένους καὶ δούλο]υς δείπνῳ τελείῳ καὶ τοὺς [- -]αν, ἐδείπνισαν δὲ ὁμοίως [- - τὰς γυναῖκας πᾶσα]ς τάς τε πολειτίδας καὶ ἐ[λευθέρας καὶ δούλας - -] ἐπετέλε[σαν δὲ ἀγῶνα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μετὰ] καὶ πρωτευόντων ἀκροαμάτων δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἄχρι πολ[λ]οῦ μέρους τῆς νυκτός, ἐν δ[ὲ - - ἔθεσαν ἔλαιον πάσῃ] τύχῃ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν βαλανείοις καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τῷ σύνπαντι πλήθει τῶν τε [ἐντοπίων καὶ τῶν ἐπι]δημησάντων ξένων.

[78] Οἰνοπόσιον: *TAM* IV 1, 16 ll. 7, 9; 17 ll. 4, 11, 15, 16, 21; cf. note 74 on the office of the *oinoposiarchês*; συμφωνία: *TAM* IV 1, 16 l. 14; 17 ll. 6, 12; λυχναψία: *TAM* IV 1, 16 l. 4; 17 ll. 5, 21.

[79] NONNUS *Dion.* 3, 169-171: καὶ πολὺς εὐποίοητος ἐρεισάμενος πόδα πέτρῳ | χρύσεος ἵστατο κοῦρος ἀναντία δαιτυμονήων | λαμπάδος ἑσπερίης τανύων ἐπιδόρπιον αἴγλην.

[80] *I.Ephesos* 26 l. 15: ἐν μὲν τοῖς δε[ίπνοις λαμ]παδουχε[ῖ]ν. It is possible that a regulation concerning the sale of the priesthood of Sarapis in Magnesia on the Maeander obliged the priest to keep the *deipnistêrion* accessible night and day; but the text is heavily restored: *I.Magnesia* 99 ll. 28-31 = *LSAM* 34: [τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιμελόμ]ενος καὶ τῆς [ἡ]μέρας τὸ δ[ειπνιστήριον πᾶσιν τ]ῶν συνόντων ἐν τῶ[ι τεμένει ἀνεωιγμένον παρέχειν].

7. Factors that shaped nightlife in the 'Long Hellenistic Age' IV: Rituals

Nocturnal religious celebrations are not an innovation of the Hellenistic period. They have existed since the Bronze Age, and presumably earlier. In urban settings there have always been public festivals and private celebrations (e.g. weddings) that took place during the night.[81] Also the worship of deities associated with the moon and the night was connected with nocturnal rites.[82] Four interrelated phenomena contributed to making nocturnal religious activities more diffused in the Hellenistic world, especially in cosmopolitan urban centers: first, the rise of private associations, more specifically of Dionysiac associations, associations of worshippers of the Egyptian gods, and later associations of worshippers of the so-called Oriental deities; second, the diffusion of cults with a soteriological or initiatory aspect, in which nocturnal rites traditionally played an important part; thirdly, the influence of festivals organized by the Hellenistic kings on the nocturnal celebrations of cities and associations; and fourthly, the institutionalized direct communication between mortals and gods through *enkoimêsis* (incubation in sanctuaries in expectation of an epiphanic dream) and staged epiphanies.[83]

These trends continued in the Imperial period. Mystery cults — especially the Isiac mysteries and the mysteries celebrated by the associations of Dionysiac *mystai* — spread throughout the Roman East and with them also nocturnal rituals. Nocturnal rites are a recurring element in mysteries because they enhanced emotional arousal, engendering feelings of exclusivity and a

[81] CHANIOTIS (2018a) 196-197, with bibliography. On nocturnal rituals in Greek religion from ca. 600 to ca. 300 BCE, see PARISINOU (2000).

[82] CHANIOTIS (2018a) 197; see also the contribution by Vinciane PIRENNE-DELFORGE in this volume.

[83] Discussion of these factors in the Hellenistic period in CHANIOTIS (2018a) 200-202.

sense of identity.[84] The importance of the night in Isiac initiation is, for instance, reflected by Apuleius' narrative in the 11th Book of the *Metamorphoses*, despite the potential exaggerations and inaccuracies of this account.[85] Waking during the night, seeing the full moon, and realizing that "cloaked in the silent mysteries of nocturnal darkness, the supreme Goddess exercises her greatest power", Lucius purified himself in the sea, prayed to Isis, and experienced her epiphany. His proper initiation took place in the evening.

> "The sun was setting, bringing twilight on, when suddenly a crowd flowed towards me, to honor me with sundry gifts, in accord with the ancient and sacred rite. All the uninitiated were ordered to depart, I was dressed in a new-made robe of linen and the high-priest, taking me by the arm, led me into the sanctuary's innermost recess."

After the completion of the nocturnal ceremony, Lucius appeared in front of the crowd at dawn dressed like the Sun. A second initiation into the "nocturnal mysteries of the Supreme God" followed. Finally, Lucius received the instructions for a third initiation in his dreams.

Nocturnal ceremonies of an orgiastic nature have traditionally been part of the worship of Dionysos.[86] In the Imperial period, nocturnal rites are sometimes directly mentioned in inscriptions; in other times, they can only be inferred, for instance through references to artificial light, to the office of the *archilampadephoros* (chief torch-bearer), and the *lychn(o)aptria* (the woman who lit the lamps), or to the personification of the night (Nyx).[87] The statutes of an association of Dionysos

[84] Samothracian mysteries: COLE (1984) 36-37. Dionysiac celebrations: PARISINOU (2000) 71-72, 118-123. Cf. PODVIN (2011), for light in the cult is Isis. On the importance of emotional arousal in mystery cults see CHANIOTIS (2011) 267-272; MARTZAVOU (2012).

[85] APUL. *Met.* 11, 1-7; 11, 20-21; 11, 23-24. Cf. GRIFFITHS (1975) 278.

[86] E.g. KERENYI (1976) 204-237; e.g. *EM* 609, 20, *s.v.* Νυκτέλιος.

[87] *Archilampadephoros*: *IG* X 2, 1s. 1077 l. 25 (Thessalonike, early 3rd cent. CE). *Lychnoaptria*: *IGBulg* III 1, 1517 l. 30 (Philippopolis, ca. 241-244 CE).

worshippers in Physkos (Lokris) from the 2nd century CE include provisions for nocturnal ceremonies: the association should provide three lamps, and the *mainades* were to be fined if they failed to fulfill a certain obligation during the "sacred night" — the nature of this obligation is not preserved in the fragmentary passage of the inscription.[88] An instructive example of nocturnal rites is found in an inscription from Thessalonike concerning a private endowment for a cult association of initiates of Dionysos in the 1st century CE.[89] The sponsor's declared aim was to ensure the continuation of the rites that were performed on three nights of different months. The members of the association took an oath that they would preserve the ritual of bread distribution at midnight on those days.

As the mobility of people and ideas increased, the nocturnal ceremonies of one cult could easily become trendsetters that influenced another.[90] Philo gives a vivid description of nocturnal spiritual activities and wine consumption among the Jewish *therapeutai* in Egypt in the early 1st century CE, explicitly associating these practices with Dionysiac worship.

> "After the supper they hold the sacred vigil… They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory (*symposion*) form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women… Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies, sometimes chanting together, sometimes taking up the harmony antiphonally, hands and feet keeping time in accompaniment, and rapt with enthusiasm reproduce sometimes the lyrics of the procession, sometimes of the halt and of the wheeling and counter-wheeling of a choric dance. Then… having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God's love they mix and both together

Cult of Nyx and Telete in Pergamon: STRINGER (2007) 25; see also the contribution of Vinciane PIRENNE-DELFORGE in this volume.

[88] *IG* IX² 1, 670; *LSCG* 181. Discussed by JACCOTTET (2003) no. 153.

[89] *IG* X 2, 1, 259. Recent discussion: NIGDELIS (2010) 15-16, 30, and 38 no. 12 (with the earlier bibliography). On bread distribution cf. *SEG* LX 329 (Kenchreai, 1st/2nd cent.: θίασος ἀρτοκρεωνικός).

[90] Examples of the trendsetters for rituals in the Roman Empire: CHANIOTIS (2009).

> become a single choir… Thus they continue till dawn, drunk with this drunkenness in which there is no shame."[91]

The cult of the snake god Glykon New Asklepios introduced by Alexandros at Abonou Teichos in the 140s CE, is another example of ritual transfer. Alexandros synthesized elements drawn from healing, divinatory, and mystery cults.[92] The highlight of the mystery cult was the performance of a sacred drama:[93]

> "The third day was called the Day of Torches, and torches were lighted. Finally, the love of the Moon and Alexander was represented and the birth of Rutilianus' daughter. Alexander, the new Endymion, served as torchbearer and mystical expounder. While he lay as if he were asleep, there came down to him from the roof, as if from heaven, not the moon goddess but a certain Rutilia, a most beautiful woman, wife of one of the emperor's stewards, who was truly in love with Alexander and he with her. And before the eyes of that rascal, her husband, they engaged in kisses and embraces in public. And if there had not been that many torches, very quickly copulation would have occurred."

Although it is not explicitly stated, the context (torches, the Moon, and Endymion) makes it clear that this spectacle unfolded at night. This staged epiphany, exactly as the mysteries' officials (*hierophantes*, *dadouchos*) and the ritual of *prorrhêsis* certainly imitated Eleusinian practices.[94]

Such evidence concerning nighttime religious activities needs to be assessed with great caution. First, the fact that for certain nighttime rituals and celebrations we only have evidence from the Hellenistic period on, sometimes only from the Imperial period, does not mean that they did not exist earlier. For instance, in the whole of Asia Minor *pannychides*

[91] *On the Contemplative Life* 83-89 (transl. F.H. COLSON, Loeb); quoted by HARLAND (2003) 72-73.

[92] SFAMENI GASPARRO (1996) and (1999); CHANIOTIS (2002).

[93] LUCIAN. *Alex.* 38-39.

[94] See SFAMENI GASPARRO (1999) 299-302; CHANIOTIS (2002) 78-79. For nocturnal rites in the Eleusinian mysteries see PARISINOU (2000) 67-71.

are epigraphically attested only in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods;[95] but it is very likely that the availability of evidence is the result of changes in the epigraphic habit and not of the introduction of new practices. That Lykian Termessos regularly sent an embassy consisting of members of the city's elite to the moon goddess in the Imperial period[96] may be the result of broader contemporary trends, but the cult of Selene certainly was much older.

Second, a lot of the evidence concerns celebrations that took place on a few specific dates; they, therefore, only had a limited impact on the nocturnal cityscape. The Delian inventories (3rd/2nd cent. BCE) regularly mention torches that were provided for choral performances, presumably in the evening or the night, in connection with nine festivals and also on the occasion of the visit of sacred envoys (*theôroi*); most of these festivals were new, added to the festive calendar of Delos; but still, these celebrations only took place on a few nights during the year.[97] This also applies to nocturnal rituals in the cult of the Samothracian Great Gods (see note 84). The office of the *lychnaptria*, the female cult servant who lit the lamps in

[95] *I.Ephesos* 10 (Ephesos, 3rd cent. BCE); *I.Erythrai* 207 + *SEG* XXX 1327 (Erythrai, 2nd cent. BCE); WILHELM (1913) 43-48 (Hyllarima, Imperial period); RAMSAY (1895) 143 no. 31 (Thiounta, 2nd cent. CE); *MAMA* III 50 (Cilicia, 2nd cent. CE).

[96] *SEG* LVII 1482 (ca. 212-230 CE): δωδεκάκ[ις σὺν τοῖσδε πρεσ]βευταῖς Θεᾷ Σελήνῃ συνεπρέσβευσεν…

[97] The standard expression is χορῶι τῶν γενομένωι + name of a festival λαμπάδες. The following festivals are mentioned in the best preserved accounts: Antigoneia, Aphrodisia, Apollonia, Artemisia, Britomartia, Demetrieia, Philokleia, Ptolemaia, Soteria, and celebrations on the occasion of the visits of *theôroi*. See *IG* XI 2, 159 ll. 73-75 (282 BCE): Apollonia, Artemisia, Britomartia, and a celebration on the occasion of the visit of Rhodian *theôroi*; *IG* XI 2, 287 ll. 47-48, 56, 72-76 (250 BCE): Antigoneia, Apollonia, Artemisia, and celebration on the occasion of the visits of *theôroi* from Karystos, Kos, and Siphnos; *I.Délos* 290 ll. 58-59, 67-68, 82, 91 (246 BCE): Apollonia, Antigoneia, Artemisia, Britomartia, Aphrodisia, Ptolemaia. *I.Délos* 316 ll. 78-80, 87, 99 (231 BCE): Antigoneia, Demetrieia, Ptolemaia, Artemisia, Aphrodisia; *I.Délos* 338 ll. 23-25, 31-32, 41 (224 BCE): Ptolemaia (twice), Demetrieia, Antigoneia, Artemisia, Britomartia, Philokleia, Aphrodisia, Soteria.

temples, suggests rites in the darkness — but not necessarily during the night. This office is well attested for the cult of the Egyptian gods,[98] from where it was introduced to other cults. A *lychnaptria* is attested for the cult of the Meter Theon at Leukopetra, near Beroia (193/194 CE), but this service was limited only to certain festive days.[99] The carrying of lit torches, presumably in nocturnal processions and processions leading to the altar at dawn (see note 100), was, again, limited to a few days.

Finally, the same applies to a very popular component of festivals: the torch-race (λαμπαδηδρομία or λαμπαδηφορία). Typically associated with young men, the torch-race was spectacle, ritual, and team competition at the same time. The contestants run from an altar, where they lit their torches, to another altar or a shrine, where the winners' torch was used to light the fire for the sacrifice.[100] Depending on the time of the sacrifice, the torch-race could take place in the early morning or the afternoon.[101] But there were also torch-races organized

[98] For *lychnaptriai* in the cult of Isis see *IG* II^2 4771 (Athens, 120 CE); cf. the service of λαμπτηροφόροι in the cult of Sarapis in Delos (early 1st cent. BCE): *I.Délos* 2619. Lamps in the cult of Isis: PODVIN (2011) and (2014).

[99] *I.Leukopetra* 39. That service at the sanctuary was limited to certain festive days is explicitly stated in many texts: *I.Leukopetra* 12, 16-23, 29, 33-34, 43, 52, 55-56, 58, 61-62, 74-76, 79, 81, 83, 98, 113, 120, 128, 131-132, 136, 143. Lamps also played a part in the cult of Theos Hypsistos: e.g. *TAM* V 2, 1400; see FRANKEN (2002). I do not discuss the office of the *pyrphoros* here, since he was concerned with maintaining the sacrificial fire of altars and hearths; see ROBERT (1966) 746-748; CLINTON (1974) 95; his office is, therefore, not primarily connected with nocturnal rites.

[100] *F.Delphes* III 3, 238 ll. 15-16 (Delphi, Eumeneia, 169 BCE): ὁ δ[ὲ] δρόμος γινέσθω ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἄχρι ποτὶ τὸν βωμόν, ὁ δὲ νικέων ὑφαπτέτω τὰ ἱερά. *Schol. Plat. Phaedr.* 231e (Athens, Panathenaia): ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἔρωτος … ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἁψάμενοι οἱ ἔφηβοι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔθεον, καὶ τοῦ νικήσαντος τῇ λαμπάδι ἡ πυρὰ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ ἱερῶν ἐφήπτετο; cf. PLUT. *Sol.* 1, 7; PAUS. 1, 30, 2. Cf. *IG* IV^2 1, 44 (Epidauros): [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ β[ω]μοῦ τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον. Cf. the expression λαμπὰς ἡ πρὸς βωμὸν καὶ λαμπὰς ἡ ἀπὸ βωμοῦ in Delos (*I.Délos* 1956) and Didyma (*I.Didyma* 185-191). On this ritual: NILSSON (1906) 173.

[101] In Delphi, the procession of the Eumeneia, in which the λαμπαδισταί (the contestants in the race) participated, started in the second hour (after sunrise): *F.Delphes* III 3, 238 l. 9.

as nocturnal spectacles. This is explicitly attested for the torch-race on horseback at the Bendideia in Athens, established in the late 5th century BCE.[102] Originally, torch-races were limited to a few festivals in Athens,[103] but from the Hellenistic period on, they became the most important contests in gymnasia[104] and an integral part of numerous festivals, both in Athens[105] and elsewhere.[106] Following the model of the torch-races on horseback of the Bendideia, similar contests were introduced to festivals in Larisa (ἀφιππολαμπάς).[107]

Apart from these activities that took place only on days of festivals, the evidence of regular, nocturnal ceremonies on a daily basis is limited. Pliny describes the custom of the Christians to assemble before dawn, sing hymns, and partake of food.[108] These gatherings probably were frequent, but they were not visible and in the period under discussion here they were limited to the areas in which significant Christian communities existed. A similar custom of prayer at dawn is attested for the worshippers of Theos Hypsistos. An oracle of Apollo Klarios, associated with this cult, pronounced "that aether is god who sees all, gazing upon whom you should pray at dawnlooking

[102] PL. *Resp.* 328 a 2: λαμπὰς ἔσται πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀφ' ἵππων τῇ θεῷ (followed by a pannychis).

[103] According to Istros (*FGrH* 334 F 2) only three festivals (Panathenaia, Prometheia, and Hephaisteia) included a torch-race. Cf. DEUBNER ([2]1966) 211-213.

[104] Gymnasia: GAUTHIER (1995); D'AMORE (2017) 117.

[105] Aianteia: DEUBNER ([2]1966) 228; Anthesteria: DEUBNER ([2]1966) 116; Diogeneia and Ptolemaia: *SEG* XLIII 68; Epitaphia: DEUBNER ([2]1966) 230; Hermaia: *IG* II[2] 2980; Theseia: DEUBNER ([2]1966) 225. Cf. PARKER (1996) 254 with note 127.

[106] E.g. Epidauros: *IG* IV[2] 1, 44 (introduced in the late 3rd cent. BCE or later). Boiotia: *IG* VII 176, 2781 l. 17 (2nd cent. BCE). Rhodes: *SEG* XXXIX 761. Keos: *IG* XII 5, 647 (3rd cent. BCE). Samos: *IG* XII 6, 173, 180, 1004 (Hellenistic). Pergamon: *OGIS* 764. Sardeis: *IGR* IV 1521 (introduced in the 3rd cent. CE). Termessos: *TAM* III 1, 166. Xanthos: *FdXanthos* VII 21.

[107] *IG* IX 2, 528, 531-532, 534; *SEG* LIII 550; LIV 559 (Larisa, 2nd cent. BCE - 1st cent. CE).

[108] PLIN. *Ep.* 10, 96.

towards the sunrise".[109] Daily service after sunset and before sunrise in a civic temple is only attested for the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidaurus (2nd or 3rd cent. CE). A fragmentary regulation refers to the services that the torchbearer had to perform in the shrines of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, to duties involving lamps (*lychnoi*) and the 'sacred lamp' (*hiera lychnia*), and to rituals at dusk (ὅταν ἑσπέρας αἱ σπον[δαὶ γίνωνται]) and dawn ([ὁ ἕω]θεν ἀνατέλλωι).[110]

That the only evidence that we have about daily religious service at dusk and dawn is limited to the cult of Asclepius may be connected with the practice of incubation (*enkoimêsis*) at Epidaurus. *Enkoimêsis*, only sporadically attested in the 5th century BCE in connection with divination,[111] became a prominent feature of religious experience in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Numerous sanctuaries of healing gods acquired special facilities (*enkoimêtêria*) that allowed worshippers suffering from illness and anxieties to spend the night there, expecting to be visited by a god in their dream and be cured or given instructions.[112]

In the same period in which incubation in sanctuaries of Asclepius and other gods became frequent, we find an unprecedented abundance of references to dreams in the epigraphic record. It is only from the 3rd century BCE that the habit of setting up dedications with the formula κατ' ὄναρ, κατ' ἐπιταγήν *et sim*. becomes common, explicitly stating that the dedicants had communicated with a god in their dreams.[113]

[109] *SEG* XXVII 933: αἰ[θ]έ[ρ]α πανδερκ[ῆ θε]ὸν ἔννεπεν, εἰς ὃν ὁρῶντας | εὔχεσθ' ἠώους πρὸς ἀνατολίην ἐσορῶ[ν]τα[ς]. BUSINE (2005) 35-40, 203-208, 423, with further bibliography.

[110] *IG* IV² 1, 742. In Teos the priest of Tiberius was responsible for libations, the burning of incense, and the lighting of lamps when the temple of Dionysos was opened and closed, i.e. probably at dusk and dawn: *LSAM* 28 ll. 11-13 (early 1st cent. CE).

[111] PIND. *Ol.* 13, 61-82; HDT. 8, 133-134; see RENBERG (2017a) 100-106.

[112] RENBERG (2017a); CHANIOTIS (2018a) 200-201.

[113] RENBERG (2010). The epigraphic evidence for dedications made upon a dream will be presented by G. Renberg in a forthcoming book.

An interesting example of the new custom of publicly memorializing a dream is provided by an inscription from Termessos from the early Imperial period.[114] The text consists of the heading 'Dream' (ὄναρ), followed by a distich from the *Iliad* (11, 163-164): "But Hector did Zeus draw forth from the missiles and the dust, from the man-slaying and the blood and the dust". An individual — possibly a priest — dreamed of these Homeric verses, interpreted them as an oracle pronouncing his salvation from a danger,[115] and had them publicly inscribed. Two centuries later, Cassius Dio dreamed of exactly the same verses, similarly taking them to mean that he would safely return to his hometown.[116] Dreaming is as old as humankind; dreaming of specific gods and Homeric verses is a cultural phenomenon. Also going to a sanctuary in order to receive an answer to a very specific question through an epiphanic dream is a cultural phenomenon. In the 1st century CE, a man, wishing to find out if Mandoulis is the Sun (ἰδέναι θέλων εἰ σὺ ἴ ὁ ἥλιος), made his pilgrimage to Mandoulis' temple in Talmis in Egypt, spent the night there ([τῇδε τῇ νυκ]τὶ θείας εὐσεβίας ἵνεκ[εν] ἐπε[κοιμήθην]), and experienced the god's power at dawn.[117]

To publicly declare in a stone inscription that an individual was visited by a god in his or her dream is a phenomenon that peaks in the Imperial period. A funerary epigram in Athens (3rd cent. CE) mentions, for instance, that a man had chosen his final resting place following instructions he had received in a dream.[118] An inscription from Miletos (2nd cent. CE) shows

[114] CLUZEAU (2014), with commentary.

[115] RENBERG (2017b) associates this dream with the Antonine plague.

[116] CASS. DIO 80, 3-5; CLUZEAU (2014) 165-167.

[117] BERNAND (1969) no. 166; RENBERG (2017a) 558-561. Cf. PERDRIZET / LEFEBVRE (1919) no. 238: ἐγὼ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔ<ρ>χομαι θεάσασθαι ὄνιρον σημένοντά μοι περὶ ὧν εὔχομαι (Achilleus visited the 'Memnoneion' in Abydos in the 2nd cent. CE specifically in order to see a dream that would reveal to him the things he was praying for); RENBERG (2017a) 491.

[118] *SEG* LIX 286: μοῦνον γὰρ ἔχρηζέ με θεῖος Ὄνειρος | καὶ χρησμὸς εἰς τόνδε τόπον βιότου παυσθέντα | ἱ̣κ̣ῆσαι.

how the intense dream experience of a few individuals can become a trend-setter. The inscription contains the inquiry of a priestess of Demeter, Alexandra, who was startled at the fact that people of every gender and age in her city suddenly had epiphanic dreams:

> "for the gods had never been so apparent through dreams as from the day she received the priesthood, both in the dreams of girls and in those of married women, both in the dreams of men and in those of children. What is this? And is it auspicious?"[119]

Presumably, when some people talked about dreaming of the gods, other people also started having similar dreams and soon a wave of epiphanic dreams had afflicted the community.[120] That we have such information starting with the Hellenistic period is not the result of an increased number of dreams but of the awareness of the importance of dreams and the strong interest in communicating dream experiences to others. When some dedicants proudly stated that they had been visited by a god in their dreams, others were quick to follow. It is this change in mentality that the 'epigraphic habit' reflects.

People have always sought explanations for their dreams and interpreters of dreams predate the Hellenistic period.[121] However, the professional interpretation of dreams reached its peak during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods; no people designated themselves as specialized dream-interpreters (*oneirokritai*) before the Hellenistic period,[122] no systematic handbook on the interpretations of dreams (*oneirokritika*) is known

[119] *I.Didyma* 496: ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος Ἀλεξάνδρα ἐρωτᾷ· ἐπεὶ ἐξότε τὴν ἱερατείαν ἀνείληφεν, οὐδέποτε οὕτως οἱ θεοὶ ἐνφανεῖς δι' ἐπιστάσεων γεγένηται· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δι' ἀρρένων καὶ νηπίων· τί τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ αἰσίωι. Also published by MERKELBACH / STAUBER (1998) 82-83 no. 01/19/05, but with wrong translation.

[120] For similar phenomena in Naxos in the 1830s and 1930s see STEWART (2012).

[121] HARRIS (2009) 134-139.

[122] The epigraphic evidence for *oneirokritai* in CHANIOTIS (2018a). On dream interpreters in the Roman Empire, see RENBERG (2015), with the earlier bibliography.

before around 200 CE,[123] and magical formulas for the inducement of dreams are only attested in magical handbooks of the Imperial period.[124]

We encounter a similar interplay between mentality and 'epigraphic habit' when we consider magical rituals, which were mostly preformed during the night. Although we do not have detailed descriptions of magical rituals earlier than Theocritus' *Second Idyll* (ca. 270 BCE),[125] references to magic, magical formulas, magical potions, and magicians exist since the beginnings of Greek literature,[126] and curse tablets are common in the 5th century BCE. The number of curse tablets significantly increases in the 4th century BCE.[127] This does not necessarily mean that more people used magic in general; it only means that one particular type of magical ritual, the deposition, presumably during the night, of inscribed lead tablets in the graves of people who had died young or violently, became more frequent. Apart from increased literacy, the circulation of magical handbooks and, therefore, the diffusion of a standard set of formulas and rituals must have contributed to this.[128] Much as handbooks on sieges and tactics (attested from the mid-4th century BCE on; see note 33) responded to the challenges of darkness and took advantage of the strategic possibilities it offered,

[123] On Artemidoros' *Oneirokritika* as an example of technical literature see HARRIS-MCCOY (2012) 40-41. On Artemidorus' work, see more recently: DU BOUCHET / CHANDEZON (2012); HARRIS-MCCOY (2012).

[124] GRAF (1996) 177; JOHNSTON (2010).

[125] For an analysis see PETROVIC (2007) 1-56.

[126] GRAF (1996) 24-36; FARAONE (1999); FARAONE / OBBINK (2013).

[127] The exact dating of curse tablets is a notoriously difficult enterprise and the dates given in old publications are not reliable. Therefore, it is not possible at this point to present accurate distribution charts. For these we have to wait for the completion of a database currently being prepared by Martin Dreher at the University of Magdeburg (*Thesaurus Defixionum Magdeburgensis*: http://www-e.uni-magdeburg.de/defigo/wordpress/). But the chronological distribution of *defixiones* in the surveys by JORDAN (1985) and (2000) is indicative: Archaic period (late 6th cent. BCE): 5. Early Classical period (5th cent.): 42. Late Classical period (4th cent. BCE): 77. Hellenistic period (3rd to 1st cent. BCE): 29. Imperial period (1st to 3rd cent. CE): 84.

[128] For magical handbooks in the Hellenistic period see FARAONE (2000).

technical treatises about curses tapped the potential of the night for communication with supernatural powers. This technical literature of the night was designed to improve the lives of those who used it, making the lives of their enemies miserable. Another significant change is the emergence in the 4th century of a peculiar category of curse tablets: the 'prayers for justice'.[129] Their authors used rhetorical devices — alluding to acts of injustice that they had suffered, addressing the gods with flattering attributes, and using emotional language — in order to make their communication with the chthonic gods more efficient.

As already stated, the evidence for nocturnal rituals and celebrations needs to be cautiously assessed. The repertoire of nocturnal religious celebrations and rites did not change; and although the number of nights in which cult communities, both private and public, came together to worship gods or perform initiations must have gradually increased in the period under discussion here, this does not seem to have generated any significant shifts in the repertoire of rituals, in the nature of worship, or in the perception of the divine. But although the overwhelming majority of nocturnal religious events did not occur regularly or on a daily basis, we cannot overlook an important change: after the late 4th century BCE more people than ever before in Greek history had nocturnal religious experiences by being initiated into mysteries, practicing incubation, attending spectacular festivals, and reflecting on their dreams. It is now time to see if these experiences, together with the other phenomena that I discussed here, had an impact on the way the night was lived, evaluated, and discussed in the 'long Hellenistic Age'.

[129] See more recently VERSNEL (2009) and (2012); cf. CHANIOTIS (2012) 133-135.

8. Conclusions: Nessun dorma!

The cities of the 'Long Hellenistic Age' were sites of diverse activities and complex interactions. Many activities took place after sunset, during the night, or before sunrise, as they had taken place for centuries before Alexander: attending dinners for magistrates and private banquets, satisfying sexual urges, feeding babies, escorting brides to their new home after sunset and the dead to their graves before dawn, writing letters and love poetry, sailing following the stars, leaving the house before dawn to go to the fields, or bringing foodstuff to the market before sunrise, dreaming, preparing conspiracies, worshipping the gods, and committing crimes.[130] If we have more information about activities between sunset and sunrise in this period than in any prior one, this is in part due simply to the nature of our sources: for instance, we have more inscriptions and papyri than ever before, and dramatic narratives of incidents occurring at night were very popular in novels.[131] But it would be wrong to think that the strong presence of the phenomena that I have mentioned in this study should be attributed solely to shifting documentary practices, and not at all to the changing reality of life.

We cannot claim with certainty that there were more dinner parties organized by the wealthy elite, the nouveaux riches, and the intellectuals, often followed by erudite discussions, of which Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* is an exaggerated reflection,[132] but it

[130] A few examples for themes that are not discussed elsewhere in this study. Feeding babies: LYS. 1, 9-14. Pre-dawn burial processions: O'SULLIVAN (2009) 48. Nocturnal sailing: BERESFORD (2013) 204-209. Leaving at dawn for the fields: *P. Würz.* 8 (Antinoopolis, 158/159): ὄρθρου διὰ θ[ύ]ρας τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας ἐξιόντα τε καὶ μέλλοντα ἀν[αβα]ίνειν εἰς Πέσλα ἄνω τῆς νομαρχί[ας] ἕνεκα κ[ατ]ασπορᾶς ὧν ἔχω ἐν μισθώσει. Leaving before sunrise for the market: *SEG* XV 517 col. II.i ll. 23-27: πεμφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Τελεσικλέους | εἰς ἀγρόν, εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὃς καλεῖται Λειμῶνες, | ὥστε βοῦν καταγαγεῖν εἰς πρᾶσιν, ἀναστάντα | πρωίτερον τῆς νυκτός, σελήνης λαμπούσης, | [ἄ]γειν τὴμ βοῦν εἰς πόλιν.

[131] See the contribution by Koen DE TEMMERMAN in this volume.

[132] For this phenomenon in the Imperial period see KÖNIG (2012).

is undeniable that there were more voluntary associations, and this increased the volume of nocturnal conviviality. Undeniable is also that there were more frequent nighttime celebrations sponsored by civic benefactors. Also Roman practices, such as the presence of women in the banquets and the use of the triclinium, were introduced in Greek areas.[133] There were stronger and more systematic efforts to provide safety between sunset and sunrise.[134] And because of the spread of mystery cults and incubation sanctuaries, more religious rituals took place during the night than in any previous period of recorded Graeco-Roman history.

The increased amount and frequency of nocturnal entertainment, social interaction, and religious worship was not the result of coordinated efforts; as I have argued, it originated in the convergence of social, political, and religious developments. The intensification of nighttime life that the available sources allow us to observe clearly is of a particular kind: it primarily concerns celebrations, leisurely activities, and rituals, and not the ordinary activities of everyday life. But this intensification of nightlife gradually affected other areas as well. As we have seen, it enhanced the awareness for the need to systematically address security issues; it must have had an impact on small trade; it generated the need to improve the technology of measuring the time and artificial illumination; and although there was no such thing as a systematic or theoretical approach to the night in Antiquity, human behavior during the night became the object of observation and discourse in the Roman East. In these final considerations, I will briefly address the two issues of discourse and technology.

In Seneca's times, a certain Sextus Papinius was known as *lychnobius* ("living under the light of the lamp"). The use of a Greek word to describe the life of a man who had reversed the functions of day and night, suggests the existence of a Greek

[133] Nadeau (2010).
[134] Chaniotis (2017) 106-110; (2018a) 189-193.

discourse on this subject. We find some reflections of this discourse in Paul's comment that we are all "children of the day; we are not of the night".[135] His comment was based precisely on the observation that many of his contemporaries thought otherwise. Such behavior was noticed because it was extreme. In his novel *The Incredible Things Beyond Thoule*, written in the Imperial period, Antonius Diogenes regarded an imaginary city in Iberia, in which people could see during the night and were blind during the day, as an abnormality.[136] Although the reversal of the functions of day and night was met with disapproval by some intellectuals, it was subject to observation and evaluation.

There were, however, also positive evaluations of nighttime activities. The proverb ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή ("deciding during the night") highlighted the possibilities offered by the night for calm reflection on important matters;[137] and the proverb νυκτοπλοεῖν ("sailing during the night") had its origin in the recognition that sailing following the stars offered secure orientation.[138] The personal names Pannychis, Pannychios, and Pannychos, which consider nighttime activities (celebration, revelry, conviviality) in a positive manner, are only found in the Imperial period.[139] Admittedly, these names refer to the festive aspects of the night; what about everyday life? In his recommendations to orators, Lucian alludes to the necessity of nighttime work, when he writes that the Classical statues reveal sleepless nights, toil, abstinence from wine, and simple food

[135] *Thessalonians* 5, 5-8.

[136] A summary is provided by PHOT. *Bibl.* 166. On the possible date see MORGAN (1985). I owe this reference to Jonathan Price.

[137] *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I 82 edd. LEUTSCH / SCHNEIDEWIN: ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή· … ἐπειδὴ ἡσυχίαν ἔχει ἡ νὺξ καὶ δίδωσι κατὰ σχολὴν λογισμοὺς τοῖς τῶν περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων βουλευομένοις.

[138] *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I 123 edd. LEUTSCH / SCHNEIDEWIN: οὐ νυκτιπλοεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ἀκριβῶς τι ποιούντων· ἡ γὰρ νὺξ ἀκριβεστέρα τῆς ἡμέρας τοῖς πελαγοδρομοῦσι, διὰ τὰς τῶν ἄστρων σημειώσεις.

[139] See the evidence in *LGPN* I-Vb. For Pannychis, there exists an isolated, possibly Hellenistic attestation in Cyprus.

(πόνον δὲ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ὑδατοποσίαν καὶ τὸ ἀλιπαρές).[140] The *Paedagogus* of Clemens of Alexandria (ca. 200 CE) prescribes to the Christians a nocturnal behavior that is contrasted to what we must regard as a common practice. Clemens did not recommend continuous sleep, but rather to fill the night with activities other than banquets accompanied by music and excessive drinking. His readers should often rise by night and bless God, and devote themselves to literature and art; women should turn to the distaff. People should fight against sleep, in order to partake of life for a longer period through wakefulness.[141]

As the nights in the cities of the Roman East were filled with life, we observe an interest in thoroughly exploiting the potential of the night. The awareness of the possibilities offered by the night for the communication between humans and superhuman powers is reflected by newly popular handbooks on magic and the inducement or the sending of dreams (see note 124). Also astrologers must have existed in Greece since the Bronze Age, but that an astrologer could give lectures on the subject of his profession in a gymnasium, as a Roman astrologer did in Delphi in the late 1st century BCE,[142] is a phenomenon that I am tempted to associate both with the increased interest in technical literature and with a new evaluation of the night.

The interest in nightlife is reflected by material culture and technology as well. The Antikythera mechanism, used *inter alia* for observing the stars, and the water clock of Ktesibios,[143] are two examples of advanced technology connected with the night. Far more widespread among the population was the improved technology of artificial light, with the development of elaborate

[140] LUCIAN. *Rh. Pr.* 9.

[141] CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 4 and 2, 9. On the Christian approach to the night see the contribution by Filippo CARLÀ-UHINK in this volume.

[142] *Syll.*[3] 771 (Delphi, ca. 29 BCE).

[143] Antikythera mechanism: JONES (2017). Water clocks: see the contribution of Andrew WILSON in this volume.

types of lamps and lanterns.[144] Although we have direct textual references to street lighting in large urban centers such as Ephesos and Antioch only in Late Antiquity,[145] there is some earlier archaeological and literary evidence for the lighting of torches and lamps by the owners of shops and houses, as well as the administrators of baths and temples. It is reasonable to assume that the colonnaded streets that become a common feature of urban centers in the East from the 1st century BCE on were illuminated in the night with torches.[146] There is also some evidence that torch-bearing statues shed some artificial light in public spaces. This is directly attested by Nonnus (see note 79), who mentions the golden statue of a young man holding a torch and illuminating a banquet in Samothrace. Some inscriptions of the late Hellenistic and Imperial period may in fact refer to such statues. In the 1st century BCE, a certain Demetrios dedicated in the theater of Miletos an unspecified number of λαμπαδηφόροι ἀνδριάντες in the temple of Apollo and another two in the theater. Unlike the other statues that he dedicated (Apollo and the statue of an Ethiopian), the text does not state what these (bronze) statues depicted; they are simply identified by the fact that they held torches.[147] In Aphrodisias, one Artemidoros covered the expense for the erection of statues in a palm grove that was being constructed

[144] See the collection of studies in CHRZANOVSKI (2012) and the material collected by SEIDEL (2012). For lamps made of glass see ENGLE (1987). On the subject of artificial light see also the contributions of Andrew WILSON and Leslie DOSSEY in this volume.

[145] SEIDEL (2012) 108-115. Antioch (mid-4th cent. CE): AMM. MARC. 14, 1, 9; LIB. *Or.* 11, 267; 16, 41; 22, 6; 33, 35-37. Ephesos (ca. 400 CE): *I.Ephesos* 557 and 1939. See the contributions by Andrew WILSON and Leslie DOSSEY in this volume.

[146] Shops, houses, baths, temples: SEIDEL (2012) 100-108. Colonnaded streets: SEIDEL (2012) 115-116, 278. See also the contribution by Andrew WILSON in this volume.

[147] *I.Didyma* 346 ll. 10-17: προφητεύων ἀνέθηκε τοὺς λαμπαδηφόρους ἀνδρ[ι]άντας καὶ περιραντήρια δύο ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέως, στεφανηφορῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Δελφείνιον καὶ τὸν αἰθίοπα τὸν χάλκηο[ν] καὶ ἐν τῷ θηάτρῳ λαμπαδηφόρους ἀνδριάντας δύο.

in the city park. Artemidoros dedicated "the (statue of) Hermes and the gilded Aphrodite and the (two) torch-bearing Erotes on either side (of Hermes and Aphrodite), as well as the marble statue of Eros standing in front of him (in front of Hermes or in front of Artemidoros' own statue)".[148] Such statues may have had in public spaces the function that the statue in Nonnus had in Samothrace. Also the supports for torches (λαμπαδηφόροι, δαδοῦχοι) that were occasionally dedicated by magistrates in public spaces, e.g. by two former *astynomoi* in Bostra in the early 3rd century CE and by a former priest in a town in Hauran (Imperial period), must have been used for the illumination of public spaces.[149]

In his *True History,* Lucian narrates how he visited a city in the skies, between the Pleiades and the Hyades: *Lychnopolis*. It was exclusively inhabited by lamps, some small and humble, others large and resplendent.[150] Lamps had been serving people for centuries; but to make them the inhabitants of 'a city of lights' is not only to be attributed to Lucian's genius but also to an awareness of the importance of illumination that was possible in the late 2nd century CE, unthinkable in the past. Perhaps the equivalent of this imaginary state in our contemporary world would be a city inhabited by smartphones.

In many disparate areas of life, we observe a clear trend: the night is made safer, brighter, more efficient, and more full of life; this trend culminated in Late Antiquity.[151] As I have argued, in addition to the role played by technology, the historical

[148] *MAMA* VIII 448 (1st/2nd cent. CE): ἀνέθηκε τὸν Ἑρμῆ καὶ τὴν ἐπίχ[ρυ]-σον Ἀφροδείτην καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα Ἔρωτας λαμπαδηφόρους καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ἔρωτα μαρμάρινον. On the city park of Aphrodisias and its role in nocturnal ceremonies see the contribution by Andrew WILSON in this volume. Five silver statues of Artemis donated by Vibius Salutaris in Ephesos in 104 CE carried torches: *I.Ephesos* 28 B 164, 168, 173, 186, and 194 (Ephesos, 104 CE): Ἄρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος.

[149] *IGLS* XIII 1, 908 and 909 (Bostra, early 3rd cent. CE): τὸν δαδοῦχον. *CIG* 4555a (Hauran. Imperial period): τέσσαρε[ς] λαμπαδηφόρου[ς].

[150] LUCIAN. *Vera historia* 1, 29; for an analysis, see SABNIS (2011).

[151] See the contributions by Andrew WILSON and Lesley DOSSEY in this volume.

dimension of the night is much determined by social and cultural factors. Indeed, one may be tempted to ask whether the impact of technology on the night in the modern period has been overestimated. Do we have nightlife because of technology, or do we have technology in order to have nightlife?

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DISCUSSION

P. Ducrey: Dans le cours de votre exposé, vous avez mentionné la prise de Troie grâce à la ruse du cheval: les soldats grecs dissimulés dans le flanc de l'animal en bois ont attendu que la nuit soit tombée pour sortir de leur cachette et ouvrir les portes de la ville au gros de l'armée grecque. On peut songer à d'autres prises de ville intervenues de nuit, comme la tentative des Thébains à Platées en 431 (Thuc. 2, 2-4) ou le coup de main réussi des Romains en 199 à Chalcis (Liv. 31, 23). Quelles réflexions vous inspire ce type d'opérations militaires nocturnes?

A. Chaniotis: Such nocturnal operations are continually mentioned in literary sources from the *Iliad* on; e.g. the *Doloneia* or the killing of the Thracian king Rhesus were nocturnal military operations; Aratos liberated Sikyon during the night (Plut. *Arat.* 7, 2 - 9, 1). I discuss such incidents in a recently published article (Chaniotis [2017]). What is important in the context of my study is the fact that from the 4th century BCE on nocturnal military operations became the subject of treatment in military handbooks, handbooks on siege, and collections of *stratêgêmata*.

I. Mylonopoulos: You did emphasize in your paper that most of the elements that appear to have a strong presence in the period that you call the "long Hellenistic Age" (ca. 330 BCE to the Severans), such as associations and clubs, private involvement in financing public life, etc., are not an invention of that time. I was wondering whether you could address the continuity and perhaps even stress the importance of the 4th century BCE as the period that seems to connect what we seem to

know about the Archaic and Classical Period and what appears — at least superficially — as a novelty in the Hellenistic Period. I am thinking about the significance of the private symposia or public (religious) meals that could perhaps be seen in connection with the conviviality you described in association with associations and clubs.

A. Chaniotis: The process that I described is a process dominated by continuities and gradual changes, not leaps. There is a clear continuity in institutions and structures, but there is also a clear change in quantity. The private symposia and the public religious banquets that you mention — and to these two I would also add the public banquets (*syssitia*) and the banquets in the royal court of Macedonia — are a case in point. Such institutionalized occasions of conviviality are continually attested since the Bronze Age. However, there are significant differences with regard to space (e.g. between the symposia of Archaic Athens and the *syssitia* of Archaic Crete), time (e.g. between the aristocratic *symposion* of the Archaic and Classical period and the Hellenistic banquets), and structure (form of funding, participation, etc.). What gradually changes from the 4th century BCE onward, affecting, as I argue, nightlife, is the latter, that is, the structure. Yes, wealthy men continued to organize symposia for their friends, but in the Hellenistic period, especially in its later phases, their private funds replaced the public funds spent on public banquets. Benefactors in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods competed among themselves for extravagant celebrations that recall anecdotes about celebrations of Archaic tyrants. Yes, the Macedonian kings hosted drinking parties for their royal friends; but after Alexander the royal symposia are not limited to Pella or Aigai; they also take place in Alexandria, Pergamon, Syracuse, Seleukeia, Antioch, Nikomedeia, and so on, and the stories narrated about them provided new models to be imitated. Yes, private symposia continued to be important, at least to judge from the evidence of the New Comedy, but there is an unprecedented

number of symposia organized by voluntary associations. All this is not the result of a 'revolution' but of an evolution.

I. Mylonopoulos: I would like to stress that darkness is not temporally exclusively associated with the night. In this respect, I was wondering whether you could elaborate on spaces that are 'nocturnal' in their very nature, that is, they are dark. I am thinking here of caves and their use as religious spaces that can be nocturnal in regard to the atmosphere they create, even during daytime. In connection with this, I would also like to ask what you think about spaces that are constructed as dark, quasi 'night spaces', such as most of the Mithraea in the Western part of the Roman Empire.

A. Chaniotis: This is correct, although I cannot believe that the darkness of a cave was not at least instinctively associated with the darkness of the night, exactly as the darkness of the Underworld is associated with an eternal sleep. Again, in this regard, I do not see any novelty whatsoever in the Hellenistic period: sacred caves, subterranean chambers, and other dark structures are continually attested since the Minoan period. The novelty after Alexander is not the use of dark spaces but the introduction of new cults that used them (there are no Mithras caves in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and the Greek version of the Isiac mysteries did not exist before the Hellenistic period); a second novelty is the spread of old cults associated with dark spaces (the *antra* of the Dionysiac worshippers and the *adyta* and *enkoimêtêria* of Asclepius) in areas where these cults did not exist before the Hellenistic period. Apart from the Mithraea, that are attested wherever there was a Roman army, e.g. in Doura-Europos, I should mention the information provided by inscriptions about caves and subterranean chambers in Dionysiac cults.

I. Mylonopoulos: Are we certain that gymnasia in the entirety of the Greek world were closing by sunset, at least until the late

4th century BCE? If this holds true how can we interpret the admittedly weak evidence for the use of lamps in such spaces before the period in which you are interested?

A. Chaniotis: Although we have a lot of archaeological evidence for gymnasia, the information concerning their opening hours is limited and it usually concerns boys and ephebes. Aeschines (*Against Timarchos* 10) explicitly says that the Athenian law did not allow the *palaistra* to be open before sunrise and after sunset; the recently published ephebarchical law of Amphipolis obliges the *ephebarchos* to make sure that the ephebes do not leave their home before day-break and return before sunset; they clearly were not allowed to be at the *gymnasion* after sunset;[1] and in Magnesia on Sipylos someone was honored for providing oil to all until the night, not during the night (*TAM* V 2, 1367). I am not familiar with all the archaeological evidence about gymnasia, but I do not think that I have ever read about lamps found in gymnasia dating to the 4th century BCE or earlier. I would, therefore, tentatively suggest that visiting the *gymnasion* during the night is not a phenomenon that predates the Hellenistic period. Of course, one of the main activities of the *gymnasion*, the torch-race, must have taken place at dusk or dawn, not during the day. The benefactors who were honored for leaving the gymnasia open during the night or not raising and lowering the sign that indicated the opening hours were honored for having done something that went beyond tradition or custom.

R. Schlesier: Wenn die Erfahrung der Nacht nicht allein eine anthropologische Universalie, sondern auch etwas historisch Veränderbares ist — und davon gehen wir alle aus —, dann stellt sich die Frage, welche Veränderungen tatsächlich festzustellen sind und wovon sie abhängen. Damit hängen auch

[1] M.B. Hatzopoulos (2016), *Νεότης γεγυμνασμένη. Macedonian Lawgiver Kings and the Young* (Athens), 27.

methodologische Probleme zusammen. Wie lassen sich quantitative von qualitativen Differenzen — nicht zuletzt auf dem Gebiet der Mentalität — unterscheiden? Wie steht es dabei mit der Chronologie? Welches Material können wir zugrundelegen, um eine Entwicklung zu rekonstruieren?

A. Chaniotis: Das ist eine berechtigte Frage. Dringend ist vor allem die Frage nach der Methode, die uns erlauben würde, qualitative Differenzen und somit auch eine Entwicklung festzustellen. Gerade aus diesem Grund habe ich mich in meinen Ausführungen auf Phänomene beschränkt, die relativ gut belegt sind: den Euergetismus, das Vereinswesen und einige religiöse Phänomene. Vereinzelte Wohltäter sind seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. belegt (z.B. Kimon in Athen); private Vereine werden in der solonischen Gesetzgebung erwähnt; nächtliche Rituale gibt es seit der frühesten Zeit. Wenn wir aber in diesen drei Bereichen seit der hellenistischen Zeit mehr Informationen haben, auch Informationen über Erweiterung nächtlicher Aktivitäten, so ist dies nicht ausschließlich eine Folge der Tatsache, dass wir seit dem späten 4. Jh. v. Chr. generell mehr Quellen und aus mehreren Orten haben. Es gibt andere Gründe: das Gewicht der Euergeten wächst aus Gründen, auf die ich hier nicht eingehen kann; die privaten Vereine, eine verbreitete Erscheinung im klassischen Athen, sind erst seit der hellenistischen Zeit in Orten wie Delos, Rhodos und Kos in großer Zahl belegt. Da private Vereine oft nach ihren Gründern benannt sind, kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass es sich um neu gegründete Vereine handelt. Und schließlich waren einige Kulte, die nächtliche Feiern organisierten, vor der hellenistischen Zeit oder der Kaiserzeit nicht weit verbreitet — manchmal existierten sie schlicht und einfach nicht. In anderen Bereichen, z.B. auf dem Gebiet der Sicherheitsmaßnahmen stehen wir methodologisch auf weniger sicherem Boden. Aber auch hier gibt es hin und wieder explizite Belege. Tomis und Messambria führten in der späten hellenistischen Zeit Nachtwachen ein, weil es sie früher nicht gegeben hat.

Das ist sicher. Es ist viel schwieriger, wirkliche Veränderung in anderen Gebieten zu festzumachen, wie etwa Schlafen, Träumen und Arbeiten.

F. Carlà-Uhink: In your paper you have distinguished neatly between the 'stereotypes' and the night activities that are 'beyond the stereotypes', and have clearly highlighted that the stereotypes show an extraordinary stability and continuity, even when the 'practice of night-life' changes. So, my first question would be why, in your opinion, the discourses and stereotypes on the night do not change in spite of the changed circumstances and practices. My second question deals with the difference between Greek and Roman visions of the night in the 'Long Hellenistic Age'. You referenced Seneca's *lychnobius*, for instance, as an example — but I am not sure whether this is indicative of the existence of a Greek discourse, or rather, of a Roman way of considering an intense night-life as 'typically Greek', with negative connotations, as nocturnal religious rites for women are, for Cicero, absolutely Greek in nature. Is that man, from Seneca's perspective, just 'going Greek', and therefore deserves a Greek nickname?

A. Chaniotis: Well, stereotypes are conservative and hard to change because of their very nature; but this is the short answer. The long answer is connected with the type of sources in which we encounter the stereotypes; primarily, these sources are literary sources, in which the night, as I argued, serves as an intensifier of emotion. With regard to your second question, I agree with you that what Seneca writes reflects the response of a Roman conservative intellectual to undesirable novelties. I entirely agree that the Roman and the Greek discourses were shaped by different traditions. My only point is that the word *lychnobios*, clearly a Greek neologism, attests to a Greek discourse of which we only have very little direct evidence. I find it hard to imagine that the word *lychnobios* was created to praise; it was more likely created as an ironical comment.

L. Dossey: At the beginning of your paper, you suggest that part of the 'Long Hellenistic Age' was a colonization of the night with the activities of the day. I think that what you are really showing is the intensification of the activities typical of the night. The Greek night is associated with pleasure (*hêdonê*) and the day with *ponos*. You convincingly show that the convivial and pleasurable uses of the night intensify — drinking, singing, dancing, banquets, sex, and (perhaps) dreaming (to the degree that dreaming was considered a pleasurable activity). This does not seem to be a change in the fundamental character (*mentalitê*) of the night.

A. Chaniotis: I have borrowed the metaphor of colonization from Murray Melbin's study of the night as a frontier. You rightly point out that most of the evidence concerns the expansion and intensification of activities that are typical of the night: entertainment and leisurely activities. Although, generally, in Greek perceptions the night is associated with *hêdonê* and the day with *ponos*, the reality is quite different. Neither nocturnal fishing and sailing nor watering the fields after sunset are pleasure; worshipping the gods is neither *hêdonê* nor *ponos*; training in the gymnasium during the night is *ponos*; having night watches patrol the city and conspiring during the night are not pleasure, and so on. You are also right that there is no change in the fundamental character of the night; what I tried to show is that there was a change in the reality of the night, not in its perception. For clear changes in perceptions we have to wait until Late Antiquity.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Un tout grand merci pour cette remarquable fresque qui fait de la nuit un véritable objet d'histoire. J'ai été particulièrement intéressée par les différentes formes que prennent les activités religieuses dans un cadre nocturne. Une première réflexion touche au type de communication avec les dieux qu'implique un tel contexte: peut-on vraiment affirmer que "night… is regarded as the most effectual time for the

communication between mortals and the gods"? Si c'était le cas, on ne comprendrait pas qu'une large majorité de sacrifices aient lieu pendant la journée alors que l'opération sacrificielle est une forme de communication importante entre les mortels et les dieux. Est-il possible d'être plus précis sur ce point?

A. Chaniotis: I am glad that you raise this point, so that I can clarify and stress the fact that I am only referring to individual, not collective, communication between a mortal and the divine. What I have in mind are epiphanic dreams, prayers (also magical prayers), and initiation — to the the extent that initiation in some cults is an individual experience.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Une deuxième réflexion concerne les ordres des dieux par le biais des rêves que l'on trouve surtout à partir du 'Long Hellenistic Age'. Il s'agirait d'un "change of epigraphic habits, which reflects change of mentality". Mais que signifie "mentalité" dans ce cadre? S'agit-il de la mise en évidence d'un contact plus individuel avec les dieux? S'agit-il d'une "mode" dans la manière de rédiger une dédicace? Ou s'agit-il d'autre chose?

A. Chaniotis: I use the word "mentality" in its literal meaning: a characteristic attitude or way of thinking. Until the 3rd century BCE people who had epiphanic dreams, with very few exceptions, did not make dedications explicitly stating this cause of the dedication. The fact that they start doing it in increasing numbers is in my view not just a *mode*, but part of a more general religious phenomenon that one observes in the Hellenistic period, and even more strongly in the Imperial period: people felt the need to individually experience the presence of god. To write that the god appeared in their dream is a public declaration of the fact that a god visited them.

L. Dossey: One thing your paper clearly shows is the greater importance of private clubs and private mystery cults during

the Hellenistic period. This is a key part of your argument that the opportunity to participate in nocturnal activities was extended to a *broader social group* than in the Classical period. But could this switch from public (civic) to private (small group) celebrations be part of the Roman (and possibly Hellenistic) government's desire to better control the night, especially given the negative Roman attitude towards night rituals, as shown by Filippo Carla-Uhink's paper?

A. Chaniotis: This is a justified question but I do not see in the sources any connection between the desire for security and the increased number of convivial gatherings in small groups. This is also a trend that clearly predates Roman expansion.