An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)

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To Joyce M. Reynolds

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Introduction

> Two dangers lie in wait for the historian faced with interpreting inscriptions: not to use them, or to use them badly.
>
> —Louis Robert[1]

Epigraphy is traditionally defined as the study of writings inscribed on durable materials. The vast majority of these are engraved on stone. Other materials also inscribed include bronze, potsherds (ostraca), walls (graffiti), and portable objects, such as vases, amphorae, tiles, tesserae, gems, weights, and measures. The field of epigraphy also includes texts painted on newly made pottery prior to firing, as well as pottery and bricks impressed with stamps. This wide range of materials distinguishes epigraphy from the fields of papyrology and numismatics.

0.01 The Value of Inscriptions in the Study of Antiquity

Louis Robert once described Roman civilization as "une civilisation d'épigraphie." With such a great profusion of epigraphic writing, there is virtually no aspect of ancient life on which epigraphy does not bear. Inscriptions give immediate contact with the daily life of the ancient world. Some inscriptions proffer invaluable information about historical events.[2] However, the

1. Louis Robert, "Les épigraphies et l'épigraphie grecque et romaine," in *OMS* 5.65–101, esp. 84 (reprinted from *L'Histoire et ses Méthodes: Encyclopaedie de la Pleiade* [Paris, 1961], 453–97).

2. See Angelos Chaniotis in *Das Fest und das Heilige: Religiose kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt*, ed. T. Sundermeier, Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen 1 (Gütersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus, 1991), 123–45; L. Boffo in *Studi di storia e storiografia antichi*, ed. Emilio Gabba (Pavia: New Press, 1988), 9–48; J. H. M. Strubbe, R. A. Tybout, and H. S. Versnel, eds., ENEPΓEIA: *Studies on Ancient History and Epigraphy Presented to H. W. Pleket*, DMAHA 16 (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1996); A. Geoffrey Woodhead, "Reflections on the Use of Literary and Epigraphical Evidence for the History of the Athenian Empire," in *CongrEpigr* VI, 345–54. For epigraphical records of Greek historical works see Angelos Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften: Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 4 (Stuttgart and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1988); cf. E. E. Rice, *CR* 41 [1991]: 195–96; *SEG* 38.1970, 39.1790.

significance of inscriptions extends far beyond this application. Indeed, it would be reductionistic to attempt to distinguish between historically "valuable" and historically "worthless" inscriptions. As Jean Sauvaget remarks, "there are no banal inscriptions, only banal ways of interpreting them."[3] Every inscription has an intrinsic value and its own contribution to make in our understanding of antiquity.[4] Epigraphic monuments can be especially valuable in reconstructing the social history. Indeed, this is the privileged domain of inscriptions. They are primary witnesses to antiquity's laws and institutions; its social structures, public cults, and private associations; its thoughts and values; and, of course, its language. However, in the world for which they were created, inscriptions had a greater role than the mere recording of the events of society. They were actually instrumental in shaping society: they publicized the names of officials in positions of power and authority, thereby legitimizing and promoting the social order; they announced the honors and privileges lavished on those who excelled in benefaction and public service and, in so doing, encouraged others to perform similar, if not greater, accomplishments.[5]

0.02 The Interpretation of Inscriptions

Though epigraphic evidence is of inestimable value, there is no single easily mastered technique for its interpretation. The reason for this is twofold. First, for many inscriptions, historical context, purpose, and intended readers are narrowly defined. Inscriptions tend to omit pertinent information that is already known by the intended audience. Consequently, inscriptions can be very succinct, even laconic, especially with regard to the information that the modern epigraphist would most like to know. Overcoming this "information gap" is one of the great challenges of epigraphy. To comprehend an inscription fully, one must endeavor to become familiar with its historical, sociological, and political context. This is accomplished by supplementing the evidence from a single inscription with the witness of related inscriptions, not to mention the witness from other ancient sources, such as literature, papyri, numismatics, and studies in archaeology and topography. Moreover, many inscriptions (e.g., gladiatorial inscriptions) can only be correctly interpreted by analyzing their pictorial representation. Louis Robert observed:

3. As quoted in Robert, "Les épigraphies," 83.

4. Louis Robert, "Communication inaugurale," in *CongrEpigr* II, 1–20, esp. 8 (*OMS* 3.1748–67).

5. On the question of the degree to which inscriptions were actually read see R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. 35–67.

> One cannot reasonably conceive of an "epigraphist" who only studies inscriptions and extracts history from them. . . . Epigraphy cannot be isolated from history, as it is constructed from other documents; from linguistics and philology; from papyrology, paleography, and numismatics. The historian is like a maestro who knows how to play each available instrument and to create from them a symphony.[6]

It follows from this that one's ability to interpret a particular inscription will increase in direct proportion to one's proficiency in reading inscriptions in general and to one's knowledge of their wider social and historical setting.

Second, inscriptions exhibit a notably regional character with respect to their language, orthography, abbreviations, paleography, terminology, pictorial representations, and formulae. For this reason, an analysis of a single inscription requires that one be already familiar with the specific characteristics of the inscriptions of the region and time period in question. Louis Robert once sagely remarked, "an isolated inscription discloses only part of its sense; it does not have true meaning except within a series of inscriptions; the more plentiful and extensive the series is, the more the inscription becomes interesting."[7] Similarly, Eduard Gerhard's observation concerning archaeological monuments in general befits epigraphy in particular: "he who has seen one monument has not seen any; he who has seen one thousand of them has seen one."[8]

0.03 The Scope of This Introduction

It need hardly be said that the Mediterranean world underwent dramatic changes in the centuries that followed the close of the classical age. Many of these changes are reflected in the Greek inscriptions of the time. For example, the Attic alphabet gave way to the Ionic, the stoichedon style (see §2.03) of engraving rapidly declined in favor of the disjointed style, letter forms evolved, and, of course, the phonology and orthography of the Greek language continued to develop. The realia of the ancient world also changed, with new developments in calendars, currency, titulature, and systems of government, as well as the growing influence of Roman culture in general.

The purpose of this book is to survey such topics as these to the extent that they bear on the interpretation of Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Of course, other introductions to Greek epigraphy have

6. Robert, "Les épigraphies," 87.

7. Robert, "Les épigraphies," 85.

8. As quoted in Robert, "Les épigraphies," 85.

been written before this one, but these have tended to concentrate on the classical period and on the earlier forms of epichoric Greek.[9] By their very nature, introductions to classical epigraphy often deal with matters that are of little relevance to the epigraphy of later periods, as well as omitting discussion of pertinent topics. Other introductions discuss epigraphy in such general terms that they provide insufficient practical guidance to the beginner.[10]

This introduction will concentrate on Greek epigraphy from 323 B.C. to A.D. 337. This time period spans two important eras of ancient history, the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The Hellenistic period is conventionally reckoned as beginning with the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.) and ending with the victory of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium on 2 September 31 B.C., which established the finality of Roman rule in the Greek world. This introduction will also deal with Greek epigraphy of the Roman period from 31 B.C. to the death of Constantine the Great (A.D. 337). This is a convenient end point since, in many ways, the reign of Constantine marks the beginning of a new era. His promulgation of the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313), which established a policy of toleration for Christianity throughout the Roman Empire, and his convening of the Councils of Arles (A.D. 314) and Nicaea (A.D. 325) served as pivotal foundations of what would subsequently develop into the Christian empire.

0.04 The Making of Inscriptions

Many scholars make their first acquaintance with ancient inscriptions through the medium of a text printed in a corpus. Though such publications have been an indispensable resource in the discipline, one must be conscious of the danger of misrepresentation. Corpora can easily convey the impression that an inscription is a disembodied two-dimensional text—not an intrinsic part of an archaeological monument. Giancarlo Susini has stressed that the archaeological monument is "inseparable from the inscription, that is to say, from that complex of technical and traditional factors which leads to the act of carving it."[11] As I shall show in chapter 3, the medium itself has a role to play in the restoration and interpretation of inscriptions.

I begin this inquiry, then, not with a discussion of the nature of epigraphic texts themselves but rather with a consideration of the production of the texts as intrinsic parts of monuments, the most common of which are made of stone. This production process can be broken down into five stages: (1) the quarrying of the stone, (2) the manufacture of the monument, (3) the drafting of the text, (4) the transcription of the text, and (5) the engraving of the monument.

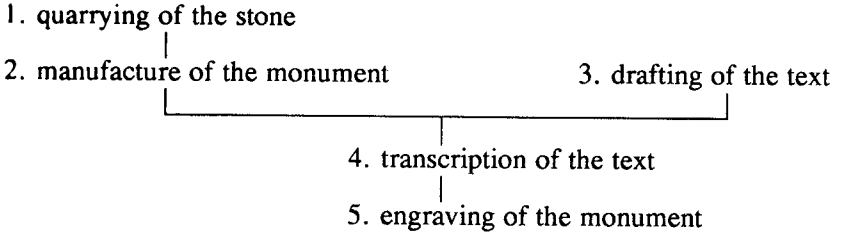


Fig. 1. Stages in the production of epigraphic monuments

0.05 The Quarrying of the Stone

The essential medium for most inscriptions were large squared-off blocks of stones (*lapides quadrati*). The two most commonly used stones were limestone and "marble" (μάρμαρος/*marmor*), the latter term being used by the ancients to include granites, porphyries, and all stones capable of taking a high polish. Quarry men (λατόμοι/*exemptores*) used long serrated saws[12] to cut marble from quarries into blocks.

9. E.g., Ernest S. Roberts and Ernest A. Gardner, ed., *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1887–1905; reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1996); A. Geoffrey Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Günther Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957); Wilhelm Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 3d ed., HbA 1.5. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1914); Wilhelm Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1902–7). Margherita Guarducci's five-volume treatise *Epigrafia greca* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, Libreria Dello Sato, 1967–78) is a mine of useful information but is not written as an introduction. Salomon Reinach's *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885) is also worthwhile but is in need of updating.

10. E.g, Fergus Millar, "Epigraphy," in *Sources for Ancient History*, ed. Michael Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 80–136; E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, "Epigraphy," in *A Companion to Greek Studies*, ed. Leonard Whibley, (New York and London: Hafner, 1963), 687–704; Brian F. Cook, *Greek Inscriptions* (London: Bath, 1987); Albert Rehm, "Die Inschriften," in *Handbuch der Archäologie*, vol. 1, HbA 46 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1939), 182–238; Werner Peek, "Die epigraphische Praxis," in *Das Stadium der griechischen Epigraphik: Eine Einführung*, ed. Gerhard Pfohl (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 38–61.

11. Giancarlo Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter: An Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, trans. A. M. Dabrowski, ed. E. Badian (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 60–61.

12. Serrated saws (πρίων λιθοπρίστης; cf. Pollux 10.148) and other tools (e.g., σιδήρια, λιθουργά, λαξευτήρια) were required (cf. Ginette Gauvin, *Les techniques de tailles de la pierre chez les Grecs et les Romains*, Classical Archaeology and History Companions 5 [Montreal: McGill University, 1986]; Hugo Blümner, *Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, 4 vols. [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1884], 2:210, 3:92). The cutting technique is described by Pliny (36.51): "The cutting of the marble is effected apparently not by iron but actually by sand, for the saw merely presses the sand on a very thinly traced line, and then the passage of the instrument, owing to the rapid movement to and fro, is in itself enough to cut the stone."

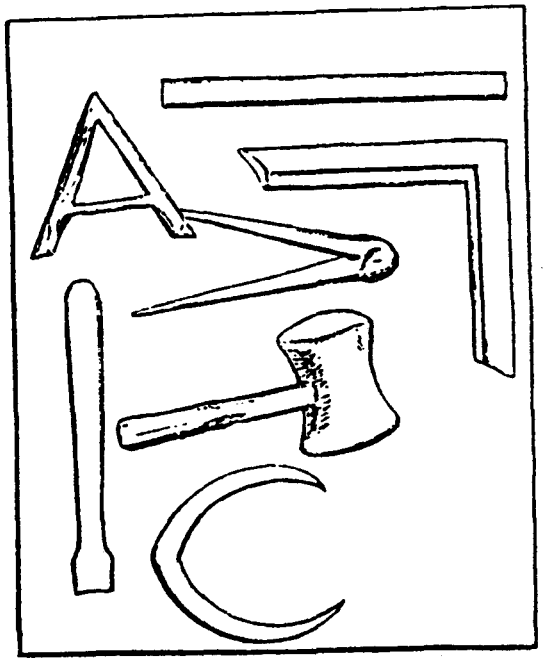


Fig. 2. Some tools used in stonework, including (clockwise) mason's level, straight-edge, square, compass, malleus, calipers, and *scalprum* (chisel). (From Blümner, *Terminologie,* 91, fig. 2C.)

The choice of stone depended on availability, its intended use, cost, and current fashions. Generally speaking, limestone and regular stone inscriptions are more numerous and were executed with less care than marble inscriptions, because such stone was easier to engrave and much less expensive. However, in places where marble was in vast supply and could be acquired relatively cheaply, such as in towns located near marble quarries, marble tends to also be employed for more mundane uses. In Attica, the fine-grained Pentelic marble extracted from the quarries of Mount Pentelicus and the inferior blue gray Hymettian marble from Mount Hymettus were widely used. The best marbles of the Greek islands were the gray Naxian and white Parian marble, from Naxos and Paros, respectively.[13]

13. On the supply of stone see A. M. Abraldes, *Pentelethen: The Export of Pentelic Marble and Its Use in Architectural and Epigraphical Monuments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); G. Borghini, ed., *Marmiantichi* (Rome, 1992); H. Dodge, "Ancient Marble Studies: Recent Research," *JRA* 4 (1991): 28–50; I. Calabi-Limentani, "Marmorarius," in *EncyAACO* 4.870–75; Ludwig Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschischte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum ausgang der Antonine,* 9th ed., 4 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1919–21), 2:36–65; J. B. Ward-Perkins ("Nicomedia and the Marble Trade," *BSR* 48 [1980], 23–69) discusses the role of Nikomedia in the marble trade of the imperial period; particularly important are Potamogallenos marble (quarried near Nikomedia) and Prokonnesos and Dokimeion marble.

A petrological analysis can be useful in determining the provenance of an inscription. It may also be useful in dating, if one knows when a given quarry was active in producing the type of stone used in the inscription.[14] However, if the inscription was set up far from the quarry, such an analysis might not provide reliable information concerning the actual provenance of the inscription, unless the stone is very distinctive.

0.06 The Manufacture of the Monument

The stone blocks were dressed by stonemasons (λιθουργοί/*lapidarii*) using a curved hammer (σκέπαρνον/*ascia*),[15] chisels,[16] and two hatchet-shaped tools known as the *dolabra*[17] and the *tokos* (τόκος)[18] (see fig. 3). Such dressed blocks had a wide variety of uses: they could be incorporated into edifices by stonemasons (λιθολόγοι/*structores*) or used for the fabrication of statues,[19] statue bases, altars, tombs, sarcophagi, boundary markers, milestones, stelae,[20] and

14. See A. E. Gordon, "Epigraphica: On Marble as a Criterion for Dating Republican Latin Inscriptions," *ClArch* 1, no. 5 (1936): 159–68; M. Waelkens, "Patterns of Extraction and Production in the White Marble Quarries of the Mediterranean: History, Present Problems, and Prospects," in *Ancient Marble—Quarrying and Trade: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, Dec. 1986,* ed. J. Clayton Fant, BAR International Series 453 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988). Cf. Marc Waelkens, Norman Herz, and Luc Moens, eds., *Ancient Stones—Quarrying, Trade, and Provenance: Interdisciplinary Studies on Stones and Stone Technology in Europe and the Near East from the Prehistoric to the Early Christian Period,* Acta archaeologica Louvaniensia Monographiae 4 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1992). See infra § 7.14.

15. See Blümner, *Terminologie,* 2:205–10, fig. 38; 3:7, 90–93. Other needed tools were the κοπτής and ἐγκοπεύς (Blümner, *Terminologie,* 2:212, 3:93).

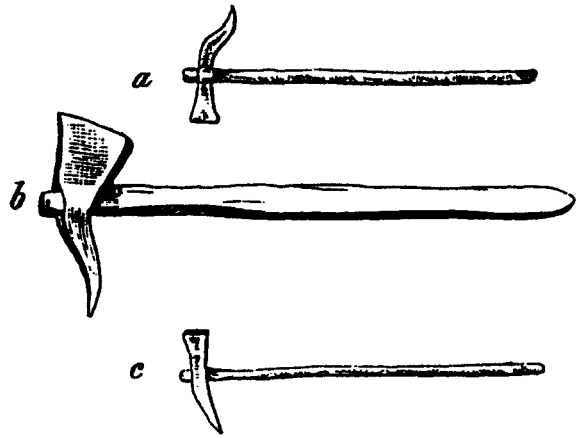
16. There were two basic types of chisel, the straight-edge chisel and the nib-point chisel; cf. Blümner, *Terminologie,* 2:211–16, esp. 215, fig. 41 (λεῖαι, γλαρίδες, ξοϊδες, γλυφεῖα, ξυστῆρες, κολαπτήρ).

17. See Blümner, *Terminologie,* 2:206–7, fig. 39; 3:7, 90–93. The *ascia* and *dolabra* appear on many Roman funerary monuments, especially from III A.D. onward. They represent the inviolability of the tomb. According to G. Susini (*Roman Stonecutter,* 26), "the *ascia* is the visual expression of the tool abandoned on the tomb at the moment of completion—abandoned because together with the tomb itself, it has become sacred to the chthonic deities." Cf. S. Panciera, "Deasciare—Exacisclare—Exasciare," *Latomus* 19 (1960): 701–7, esp. 701 n. 1; J. Rougé, "L'ascia outil agricole?" *Latomus* 18 (1959): 649–53; F. de Visscher, "L'ascia funéraire," *BAB* 49 (1963): 309–18.

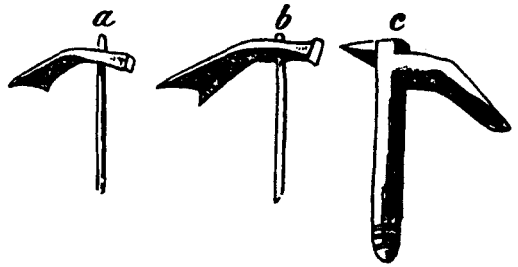
18. See Blümner, *Terminologie,* 2:208–9, fig. 40.

19. By ἀγαλματογλύφος (carvers of statues).

20. Στῆλαι, i.e, slabs of stone approximately 1–2 meters high and 10–14 centimeters thick, which were slightly tapered to the top.



Dolabrae



Tokoi

Fig. 3. *Dolabrae* and *tokoi* used for squaring the stone. (From Blümner, *Terminologie*, 207–8, figs. 39–40.)

so forth. Any of these applications of stone could also include inscriptions as part of their overall design. The chisel marks on the roughly dressed stone were removed by polishing ad unguem with finely ground quartz sand or pumice (Pliny 36.54). Decorative elements that were often added to stelae include antae, lintels, pediments, finials, moldings, and relief carvings.[21]

21. Antae: rectangular columns, usually arranged in pairs such that they frame the text (and relief); lintel: horizontal piece running over head of stele; pediment: the triangular crowning, carved at the top of the stele, resembling a low gable; finials: ornaments placed on the top of the pediment; moldings: ornamental contours given to stone.

Most inscriptions were not cut freehand. To prevent the lines from becoming uneven, the stone was often ruled with guidelines prior to engraving. Guidelines might be incised with a sharp metal point or applied with charcoal, chalk, crayon, or paint. The careless and hurried manner of execution of some inscriptions indicates that no guidelines were set out.

It has been a matter of debate whether the guidelines were added as part of the overall preparation of the monument or laid down subsequently in conjunction with the transcription of the text. There is evidence that in some cases (e.g., epitaphs, milestones), uninscribed monuments were mass-produced complete with guidelines. In other words, the addition of guidelines and the engraving were often accomplished in two distinct phases of work, with guidelines being laid down with no particular text in mind.

This explains the survival of some monuments in which the original guidelines were evidently ill-suited to the text. As a result, the letters are crowded into a space not intended for them, especially on the right-hand margin, protrude beyond the border, or skip over sculptured symbols in an awkward fashion. Such are the results when a stone is purchased with guidelines already laid down. These "ready-made" funeral stelae, complete with guidelines, decorative elements, and a polished inset for an inscription, were probably stocked for customers' consideration in the stonemasons' workshops.

0.07 The Drafting of the Text

In the case of public inscriptions, a complete text often preceded the actual engraving. All deliberations of kings and emperors and of official civic bodies, such as the council, the assembly, and the magisterial boards, were carefully recorded as minutes on papyrus or on wooden writing tablets[22] and subsequently deposited in the public archives (τὰ ἀρχεῖα). The ink writing tablets from the Roman fort of Vindolanda, near Hadrian's Wall, represent the same method as applied in the field of Latin paleography.

In Athens, the respective secretaries (γραμματεῖς) of the council and the assembly recorded the minutes and arranged for their deposition.[23] These

22. The surface of the wood was whitewashed and then written on with black or red ink or with charcoal. On writing tablets see E. Lalou, ed., *Les tablettes à écrire de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne*, Bibliologia 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 61–161, including G. Cavallo's "Le tavolette come supporto della scrittura: Qualche testimonianza indiretta" (97–104) and Y. Solier's "Les tablettes de plomb languedociennes inscrites en caractères grecs et en Ibère" (107–25); cf. *SEG* 38.1036, 41.891, 42.1860.

23. In the Attic demes, the *demarchos, epimeletes,* or treasurer (*tamias*) performed this task; in Amphipolis (Thrace), the *prostates;* in Korkyra (Corfu), the archon; in Delos and Lydia, the treasurer.

minutes were supplied to the engraver to serve as an exemplar for his work. It is probable that these minutes did not determine—at least in any detailed sense—the final graphic layout of the text on the stone, with the possible exception of the great public monumental inscriptions, where the actual layout may have been worked out in the draft text.[24]

In the case of private inscriptions, we can suppose that the customer would have produced a draft text in cursive script or simply dictated the text directly to the engraver. An epitaph of the fourth century A.D. explicitly states that the owner of the tomb στίλην (= στήλην) γράψας μνήμης χάριν ἔθετο αὐτὸς σὺν ἀλόχῳ Νοννῃ [carved the stone and wrote the epitaph himself, in memory, with his wife Nonna] (*IPhrygChr* 70, no. 27, LL. 13–15). Stephen Mitchell thinks that many epitaphs in Asia Minor "were genuinely composed by the peasant families themselves, relying . . . on a repetitive repertoire of poetic expressions."[25]

In the case of some epitaphs, there may have been no draft at all—written or dictated. A person wanting an epitaph may have given the relevant personal data to the stonecutter orally and left it up to the stonecutter to incorporate this information into the customary formulae and language.[26] A famous bilingual inscription from Palermo (Sicily) may provide direct evidence of engravers offering their services in composing such texts (*IG* XIV, 297; *CIL* X, 7296). However, it is not clear whether the term *ordinantur* in this inscription specifies the activity of drafting a text or merely that of laying it out.

(Left Side)
Στῆλαι | ἐνθάδε | τυποῦνται καὶ | χαράσσονται | ναοῖς ἱεροῖς | σὺν ἐνεργείαις | δημοσίαις.

(Right Side)
Tituli | heic | ordinantur et | sculpuntur | aidibus sacreis | cum operum | publicorum.

[Stelae drafted/laid out and engraved here for the sacred shrines with work for public hire.]

24. See Susini, *Roman Stonecutter*, 33.

25. S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 2:105.

26. See Larfeld, *Handbuch*, 2:264 n. 2. Cf. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 106–7; Susini, *Roman Stonecutter*, 47–48.

It is likely, then, that in some, perhaps many, private inscriptions, the stonecutter's shop was responsible for the formulae, phrases, and stereotyped expressions, as well as the physical and decorative features of the monument. Stonecutters may have had access to manuals of sample texts and formulae.[27] At the very least, they could walk through the nearest necropolis or sanctuary and model their composition on those of existing monuments. The phenomenon known as *homonymy* (near identical inscriptions being found on separate stones in remote locations from each other) attests to the widespread use of such stereotyped formulae.

0.08 The Transcription of the Text

Once the minutes or draft was ready, we may suppose that the text might, at least in some cases, be transcribed onto the surface of the stone. The transcription was written in capitals, perhaps using paint, charcoal, chalk, or a metal point. In the case of most public inscriptions, the transcription would more likely involve a complete graphic representation of the text on the stone. R. Wachter argues that most engravers were illiterate; he thinks that they frequently committed errors when going back and forth from the draft text and the stone.[28]

Some unfinished inscriptions are particularly instructive in observing the transcription stage of the work. An interesting example survives at Delphi, where two stelae have been found, one of which records a complete decree;[29] the second gives parts of the same decree, leaving gaps in the text (in lines 5, 7, and 8) to be engraved later with the customary formulae.[30] An incomplete inscription of this kind would only have been possible if the engraver had first traced the text out in its full graphic form. Otherwise, he would have been unable to engrave at several different places concurrently without fear of leaving insufficient room for the remaining words.

Whether a comprehensive graphic drawing underlies most inscriptions has been a matter of debate. Jean Mallon, who has studied this question in the field of Latin epigraphy, thinks that a transcription (or *ordinatio* in his terminology)

27. See R. Cagnat, "Sur les manuels professionnels de graveurs d'inscriptions romains," *RPhil* 13 (1889): 51–65.

28. R. Wachter, "Der Informationsgehalt von Schreibfehlern in griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften," *WJA* 18 (1992): 17–31 (*SEG* 42.1858).

29. G. Colin, *FD* III/2, 244, no. 215.

30. Colin, *FD* III/2, 245, no. 216; see Louis Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," *CRAI* (1955): 195–222, esp. 211.

was always made.[31] Antonio Ferrua disagrees, arguing that a full transcription, in the sense of marking out each letter graphically, was only performed for the more important inscriptions.[32] However, Ferrua's conclusions are based primarily on Christian catacomb inscriptions, where the process may have been different.

Giancarlo Susini suggests that this "transcription" should be thought of more broadly, encompassing any form of jotting or graphic layout on the stone prior to engraving. In this sense, he concludes, at least 90 percent of all Latin inscriptions involved a transcription of some sort.[33] Ultimately, the question has to be determined for each inscription individually. If a text is executed in a slipshod manner with a careless layout and with irregular disposition of letters, it was probably engraved without the aid of a full graphic inscription.

To this point, my description of the production stages of an inscription has illustrated that the stonecutter's shop was responsible for much more than the mere engraving of a text. In addition to the choice of decorative features and symbols, the stonecutter's shop often determined the physical layout of the text, its paleographic features, and the use of abbreviations; sometimes contributed standard formulae; and may even have composed the text itself. Hence, one can speak of the "epigraphic environment" of a workshop as one would speak in paleography of "scriptorial provinces" with their scriptoria.[34] This opens up the new possibility of tracing the history of epigraphic monuments on a shop-by-shop basis.[35]

0.09 The Engraving of the Text

The engraver (λιθοτόμος/*lapicida*) not only worked in the same shop that produced the monument but in most cases was probably the same artisan who previously transcribed the text (if there was a transcription).[36] Since the

31. Jean Mallon, "Paléographie des papyrus d'Egypte et des inscriptions du monde romain," *MH* 10 (1953): 141–60.

32. Antonio Ferrua, "Review: J. S. and A. E. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions*," *RBPhil* 37 (1959): 775–77.

33. Susini, *Roman Stonecutter*, 33.

34. See Susini, *Roman Stonecutter*, 49.

35. See Bruno Helly, "Ateliers lapidaires de Thessalie," in *CongrEpigr* VII, 63–90, figs. 1–19 (*SEG* 29.1787); Marc Waelkens, "Ateliers lapidaires en Phrygie," in *CongrEpigr* VII, 105–28 (pl. I–VI).

36. This may explain why the verb accompanying the signatures of engravers is ἔγραψε and why the engraver's fees were paid to the one who γράψαντι τὴν στήλην, without distinguishing between the transcriber and the engraver of the text. Similarly, in all decrees commanding ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην, the verb ἀναγράψαι is translated "transcribe"—the transcribing and engraving apparently seen as closely related tasks (see Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 216 n. 1). But Jean Mallon ("Paléographie des papyrus," 439) thinks there was a division of labor in the stonemasons' shop, with one person transcribing the draft and a second engraving the stone.

engraver was reading his own transcription, the probability of errors being introduced as a result of the engraver's misinterpretation of the transcription was somewhat reduced.

Upon the completion of engraving, the incised letters of the more important public inscriptions might be colored in with black, red, blue, or gold. For example, an inscription from Lebadeia (Boiotia, 175–172 B.C.) specifies that the stone was received for "the engraving and encaustic painting" [τῆς ἐγκολάψεως καὶ ἐγκαύσεως] of the letters.[37] There are surviving examples of monochrome inscriptions and of bicolored inscriptions of alternating red and blue lines, this coloring being preserved in the engraved trenches of some monuments.[38]

0.10 The Cost of Engraving

The cost of a given monument was determined by the natural quality of the stone, the cost of quarrying and transporting, the size of the text to be inscribed, the quality of engraving, and the costs of erecting it in place. An inscription of the accounts of the sacred overseers (*hieropoioi*) of the Delian temple of Apollo (279 B.C.) records all the expenses incurred in connection with the engraving and erection of the year's financial accounts.

puchase of the stele	25 dr.
transportation	1½ dr.
engraving	126½ dr.
price of lead employed in joining	5 dr.
wooden tablets	1 dr.
erection of stele	2½ dr.
Total	161½ dr.

The engraver was paid at a rate of 1 drachma per three hundred letters (τῆς δραχμῆς γράμματα τριακόσια), or 3⅓ drachmae per thousand letters. With approximately thirty-eight thousand letters in this particular inscription, the

37. *IG* VII, 3073, L. 11; cf. L. 53 (*SIG*³ 972).

38. See Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 211 nn. 1–2.

engraving would have cost about 126½ drachmae.[39] If an average wage in this period is estimated at .8–1.0 drachmae per day,[40] this sum represents a considerable sum of money. On this point, Marcus Todd remarks:

> it is surprising that the Delians should have maintained this publication [of their accounts] on stone throughout the period, for the trouble and expense involved were considerable and the problem of the exhibition of a large and steadily growing number of inscribed stelae must have become serious, if not acute. The incentive to continue the custom, rather than to rest content with a paper document duly audited and deposited in the public archives, may have come from the *hieropoioi* themselves, who welcomed the publicity so secured for their names, their activities and their zeal.[41]

The cost of engraving the letters in an inscription from Lebadeia (175–72 B.C.) was reckoned at a rate of 4½ drachmae per thousand.[42] The slightly higher cost in comparison to that of Delos is probably attributable to the added labor associated with painting the letters after engraving and perhaps secondarily to inflation and the general fluctuation of costs over time according to the economic conditions of different parts of the Greek world. Monumental letters, such as those found on large public buildings, required meticulous attention to detail and would probably cost significantly more to engrave and paint.

0.11 Errors in the Exemplar or Draft

It sometimes happens that errors can be found in inscriptions. The causes of such errors are several and may arise in any of the last three stages in the fabrication of an inscription, that is, from a faulty minutes or draft or from careless transcribing or engraving.[43] One would expect that errors resulting from faulty minutes are less common: minutes of official municipal business

39. See the accounts of Hypsokles: *IG* XI/2, 161, LL. 117–19. Cf. Th. Homolle, "Comptes des hiéropes du temple d'Apollon Délien," *BCH* 6 (1882): 1–167, esp. 82–83.

40. See §17.03 (reckoning a drachma on par with a denarius).

41. Marcus N. Tod, "Letter-Labels in Greek Inscriptions," *BSA* 49 (1954): 1–8, esp. 6.

42. The text reads στατῆρα καὶ τριώβολον τῶν χιλίων (*IG* VII, 3073, LL. 11–12; *SIG*³ 972), which is probably a stater of silver and four drachmae, not, as Reinach suggests (*Traité*, 306), a stater of gold and twenty drachmae. Cf. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 116, 121; Robert "Épigraphie et paléographie," 217 n. 3.

43. See Wachter, "Der Informationsgehalt," 17–31.

were carefully prepared by specialists and had fewer errors than did private inscriptions, with the possible exception of cities of the empire that were less Hellenized or Romanized. In the case of private inscriptions, the frequency of such errors is much greater. These drafts were generally prepared by persons who were less literate than public officials, especially those employed by the more peripheral stonemasons' workshops.

0.12 Errors in the Act of Transcribing

Minutes of meetings and drafts were probably written in cursive script on papyrus or wooden tablets. Jean Mallon has argued that some epigraphical errors have resulted from the transcriber misreading this cursive script;[44] cursive letters bore a greater similarity to one another than did capital letters and could be confused, especially if the draft was written quickly or carelessly. Under such conditions, a transcriber might mistake one cursive letter for another. While a learned transcriber may have no difficulty in deciphering even a carelessly written draft, a less educated one might introduce errors in the process of deciphering.[45] For example, ΠΟΙ was engraved for ΜΟΙ (*IG* II² 1183, L. 12) because of the similarity of Π and M in cursive script.[46] Similarly, the transcription of ΛΟΙΠΕΙΣ for ΛΟΙΠΟΙΣ is the result of confusion of a lunate *epsilon* (Ɛ) with an *omicron* (O) (*IG* II² 1028, L. 13). Thus, whereas the stonecutter is habitually blamed for all errors, the transcriber (in the case of transcriptions performed by someone other than the stonecutter) may be at fault in some cases.[47]

It is obvious that the chance of such transcribing errors occurring is greater when the transcription and engraving are accomplished by two different artisans or are prepared without the aid of a professional. In the case of public inscriptions, the draft or exemplar was prepared with great care by a

44. Jean Mallon, "Pierres fautives," *Libyca: Archéologie—Épigraphie* 2 (1954): 187–99, 435–59; this insight was not new with Mallon. Larfeld (*Handbuch*, 2:506–12) and Reinach (*Traité*, xl, 323) made the same observation earlier. Reinach supplies a table of principal confusions in Attic inscriptions. However, Mallon—himself a paleographer—did more to explore the possible ramifications of this theory.

45. Such transcribing errors are of the same nature as copying errors on nondurable materials, such as papyrus and vellum (see Susini, *Roman Stonecutter*, 31).

46. See Edward M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), 144–47, esp. 145, fig. 2.

47. See Mallon, "Paléographie des papyrus," 141–60. Louis Robert engaged in a controversy with Mallon, arguing that Reinach previously made this same point: see Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 136–37 (direct reply to Mallon). Cf. Mallon's rejoinder: "Scriptoria épigraphiques," *Scriptorium* 11 (1957): 177–94.

civic functionary who specialized in this task. This functionary is unlikely to have provided a draft that was written in illegible writing. In the case of private inscriptions, the evidence suggests that the engraver performed both the transcribing and engraving and sometimes prepared the draft as well. Whether such an engraver would have prepared a draft that was difficult to work from or would have had difficulty deciphering his own handwriting is a matter for conjecture. Certainly, it is not always an easy task to decipher one's own handwriting. In any case, to the extent that this stage was performed with care and attention, the risk of misreadings of the draft would be reduced.

In the opinion of Louis Robert, only a relatively small number of cases are adequately explained by the hypothesis of the misreading of the draft.[48] There are many cases in which scholars have erroneously explained the baffling features of an inscription by blaming the transcriber.[49] In many such cases, the fault actually lies often with the original editor who incorrectly transcribed the inscription.[50] Some editors are more reliable than others in this regard.[51] The confusion of ΛΙ for Ν is one such typical error of modern transcribers. Indeed, the physical deterioration of many inscriptions increases the chance of such misreadings. Therefore, before concluding that there has been a transcriber's error, one must attempt to determine whether the inscription has been published correctly. Robert remarks:

> It is false that [ancient] engravers made more faults than modern copyists. It is false that the unlearned made more mistakes than epigraphists. This constructs an epigraphic universe upside down. The stones have most often few or very few errors—and these are most often easily explainable.... The (modern) copies of amateurs are often erroneous to one extent or another.... It is ignorance that makes the readings doubtful, not science.[52]

48. Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 219 and n. 1; see Robert's list of examples of this kind of error.

49. See Robert, *BE* (1955): 118, 120, 138, 163, 197 (cf. *BE* [1953]: 2, 97); Robert, *Hellenica*, X, 173–74.

50. See Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 208.

51. See Robert, *Hellenica*, I, 30–32; Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, 61, no. 3; Robert, *Hellenica*, VIII, 82; Robert, *Études anatoliennes: Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineur*, EO 5 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937), 437–42; Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, BEHE 272 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1938), 257–58.

52. Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 209; cf. W. M. Ramsay, "The Utilization of Old Epigraphic Copies," *JHS* 38 (1918): 124–92. See § 1.05.

When faced with a problematic text, epigraphists should check all other possibilities before resorting to the explanation of a transcriber's error. Robert remarks, "we must guard against a hurried violence against the text."[53] Nonetheless, there are certainly many clear instances of engravers' errors. Robert notes that the hypothesis of a transcriber's error "is a very special key that may be able to open some locks" but that "if one forces it in all locks, the lock becomes jammed or the key breaks."[54]

0.13 Errors in the Act of Engraving

Engraver's errors may result from simple distraction and inattentiveness or perhaps from misreading the transcription. Errors of this kind are the easiest to correct. Here are a few typical examples.

Confusion of a letter form:	ΕΛΕΥΣΙΩΝ for ΕΛΕΥΞΙΩΝ (*IG* II² 1011, L. 26)
Dittography:	ΚΑΤΑΤΑΤΑΞΑΙ for ΚΑΤΑΤΑΞΑΙ (*IG* II² 233, L. 16)
Erroneous crasis:	ΤΗΣΤΗΛΗΣ for ΤΗΣ ΣΤΗΛΗΣ (*IG* II² 643, L. 10)

0.14 Ancient Corrections and Additions

In the case of public inscriptions, the finished engraving was usually checked for errors by the civil functionary who had originally prepared the minutes or by a specially appointed commissioner (*epistates, epimeletes*) assigned with this responsibility.[55] A decree from Eretria that displays many corrections ends with the statement "a commissioner [*epistates*] will be appointed to oversee the transcription [ἀναγραφή] of the decree and the erection of the stele"; this statement is followed by the additional remark "Philokles, son of Nikos, was elected commissioner."[56] Such commissioners were probably not paid for this work. They were usually appointed because they had a special

53. Robert, "Communication inaugurale," 5.

54. Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 219.

55. On commissioners see Adolf Wilhelm, "Zu den Anordnungen über die Aufstellung von Inschriften," in *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde VI*, SBWien 183.3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1921), 63–78.

56. *IG* XII/9, 234, LL. 47–49; cf. Rufus B. Richardson and T. W. Heermance, "Inscriptions from the Gymnasium at Eretria," *AJA* 11 (1896): 173–95, esp. 173.

interest in the matter; the commissioner may have been the person who proposed the original legislation or a relative of a person honored in the decree.

Sometimes, engravers chiseled out and reinscribed incorrect letters, occasionally crowding two letters into a space previously occupied by one. Missing letters could be inscribed above a word, between the lines (see fig. 4). However, poor workmanship might simply be reexecuted. Hence, every so often two specimens are found of the same inscription, one of which is full of errors and often left incomplete. The corrected version may even be inscribed on the reverse side of the same stone.[57]

Errors on inscribed monuments could also be corrected by brush, with the same color of paint as was applied to the original letters. Sometimes the correct letter was simply written above the incorrect letter, so that both are clearly visible. On Delos, the engraver of the accounts and inventories was only able to inscribe the frame of certain letters, leaving to the paintbrush the task of adding such finishing touches as the center point of the theta and the transverse bar of the delta and the alpha.[58] Such corrections and additions in paint have long since worn off in most cases, with the result that an unwary epigraphist might conclude that the original inscription had gone uncorrected.

Additions made to an inscription years later, whether between the lines or in the margins or borders, offer the possibility of revealing some aspect of the development of social attitudes and epigraphic conventions.[59] A case in point are the deliberate erasures of names on public monuments as a result of *damnatio memoriae.* For example, the hatred for Domitian, Commodus, and Elagabalus was such that posthumous *damnatio memoriae* was passed on them by the Senate; their memory was condemned, images of them were destroyed, their praenomina were not perpetuated in their families, and their names were erased from all public monuments (cf. fig. 5).

0.15 The Fate of Inscriptions

Most inscriptions that have come down to us are in damaged—often fragmentary—condition. The destruction of inscriptions began in antiquity,

57. See *IDelos* VII, 2532, I A; *CIJ* 724; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East,* trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), 413–24; Pieter W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 B.C.–A.D. 700)* (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1991), 148–49. The same inscription is engraved on both sides of the stone; it is also repeated on a second stone (*IDelos* VII, 2532, II).

58. See Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," 211 n. 3.

59. See Susini, *Roman Stonecutter,* 44.

through war, vandalism, and natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes. Following the partial destruction of a city, older inscriptions were often reused as building materials in the reconstruction of buildings or the erection of protective walls. Epitaphs were also vulnerable to vandals, who might deface them for political reasons, or to robbers, who might damage them in the course of gaining entry to a tomb. Bronze inscriptions were often destroyed so that their valuable metal could be reused.

In the Roman period, the texts of obsolete inscriptions were sometimes expunged so that the stone might be reused for new inscriptions. Inscriptions engraved on limestone were sometimes crushed into gravel for the production of concrete. Political fanaticism (in the case of the *damnatio memoriae*) and the religious fanaticism of Christians also contributed to the destruction of epigraphic monuments. Fortunately, some individuals—no doubt for a variety of motives—incorporated inscriptions intact in the walls of houses, churches, and cemeteries, thereby preserving them for posterity.

0.16 Forgeries

Despite the ravages of time, over half a million Greek and Latin inscriptions have survived. However, not all inscriptions are what they purport to be. Forgeries began in antiquity itself.[60] A city might contrive an inauthentic inscription to bolster its civic pride or international reputation. For example, a Hellenistic mask of gold foil said to be the funeral mask of King Dropion is probably a piece of nationalistic propaganda.[61] The modern era has contributed its own forgeries. Gentlemen scholars sometimes resorted to this deception to aggrandize their reputations. A case in point is *IG* XIV, 2252, which is likely a forgery made by the seventeenth-century antiquarian G. B. Passeri.[62]

0.17 Bibliographic References and Searches

At the end of many of the chapters in this book, the reader will find supplementary bibliography that has not been cited in the footnotes. In addition to these

60. For a discussion and examples of ancient forgeries see Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker,* 265–72.

61. It was made up independently of, or with, *SIG*^{3} 394 (cf. *SEG* 40.560); cf. I. Mikulcic and V. Sokolovska, *MAA* 11 (1987–89) [1990], 103–10.

62. See G. Cresci Marrone and G. Mennella, "Pisaurum," *SupplIt* 1 (1981): 84. Similarly, see an epitaph of Flavius, *CIG* 9844 (see A. Ferrua, "Paralipomeni al Vol. I delle ICUR," *RACrist* 66 [1990]: 101–20, esp. 106, no. 24; cf. no. 22). Ferrua ("Di un'iscrizione pseudocristiana e pseudoantica," *RömQSchr* [1962], 104–8) demonstrates that *IG* XIV, 912 (Tusculum) is a forgery. For forged vase inscriptions see *SEG* 12.562, 40.278 bis; cf. 40.1637.

references, there are of course current annual bibliographic guides in epigraphy. The reader should also consult the *Guide de l'épigraphiste,*[63] now available in a third entirely reconceived and expanded (2000) edition, for a more complete listing of epigraphical publications, including regional corpora and thematic collections in addition to thematic treatments of many subjects of interest to epigraphists. (Unfortunately the *Guide de l'épigraphiste* was not yet in print when the manuscript for this book was being prepared.) Also of indispensable importance in this regard are *Bulletin Épigraphique*[64] (published in *Revue des Études Grecques*), *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Année Épigraphique,* and the *Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion* (in *Kernos*). For early bibliography, one should consult J. J. Hondius's *Saxa loquuntur: Inleiding tot de grieksche Epigraphiek.*[65]

0.18 Standard Epigraphical Series

While the range and variety of epigraphical publications is vast, the reader of this book should be familiar at the outset with several standard and long-established series of corpora cited herein. A list of a selection of these follows, with each series accompanied by its abbreviation (see the list of abbreviations of epigraphical and related classical publications, later in this book, for complete reference).

Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum (*CIG,* 4 vols.)[66]
Inscriptiones Graecae (*IG*)
Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes (*IGRR,* 3 vols.)
Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae (*IGUR,* 4 vols.)

63. François Bérard, Denis Feissel, P. Petitmengin, Denis Rousset, and Michel Sève, *Guide de l'épigraphiste: Bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales,* 3d ed. (Paris: Press de l'École normale supérieure, 2000), supplemented by G. H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee, "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphical Volumes," *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 161–65.

64. See *Index du Bulletin Épigraphique de J. et L. Robert, 1938–65,* vol. 1, *Les mots grecs,* vol. 2, *Les publications,* and vol. 3, *Les mot français* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1972–75); *Index du Bulletin Épigraphique de J. et L. Robert, 1966–73* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1979); *Index du Bulletin Épigraphique de J. et L. Robert, 1974–1977* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1983). In addition to looking up specific names, check under the headings "Noms," "Anthroponymes," and "Onomastique."

65. J. J. Hondius, *Saxa loquuntur: Inleiding tot de grieksche Epigraphiek* (Leiden, 1938; reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1976).

66. *CIG,* being the first corpus of Greek inscriptions (1828–43), attempted to collect all known Greek inscriptions from the Greek world; though now quite out of date and very incomplete, it has not been entirely replaced.

Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (*IGLSyria*)
Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (IK)
Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (*MAMA,* 10 vols.)
Tituli Asiae Minoris (*TAM,* 4 vols.)

0.19 Overview of This Introduction

This book is utilitarian in scope. It is not intended to be a general discussion of the contribution of epigraphical data to the related fields of classical studies. Rather, it is a practical handbook for the beginner who is faced with the sometimes daunting task of actually reading and interpreting Greek inscriptions. In the following pages are collected much of the very factual and particular information needed to make sense of these texts.

This book is divided into three parts. Part 1 (chaps. 1–6) deals with general matters, knowledge of which is indispensable in the reading of inscriptions of all kinds. Included therein are such topics as editorial *sigla* (marks, signs, or characters used to edit epigraphical texts), paleography, Greek and Roman onomastics and prosopography, and the dating of inscriptions. Part 2 begins with a discussion of the classification of inscriptions into their various categories (chap. 7). Since it is not possible to discuss in equal detail all classes of inscriptions, a number of broad categories have been selected from this classification scheme for a more extensive treatment: namely, decrees, honorary inscriptions of various kinds, dedications and ex-votos, funerary inscriptions, and manumission inscriptions (chaps. 8–12). Finally, part 3 (chaps. 13–17) includes special topics that bear on the interpretation of specific features of inscriptions, such as Greek and Roman administrative functions, orthography, metrical inscriptions, and the commodity value of currency.

In the citation of epigraphic texts, this book has omitted line breaks in exempla that are not cited in extenso. The list of abbreviations of epigraphical and related classical publications incorporates the list of epigraphical abbreviations recently published by G. H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee,[67] as well as additional relevant abbreviations from *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,* the *American Journal of Archaeology, L'Année philologique,* and elsewhere.

67. Horsley and Lee, "Preliminary Checklist," 129–69.

interest in the matter; the commissioner may have been the person who proposed the original legislation or a relative of a person honored in the decree.

Sometimes, engravers chiseled out and reinscribed incorrect letters, occasionally crowding two letters into a space previously occupied by one. Missing letters could be inscribed above a word, between the lines (see fig. 4). However, poor workmanship might simply be reexecuted. Hence, every so often two specimens are found of the same inscription, one of which is full of errors and often left incomplete. The corrected version may even be inscribed on the reverse side of the same stone.[57]

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62. See G. Cresci Marrone and G. Mennella, "Pisaurum," *SupplIt* 1 (1981): 84. Similarly, see an epitaph of Flavius, *CIG* 9844 (see A. Ferrua, "Paralipomeni al Vol. I delle ICUR," *RACrist* 66 [1990]: 101–20, esp. 106, no. 24; cf. no. 22). Ferrua ("Di un'iscrizione pseudocristiana e pseudoantica," *RömQSchr* [1962], 104–8) demonstrates that *IG* XIV, 912 (Tusculum) is a forgery. For forged vase inscriptions see *SEG* 12.562, 40.278 bis; cf. 40.1637.

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Editorial Sigla

Most inscriptions that have survived the ravages of time are damaged, either through accidental breakage, deliberate vandalism, physical wear (in the case of inscriptions reused as paving blocks or doorsills), or exposure to the physical elements, or because they have been broken in the course of being refashioned for reuse as construction materials. Accordingly, the first task of the editor is to estimate the extent of loss and damage and to provide an accurate representation of what has been preserved in an inscription.

It is also the editor's responsibility to introduce word divisions, punctuation, and accentuation. Though accents were never engraved, these should be furnished in minuscule transcriptions according to the classical form, to assist the reader in understanding the forms; for example, according to classical orthography, it is permissible to place a circumflex on an omicron taking the place of an omega or, conversely, to treat an omega as if it were an omicron (e.g., τὼ ἐπιτραχήλιον).

According to Henri Grégoire, accentuation constitutes a minimum of interpretation: "these accents provide exactly the same service as the masoretic pointing did in the corrupt text of the Hebrew Bible. . . . They immediately evoke the familiar character of words disfigured by itacism or by the permutation of consonants."[1] Moreover, in texts that do not employ an iota adscript (see § 15.02), an iota subscript should be added according to the classical form. This may involve putting an iota subscript under a short vowel taking the place of a long vowel (e.g., ϱ for ῳ).

In 1931, under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale, a conference was held in Leiden in an attempt to secure uniformity of usage in

1. H. Grégoire, *RIPBelg* 51 (1908): 197–99.

the editing of ancient texts. On this occasion, the editing convention known as "das leydener Klammer System" (the Leiden system) was devised.[2] It has since been widely (but not universally) adopted for the editing of both epigraphical and papyrological texts.

Though the current editorial practice among epigraphists is diverse and no universal set of conventions has yet been adopted, the Leiden system (or some variation thereof) is the most commonly employed system.[3] In the words of Sterling Dow, the purpose of this system is to provide a means "to set forth in print, by use of regular, understood, agreed-upon conventions, which shall be as simple and clear as possible . . . a clear and correct representation of original text."[4]

This system introduced some significant changes to the existing editorial sigla. The most dramatic change concerns the use of angular brackets (< >). Prior to 1931, angular brackets meant *dele,* that is, the excision of letters deemed to be superfluous by the editor; according to the Leiden system, *dele* is signified by brace brackets, ({ }) (see § 1.06).[5] In works after 1932, angular brackets usually mean *adde* (i.e., the *insertion* or *substitution* of letters; see § 1.05). In the previous convention, *adde* was signified by parentheses, or ( ). Whenever there is any doubt as to usage, the editor's commentary should correct any ambiguity.

1.01 The Numbering of Lines and the Vertical Bar (|)

Printings of inscriptions often preserve the individual arrangement of lines, an essential in the case of an editio princeps. In later editions of a published inscription, individual lines are frequently printed continuously, with one line following immediately on the previous line to save space on the printed page. When printed in this fashion, it is necessary to indicate where one line ends and another begins with the use of a single vertical bar (|) to separate individual lines, except where the line number is a multiple of five (i.e., lines 5, 10, 15, etc.), in which case a pair of vertical bars (||) is used. Though it is customary to number every fifth line of the printed epigraphical text, this practice is not universal; some collections number every third or fourth line instead.

The numbering of lines is especially difficult when an inscription is fragmentary or badly mutilated and consequently the exact number of missing lines is not known or when there is uncertainty about whether lines are indeed missing at all. According to the old system, only those lines that were legible were numbered. In the Leiden system, line numbers can also be used as a convenience to refer to an area of the stone in which letters may or may not have been inscribed. Although it is preferable that the total number of lines should correspond to the total number of lines of the original inscription, this is not imperative. The matter is not deemed serious, since the convenience and accuracy of reference is of greater importance.[6]

1.02 Lacunae: Dashes and Dots ([- - -], [. . .])

Some inscriptions are so fragmentary that it is difficult to estimate the proportions of the original.[7] In such cases, dashes may be employed within square brackets ([- - -]) to indicate a lacuna of uncertain length. The precise number of dashes used is of no significance and does not suggest in any way the number of missing letters. However, the editor may wish to estimate the number of missing letters; for example, [- - - ca. 40 - - -] indicates that approximately forty letters are missing. If it is clear that a proper name once occupied the lacuna, ὁ δεῖνα[8] (so-and-so) can be put within square brackets. Points are used within square brackets ([. . . .]) to indicate individual letters, whether lost or illegible. In this case, the number of dots should always equal the number of lost letters. If a given inscription is written in stoichedon style (see §2.03), the number of missing letters can often be determined with considerable accuracy by counting the letters in the preceding or following line. If an inscription is not written stoichedon, as is usually the case, it is often only possible to estimate roughly the number of missing letters, in which case dashes should be used. When restoring nonstoichedon inscriptions, it should be borne in mind that words at the end of each line are often divided on the basis of syllables. This is called the principle of syllabification. A restoration

2. For a more extensive treatment see A. Delatte and A. Severyns, *Emploi des signes critiques; disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins: Conseil et recommandations,* Union Académique Internationale, Palais des Académies, 2d ed. (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1938) (= UAI²); for an overview of the various systems of diacritical signs used in Greek and Latin epigraphy see L. Vidman in *CongrEpigr* IX, 145–62 (*SEG* 37.1775).

3. On disagreements see Richard Gordon, Joyce Reynolds, Mary Beard, and Charlotte Roueché, "Roman Inscriptions, 1991–95," *JRS* 87 (1997): 203–40, esp. 205–6.

4. Sterling Dow, *Conventions in Editing: A Suggested Reformulation of the Leiden System,* Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Scholarly Aids 2 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969), 2.

5. For a summary of the previous system employed see *SEG* 6. viii.

6. See Dow, *Conventions,* 3–4.

7. Since marble is limited in strength, the thickness of a fragment may give an indication of the original size, with thinner slabs necessarily being cut into smaller sections.

8. In the appropriate case (e.g., τοῦ δεῖνος, τῷ δεῖνι, τὸν δεῖνα, οἱ δεῖνες, τοὺς δεῖνας).

that violates this principle (e.g., τ[ῆι σ]||πείρα) is less likely to be correct than one that respects it (e.g., τ[ὰ πέ]||πειρα).[9]

1.03 Spaces Left Blank by the Inscriber: Superscript *V*, *Vac.*, or *Vacat*

There are numerous examples of stonemasons leaving areas of the stone's surface blank. Often, there are good reasons for these gaps. Sometimes, physical imperfections in the stone (e.g., intrusions of harder or softer stone caused by veins) made it difficult to carve letters. Such areas might be intentionally left uninscribed. This phenomenon is termed *vitium lapidis* (see, e.g., *IG* II² 6217).[10] A second type of intentional gap occurs when the stonemason leaves spaces as an aid to the reader (i.e., as a form of punctuation) or to emphasize particular words or phrases.[11]

A small superscript italic *v* (which stands for *vacat*, "it is empty") indicates one uninscribed space, equivalent to the module (width) of an average letter. Several blank spaces in a row are indicated by an equivalent number of superscript *v*s; thus, ^{vvvv} indicates that four spaces have been left blank, and $^{vv1\frac{1}{2}}$ indicates that one and a half spaces have been left blank. The use of $^{vac.}$ or ^{vacat} indicates that the remainder of the line has been left uninscribed and cannot, or has not, been measured. Similarly, $^{vacat\ 10}$ indicates that the size of a space can be accurately measured, whereas $^{vacat\ ca.\ 10}$ denotes that the size of the space can only be approximated.

The sigla [^{v}] and [$^{vac.}$]/[^{vacat}] signal the editor's deduction that one space or the remainder of a line was left blank, though the stone does not preserve this information. Similarly, $\underset{\cdot}{v}$ indicates that insufficient surface is intact to permit the editor to determine the presence of a single uninscribed space with certainty.

1.04 Doubtful Readings: Subscript Dots (α̣, β̣, etc.)

Partially preserved or indistinct letters may hold the key to the meaning of an entire inscription. Since most inscriptions have suffered damage through the ages, especially at the edges of the stone, such letters are very common. In

9. Rho was sometimes combined with another letter in a single letter space, and there was a growing tendency in III B.C. to divide words syllabically.

10. See Sterling Dow, "Three Athenian Decrees: Method in the Restoration of Preambles," *HSCP* 67 (1963): 56–75, esp. 64–65.

11. Dow, "Three Athenian Decrees," 64–65; S. Dow, "The Purported Decree of Themistocles: Stele and Inscription," *AJA* 66 (1962): 353–68 (pl. 95), esp. 365–67.

view of their importance to the restoration process, it is critical that the editor be in firm control of the conventions for depicting such letters.

In the older corpora, as well as in some modern majuscule texts, partially preserved letters are often represented as incomplete, or as so-called broken capitals. For instance, a broken epsilon and alpha might be indicated by the single strokes ⌜ and /, respectively. If a letter is indistinct but its identity is unquestionable, its shape has sometimes been written as a series of closely spaced dots. When an inscription has become so worn and indistinct that the presence or shape of inscribed letters is uncertain, this has been conveyed by shading the entire area. These conventions were followed for the Attic inscriptions of *Inscriptiones Graecae.*

Gradually, these conventions were replaced by the use of dotted letters (α̣, β̣, etc.), a practice borrowed from papyrology, where it was well established as early as 1898, in the first volume of the Oxyrhynchus papyri. Kendrick Pritchett has documented the gradual and fluctuating adoption of dotted letters in the field of epigraphy.[12] Throughout this transitional period, the use of dotted letters in the field of epigraphy was a matter of personal preference, not standard, generally accepted editorial policy. Dotted letters were used to represent sometimes partially preserved letters and sometimes indistinct letters.[13]

At the 1932 Leiden conference, a deliberate step was taken to secure uniformity in the use of dotted letters. They were only to be used to indicate a "doubtful letter," that is, "a letter so imperfect that, without context, it can be read in more than one way."[14] According to this convention, a subscript dot should not be placed under any letter of which, though imperfectly preserved, sufficient traces remain to identify the letter with certainty when read in isolation.

In the Leiden system, a subscript dot indicates that the identity of the letter is uncertain because either part of it is missing (previously indicated by broken type) or a letter is indistinct (previously indicated by writing letters as a series of dots or by shaded areas). Letters with missing parts or indistinct letters should not be dotted if the identity of a letter is undisputed, nor should they be dotted simply because the editor finds the meaning of the letter baffling when read in context. This latter issue arises when an editor anticipates the task of restoration before completing the prior task of carefully documenting what has been preserved on the stone.

12. W. Kendrick Pritchett, "Dotted Letters in Greek Epigraphy," *AJA* 59 (1955): 55–61 (pl. 33–34), esp. 55–57.

13. See Pritchett, "Dotted Letters," 59; cf. supra n. 7.

14. UAI², 15; cf. *IAmyzon* 10; Robert, *BE* (1951), 197–98, no. 227.

The editor must ask whether a given letter can be read accurately in isolation. In other words, context must not be used to decide whether a letter should be dotted.[15] According to Giancarlo Susini, the interpretation of a text must begin with "a proper evaluation of the actual letter in its graphic aspect, and of the way it came to be where it is, before considering what phonetic value it was meant to have."[16] It is not the first responsibility of the editor to decide which readings are decisive based on a contextual reading.

It hardly needs to be said that caution must be exercised in interpreting dotted letters appearing in texts published prior to 1932. However, care is also required in publications after 1932. For example, even J. J. Hondius, who professed to adopt the Leiden system,[17] used context to determine whether a letter should be dotted.[18]

No letter appearing in brackets should ever have a subscript dot unless (1) it is a doubtful letter occurring in an erasure (indicated by double square brackets, e.g., ⟦α̣⟧; see § 1.08 or (2) an editor is working from an old printed edition of a lost inscription and changes one of the letters of the old edition to a different letter.[19]

1.05 Additions and Substitutions by the Editor: The Use of Angular Brackets (< >)

The use of angular brackets (< >) according to the Leiden convention is somewhat ambiguous, since they are used in three different ways. However, since the specific use of these brackets is generally expanded on in the lemma, ambiguity is rarely a real problem. Angular brackets indicate additions or substitutions by the editor or letters left incomplete by the editor.[20]

15. In making this statement, I acknowledge that some eminent epigraphists dissent on this point and continue to edit on a different basis.

16. Giancarlo Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter: An Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, trans. A. M. Dabrowski, ed. E. Badian (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967).

17. See *SEG* 7: *praefatio.*

18. In vols. 7–10 of *SEG*, he has the following note: "Non puncto supposito notantur litterae quae quamquam pars tantum in lapide exstat tamen certa ratione suppleri possunt. ΕΔΟ - - ΩΔΗΜΩΙ = ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι." Pritchett ("Dotted Letters," 59–60) documents Hondius's inconsistent use of dotted letters.

19. Some editors used angular brackets or parentheses for this purpose.

20. Prior to 1931, angular brackets meant the excision of letters deemed to be superfluous by the editor, whereas the Leiden system uses angular brackets to mark the addition or substitution of letters. The older corpora (e.g., *CIG, SIG, DGE, LSAM*) would use parentheses where the Leiden System would use angular brackets.

1.05.1 Additions by the Editor

Sometimes an editor will insert into the text letters that he or she considers to have been erroneously omitted by the inscriber. Such editorial additions are designated by enclosing them in angular brackets (e.g., Καίσ<α>ρος = ΚΑΙΣΡΟΣ).[21] If the editor is working without the aid of a squeeze or photograph of the inscription, there may be a reasonable degree of doubt as to whether the original engraver or modern transcriber of the text is at fault.[22] This problem is irresolvable in cases in which the stone itself has been lost or damaged in this intervening period.

1.05.2 Substitutions by the Editor

Angular brackets are also used to substitute the correct letters in place of letters deemed by the editor to have been erroneously inscribed. Whenever such substitutions are made, the lemma should always provide the actual reading of the stone.[23]

Due caution should be exercised in this use of angular brackets. The editor should only correct that which the engraver would have considered to be an error (see § 0.11–13). In other words, angular brackets should not be used for editorial corrections. The grammar, orthography, and morphology of the inscriptions should always be respected.[24] The interchange of vowels (e.g., E for AI) and consonants (e.g., B for Π) that attests to the pronunciation of the time should not be corrected (see § 15.02–06), nor should such forms as πανκράτιν (for -ιον) or Αὐρήλις (for -ιος).[25] Similarly, the following phenomena should not be corrected:

itacism (see § 15.04)
haplography of double letters in a single word (e.g., ἐκλησία)
dittography of single letters in a single word (e.g., Ἀριστέας)

21. Strangely, Louis Robert diverges on this point, by using parentheses for letters omitted by the engraver (*IAmyzon* 10).

22. See Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, 60–63.

23. Some authors have begun to use double angular brackets (<< >>) to signify editorial substitutions (e.g., Horsley in *NewDocs*, vols. 4–5; S. R. Llewelyn and R. A. Kearsley in *NewDocs*, vol. 6), but this usage is not well established; Robert (*IAmyzon* 10) notes the use of double angular brackets for the suppression of dittography.

24. See Henri Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1922), 11 n. 1.

25. See *IAmyzon* 12.

parasitic iota[26]
erroneous crasis (e.g., εἰστήλην)

The exposition of such forms with reference to classical form should be confined to the lemma or commentary.[27] It must be admitted that there is editorial inconsistency in this regard, not only in older editions, but in recent works as well.[28] Therefore, the epigraphist should be prepared to reedit an inscription to bring it into conformity with modern standards.

1.05.3 Letters Left Incomplete by the Engraver

Occasionally, when a mason changed from one chisel to another, he might inadvertently leave part of a letter uncut (e.g., Λ engraved for an Α or Δ, Π for Η or Π). Such corrected letters should be enclosed in angular brackets if the stonemason's intent is clear and should be printed with a subscript dot if the intent is not clear.

1.06 Suppressions by the Editor: Brace Brackets ({ })

Every so often, a stonemason will accidentally engrave twice in succession a group of letters or even entire words. Such errors can be suppressed by the editor with the use of brace brackets (e.g., Ταβη{βη}νῶν). In older corpora (e.g., *CIG, SIG, LSS, DGE, LSAM*), this was indicated by angular brackets (< >).

1.07 Resolutions of Abbreviations and Ligatures: Parentheses ( )

When an engraver intentionally abbreviates a word by omission of letters or with a ligature (see § 2.06.2), the editor may wish to expand the form to the complete word. The letters used in such expansions should be enclosed in parentheses, as in Αὐρ(ήλιος), ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος). Parentheses may also be

26. Robert (*IAmyzon* 12) notes that the use of the iota, engraved in some positions and not in others, is a witness to the date and state of the language and therefore should not be suppressed.

27. See Adolf Wilhelm, "Zu König Antigonos' Schreiben an die Teïer," *Klio* 28 (1935): 280–93, esp. 292. The contributions and names of previous editors should also be cited in the lemma or commentary.

28. P. L. Zovatto ("Le epigrafi latine e greche nel sarcofagi paleocristiani della necropoli di Julia Concordia," *Epigraphica* 8 [1946]: 74–90, esp. 84–90) corrected the orthography (including itacism) in accordance with the classical forms.

employed to decipher currency signs for drachmae and denarii: e.g., (δραχμαί) ϰ΄ for < ϰ΄; (δηνάρια) ϰ΄ for * ϰ΄.

1.08 Rasures: Double Square Brackets (⟦ ⟧)

Double square brackets indicate letters that were deliberately erased in antiquity but whose existence can still be positively read. Dashes are used within such brackets if the individual letters cannot be read (⟦ - - -⟧), and subscript dots are used when letters can be partially read (⟦ạβ⟧).

When the original text is completely obliterated and a second text engraved over the original text is wholly or partially legible, the second text is printed in superscript letters between the double brackets (⟦ ^{αβγδε} ⟧). Square brackets inside double brackets (⟦[ ]⟧) indicate an erased area in which nothing can be read but that has been restored by the editor. Alternatively, double brackets within single brackets ([⟦ ⟧]) indicate that the editor conjectures an erasure.

1.09 Reading Clear, Interpretation Unknown: Capital Letters

Sometimes the editor is unable to make sense in context of whole letters (or partially preserved letters that are positively identifiable) that occur in an inscription. This is indicated by printing the letters as capitals. This convention calls attention to the problem—whether it is in the reading, in the inscribing, or simply in the use of a very unusual word—without attempting a solution.

1.10 Parts Read Earlier Now Missing: Underlining

Over the years, many inscriptions that appeared in older corpora have since incurred further damage through improper storage, air pollution, vandalism, or fragments becoming lost. This is often the result of parts of the stone breaking away at the edges. In such cases, underlining is used to indicate letters that were read with certainty by epigraphists in earlier ages but can no longer be so read (see, e.g., *IDelos* VI, 1521).[29]

1.11 Restorations: Square Brackets ([ ])

Most inscriptions are damaged, incomplete, and fragmentary to some extent. If the maximum amount of information is to be derived from an inscription,

29. Some editors use angular brackets instead (see, e.g., *TAM* V/2, 945).

the editor must attempt the challenging task of restoration. Square brackets are employed to indicate areas once inscribed but now lost through damage. No decipherable letter should ever be printed inside square brackets. Many—though not all—editors use square brackets in pairs, rather than leaving them open at the beginning or end of lines.

There is a variance of opinion as to what should appear within square brackets, whether only restorations that are assured (the Kirchner Principle) or also restorations that are unsupported and conjectural (the Principle of Extreme Freedom). According to the Kirchner Principle any restoration must conform to one rule, namely, that no element of uncertainty can be present. In other words, such restorations claim to reproduce the original text accurately. The implication of the Kirchner Principle is that all restorations that fall short of certainty are printed in the lemma or commentary.

Many such restorations can be made with confidence through the assistance of analogy. In any given period, cities employed a limited repertoire of formulae, expressions, and epithets. Sometimes the surviving text preserves part of a well-attested technical term or standard phrase. To take a simple example, dedicatory inscriptions often end with the formula ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε. Thus, the letters A[.]E[.]HKE in a dedication can confidently be restored as ἀ[ν]έ[θ]ηκε. Similarly, the preambles of decrees are often stereotyped compositions following on standard formulae that name the year's archon and other officials (see § 6.01, 8.04); the letters EΔ[.]ΞEN in a decree can be restored as ἔδ[ο]ξεν. Also, regionally specific formulae for commanding the engraving of a decree can be readily restored; for example, inscriptions from the Propontis and the Black Sea frequently bear the formula ἀναγράψαι εἰς τελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου (engrave on a white stone stele), whereas in Thessaly one finds εἰς κίονα λιθίνην (on a stone stele).[30] Similarly, the formula ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης (taking place during the regular meeting of the assembly) is specific to many decrees of Lycia in the third century A.D.[31] Ulrich Wilcken's words intended for papyrologists apply equally to epigraphists.

> Just as [the papyrologist] must distinguish between the centuries in terms of the development of script according to their characteristics, he must also strive to gain a clear understanding of what is possible in the language of the individual periods, lest he risk filling the gaps with expressions that are impossible for the time of the document in question.[32]

30. See L. Robert, "Études d'épigraphie grecque: XL. Inscriptions d'Herakleia," *RPhil* 10 (1936): 113–70, esp. 130; Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, 33–34.

31. See Louis Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure meridionale: Inscriptions, monnaies et geographie*, CRHP 3, Hautes Études du Monde Gréco-Romain 2 (Geneva: Librairie Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard, 1966), 54.

A knowledge of the meter of an inscription can be a useful aid in restoration, since the metrical requirements of a line may prohibit some proposed restorations (see § 16.06). Large-scale restorations are permitted only when an inscription belongs to a large group in which there is a high degree of repetition of terms and phrases. For example, financial accounts and catalogues tend to be very repetitive in their structure, allowing sometimes very fragmentary inscriptions to be restored with considerable accuracy.

The corollary of this is that, as Robert observes, "the difficulty of restoration increases with the originality of the document."[33] Thus, whereas one can often find exact parallels for administrative inscriptions, the narrative sections of decrees pose a much greater challenge owing to the distinctiveness of the facts. Similarly, such creative works as epigrams and hymns are often unrestorable. When faced with multiple possibilities, the Kirchner Principle dictates that no restoration should be printed in the text, though competing suggestions can be discussed in the commentary.

Even if an identical term, formula, or expression can be found, it is sometimes only one of several possibilities. A comparison with related inscriptions may demonstrate that a number of restorations are possible in the given context. Therefore, the argument that a particular restoration corresponds to the length of the lacuna is insufficient unless corroborated by other evidence.[34] According to A.-J. Letronne, restoration is "not a question of rewriting the document, which is always easily accomplished, but pointless; rather it is necessary to restore it, which is a very different matter."[35] Any proposed restoration should also conform to the orthography of the period and region in question. When the beginning of a word is missing, reverse lexicons can be helpful in the restoration of nominals[36] and proper names.[37]

32. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie des Papyruskunde*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912), 1:xlix.

33. Louis Robert, "Les épigraphies et l'épigraphie grecque et romaine," in *OMS* 5.65–101, esp. 98.

34. See Robert, "Les épigraphies," 93.

35. Quoted in Robert, "Les épigraphies," 91; cf. A.-J. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, 2 vols. in 1 (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royal, 1848).

36. See Carl D. Buck and Walter Petersen, *A Reverse Lexicon of Greek Nouns and Adjectives Arranged by Terminations* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1948).

37. See F. Dornseiff and Bernard Hansen, *Reverse-Lexicon of Greek Proper-Names* (Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen) (Chicago: Ares, 1944); Zgusta*KP*, pp. 657–76.

The opposite view to the Kirchner Principle is the Principle of Extreme Freedom. It has been defended by Benjamin Meritt[38] and expanded by Malcolm McGregor; hence, it is sometimes called the Meritt-McGregor Principle. Meritt argued in favor of the use of square brackets for restorations that merely reproduce the sense of the original text, without any claim to verbal accuracy. Such restorations do not claim to reproduce the exact words, the syntax, or even the disposition of words on the stone but only to convey the original meaning. The only limiting factors on such restorations are the length of the lacunae and the general context of the inscription. Restorations of this kind are always tentative in nature. They are intended to stimulate new attempts at restoration, in the hope that successive restorations will gradually come into greater conformity with the original text. Unfortunately, the Leiden system has no way of distinguishing between tentative and established restorations. Thus, the unwary reader may easily confuse highly speculative restorations with those that are indubitable, with the result that both are accorded the same degree of authority; highly speculative restorations may even be taken as authoritative and be reproduced in subsequent publications of the same inscription.

Thus, the Principle of Extreme Freedom places a significantly greater burden on the reader by requiring him or her to decide what degree of authority should be placed on each individual restoration. In actual practice, many readers lack the specialized knowledge required to make such judgments. The problem becomes more difficult when a particular editor's restoration policy is unknown to the reader. Alternatively, what may appear to be a certain restoration to a given editor may, years later, be treated by others as a mere guess.

For this reason, it is crucial that the reader be very cautious in accepting all restorations, until the manner in which a given editor uses square brackets is determined. When reediting a text, it may be necessary to move restorations that appear in the text in square brackets to the lemma or commentary.

There is a growing consensus that the Kirchner Principle should be observed in most cases. In the opinion of Sterling Dow, tentative restorations are only appropriate when editors are editing for specialist readers.[39] Generally speaking, it is preferable to use the lemma or commentary to give an example of what might have filled a lacuna rather than to insert a dubious restoration into the text itself. The presence of unrestored lacunae should not be a source of embarrassment to an editor. In the words of Louis Robert, "the epigraphist must be insensible to the horror of the void."[40]

38. Benjamin Dean Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica,* Martin Classical Lectures 9 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 109–38.

39. Dow, *Conventions,* 20–26. Dow (29–31) suggests that a new principle be adopted to distinguish between sure restorations and probable restorations: that sure restorations be indicated with square brackets (as is customary), and that probable restorations be indicated with a small superscript interrogation point at the end of the restoration, inside the square brackets [αβγδε$^{?}$], with a double interrogation point for mere conjectures [αβγδε$^{??}$].

TABLE 1. Editorial Abbreviations

!	*sic*
^{a}	*ante Christum* (e.g., I^{a}, II^{a}, 27^{a})
c.	*circa* or *cum*
dr.	drawing
ed.pr.	editio princeps, the first editor of the text
κτλ.	καὶ τὰ λοιπά (= *et cetera*)
l., ll.	line(s) = L., LL.
L., LL.	line(s)
nr.	*numerus*
ὁ δεῖνα, τοῦ δεῖνος, τῷ δεῖνι, τὸν δεῖνα, οἱ δεῖνες, τοὺς δεῖνας	"so-and-so," etc.
^{p}	*post Christum* (e.g., I^{p}, II^{p}, 27^{p})
ph.	photo
pl.	plate
s.	*saeculum*
saec. II	II B.C.
saec. IIp. Chr.	II A.D.
saec. III/II	III–II B.C.
Στοιχ.	written in stoichedon style
sq., sqq.	f., ff.
v.	*vacat* (single letter space)
vac.	*vacat* (empty space)
tit.	*titulus/i* (inscription/s)
II^{1} A.D.	first half of second century A.D.
II^{2} A.D.	second half of second century A.D.

1.12 Other Editorial Abbreviations

A great deal of variety exists in other editorial abbreviations used in both older and modern corpora. Table 1 provides a miscellaneous list of such abbreviations, some of which are used in this introduction.

40. Robert, "Les épigraphies," 99. Robert (92) writes: "It is no use to rewrite the document; it is necessary to discover what has been lost, not merely the sense, without the exact words. This is not a captivating game, an exercise, a composition; it is a restoration of what can be established with certitude. . . . It is therefore necessary first of all to proceed to a rigorous and patient analysis of the parts that have been preserved and of their arrangement, by paying attention to the various possible breaks of words (the inscriptions are engraved in majuscules and without separation of words, and many errors result from erroneous breaks made by the editors), and then to determine to which category a document belongs and from which place it comes."

2

Paleography, Punctuation, Abbreviations, and Numerals

Greek paleography divides letters into two primary classes: large and small. Small letters are also known as cursives or minuscules. The class of large letters is subdivided into capitals, which are used in Greek inscriptions, and uncials, which are adaptations of capitals used in manuscripts.[1] Capital letters are characterized by a preference for straight strokes meeting at angles.[2]

2.01 Historical Overview of Letter Forms

This chapter will not deal with the Attic alphabet and the numerous epichoric alphabets, for they had died out by the fourth century B.C. A decree passed in 403/2 B.C. made the use of the Ionic alphabet compulsory in all Athenian official documents. Over the next few decades, other states followed the lead of Athens and similarly adopted the Ionian alphabet. Thus, the Ionic script became the standard Greek script through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

There was significant variability in the Ionic script over the centuries. Some letters became simplified, others elaborated. The most significant change was the gradual replacement of the monumental letter forms with cursive forms. Adolf Wilhem has given numerous examples of the adoption of

1. Uncials are also used in Latin inscriptions but never in Greek inscriptions.

2. There are two types of capital letters in Latin inscriptions, monumental (or "guided") capitals and actuarial (or "freehand") capitals. Latin monumental capitals were produced with the assistance of mechanical aids, to make straight linear strokes and true curves. Actuarial capitals were produced without such aids (see Joyce S. Gordon and Arthur E. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions,* University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology 3, no. 3 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957], 65–229, esp. 74).

cursive forms in inscriptions in imitation of contemporaneous papyrological script.[3] New letter forms were first experimented with in private inscriptions and were only later employed in public inscriptions. For example, the lunate sigma (C) appears first in private documents of the fifth century B.C. but does not appear in public inscriptions until the Roman period.[4]

The following remarks on the evolution of Greek paleography are intended as a general overview of some of the major trends and cannot be used for dating particular inscriptions (see § 2.02).

In the third to first centuries B.C., the broken-bar alpha (Ⱥ) begins to be used alongside A, Ⱥ, and Ⱥ. The mu becomes increasingly rectangular (M), with upright hastae (a hasta is a stroke forming part of a letter) not splaying out toward the bottom as before (Ɱ).

The replacement of the Attic three-bar sigma (ϟ) with the Ionic "four-bar" sigma (ϲ, Σ) was somewhat erratic; this replacement was near complete ca. 446 B.C. in public inscriptions and was finished ca. 415 in all inscriptions.

The first century B.C. and the first century A.D. witnessed the evolution of the letter pi from having a short right hasta (⊓) to Π. The letter xi, previously written as Ξ, was gradually replaced by Ξ ƺ, Ȝ, and Ƽ.

In the first and second centuries A.D., the alpha (A), delta (Δ), and lambda (Λ) sometimes acquired elongated forms. Apices (e.g., Ⱥ) also came into fashion. Moreover, some rounded cursive forms sometimes replaced their monumental forms: sigma and epsilon developed into the lunate forms C (but also the square form ⊏) and Ɛ. The letters mu and omega evolved into the cursive forms Ɱ (also the square form ⊨) and ω (also ⩊, ᘐ, ᨒ, ᨓ, ᨔ, W). Omicron could be written as a superscript (°), and upsilon with a crossbar ɣ. Theta (Θ) had alternative round forms (⊙) and square forms (⊟) as did delta (ȡ).

Great care should be taken when transcribing letters from a stone. Certain sets of letters are easily confused, especially when the surface of the stone has deteriorated or been damaged. Much may depend on the sensitivity of the eye to faint impressions of letters and on the ability to distinguish between accidental gouges and the engraver's chisel marks. When round forms are employed, Ɛ, C, O, and perhaps Θ are difficult to distinguish from one another when faint and worn. When square forms are used, ⊏ and E can easily be

3. A. Wilhelm, "Urkunden aus Messene," *ÖJh* 17 (1914): 1–120, esp. 2–48; A. Wilhelm, "Die lokrische Mädchinschrift," *ÖJh* 14 (1911): 163–256, esp. 249–56. Unlike Latin epigraphy, Greek did not entirely replace the monumental letters with cursive forms until the Byzantine period.

4. P. Gorissen studies the history of the *litterae lunatae* in "Litterae Lunatae," *AncSoc* 9 [1978]: 149–62).

confused, but not O, unless it is written in a square form (□). Similarly, some letters and combinations of letters can be misread, such as Γ, Π, TI, IT, and ΓΙ. The letter X is sometimes misread as Y or K. Lambda in the form of λ can be misunderstood as a damaged X.

2.02 Dating Inscriptions according to Paleography

The dating of Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions according to allegedly key developments of particular letter forms is notoriously difficult and unreliable because older letter forms persist alongside new forms. Little work has been done on this subject for the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Stephen Tracy's groundbreaking studies in Athenian and Samian epigraphical hands are the notable exception to this statement. His research will provide the foundation for similar paleographical studies in other locations.[5]

Tracy has demonstrated that the ability to recognize the hands of individual Attic letter cutters can provide a new way to date inscriptions, many of which are fragmentary and impossible to date by any other means. Tracy writes:

> the goal is to isolate in a given sample of lettering multiple individual peculiarities in the shape and spacing of the letters such that when another inscription reveals these same peculiarities one may feel safe in concluding that the same man inscribed both pieces. An important part of this, it must be stressed, is noting carefully the range of variation that a given cutter allows himself. Lettering does vary; cutters were not, and could not be, absolutely consistent. At the same time, they did tend, our evidence suggests, to cut rapidly and thus in their own style.[6]

By applying his method to the Attic letter cutters of 229–86 B.C., Tracy has demonstrated that the accepted dates for three Athenian archons are incorrect. Tracy's method is based on two well-tested assumptions: first, that the lettering on Attic inscriptions may be treated as a type of handwriting; second, that cutters normally inscribed their own particular lettering.

Tracy's method applies only to letter sizes ranging from ca. .005 meter to

5. See Stephen V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) (cf. *SEG* 40.295); *Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.* (Berkeley, 1995); "Identifying Epigraphical Hands," *GRBS* 11 (1970): 321–33; "Two Attic Letter-Cutters of the Third Century, 286/5–235/4 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 (1988): 303–22; "Hands in Samian Inscriptions of the Hellenistic Period," *Chiron* 20 (1990): 59–96 (cf. *SEG* 40.726).

6. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters*, 3.

ca. .01 meter (e.g., decrees); letters with a height greater than .012 meter (e.g., many dedications, statue bases, *horoi*, grave monuments) were cut differently (i.e., cut deeply with a furrowing technique) and therefore do not resemble the smaller-cut inscriptions. Tracy states that "the canon for the succession of styles in large letters has not yet been established in more than the most haphazard rule-of-thumb way." It is generally not possible to recognize a cutter's large-letter writing on the basis of the characteristics of his small-letter writing. Similarly, the letters of inscriptions cut in very small letters (.003–.004 meter), such as inventories and leases, are too small to allow for individual variations between cutters.

In the absence of more studies like Tracy's, it is not possible to date inscriptions precisely on the basis of letter forms. Older masons often continued or even revived the use of letter forms, formulae, layouts, and spellings characteristic of earlier periods, sometimes even mixing them indiscriminately with contemporary letter forms. This tendency may represent an attempt to make inscriptions look older and more venerable than they really were. For example, from Hadrian's reign onward, there was a general archaizing tendency in society, resulting in the use of archaic letter forms in inscriptions.[7]

Letter forms vary considerably from place to place, so changes in paleography attested in one location are not necessarily reliable for dating inscriptions in another location. For example, Louis Robert has analyzed the paleography of two decrees, engraved in the same year (273 B.C.) from two nearby Carian cities, Amyzon and Stratonikeia. Though they come from the same region in the same year and are both the same class of inscription (i.e., decrees), they display different letter forms.[8] Thus, dating by paleography is very unreliable and should be undertaken with great caution and a clear understanding of the principles involved.

Two methodological principles should be observed in any paleographical analysis. First, analysis should proceed on the basis of overall style, not individual letter forms. Whereas the paleography of fifth-century B.C. Athens was concerned with the graphic forms of individual letters, the Hellenistic period evinces a concern for the overall style. The only way one can generalize about paleographic style, as Kendrick Pritchett observes, is "to collect all available examples [of an overall style] and then to establish terminal dates."[9]

7. See M. L. Lazzarini, "L'arcaismo nelle epigrafi greche di età imperiale," *AION(ling)* 8 (1986): 147–53.

8. See *IAmyzon*, 120–22; *SEG* 33.1589.

9. W. Kendrick Pritchett, "The Three-Barred Sigma at Kos," *BCH* 87 (1963): 20–23, esp. 20 n. 3.

Second, analysis should have narrowly defined geographical parameters and should distinguish between public and private paleography. An analysis of letter forms in a small geographical area is likely to be more reliable than general surveys of large areas. Moreover, an analysis that fails to distinguish between public and private inscriptions will be unreliable because the paleography of public inscriptions tends to be far more conservative in spirit.[10] Whereas public inscriptions of the Roman period tend to display a limited range of characteristic and consistent scripts, private inscriptions manifest a far greater spectrum of letter forms.

By way of example of this methodology, the reader might consult C. B. Welles's detailed classification and chronology of Greek epigraphical alphabets in Gerasa (Palestine).[11] Welles identified five styles of alphabet and found the chronological spread of each type. He names these alphabets "square," "monumental," "tall and narrow," "oval," and "revised square."[12]

However, even Welles's approach is not without difficulties. M. Sartre has observed that such a presentation suggests a clearer pattern of development than was actually the case (*IGLSyria* XIII, pp. 32–35). Charlotte Roueché has remarked that "in looking at changes in epigraphic styles in the late Roman period, we are not confronting the development of completely new scripts, but rather a change in the range and type of letter forms considered appropriate for inscribed texts."[13] Thus, from the third century A.D. onward, it is not possible to discern a consistent development of letter styles as Welles's classification suggests. In fact, according to Roueché, one indication of lateness is the tendency to use different forms of the same letter in a single text.[14] This is not to rule out completely the possibility of dating on the basis of paleography. As John S. Kloppenborg Verbin has demonstrated in his dating of the Theodotos synagogue inscription (*CIJ* II 1404), in certain cases, paleographic analysis can make a significant contribution in this regard, especially when coupled with

10. For examples of the application of these two principles see Sterling Dow, "New Kinds of Evidence for Dating Polyeuktos," *AJA* 40 (1936): 57–70, esp. 58–59; W. Kendrick Pritchett, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 16 (1947): 184–92, esp. 188–89.

11. C. B. Welles, "The Inscriptions," in *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis,* ed. Carl H. Kraeling (New Haven, CT: American School of Oriental Research, 1938), 555–69; other surveys of letter forms can be found in some of the early epigraphic corpora, such as *IOlympia, IPriene,* and *IMagnMai;* for Crete see Angelos Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit,* Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 24 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 452–59.

12. Welles ("The Inscriptions," 358–67) recognizes that there is much overlapping between these styles and that none of them is entirely distinctive.

13. *IAphrodChr,* 331.

14. *IAphrodChr,* 332.

other forms of analysis.[15] All of the difficulties I have mentioned should caution the epigraphist against using letter forms as the only basis for dating inscriptions in the absence of more reliable supplementary indicators.

2.03 The Stoichedon Style

In the stoichedon style, the letters are aligned in rows vertically as well as horizontally (see fig. 6).[16] This grid is accomplished by assigning the same height and module (width) to every letter, regardless of its size, rather than spacing letters proportionally. The fact that the total number of letters in each line is the same allows one to determine the exact number of letters in mutilated lines with considerable accuracy.[17]

The stoichedon style was developed in the sixth century B.C. and became the dominant style of official Attic documents in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Its use declined in the third century B.C., until it was virtually abandoned in Attic by 225 B.C. This style was also widely used throughout the Greek world, especially in the Aegean islands, but gradually declined there in the third century B.C.[18] According to Sterling Dow, the decline of the stoichedon style was accompanied by the growth of a principle that was "always inherent in the minds of those who laid out inscriptions, [namely,] that lines should end with the ends of complete words or of syllables."[19] Thus, the stoichedon style was replaced by the so-called disjointed style, in which consecutive lines are not in register with one another, letters are proportionately spaced, and each line tends to begin with a complete word or syllable (see fig. 7).

Despite the general decline of the stoichedon style in the third century B.C., its use persisted, often displaying irregularities, such as leaving blank spaces or letter crowding to achieve syllabification.[20] For example, *IG* II² 1071, dating from the late first century B.C., is written in the stoichedon style, though it has contemporary letter forms.

15. John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, "Dating Theodotos (*CIJ* II 1404)," *JJS* 51, no. 5 (2000): 243–89.

16. See R. P Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1938).

17. However, sometimes the iota is combined with other letters into a single space.

18. See, e.g., *IG* IV, 926 (Epidaurus, 242–35 B.C.); *IG* II² 894 (Attica, 189/8 B.C.); *IG* II² 1001 (mid–II B.C.?); *IG* XI/4, 712 (Delos, early II B.C.); *IG* XII/9, 1133 (Aidepsos, northern Euboia, late II B.C.).

19. Sterling Dow, *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors,* Hesperia Suppl 1 (Athens: American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 1937), 30.

20. See Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.63.

Sporadic examples of the continuance of this style survive in the east in such places as Magnesia on the Maeander (*IMagnMai* 3; early III B.C.), Kolophon (ca. 200 B.C.),[21] Sebasteia (ca. 250 B.C.),[22] Cyprus (181–46 B.C.),[23] Geronthrae in Lykaonia,[24] and Lykosura (*IG* V/2, 514; II B.C.). Perhaps the latest example comes from Oenoanda (Lycia), dating from the III A.D.[25]

2.04 Punctuation

Word spaces are rare in Hellenistic inscriptions. Even in Roman inscriptions, word spacing was introduced very gradually, being found in only a minority of inscriptions. In some Attic decrees of the Hellenistic period, the name of the proposer of the decree is emphasized by introducing as many as six spaces, either immediately before the name or at the end of the previous line (e.g., *IG* II² 498, 455).

Instead of word spacing, engravers sometimes used interpuncts, that is, various types of punctuation marks separating words or phrases. In the classical and Hellenistic periods, the most common forms were the colon (:) and the tricolon (⁝).[26] However, the use of these punctuation marks could be exceedingly capricious, with the result that they bore no correlation to the grammatical structure of the text, sometimes even dividing single words (e.g., *IGAnt* 321).

By the imperial period, the colon and tricolon are rare, having been replaced by the single midline point (·). After A.D. 100 (and rarely in the first century A.D.), a variety of new lexical signs developed, especially during the reign of Hadrian, when the use of punctuation became widespread. The most common of these signs is the horizontal stroke placed above all or some of the letters of an abbreviation (see § 2.06.3). The following list of punctuation marks is representative.

21. See Maurice Holleaux, "Note sur une inscription de Colophon Nova," *BCH* 30 (1906): 349–58, esp. 352.

22. See Théodore Reinach, "Villes méconnues," *REG* 18 (1905): 159–65, esp. 159.

23. See E. A. Gardner, D. G. Hogarth, M. R. James, and R. Elsey Smith, "Excavations in Cyprus, 1887–88," *JHS* 9 (1888): 149–271, esp. 244, no. 74; *OGI* 149. For another fragment found more recently see T. B. Mitford, "Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus: Some Pre-Roman Inscriptions," *JHS* 57 (1937): 28–37, esp. 2, no. 7.

24. *IG* V/1, 1110 (after 146 B.C.).

25. See Rudolf Heberdey and Ernst Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien,* DenkschrWien 45 (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1896), 41–43; the inscription is reproduced in minuscule in *IGRR* III, 500.

26. E.g., two stacked points: *IBM* II, 172; three stacked points: *IG* IV, 566, 683; *LSAM* 30.

sigma (ϲ) and antisigma (Ↄ)
diple, or wedge (< , >)
asteriskos (*)
small horizontal stroke placed above letters ($\overline{\text{AYP}}$) or in midline position (AYP—)
˘ placed above letters (like the horizontal stroke) or ornamentally, to separate two names
oblique stroke (ʹ)
ᵀ (τέλος?)

Most frequently, these signs were used to set off abbreviated names, especially those of Roman origin (e.g., AYP·, AYPʹ), and abbreviated numerals (e.g., βʹ), sometimes appearing both before and after the abbreviations (e.g., > M >). Ornamental devices, such as an ivy leaf (☙), other leaf designs (e.g., ❧), or a triangle (Δ; Hadrianic), were often used in headings to mark the end of hexameters in metrical inscriptions or to fill up a space where a letter could not be carved without breaking the rules of syllabification.[27]

2.05 The Development of Abbreviations

Though the Greeks did not employ abbreviations nearly to the same extent as the Romans, abbreviations were used as a means of reducing labor and saving space on the stone's surface. An early system of abbreviation was developed in Egypt for recording the governmental activities of the Ptolemies on papyri, and this system was sometimes carried over into Egyptian inscriptions. Another notable center for the development of abbreviations was Rhodes. An important commercial center, it developed abbreviations for the repetitive formulae used in the accounting of commercial transactions.

Any system of abbreviation requires either that the meanings of abbreviations can be determined from the context or that they are based on a widely known convention. Roman inscriptions employed a consistent system of acrophonic abbreviations (i.e., by initial letter) and abbreviation by contraction (e.g., *cos* for *consul*). The universal system of Latin abbreviations was possible because nomenclature was standardized and because titles were fixed throughout the Roman world. In contrast, the political and social diversity of the Greek world made a systematic and consistent use of abbreviations impractical. Since

27. See Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.85.

Greek abbreviations were never standardized, the Greeks preferred to use abbreviations that were readily understandable from context.

Though local custom was important in the development of Greek abbreviations, the matter was ultimately left to the discretion of the drafter or engraver of the text, with many abbreviations being adapted from the Latin system. Hugh Mason (*Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis,* American Studies in Papyrology 13 [Toronto: Hakkert, 1974]) has documented the Greeks' proclivity for borrowing Latin abbreviations for official titles and offices.

The use of Greek abbreviations prior to the first century A.D. is extremely limited. In fact, it is not until the second century A.D. that abbreviations were widely used. Egypt and Rhodes led the way in the invention of abbreviations that were adopted elsewhere.[28] Rhodes resisted the use of the Roman system of abbreviations until the Flavian period (A.D. 69–96), preferring instead its own system of ligatures and overwritten letters (e.g., *IG* XII/1, 4).

In the second and third centuries A.D., many Greek terms were frequently abbreviated, and most Roman names and titles had corresponding Greek abbreviations.[29] New titles adopted by the Antonines (A.D. 138–92) and the Severan dynasties appear almost from the start in their abbreviated forms:[30] e.g., Αὐτ(οκράτορα) Κ(αίσαρα) Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Σεου(ῆρον) Ἀντωνεῖον Σεβ(αστὸν) Εὐσ(εβῆ) Εὐτυχῆ Τ(ίτος) Ἀντ(ώνιος) Ἀλφῆνος Ἀρίγνωτος.[31] At about the same time, early Christian abbreviations appear in Syria,[32] Asia Minor,[33] and Egypt.[34] Michael Avi-Yonah and others have provided lists of abbreviations that appear in dated inscriptions.[35]

28. KA$^{\Theta}$OIKO$^{\Delta}$ = καθ(αιρεθέντα) οἰκοδ(ομήθη) [= ᾠκοδομήθη] (*ICairoMus* 28–29, no. 9286B); [Ἐ]μνήσθη | Ἀσκληπιάδης | ἰατρὸς λεγεῶ(νος) | Β′ Τρα(ϊανῆς) Ἰσχυρᾶς. | ΙΓ′ Ἀντωνίνου με | χε<ι>ρᾱ′ (*IEg*Baillet 2.396, no. 1575; cf. infra § 7.11).

29. E.g, the first extant abbreviated titles for a Roman emperor occur on a bilingual milestone dating from II A.D.; cf. J. A. R. Munro, "Some Pontic Milestones," *JHS* 20 (1900): 159–66, esp. 163.

30. See Georges Seure, "Nicopolis ad Istrum: Étude historique et épigraphique," *RA* 10 (1907): 413–28, esp. 416.

31. *TAM* V/2, 913B (Caracalla; A.D. 211–17, Thyatira).

32. Μν(ησθῇ) Εἴρακος (graffiti, A.D. 232/3; *IDuraRep* VI, no. 724).

33. Χ(ριστο)ῦ (L. 1); θ(εο)υδέος (L. 5) (W. M. Calder, "The Epigraphy of the Anatolian Heresies," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay,* ed. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923], 59–91, esp. 71).

34. XY (= χριστοῦ) in the liturgical sense of εὐλογία (Gustave Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* [Cairo: Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907], 7–8, no. 33A; cf. 5, no. 21); ΙΣ ΧΣ (= Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) (no. 33B); KY (= Κυρίου) (no. 33G).

35. M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C.–A.D. 110),* Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine Suppl. to vol. 9, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), reprinted in Al. N. Oikonomides, comp., *Greek Abbreviations: Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts, and Early Printed Books* (Chicago: Ares, 1974), 1–125; see esp. 43–44. Cf. Wilhelm Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik,* 2 vols. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1902–7), 2:524–32 (Attica); Henry Cohen, R. Cagnat, and J. C. Egbert, *The Coin-Inscriptions and Epigraphical Abbreviations of Imperial Rome* (Chicago: Ares, 1978).

2.06 Methods of Abbreviation

The two principal methods of abbreviating words are by contraction and by suspension. The term *contraction* refers to the practice of omitting one or more letters in the middle of a word (e.g., βφ for βενεφικιάριος).[36] Abbreviation by contraction is rare in Greek inscriptions prior to the fourth century A.D.[37] Most Greek abbreviations are made by suspension or truncation, that is, the suspending or omitting of letters from the end of a word.

In some cases of suspension, only the suffix is dropped. More usually, all but the first one, two, or three letters are omitted. Hence, a list of officials might read: ΑΡΧ(ων) ὁ δεῖνα, ΒΑΣ(ιλεύς) ὁ δεῖνα, ΠΟΛ(εμάρχος) ὁ δεῖνα. When only the first letter remains, this is known as acrophonic abbreviation, as is the case of the following dedication from Syria: Κ(υρίῳ) Ὑ(ψίστῳ) Δ(ιὶ) Κ(λαυδιανίων) Λ(ευκαδίων) π(όλεως) ἐ(πηκόῳ) σ(ωτῆρι) Τ(ίτος?) Α(ὔλου?) υ(ἱὸς) Τ(ερέντιος?).[38]

Many of the frequently used abbreviations for Roman names and dynastic names are listed in table 11 (see § 5.12). Deme names could also be abbreviated, except in the case of epitaphs.[39]

Though abbreviations are sometimes unmarked and therefore difficult to identify, many abbreviations are indicated by raising or changing the position or shape of one or more letters, by the use of ligatures, or by the use of abbreviation marks.

2.06.1 Raising or Changing Letter Position or Shape

Abbreviations are often indicated by raising the final letter(s) of the abbreviated form (e.g., ΑΓΑ $^{\theta}$ = ἀγαθός). Such raised letters might also be inverted so that they appear upside down (e.g., ΠΡΑ^{L} = πραγματευτής), they might be inserted between the previous two letters (e.g., A^{x}P = ἀρχαῖος), or they

36. See Robert, *Hellenica,* X, 172–77.

37. For a detailed treatment of the subject see Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations,* 25–29.

38. See René Mouterde, "Monuments et inscriptions de Syrie et du Liban," *MélBeyr* 25, no. 3 (1942–43), 23–86, esp. 28–37, 65–73; cf. Robert, *BE* 60 [1947]: 205).

39. See the table of Attic deme names (§ 4.19, table 7); on variations in the spelling of abbreviations of Attic demotics see D. Whitehead, "Abbreviated Athenian Demotics," *ZPE* 81 (1990): 105–61; *SEG* 40.286.

TABLE 2. Select List of Greek Abbreviations

Α, ΑΓΑΘ	ἀγαθός
Α	ἅγιος
ΑΓΙΩΤ	ἁγιώτατος
ΑΝΕΘΗ	ἀνέθηκεν
ΑΝΘ, ΑΝΘΥΠ	ἀνθυπάτος (*proconsul*)
ΑΝΤΙΣΤΡ	ἀντιστράτηγος (*propraetor*)
ΑΠΕΛ	ἀπελεύθερος
ΑΠΙΟΝ	ἀπιόντος
ΑΡΧ	ἄρχων; ἀρχαῖος
ΑΡΧΜΕΓ	ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος
ΑΥΓ	Αὔγουστος
ΑΥΓΓ	Αὔγουστοι
ΒΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΣ	β′-ἀνδρικός (*IIvir*)
ΒΑΣ	βασιλεύς
ΒΕΝΦΙΚ	βενεφικιάριος (*beneficiarius*)
ΒΟΥ	βουλευτής
ΒΣ, ΒΟΗΘ	βοηθός
ΒΦ	βενεφικιάριος
ΓΑΝΔΡΟΣ	γ′-ἄνδρος (*IIIviri*)
ΓΝΩ	γνῶσις
ΓΡ	γραμμάρια
Δ	Διί
ΔΑΝΔΡΕΣ	δ′-ἄνδρες (*IVvir[i] viarum curandarum*)
ΔΕ	δημαρχικὴ ἐξουσία
ΔΕΣΠ	δεσπότης
ΔΗ	δῆμος
ΔΙΑ/ΔΙΑˢ	διάκονος
ΔΜ	Δὶς Μάνιβους (*dis Manibus*)
ΔΡ	δῆμος Ῥωμαίων (*populus Romanus*)
Ε	ἐπήκοος
ΕΚΑΙΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ	ε′-καὶ-ι′-ἄνδρος (*XVviri sacris faciundis*)
ΕΚΔ	ἔκδικος
ΕΝΔΟΞΩΤ	ἐνδοξωτάτος
ΕΝΘ	ἐνθάδε
ΕΠΙΤΡ	ἐπίτροπος
ΕΤ	ἔτους
ΕΥΣ	εὐσεβής
ΕΥΞΑΜ	εὐξάμενος
ΗΓΕ	ἡγεμών
ΗΓΕΜΟΝ	ἡγεμονία
ΗΜ	ἡμέρα
ΗΜΝ	ἡμῶν
ΗΟΥΟΚΑΤ	ἠουοκᾶτος (*evocatus*)
Θ/ΘΣ, ΘΥ, ΘΩ, ΘΝ	θεός, -οῦ, -ῷ, -όν
ΘΒ	θεῷ βοηθοῦντι; θεοσεβής
ΘΔ	Θεοῖς δαίμοσι
ΘΕΚΑ, ΘΚ	θεοῖς καταχθονίοις

TABLE 2—*Continued*

ΘΚΤΟ	θεόκτιστος
ΘΥ, ΘΥΓ	θυγάτηρ
ΘΧ	θεοῖς χθονίοις
ΙΑΝΔΡΕΣ	ι′-ἄνδρες (*Xviri*)
ΙΕΑΝΔΡΕΣ	ιε′-ἄνδρες (*XVviri*)
ΙΜΠ	ἰμπεράτωρ (*imperator*)
ΙΝΔ	ἰνδικτίων (*indictio*)
ΙΣ, ΙΥ, ΙΩ, ΙΝ, ΙΥ	Ἰησοῦς (nom.), Ἰησοῦ (gen./dat.), Ἰησοῦν (acc.), Ἰησοῦ (voc.)
ΙΧ	Ἰησοῦς Χριστός
ΙΧΘΟΥC	Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ
Κ	κεῖται
Κ, Ҝ	καί, κέ (= καί)
Κ, ΚΑΙΣ	Καῖσαρ
Κ, ΚΣ, ΚΥ, ΚΩ, ΚΝ	Κύριος, -ου, -ῳ, -ον
ΚΑΘΟΣΙΩΜ	καθοσιώμενος
ΚΑΡΧΗ	κ′-ἀρχή (*XXviri*)
ΚΛΑΣ	κλάσσης (*classis*)
ΚΟΙΝ	κοινωνοί
ΚΟΛ	κολωνία (*colonia*)
ΚΟΜ	κόμης
ΚΟΜΜ	κομμεντάρια (*commentaria*)
ΚΡ	κράτιστος (*egregius* or *clarissimus*)
ΚΣ	Κύριος
ΚΩΣ	κωνσοῦλ (*consul*)
Λ	λίτρα
ΛΑΜ, ΛΑΜΠΡΟ	λαμπρότατος (*clarissimus*)
ΛΕΓ	λεγιών (*legio*)
ΛΟΥΔ	λοῦδοι (*ludi, munera*)
Μ, Ṁ	μίλιον
ΜΑΓ	μάγειρος
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΡ	μεγαλοπρεπέστατος
ΜΗ	μήτηρ
ΜΗ, Μ, ΜΣ	μήν, μηνός
ΜΗΤΚΑΣΤ	μήτηρ κάστρων
ΜΗΤΡΟΠ	μητρόπολις
ΜΝ, Ṁ	μηνός
ΜΝ	μνησθῇ; μνημεῖον
ΜΧ	μνήμης χάριν
ΟΒΟ	ὀβολῶν
ΟΙΚΟΝ	οἰκονόμος
ΟΥΕΤ	οὐετρανός (*veteranus*)
ΟΥΗΞΙΛΛΑΤ	οὐηξιλλατίων (*vexillatio*)
ΟΥΙΓΟΥΛ	οὐίγουλες (*vigiles*)
ΟΦ	ὀφ(φ)ικιᾶλις (*officialis*)
Π	πῖλος; πόλις; πρεσβευτής
ΠΑΑ	πάλος α′ (= πρῶτος πάλος)
ΠΑΛ, ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΡ	παλαιστρατιώτης

TABLE 2—*Continued*

ΠΕΡΙΒΛ	περίβλεπτος
ΠΟ	πόλις
ΠΟΛ	πολεμάρχος
ΠΠ	πατὴρ πατρίδος (*pater patriae*);
ΠΠ	πριμοπιλάριος, πριμοπῖλος, πρῶτος πῖλος (*primus pilus*)
ΠΡ	πραίφεκτος (*praefectus*)
ΠΡΑΓ	πραγματευτής
ΠΡΑΙΣΙΔ	πραισίδιον (*praesidium*)
ΠΡΕ, ΠΡΕΣΒ	πρεσβύτερος
ΠΡΕΣΒ/ΠΡΕΣΒˢ	πρεσβευτής (*legatus*)
ΠΡΙΜΟΠΙΛ	πριμοπιλάριος (*primus pilus*)
ΠΡΟ	προσφορά
ΠΡΩΤΕ	πρωτεύων
P or ⸗ (tachygram)	ἑκατοναρχία (*centuria*)
ϛ	ἔτους
Σ	σωτὴρ
ΣΕΒ	Σεβαστός
ΣΕΒΒ, ΣΕΒΒΒ	Σεβαστοὶ δύο, Σεβαστοὶ τρεῖς
ΣΕΒΜΕΓ	Σεβαστὸς Μέγιστος
Σ	στρατιώτης
ΣΤΡ	στρατηγός
Τ	τάφος, τοῦρμα (*turma*)
ΤΡΙΒ	τριβοῦνος (*tribunus*)
Υ	υἱός; υἱοθεσία; ὑπατεία; ὕψιστος
ΦΛΑΜΙΝ	φλαμινάλιος (*flaminalis*)
ΦΡ	φρουμεντάριος (*frumentarius*)
ΦΥ	φύσις
Χ, ΧΣ, ΧΥ, ΧΩ, ΧΝ	Χριστός, -οῦ, -ῷ, -όν
ΧΑΡΤ	χαρτουλάριος (*chartularius*)
ΧΑΧΧΚ	χρυσοῦ ἀργύρου χαλκοῦ χαράξεως κατασκευῆς
ΧΜΓ	Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ
ΧΡ	ἑκατονάρχης (*centurio*)
ΧΡ ΧΡ	χρησμῷ χρηματισθεὶς
ΧΡ ΧΡ	χριστιανοὶ χριστιανοῖς
ΨΒ	ψήφισμα βουλῆς
ΨΒΔ	ψήφισμα βουλῆς καὶ δήμου
ΩΚΟΔ	ὠκοδομήθη
ΩΡΔ	ὠρδινάριος (*ordinarius*)

might be positioned over the last letter of the abbreviated form (e.g., ΔΕΣ⸗ = δεσπότης). If a word is abbreviated by a single letter, this letter might be positioned over the preceding word (e.g., Τ̊Ν = τὸν δοῦλον).[40]

2.06.2 Ligatures

To save space, two or more letters were sometimes combined into a single graphic form. Such forms are known as ligatures. They do not appear in Attic inscriptions until Roman times. Their use is conditioned by the shape of letters. Letters with upright strokes (e.g., Π Μ Τ Ρ Η Γ Ε Ν) can easily be combined along their vertical strokes (ΜΡ, ΡΗ, ΜΗ, ΜΝ, ΝΕ, ΤΕ, ΤΡ) or attached to a sloping letter stroke (Λ, Υ, Α) or even to a rounded letter stroke (ΦΝ).[41] Three letters could also be constructed into a ligature around a central Η (ΝΗΜ), Ν (ΜΝΡ), or Τ (ΤΡ).[42] Perhaps the most common of all ligatures is Κ, which stands for καί (καί).

Compendia are symbols produced by putting a letter within or on top of another letter (e.g., ⸗ = πρεσβύτερος; similarly, ϖ is equivalent to τω, whereas ϖ̃ is rendered ων). Three letters can be constructed into a compendium around a Θ (e.g.,), Ρ (e.g.,), or Τ (e.g.,).[43] Two of the most common examples are Ο (for οι) and ϑ for ου (e.g., Τ ϑ/ϑ = τοῦ; Θ ϑ = Θεοῦ).

With the exception of their use in some acrophonic numbers, compendia do not appear in Attic inscriptions until the Roman period. The term *monogram* refers to a sign composed of a group of letters that forms a recognizable whole, such as the christogram ☧ for Χριστός.[44] Ligatures, compendia, and monograms can be very difficult to identify when the stone is worn. When transcribing a stone, copyists of previous centuries tended to resolve abbreviated forms, rather than reproducing them. If these abbreviated forms are not printed in their full graphic form in the text, they should be mentioned in the lemma.[45]

40. For fuller treatment see Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations,* 30–31.

41. See Larfeld, *Handbuch,* 2:513–15.

42. See *IBM* II 175, LL. 8–9, 11 (Tomis, II A.D.); *IBM* I 44, L. 2 (*IG* II² 2191) (Athens, ca. A.D. 200).

43. See Wilhelm Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 3d ed., HbA I.5 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1914) 214; Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.108–9, § 5.0125.

44. See Larfeld, *Handbuch,* 2:535; Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 281; Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.109–10, § 5.0125.

45. E.g., P. Herrmann, the editor of *TAM* V, joins letters underneath with a curved line to indicate that they have been joined with a ligature in some way (e.g., *TAM* V/2, 933 = *CIG* 3504).

2.06.3 Abbreviation Marks

Engravers developed the practice of using abbreviation signs to indicate that a word had been abbreviated (see § 2.04). A raised dot was used, placed either beside the abbreviation (e.g., Α· = Αὖλος) or above it (e.g., Ȧ). If the abbreviation consisted of a single letter, the letter could be "bracketed" on each side with raised dots (e.g., ·Φ·, ·Μ·). A colon or tricolon was sometimes used instead of a raised dot (e.g., ΔΗ:).

The most common of all abbreviation signs was the horizontal stroke placed above those letters affected by the abbreviation or, less frequently, beneath the letter(s). These are often used in combination with interpuncts (e.g., $\overline{\text{ΑΥΡ}}$·).[46]

ΑΝ$\overline{\Omega}$Ν = ἀν(θρώπ)ων
$\overline{\Theta\text{Η}}$ = θή(κη)
$\overline{\text{Ι}\Omega}$ = Ἰω(άννου)
ΚΑ$\overline{\Sigma}$ = Καῖσ(αρ)
$\overline{\Pi\text{Ρ}}$ΙΑΡΧ = π(ατ)ριάρχ(ης)
$\overline{\text{Τ}\Omega}$ = τῶ(ν)
$\overline{\text{Χ}}$ = χ(αῖρε)

A horizontal stroke was also used when one letter was written for a double letter (e.g., ΠΛΗ$\overline{\text{Μ}}$ΕΛΗΜΑΤΑ = πλημμελήματα). The use of the horizontal stroke is especially common with *nomina sacra.*

$\overline{\Theta}$/$\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ = Θεός, $\overline{\Theta\text{Υ}}$ = Θεοῦ (e.g., see fig. 8), $\overline{\Theta\Omega}$ = Θεῷ, $\overline{\Theta\text{Ν}}$ = Θεόν, $\overline{\Theta\text{Ε}}$ = Θεέ
$\overline{\Theta\text{Ε}}$/$\overline{\Theta\text{Κ}}$ΟΣ = θεοτόκος
$\overline{\text{Ι}\Sigma}$ = Ἰησοῦς, $\overline{\text{Ι}\text{Υ}}$ = Ἰησοῦ
$\overline{\text{Κ}}$/$\overline{\text{Κ}\Sigma}$ = Κύριος, $\overline{\text{Κ}\text{Υ}}$ = Κύριος/Κυρίου, $\overline{\text{Κ}\Omega}$ = Κυρίῳ, $\overline{\text{Κ}\text{Ν}}$ = Κύριον, $\overline{\text{Κ}\text{Ε}}$ = κύριε
$\overline{\text{Χ}\Sigma}$ = Χριστός, $\overline{\text{Χ}\text{Υ}}$ = Χριστοῦ, $\overline{\text{Χ}\Omega}$ = Χριστῷ, $\overline{\text{Χ}\text{Ν}}$ = Χριστόν, $\overline{\text{Χ}\text{Ε}}$ = Χριστέ[47]

Another popular abbreviation sign is the oblique stroke (e.g., Π′ = Πόπλιος, ΖΩΠΥ′ = Ζωπύρου). Other abbreviation signs include a raised *s*

46. See § 5.12 (table 11); for variations in this practice see Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations,* 33–36.

47. On this and ΧΣΜΓ, ΧΘΓ, ΚΜΓ, ΘΜΓ, ΓΜΧ, ΧΜΓΡ, and ΧΜ see Tomasz Derda, "Some Remarks on the Christian Symbol ΧΜΓ," *JJurP* 22 (1992): 21–27 (*SEG* 33.1605, 36.793, 39.1838, 42.1828).

(e.g., ΠΡΕCB^{s} = πρεσβύτερος, ΔΙΑ^{s} = διάκονος), a wedge (e.g., PA$^{\cdot}$ = ʿΡαβίριος[48]), an ivy leaf (e.g., CEB$^{\bullet}$ = Σεβαστός), a triangle (Δ), a raised *x* or an asteriskos (e.g., Δ^{x}/Δ* = δάκτυλος), and a sigma and antisigma (^{c}/^{ɔ}).[49]

In the first century A.D., ligatures were the most common form of abbreviation, though the oblique stroke (ʹ) and the raised dot (·) were also popular. The raised dot and horizontal stroke came to predominate in the second century A.D., though other forms were also used, such as the raised *x*, the asteriskos (*), and the wedge (<). Many other novel and idiosyncratic signs, too numerous to list here, were also then employed.

2.07 Numerals

There are three ways of representing numerals in inscriptions: they can be written out in full as words, represented as acrophonic numerals (see § 2.08), or represented as alphabetic numerals (see § 2.09). Numbers written out in full were regarded as more dignified and were less liable to misreading (see table 3). The cardinal numbers from 5 to 199 are indeclinable. Ordinals and cardinals from 200 onward are declined like ἀγαθός.[50]

2.08 Acrophonic Numerals

The so-called acrophonic system of numeral signs is also known as the "initial" or "decimal" system. The term *acrophonic* refers to the use of the initial letter of the word by which the number is known in order to represent the number (e.g., Δ = δέκα/10). The term *acrophonic* is not entirely apt, since, as Tod observes, "there is no common principle running consistently through all these systems and determining every sign comprised in each."[51]

The Attic acrophonic system employs six numerical signs: Γ/Π = πέντε/5, Δ = δέκα/10, H = ἑκατόν/100, X = χίλιοι/1000, M = μύριοι/10,000. The numeral 1 is represented by a single upright stroke (I). In addition to these symbols are four compendia based on the symbol Π (in its earlier form, Γ) for 50, 500, 5,000, and 50,000 (see table 4.)[52]

48. Nomen (*ISmyrna* II, 771, L. 26).
49. See Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations,* 38.
50. See Threatte, *Grammar,* 2.412–45, § 65.010–31.
51. Marcus N. Tod, "The Greek Numeral Notation," *BSA* 18 (1911–12): 98–132, esp. 127.
52. See Tod, "Greek Numeral Notation," 100–101; Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.110–13, § 5.021; Larfeld, *Handbuch,* 2:543–46; Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 290–93.

TABLE 3. Cardinal and Ordinal Numerals

1	εἷς, μία, ἕν	πρῶτος
2	δύο	δεύτερος
3	τρεῖς/τρία	τρίτος
4	τέσσαρες, τέσσαρα	τέταρτος, -η, -ον
5	πέντε	πέμπτος
6	ἕξ	ἕκτος
7	ἑπτά	ἕβδομος
8	ὀκτώ	ὄγδοος
9	ἐννέα	ἔνατος
10	δέκα	δέκατος, -η, -ον
11	ἕνδεκα	ἑνδέκατος
12	δώδεκα	δωδέκατος
13	τρεῖς/τρία καὶ δέκα/τρεισκαίδεκα	τρίτος καὶ δέκατος
14	τέτταρες/τέτταρα καὶ δέκα	τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος
15	πεντεκαίδεκα	πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος
16	ἑκκαίδεκα	ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος
17	ἑπτακαίδεκα	ἕβδομος καὶ δέκατος
18	ὀκτωκαίδεκα	ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος
19	ἐννεακαίδεκα	ἔνατος καὶ δέκατος
20	εἴκοσι(ν)	εἰκοστός, -ή, -όν
21	εἷς καὶ εἴκοσι(ν)/εἴκοσι (καὶ) εἷς	πρῶτος καὶ εἰκοστός
30	τριάκοντα	τριακοστός
40	τεσσαράκοντα	τετταρακοστός
50	πεντήκοντα	πεντηκοστός
60	ἑξήκοντα	ἑξηκοστός
70	ἑβδομήκοντα	ἑβδομηκοστός
80	ὀγδοήκοντα	ὀγδοηκοστός
90	ἐνενήκοντα	ἐνενηκοστός
100	ἑκατόν	ἑκατοστός, -ή, -όν
200	διακόσιοι, -αι, -α	διακοσιοστός
300	τριακόσιοι	τριακοσιοστός
400	τετρακόσιοι	τετρακοσιοστός
500	πεντακόσιοι	πεντακοσιοστός
600	ἑξακόσιοι	ἑξακοσιοστός
700	ἑπτακόσιοι	ἑπτακοσιοστός
800	ὀκτακόσιοι	ὀκτακοσιοστός
900	ἐνακόσιοι	ἐνακοσιοστός
1,000	χίλιοι, -αι, -α	χιλιοστός, -ή, όν
2,000	δισχίλιοι	δισχιλιοστός
3,000	τρισχίλιοι	τρισχιλιοστός
10,000	μύριοι, -αι, -α	μυριοστός
20,000	δισμύριοι	δισμυριοστός
100,000	δεκακισμύριοι	δεκακισμυριοστός

TABLE 4. Acrophonic Numerals in Attica

I	1	H	100
II	2	HΔ	110
III	3	H𐅄	150
IIII	4	HH	200
Π	5	𐅅	500
ΠI	6	𐅅H	600
ΠII	7	X	1,000
Δ	10	XH	1,100
ΔII	12	𐅆	5,000
ΔΠ	15	M	10,000
ΔΠI	16	𐅇	50,000
ΔΔ	20		
ΔΔΠ	25		
ΔΔΔ	30		
𐅄/𐅄/𐅄	50		
𐅄Δ	60		

When more than one symbol is represented, the number is a sum of the component symbols, the symbols themselves being arranged in descending order: thus 𐅇MM𐅆X𐅅HHHΔΔΠII = 76,827. Likewise, when sums of money are concerned, the higher denominations always precede the lower. Since acrophonic numerals are always marked off by spaces or punctuation marks on either side of the numeral and are sometimes different in form from Greek letters, there is little danger of confusing them with letters.

Beyond Attica, the acrophonic symbols and their meanings varied from city to city. When working with acrophonic systems elsewhere, the reader should consult Marcus Tod's exhaustive study of the acrophonic systems in use throughout the Hellenistic world.[53]

The acrophonic system was used for cardinal numbers and currency, but not for ordinal numbers. This precluded its use in dates and in the counting of prytanies (see § 13.02). It was also used for units of value, both weights and measures (e.g., T = τάλαντον [ca. 57 lb.]; Σ/ϟ = στατήϱ or στάδιον).

The acrophonic system was in use in Attica throughout the classical and Hellenistic periods until about 95–90 B.C., at which time it was replaced by the alphabetic system (see § 2.09). Elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, there are examples of its survival through to the first and second centuries A.D.[54]

53. Tod, "Greek Numeral Notation," 98–132.

54. See Tod, "Greek Numeral Notation," 129–30; Marcus Tod, "Further Notes on the Greek Acrophonic Numerals," *BSA* 28 (1926–27): 141–57; Marcus Tod, "The Greek Acrophonic Numerals," *BSA* 37 (1936–37): 236–58 (alphabetic list of places, p. 258).

TABLE 5. Currency Symbols

T (= τάλαντον)	1 talent (= 6,000 dr.)
M (= μνᾶ)	1 mina (= 100 dr.)
Σ (= στατήϱ)	stater
I / < / Z / ΔP / X / Ж	drachma (= 6 obols)
I	1 obol
C	½ obol (ἡμιωβέλιον)
Ↄ or T	¼ obol (τεταϱτημόϱιον)
X	1 chalcus (χαλκοῦς) (⅛ obol)
ΔHN / Ӿ / ⋌ /	denarii
∠	½ denarius
₣	5 talents
Ϙ	10 talents
Ⱶ	100 talents
⚹	1,000 talents

When the acrophonic system is used for sums of money, the unit is usually drachmae (see, e.g., *SIG*³ 1014B; *LSAM* 25). When specifying currency, the symbol < or ⊢ (not I) denotes one drachma, even when the term δϱαχμαί is written before or after the number. The symbol I was reserved for the obol. It can be repeated up to five times. The symbol C denotes one-half obol, while both Ↄ and T (= τεταϱτημόϱιον) represent one-fourth obol. The symbol X represents the chalcus (one-eighth obol). The talent, represented by T (= 6,000 dr.), was the major denomination above the drachma (e.g., TTTT = four talents). It also appears in ligature form (see table 5). The mina (= 100 dr.) is not usually represented.

2.09 Alphabetic Numerals

The alphabetic system became widely used alongside the acrophonic system in the Hellenistic period.[55] It is a quasi-decimal system that requires twenty-seven letters, nine for the numerals 1–9, nine for the tens (10–90), and nine for the hundreds (100–900). Since the Greek alphabet consisted of only twenty-four letters, one new symbol for each group had to be adopted. In Attica, the symbol Ћ was used for the numeral 6, replacing the earlier form Ϝ′ (*digamma*), which was not used in Attica in the Roman period. Outside of Attica, the symbol ϛ′ (for στίγμα) was usually used. The symbol Ϟ′ was used for 90, though Ϙ′ (*qoppa*) was used in financial texts (e.g., *IG* II² 2776, LL. 38,

55. See Marcus N. Tod, "The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica," *BSA* 45 (1950): 126–39; Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 293–98.

TABLE 6. Alphabetic Numerals

Α′	1	ΚΓ′	23
Β′	2	ΚΔ′	24
Γ′	3	ΚΕ′	25
Δ′	4	Λ′	30
Ε′	5	Μ′	40
Ϝ′ or ϛ′ or ϝ′	6	Ν′	50
Ζ′	7	Ξ′	60
Η′	8	Ο′	70
Θ′	9	Π′	80
Ι′	10	ϙ′ or Ϙ′	90
ΙΑ′	11	Ρ′	100
ΙΒ′	12	Σ′	200
ΙΓ′	13	Τ′	300
ΙΔ′	14	Υ′	400
ΙΕ′	15	Φ′	500
ΙϜ′	16	Χ′	600
ΙΖ′	17	Ψ′	700
ΙΗ′	18	Ω′	800
ΙΘ′	19	↑′ or Ϡ	900
Κ′	20	,Α	1,000
ΚΑ′	21	,Β	2,000
ΚΒ′	22	,Γ	3,000

56, 109 [A.D. 117–38]). The symbol ↑′ was employed for 900, replacing Ϡ (*sampi*), which had been used earlier (see, e.g., *IG* II² 2776, LL. 11, 87, 113, 136). The alphabetic numerals are in table 6.

Alphabetic numerals were usually arranged in descending order (e.g., ΡΙΑ′ = 111), though there are many exceptions to this rule, both in Attica and elsewhere (e.g., ΓΙ′, ΘΙ′).

By convention, editors identify alphabetic numerals by marking them with an oblique stroke to the right of the number, above the line, for numbers up to 999 (e.g., ΡΝΕ′ = 155). For numbers greater than 999, a diagonal stroke is added before the number, below the line (e.g., ,ΑΩΙ′ = 1810).

Inscriptions do not use the symbols ,Ι, ,Κ, ,Λ, ,Μ, and so on for multiples of 10,000 but fall back on acrophonic abbreviations. The acrophonic symbol Μ (for μυριάς or μύριοι) is expanded to ΜΥ, or 𐅵, for 10,000, to differentiate it from the alphanumeric Μ (= 40). The symbols for 20,000, 30,000, and 1,000,000 are 𐅶, 𐅷, and 𐅸, respectively. Fractions were expressed using the same integers as cardinal numbers, with the addition of a diacritical mark (often an oblique stroke) to indicate the fractional nature of the value. Cardinal numbers were sometimes differentiated from fractions by placing a bar, a dot, or another symbol over the number.[56]

The recognition of alphabetic numerals in inscriptions can be difficult because their forms are indistinguishable from normal letter forms and because they are sometimes set in continuous text without spacing or punctuation. The possibility of confusion is greatly reduced when blank spaces or punctuation is introduced before and/or after the numeric symbol. By far, the most common punctuation is the horizontal stroke, placed above the numeral (e.g., $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}}$ = ιη′, $\overline{\text{ΗΝΡ}}$ = ηνϱ′), though many other diacritical marks are also found.[57]

Alphabetic numerals had a wider range of application than acrophonic numerals. They were used for both cardinal numbers (e.g., for currency, weights, measures) and ordinal numbers, especially to specify the days of months (e.g., Βοηδρομιῶνος ηι′) and years.[58] In epitaphs they were sometimes employed to state length of time in years, months, and even days, as in ἔζησεν ἔτη ζ′ μῆν(ας) θ′ ἡμ(έρας) κη′ [he/she lived seven years, nine months, and twenty-eight days] (*IG* II² 10683).

An alphabetic numeral preceded by the article τὸ was used to indicate a repeated tenure of office or military service, as in the formula στρατηγὸς τὸ δ′ (general for the fourth time).[59] Such phrases as ἡ βουλὴ τῶν φ′, ἡ βουλὴ τῶν χ′, or ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ψν′ in Attic inscriptions state the size of the Athenian council (500, 600, and 750, respectively).

When alphabetic numerals were employed for currency, they were frequently preceded by ΔΡ (= δραχμαί), sometimes in ligature form.[60] The symbol Ж (usually printed in publications as *) is used for both drachmae (see, e.g., *IG* II² 1368, LL. 38, 40, 55, 90, 161) and denarii (*IG* II² 2776). Currency given in the form of alphabetic numerals was sometimes marked off from the text with symbols, some of which are identical to those used for abbreviations in general (e.g., ·Ā·, Ā᾽, ῡĀ̲ῡ, ЖΑ, ЖĀ̲ῡ).

56. See Threatte, *Grammar*, 2.446–48, § 65.04.

57. E.g., a raised point (Α· or ·Α·), a colon or tricolon (: ⁝), a wedge (Α< or >Α<), an antisigma (Ⱥ), diagonal strokes (,Α,), an underlined upsilon (υ̲Α), an elongated S shape above the numerical sign (S̄); see Tod, "Alphabetic Numeral System," 136.

58. Tod ("Alphabetic Numeral System," 132) discusses whether expressions of the type γι′ might not mean γ ἰ(σταμένου).

59. See Tod, "Alphabetic Numeral System," 133; cf. cognate expressions, such as τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ τρίτον, etc.

60. See Tod, "Alphabetic Numeral System," 131.

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3

Inscriptions as Archaeological Artifacts

In early collections of inscriptions, such as *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1828–77), inscriptions are treated as if they were two-dimensional texts, analogous to manuscripts. Such printed texts are often not accompanied by a photograph or drawing of the inscription or of the monument on which it was engraved.[1] In many cases, no information is provided regarding the height, width, and thickness of the stone, its paleographic features, or the layout of the text.

Such publications have an illusory quality about them. They conceal significant information, with the result that the texts tend to eclipse the archaeological monuments or artifacts upon which they are engraved. The reader is left with the impression that inscriptions are texts like any other texts, rather than intrinsic parts of the archaeological artifacts.

In correction of this regrettable practice, Giancarlo Susini remarks that the entire monument should "be seen as inseparable from the inscription, that is to say, from that complex of technical and traditional factors which leads to the act of carving it."[2] Similarly, J. M. Reynolds emphasizes the importance of "the study of the stones themselves rather than disembodied texts of the great published collections."[3] Until recently, this has been one of the most neglected aspects of epigraphy.[4]

1. The *MAMA* series was exemplary for its emphasis on the importance of the physical appearance of the monuments and the form of the lettering.

2. Giancarlo Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter: An Introduction to Latin Epigraphy,* trans. A. M. Dabrowski, ed. E. Badian (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 60–61.

3. Joyce M. Reynolds, "Review: Susini, *The Stone Cutter,*" *JRS* 65 (1975): 210.

4. There is disagreement as to whether a complementary relationship exists between an inscription and its monument. Günther Klaffenbach ("Archäologie und Epigraphik," *AA* [1948–49]:

Benjamin Meritt has argued strongly that an inscription cannot be treated as if it were a manuscript: its three-dimensional character and its proper relation to its medium must be taken into account.[5] The study of an epigraphical text as an integral part of its medium is known as architectural epigraphy. Here, the medium is recognized to be a helpful and indispensable guide to restoration and interpretation.

The reconstruction of a given monument and the restoration of its text should go hand in hand, because the physical features of a monument condition any proposed restoration. However persuasive a proposed restoration may be, there is no hope that it might be correct if it cannot be reconciled with the physical requirements of the stone on which it is inscribed. If a restoration contradicts or ignores this physical requirement—which is the most objective of all possible tests—there can be no hope for accuracy.[6]

Meritt has demonstrated this thesis by citing examples of erroneous restorations that have resulted when the physical characteristics of the monument were not taken into consideration. His examples include the importance of considering the adjoining faces of an inscription,[7] the exact disposition of the letters,[8] and any fault or fracture lines. For instance, he notes that "the value of a continuous line of fracture is that fragments which belong together can sometimes be assigned to their relative position even though they no longer make direct contact with one another."[9]

When dealing with fragmentary inscriptions, knowledge of the size of the individual pieces can be helpful in restoration: smaller fragments tend to belong to the center of the inscription, near where the destructive force made

253–55) denies such a relationship. He thinks of inscriptions as being "tacked onto" a monument, often simply as a way of explaining and dating the monument; he thinks that inscriptions of the imperial period may also have some ornamental value. Giancarlo Susini, G. A. Mansuelli, and Albert Rehm disagree: see Giancarlo Susini, "Nuove prospettive storiche: A proposito di alcune scoperte Romane in Emilia," in *Atti del terzo Congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina (Roma, 4–8 Settembre, 1957)* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretscheider, 1959), 321–46, esp. 328–37; G. A. Mansuelli, "Monumento funerario," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale,* vol. 5 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico, 1963), 170–202; Albert Rehm, "Die Inschriften," in *Handbuch der Archäologie,* vol. 1, ed. Walter Otto, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 46 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1939), 182–238, esp. 213–15).

5. Benjamin D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica,* Martin Classical Lectures 9 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 43. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Treasures of Athena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932); H. T. Wade-Gery, "Review: Ferguson, Treasures of Athena," *JHS* 53 (1933): 134–37, esp. 134.

6. See Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica,* 138.

7. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica,* 9–14.

8. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica,* 53.

9. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica,* 61.

contact, with no significant fragment surviving at the point of contact, whereas larger fragments belong to the periphery of the stone. Similarly, the lines of the fracture may radiate from the center of impact.

Meritt also demonstrates how knowledge of such physical characteristics as margins, moldings, and fractures can have a decisive impact on the reading of inscriptions. Moreover, the physical characteristic of a stone, such as the dimension and shape of letter forms, the adornments, the use or nonuse of guidelines, the surface treatment, evidences of cutting, and characteristic faults or flaws, can potentially be exploited for their chronological value.[10] Similarly, Sterling Dow employs such indices as marble color, style of the moldings, and overall stele measurements in his dating of four stelae from Salamis.[11]

3.01 The Role of Squeezes and Photographs

When studying an inscription, it is frequently not possible to consult the actual stone.[12] To some extent, this omission can be compensated for by the use of epigraphic squeezes and photographs. Epigraphic squeezes are produced by pounding wet fibrous paper into the inscription and allowing it to dry (see § 3.02). Once dry, it reproduces an almost exact impression (allowing for some shrinkage during drying) of the form, size, and relative disposition of the letters.[13] In fact, a good epigraphic squeeze[14] will sometimes give a more accurate reading of a damaged, worn, or weathered inscription than will direct examination or a photo.

Liquid latex can also be used for making squeezes. In this technique, the surface must first be cleaned. The latex is then applied by brush in a thin layer. The first application of latex must be allowed to dry for about twenty-four hours. Second and third layers can be applied on successive days. Latex squeezes are much more time-consuming to make than paper squeezes and are more expensive. For these reasons, their use is often less practical.

10. See Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica,* 58–61; cf. Sterling Dow, "New Kinds of Evidence for Dating Polyeuktos," *AJA* 40 (1936): 57–70, esp. 57–58.

11. Dow, "New Kinds of Evidence," 65–69; cf. 63–65.

12. John S. Traill ("The Athenian Archon Pleistainos," *ZPE* 103 [1994]: 109–14, esp. 110 and pl. XIII) describes a technique of reading stones that has been employed by generations of epigraphers: the stone is gently wetted with water so that water comes into contact with the dust that has naturally accumulated on the surface of the stone. This water-dust suspension can enhance the original lettering, making it easier to read.

13. J. J. Hondius attributes the first scientific use of squeezes to Philippe Le Bas (Hondius 16).

14. French *estampages,* German *Abklatsche,* Modern Greek *ektupa.*

Squeezes have the obvious advantage of being portable in a way that stones are not, allowing them to be studied and photographed repeatedly and at leisure, at some later date. However, if at all possible, one should never rely on a squeeze without checking the actual stone, since squeezes, like photographs, can be misleading. Sterling Dow recommends that several good squeezes should be made of a very doubtful inscription, since one squeeze might capture a critical letter or area better than another. Some museums and universities[15] have squeeze collections that provide ready access to squeezes, which may reduce the travel time required for research.

Photographs also have an important role to play. Photos can give some indication of the overall three-dimensional aspect of an inscribed monument in a way that squeezes cannot. When photographing an inscription, the light source should be moved to different positions for a series of photos, because certain letter strokes will appear more clearly when photographed in one light than in another.

Meritt argues that both squeezes and photographs are essential for effective "armchair" epigraphy, and he recommends that every editor should (if possible) have both at his or her disposal. He writes that only a photo and a squeeze can give the student "a ready control over the text as read by the editor" and "frequently make possible early correction and improvement." He continues:

> Much depends on the condition of the stone, and on the way the photograph is made, as to whether a squeeze or photograph is more satisfactory for use in determining a text. In doubtful cases both should be used, for they complement each other, and in the last analysis one must have recourse in case of doubt to the stone itself.[16]

Meritt describes the dangers that are to be anticipated by the scholar who relies solely on photographs and squeezes. For example, a photo or squeeze may suggest that certain fragments should be joined, when in actual fact such a joining would result in physical conflict between pieces. Moreover, the manipulation of a photographic light source when photographing can favor one reading of an inscription over another. Whether manipulated or not, a photograph can make scratches look like letters or parts of letters. Similarly, it

15. E.g., the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University; the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge; the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford University (<http:www.info.ox.ac.uk/~csadinfo>); the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

16. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, 21 (cf. 22, 42); for examples see 142–43 n. 19.

is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a letter stroke and a deep abrasion in the stone when reading a squeeze alone.

3.02 Making Epigraphical Squeezes

To make a squeeze of a particular inscription, it is first necessary to obtain a permit from either the director of the museum in which the inscription is located or the governmental agency in charge of antiquities. In Greece and Turkey, international institutes representing various countries are usually prepared to assist in making these arrangements.[17] Application for a permit requires a complete list of inscriptions to be squeezed, their present locations, and, if possible, their inventory numbers. If an inscription is unpublished, permission must first be obtained from the individual responsible for the stone, such as an official in the department of antiquities, the museum curator, or the scholar who discovered the inscription. (Some inscriptions should not be squeezed for reasons of preservation, particularly if the surface would fragment, chip, or slough off easily.) It is also necessary to indicate the specific days when one intends to work. Permits for the summer season can be difficult to obtain if one does not apply several months in advance. During this period, there is a strain on the supervisory personnel, who are needed as site and museum guards and are therefore less available to search and supervise in museum storerooms.

The following instructions presume that the scholar has access to all the equipment and supplies necessary and has adequate time and space to perform the steps in a careful, methodical fashion. However, it should be borne in mind that the traveling scholar will often be required to adapt to trying circumstances in the field. A scholar may have to work without the ideal equipment, necessitating the use of makeshift materials and supplies. A scrubbing brush can be used instead of a proper squeeze brush; though it lacks a handle, it can still perform satisfactorily. Similarly, in extraordinary settings, one can substitute writing paper, layers of paper handkerchiefs, or even toilet paper for squeeze paper. An inadequate supply of water may demand the use of some other liquid. Some situations require one to work at great speed or in physically demanding situations, such that additional compromises and modifications of the method are necessitated.

17. E.g., in Greece, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the École française d'Athènes, the British School of Archaeology; in Turkey, the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

Also useful are a sponge, scissors, string, and a rectagonal plastic basin to hold water. Ideally, the basin should be large enough to accommodate the squeeze paper without folding it.

3.04 Technique

It is desirable to begin by washing the inscription gently with a sponge and water. This will prevent the picking up of excessive dirt by the squeeze paper. In the case of particularly dirty stones, one can take an initial squeeze (which is discarded) simply to clean the stone. Very porous stones may absorb water so quickly that they are difficult to squeeze, especially if they are located or stored in a hot dry location. Prewashing also serves to help prevent such stones from drying out too quickly.

Begin by measuring the inscription and cutting the squeeze paper to size, allowing for a ten-centimeter overhang on the edges. In the case of large inscriptions, it will be necessary to use more than one piece of paper, overlapping successive sheets by approximately three to four centimeters. The action of hitting this overlap with the squeeze brush will repulp the paper, bonding the two sheets together. Alternatively, one may squeeze the inscription repeatedly in separate sections.

Fill the basin with water. Grasp the dry squeeze paper by the corners and lower it into the basin until all but the upper two corners is wet. Keeping the upper corners dry will prevent the sheet from tearing in your hands. Once wet, squeeze paper tends to tear very easily and so should be handled with the utmost care; avoid folding it. If the inscription face is vertically oriented, the squeeze paper should be laid against the vertical surface as one would hang wallpaper on a wall, from the top down. Gently hold the paper up against the stone until it begins to cling to the stone's surface. If the face is horizontal, one simply lays the paper on it from bottom to top.

Flatten the paper down with a squeeze brush, beginning at the center and working outward to the periphery until the paper is firmly clinging to the entire surface of the stone's face. There are two stages to this process. First, apply even steady blows over the surface of the stone to work out all air bubbles. Second, inspect the surface for accuracy line by line, patting the surface to ensure that the paper has been worked into every indentation. It is important to adjust the angle of the brush to avoid tearing the paper. This process will take longer for inscriptions with small, shallowly inscribed letters. Ideally, an inscription measuring sixteen by twenty-four inches will take approximately five to ten minutes to flatten out.

In certain cases, such as when the incised letters are deep, or the inscription has deep fissures or sharp edges, the paper may tear in places. Such tears can be patched by locally applying additional pieces of wet squeeze paper and repulping it with the squeeze brush to affix it to the underlying squeeze paper. In extreme cases, a second piece of squeeze paper can be applied to the entire surface of the stone's face. This option should only be taken as a last resort in the case of fine, shallowly inscribed inscriptions, because it is often very difficult to read both sides of a double-thickness squeeze. Inscriptions with large, deeply engraved letters can profitably be squeezed with a double thickness of squeeze paper or with squeeze paper of greater thickness.

Vertically oriented squeezes will dry from the top to the bottom. When squeezing such inscriptions, one should loosely secure the upper and lower parts of the wet squeeze paper to the stone with string or twine. Otherwise the squeeze paper will fall onto the floor during the drying process and, if left unattended, will dry in a folded or creased position. Once dry, squeezes can be stacked, gently rolled, and inserted into a cardboard tube for transportation. If it can be avoided, squeezes should not be folded. The rolling process should be performed gradually. First, gently roll the squeezes into a roll with a large diameter, then unroll them again. Repeat the process several times, gradually reducing the diameter of the roll each time. A cardboard or plastic tube with a diameter of five inches (12.5 centimeters) will hold approximately ten large squeezes.

3.05 Reading Squeezes

Each squeeze has a positive side and a negative side. The negative side of a squeeze provides the clearest impression and so is the preferred side for reading. Squeezes are best read either in sunny conditions—perhaps near a window—or under a strong incandescent lamp in a darkened room. The squeeze can be continually positioned and repositioned in the light source to make each letter form stand out in light and shadow. Fluorescent lighting provides poor conditions for reading squeezes and should be avoided.

When reading squeezes of stones that were read in earlier generations, one may find that the squeeze records less information today than the editio princeps indicates. This may be the result of inexperience on the part of the modern reader. More often it is the result of the subsequent deterioration or damaging of the stone, in which case such earlier readings should be underlined (see § 1.10). The possibility also remains that a previous editor may have restored an imperfectly preserved letter that was not positively identifiable.

Sound judgment and, if possible, some familiarity with other stones edited by the same editor are needed to distinguish between these possibilities.

3.06 Scanning and Digitizing Squeezes

Many institutions (e.g., the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey) have begun to digitize epigraphical texts and make them available via the Internet. The Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents (CSAD) in Oxford (<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Images.html>) has undertaken to create a virtual library of digitized images of its squeeze collection (as well as photographs of inscriptions). It has accomplished this with the use of a UMAX Powerlook scanner, digital camera, Power Macintosh computers, and Adobe Photoshop 3.0. Through such efforts as these, the accessibility of squeezes and the inscriptions themselves is greatly increasing year by year. Such projects may soon permit individual scholars to create their own virtual libraries (see the appendix in this book).

4

The Onomastics and Prosopography of Greek Names

Onomastics (or onomatology) is the study of names, including fixed patterns and changes, developments, and irregularities in practice. The study of historical προόσωπα, or persons, as identifiable by name is known as prosopography (see § 4.24). Its findings can be particularly valuable for ancient historians.

4.01 Inventories of Greek Names

The first inventory of Greek names was that of W. Pape and G. Benseler. It was first published by Pape in 1842, republished by Benseler in 1862, later reedited in 1911, and subsequently reprinted in 1959.[1] This work remains a useful catalogue of literary names, but its utility is severely limited by the fact that it includes only inscriptions listed in *CIG* and no names attested in papyri. This fact could easily escape the scholar who might assume from the date of the 1959 reprint that it represents a fairly complete survey.

Fortunately, many other onomastic reference aids have been published over the past century. Rudolf Münsterberg's *Beamtennamen* records the names on the legends of Greek coins.[2] Friedrich Preisigke's *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi's later supplement list Greek, Latin, Egyptian, and Semitic names

1. W. Pape and G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3d ed., rev. G. E. Benseler, 2 vols. (1863–70; Braunschweig: Friedr. Bieweg and Sohn, reprint, 1911) (= PapeBenseler).

2. Rudolf Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Munzen*, 3 vols. Subsidia epigraphica 3 (New York: Hildesheim, 1911–27).

attested in Egyptian papyri.[3] Friechrich Bechtel's *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1917) is very useful but only covers names prior to the imperial period.[4] Moreover, it does not include names of foreigners attested in Greek documents.[5] *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* by F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen should be used with care, for it combines the listings of Bechtel and Preisigke without verifying individual entries.[6] Under the direction of Peter Fraser and Elaine Matthews, a new and excellent *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* is under preparation, with the first three volumes already in print.[7] Many other more geographically specific studies can also be consulted,[8] not to mention the indices of *SEG* and *BE*.[9]

4.02 The Giving of Names

Most Greeks living in the eastern half of the empire had only one name (ὄνομα), their so-called personal name. The naming of children was the free

3. Friedrich Preisigke, *Namenbuch: Enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen, und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern, usw.) Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Heidelberg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1922) (= Preisigke*NB*); Daniele Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum: Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke*, TDSA 16; Serie Papirologica 2 (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1971) (= Foraboschi).

4. Bechtel*PN* (reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964); cf. Olivier Masson, ed., *Kleine onomastische Studien Friechrich Bechtel*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 125 (Königstein: A. Hain, 1981).

5. For this see Gabriel Herman, "Patterns of Name Diffusion within the Greek World and Beyond," *CQ* 40 (1990): 349–63 (*SEG* 40.1681).

6. F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1957; reprint, with appendix by L. Zgusta, *AbhLeip* 102.4, Chicago: Ares, 1978 (= Dornseiff-Hansen).

7. *LGPN* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987–: vol. 1, *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Kyrenaika*, by P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews; vol. 2, *Attica*, by M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne; vol. 3, Peloponnesos and the Greek mainland, including Thessalia and Epeiros, the Ionian and Adriatic Islands, Sicily and Magna Graecia, Western Europe, North Africa (excluding Kyrenaika); vol. 4, Makedonia, Thrake, Scythia Minor, South Russia; vol. 5, the Asia Minor coast; vol. 6, unassignable individuals, indices, analytical tables, bibliographies. See O. Masson's comments on *LGPN* I in *Gnomon* 62 [1990]: 97–103 (cf. *SEG* 37.1796, 40.1680); cf. Michael J. Osborne and Sean G. Byrne, *The Foreign Residents of Athens: An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names—Attica*, Studia Hellenistica 33 (Louvain: Peeters, 1996).

8. See the studies in onomastics listed in this chapter's supplementary bibliography; J. M. Fossey, *The Study of Ancient Greek Prosopography* (Chicago: Ares, 1991), 63–66; Hondius, 133–36.

9. *Index du Bulletin Épigraphique de J. et L. Robert, 1938–65*, vol. 1, *Les mots grecs*, vol. 2, *Les publications*, and vol. 3, *Les mots français* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1972–75); *Index du Bulletin Épigraphique de J. et L. Robert, 1966–73* (1979); *Index du Bulletin Épigraphique de J. et L. Robert, 1974–1977* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1983). In addition to looking up specific names, also check under the headings "Norms," "Anthroponymes," and "Onomastique"; cf. infra § 4.24.

choice of the parents. A firstborn son (sometimes indicated by the term πρόγονος) was often given the name of the child's paternal (or sometimes maternal) grandfather. A second son might be given the father's name, a name derived from the father's name (e.g., Φῶκος → Φωκίων), a name that is compounded similarly to the father's (e.g., Θεόφραστος → Θεόδωρος), or even a name in the same semantic field as the father's.[10] Some names may relate to the birth itself. For example, the name Γνησία (legitimate) was probably intended to discriminate the bearer of this name from other illegitimate children, unless the meaning "dear" is implied (see *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 27); Ξυστός means "twin" (see *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 28).

W. S. Ferguson notes that the tradition of naming a son after the grandfather or father began to break down in the Hellenistic period, allowing for some names to reflect cultic preference or admiration for a famed hero.[11] Other personal names reflect a family's involvement or interest in a particular geographical place (see § 4.12–13; cf. 4.06, 4.07.3).

Male names terminating in -ιον (Εὐριπίδιον, Σωκρατίδιον) can often be pejorative in nature, sometimes indicating servile status, or are hypocoristic. Some Greeks who lived in the provinces and were noncitizens would transliterate Latin praenomina, nomina, and cognomina and adopt them as personal names, with no regard for the rules of Latin onomastic system. Consequently, cognomina and nomina in particular often became interchangeable with Greek personal names.

4.03 The Classification of Names

According to the ancient classification, names were grouped into two broad classes, theophoric names (θεοφόρα ὀνόματα) and nontheophoric names (ὀνόματα ἄθεα). From this ancient primary division, the following modern secondary subdivisions can be made.

10. E.g., Στάφυλος Ὀμφακίωνος (Grapes/Unripe Grapes); Σατυρίων Ὑβριστοῦ (Satyr-like/Lustful); Ἴλαρος Εὐθύμου (Cheerful/Happy); Χλόη Δημητρίου (Young Grain/Dedicated to Demeter); Μυστικὸς Ἐλευσινίου (Belonging to the Mysteries/Belonging to Eleusis); Μουσαῖος Εὐμόλπου (Musical/Sweetly Singing). See Robert, *Hellenica,* IX, 66.

11. Wm. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: An Historical Essay* (London: Macmillan, 1911), 423–24; for a stemma showing the intrusion of foreign names see Johannes Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (excerpted from Öfversigt af Finska vetenskaps-Societetens forhandlingar 52, 1 [Helsinki: Ofversigt, 1909–10], pp. 1–177).

I. Theophoric
  1. Simple
    i) Primitive
    ii) Derived
  2. Compound
    i) Name of a god compounded with the name of a second god
    ii) Name of a god compounded with some other second term
    iii) Names terminating in -δωρος
II. Nontheophoric
  1. Simple
    i) Primitive
    ii) Derived
  2. Compound
    i) Adjective + substantive
    ii) Substantive + verb
    iii) Particle/adverb/preposition + another term
    iv) Names terminating in -δωρος

4.04 Theophoric Names

Theophoric names are personal names that incorporate the name of a deity in some form. Obviously, such names represent the religious attachments not of the child but of the child's parents. The sex of a child did not limit the choice of a theophoric name; a boy could be named after a goddess (e.g., Δημήτριος, Ἀρτεμίδωρος), a girl after a god (e.g., Διονυσία). Ernst Sittig's *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris* remains a useful compilation of theophoric names, providing valuable information concerning the provenance of names based on the names of gods, goddesses, and lesser deities (e.g., Διόσκουροι, Πάν, Νύμφαι, Μοῦσαι, Κάβειροι, Ἥλιος Θεῶν).[12] For example, the names Νυμφόδωρος and Νυμφόδοτος attest to the cult of nymphs.[13]

The use of theophoric names increased throughout the Hellenistic period. They were adopted by citizens and noncitizens alike.[14] Theophoric names

12. E. Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris* (Dissertationes philologicae Halenses. Halis Saxonum, 1911; reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1981); cf. F. Mora, "Nomi teofori e politeiamo greco: Prospettive di ricerca," in Ἀγαθὴ Ἐλπίς: *Studi storico-religiosi in onore di Ugo Bianchi,* ed. Giulia Sfameni Gasparro, Storia delle religioni 11 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1994), 177–86.

13. See Robert, *BE* (1974): 422; (1970): 286; (1966): 202, p. 378; (1967): 269; cf. names derived from Νύμφη, such as Νύμφος, Νυμφαῖος, Νυμφίς, Νυμφέρως (Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris,* 141–43).

14. See F. Papazoglou, "Deorum nomina hominibus imposita," *Recueil de Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie Beograd* 14 (1979): 7–16 (*SEG* 30.1833; Robert, *BE* [1981]: 179).

were especially popular in Attica, the more fashionable being those based on the Olympian deities. Names based on Zeus (e.g., Δῖος, Διοκλῆς/-ῆς, Διομήδης, Διώρης, Διόνικος)[15] were the most popular in the Hellenistic period, subsequently overtaken by names based on Dionysos (Διονύσιος/-ας, Διόννυσος, Διονῦς, Διωνιουσιόδωρος) in the imperial period. Theophoric names based on lesser gods and local heroes are often more significant than those based on Olympian gods: such names may attest that a particular deity was worshiped locally, perhaps as part of a public cult or by a voluntary association, or perhaps simply as an act of personal devotion.

In his study of Egyptian cults in Athens, Sterling Dow observes that there was a tendency to select theophoric names that were fashionable at the time. Theophoric names based on Sarapis (e.g., Σαραπίων, Σαραπιάς) and Isis (e.g., Εἰσιγένης, Εἰσίδωρος, Εἰσιδώρα, Ἰσιάς, Ἰσιγένης, Ἰσίδωρος) did not become popular until the latter part of the second century B.C.[16] Names of deities that were not sufficiently established in the minds of the general public were avoided, as were names of deities who were unattractive in appearance or disagreeable in function.

Theophoric names lost their religious sense for many people and, in such cases, provide no information about the religious beliefs of the family. For example, the theophoric names of two of the bishops in attendance at the Council of Nicaea, namely, Μίθρης (from Hypaia) and Λητόδωρος (from Kibyra), suggest not only that someone in their families had converted to Christianity from a paganism in which the cults of Mithras and Leto were prominent but also that these theophoric names had totally lost their meaning for these families.

Sterling Dow enunciates three principles in the interpretation of theophoric names.[17] First, the absence of the name of a given deity in the pool of theophoric names in a given region does not necessarily imply that the cult was absent or unpopular. In certain cases, the explanation may lie in the fact that the deity in question had associations that made the theophoric name inappropriate. Second, a single or small number of attestations of a particular theophoric name, prior to the name becoming popular, suggests that those particular families had a strong interest in the cult before it became established

15. Derived from the genitive form (Διός) of Ζεύς.

16. See Sterling Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens," *HThR* 30, no. 4 (1937): 183–232, esp. 216–24; Nikolaos Papadakis, "Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἰσείου ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ," *ArchDelt* 1 (1915): 115–90, esp. 166. For Ἰσιγένης, Ἰσ<ι>γονος, and Νεῖλις in Thasos see Henri Seyrig, "Quatre cultes de Thasos," *BCH* 51 (1927): 178–233, esp. 229.

17. Dow, "Egyptian Cults," 217–18.

in the public domain. For example, in Athens, the frequency of theophoric names based on Asklepios, Sarapis, Isis, Men, and Meter increased rapidly in the Hellenistic period. The early attestations of these names point to the religious enthusiasm of a small number of foreigners setting up residence in the city.[18] Third, though a sudden increase in the use of a particular theophoric name in a region suggests that the cult of the deity was becoming increasingly popular, the continued use of the same name in succeeding generations becomes decreasingly significant. There are two exceptions to this general principle: first, the steady increase in the use of theophoric names based on Isis (e.g., Ἰσιγένης) in the imperial period demonstrates the continued expansion of the cult; second, the use of theophoric names by Jews indicates their fondness for selecting names with religious implications (see § 4.14).

4.05 Simple Theophoric Names: Primitive and Derived

Simple theophoric names can be subdivided according to whether they are primitive or derived. Primitive names preserve the original form of the god's name (e.g., Ἄρτεμις,[19] Ἀπόλλων, Ἑρμῆς). So-called derived names modify the god's name into an adjectival form (e.g., Ἀρτέμων, Ἑρμίας), often by appending the -ιος suffix (e.g., Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀρτεμίσιος, Διονύσιος, Ποσειδώνιος, Δῖος, Ἑρμαῖος).[20] Μάνης and Μένης (fem. Μανία) are derived names based on the name of the god Men and are frequently attested among the slaves of Athens; similarly, Μῆνις and Μήνιος are both attested in Asia Minor.[21]

One must be careful to distinguish names that witness to a cult from names that are derived from a calendar or a festival.[22] For example, Κρόνιος, Κρόνιον, and Κρονίδης are Ionian names attested in Ephesos, Priene, Klazomene, and Paphlagonia and on the coast of the Pontus Euxinus. Here, these names are derived from the month Kronion, not from the name of the

18. On terminology denoting foreigners in Amorgos (e.g., οἰκοῦντες, πάροικου/παροικοῦντες, ξένοι) see Philippe Gauthier, "Études sur des inscriptions d'Amorgos," *BCH* 104 (1980): 197–220, esp. 218–20 (*SEG* 30.1083).

19. For examples of the female names Ἄρτεμις and Ἄρτεμεις see O. Masson, "Pape-Benseleriana IX—Madame Artemis," *ZPE* 66 (1986): 126–28 (*SEG* 36.1544).

20. On theophoric names derived from Βένδις, the name under which Thracian Artemis was worshiped in Piraeus, see O. Masson, "Les noms théophores de Bendis en Grèce et en Thrace," *MH* 45 (1988): 6–12 (*SEG* 37.1804).

21. See *IKibyra-Olbasa*, nos. 63, 72; the god Mên has a major sanctuary at Pisidian Antioch; these names cannot be derived from the adjectives μανία or μῆνις, since these adjectives were not used in proper names.

22. See Louis Robert, "Discours d'ouverture," in *CongrEpigr* VII, 31–42, esp. 39–40.

god Kronos. However, in Egypt, the name Κρόνιος is a true theophoric name, for in that land, Κρόνιος was the Greek equivalent for the name of the Egyptian god Geb.[23] Similarly, in Syria and Tlos (Lycia), Κρόνιος is the Greek equivalent for the name of their indigenous god.

Names derived from heroes, so-called herophoric names, are also a valuable witness to local cults (see § 4.07.3). The name Ἡρακλίδας attests to the cult of Herakles in Boiotia.[24] The name Μέροψ is derived from the name of the hero Meropis, the founding hero of Kos. Similarly, a proxenos of Rhodes named his son after Ῥοδοκλῆς, the founder of the island.[25]

4.06 Compound Theophoric Names

Compound theophoric names are of two types: some are formed by combining the names of two divinities (e.g., Ἑρμαφρόδιτος, Σαραπάμμων, Ἑρμαπίων, Κρονάμμων, Φοιβάμμων). Others combine the name of a god with a verbal form, such as -αλος, -ανιας, -βουλος, -γένης, -γορας, -δικος, -δωρος/-δοτος (e.g., Διογένης, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Διαγόρας). The suffix -κλῆς is one of the most frequently occurring terminations (e.g., Διοκλῆς, Ἀθηνοκλῆς).[26] Rather than the actual name of the god, the god's epithet might be used, such as Ἕκατος for Apollo (Ἑκατοκλέους) (see § 4.07.2).[27]

Proper names were also based on lesser deities associated with rivers, springs, and fountains.[28] These rivers themselves became the object of cults; they were honored with temples and altars and gave rise to a host of proper names. The three most important rivers in Greece, the Asopos (Boiotia), the

23. As in Κρονίου Διδύμου Μουμμίου Κλωδίου (Wadi Hammamat, Egypt) (*BE* [1971]: 717).

24. The spelling Ἡρακλίδας (instead of Εἱρακλίδας) from IV–II B.C. is an archaism, not a borrowing from the Koine (see Denis Knoepfler, "Note additionnelle: II. Sur l'orthographe béotienne des anthroponymes tirés du nom d'Héraclès," *BCH* 98 [1974]: 243–44).

25. The attestation of a Ῥοδοκλεία is evidence of a mixed population in Dionysopolis. See *IGBulg* I, no. 27; Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," *RPhil* 33 (1959): 165–236, esp. 199 n. 9 (OMS 5.195–266) (cf. the review by G. Mihailov in *IGBulg* I).

26. Nom. Διοκλῆς, gen. -κλέους or -κλεός (-κλέου variant from the late IV to end of Hellenistic period), dat. -κλεῖ, acc. -κλέα (-κλῆν normal in Hellenistic period, replaced by -κλέα later). On names ending in -κλέας, -κλῆς, -κλίας see Threatte, *Grammar*, 2.181–211, § 54.031–035; C. Gallavotti, *BFC* 11 (1990): 154–55; R. Arena, "Di alcune particolarità dei dialetti Greci della Sicilia," *Quaderni di Acme* 7 (1986): 75–96, esp. 91–96; *SEG* 40.1689. On women's names with -κλέος see C. Gallavotti, *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, vol. 4, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 11 (Amsterdam 1979), 251–63 (*SEG* 29.1742).

27. A.-J. Letronne, "Mémoire sur l'utilité qu'on peut retirer de l'étude des noms propres grecs pour l'histoire et l'archéologie," in *Oeuvres choisies: (Ser. 3) Archéologie et philologie*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), 1–103, esp. 9, 51. These composite names are never inverted, with the god's name in second place (e.g., Ἀγοραθήναιος).

28. See § 4.07.3, 4.12, 13; Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris*, 127–39.

Kephissos (Boiotia/Attica), and the Achelous (Acarnania), were the focus of well-known cults. River names were particularly popular among slaves, indicating their place of origin.

Similarly, in Asia Minor, cults were associated with the rivers Skamander (Troas), Rhyndakos (Mysia), Kaïkos (Aiolis), Kayster and Maeander (Ionia), and Hermos and Lykos (Phrygia). For example, Ῥύνδακος, the name of the father of a free man in Athens from Kyzikos, attests to a place of origin near the Rhyndakos river (Αἰσχυλος Ῥυνδάκου Κυζικηνός).[29] The verb τιμάω is sometimes compounded with the names of such rivers as the Skamander, the Kephissos, and the Lykos (Σκαμανδρότιμος, Κηφισότιμος, Λυκότιμος/Τιμόλυκος).

4.07 Theophoric Names Terminating in -δωρος

The number of theophoric names terminating in -δωρος is large enough to merit separate treatment. These names can be subdivided into three subclasses according to the nature of the names' first parts: (1) names based on proper names of divinities; (2) names based on epithets or titles of divinities; (3) names based on river deities and heroes.

4.07.1 Names Based on Proper Names of Divinities

In the case of theophoric names terminating in -δωρος/-δοτος (in the sense of δῶρον), the god's name has the sense of a genitive.[30] In other words, the parents consider their new child to have been given through the intervention of the said god, and in consequence, they have placed the child under the god's protection. Such names as Ζηνόδωρος/Διόδοτος, Μηνόδωρος, Αἰαντόδωρος, and Ἰσίδωρος identify a bearer as a "gift" of Zeus (or "Zeus-given") or of Men, Ajax, and Isis, respectively. The most frequently attested (and most mundane) names of this class are derivatives of the Olympian gods, such as Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Διόδωρος, and Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

4.07.2 Names Based on Epithets or Titles of Divinities

The second type of theophoric name terminating in -δωρος is based on the epithet or title of the deity. For example, the epithets of Zeus and Apollo,

29. Many slaves taken from Mysian towns bore this name; see Eugene Vanderpool, "Three Inscriptions from Eleusis," *ArchDelt* 23 (1968): 1–9, esp. 6–7.

30. See Letronne, "Mémoire," 35. Cf. Ἡρόδωρος, Ἡρόδοτος, Ἡρόφιλος, Ἑστιόδωρος; Μανδρόδωρος named after the deity Μάνδρος or Μάνδρα.

Ὀλύμπιος and Πύθιος, respectively, gave rise to the names Ὀλυμπιόδωρος and Ὀλυμπιοσθένης[31] and Πυθόδωρος.[32] Personal names based on such epithets often have a local character. Thus, Πτοιόδωρος is based on Apollo's epithet Πτοῖος or Πτῶος, derived from Mount Πτοῖος, the site of the god's temple in Thebes.

4.07.3 Names Based on River Deities and Heroes

Names derived from the names of local river deities also use the -δωρος termination. Perhaps such names were given to children in recognition of the fertile powers of a river, especially when an apparently sterile woman became pregnant after drinking or bathing in water from it. The resulting children were thought to be gifts of the particular deity associated with the river.[33] For example, the name Κηφισόδωρος/-δοτος derives from the Kephissos River, which runs through Attica and Boiotia.

Children were also named after heroes. Though there are many men with the names Ἀχιλλεύς and Ἀχιλλής, the correct herophoric name, Ἀχιλλόδωρος, is attested only in Olbia Euxini and Istros, where his cult was particularly active.[34] Τληπάς is a regular hypocoristic name based on the Rhodian hero Tlepolemos (see *IKibyra-Olbasa,* nos. 65, 105). The name Αἰαντόδωρος derives from the name of the feast dedicated to Ajax, known as τὰ Αἰάντεια, celebrated on Salamis. Similarly, the name Μελαμπόδωρος recalls a local hero of Aigosthenes in Megaris.

4.08 Nontheophoric Names

Nontheophoric names (ἄθεα ὀνόματα) are etymologically derived from such things as titles, moral or physical properties, place-names, and omens. They can be divided into two classes, simple and compound.

4.09 Simple Nontheophoric Names: Primitive and Derived

Simple nontheophoric names can be further subdivided into primitive (e.g., Ἄγγελος) and derived (e.g., Ἀγγελίων). Primitive names are derived directly

31. Ὀλυμπιοσθένης (nom.), -νους (gen.), -νει (dat.), -νη (acc.), -νες (voc.); other names in this declension include Δημοσθένης, Διογένης, Ἱπποκράτης.

32. See L. Robert, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique (Review: *IG* X, pars 2, fasc. I)," *RPhil* 48 (1974): 180–246, esp. 205–16.

33. See Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris,* 127–39, esp. 135.

34. See L. Robert, "Études épigraphiques," *BCH* 52 (1928): 407–25, esp. 414, and Cormack's article mentioned therein; Robert, "Discours d'ouverture," 40.

from substantives, without modification. Many are based on adjectives, resulting in such names as Θράσυς/Θάρσυς, Ἴσχυς, Ἥδυς, Πόλυς, and Βράχυς.[35] In Athens, the names Ἄγνος and Φιλότιμος represent the two qualities expected of magistrates of the period, integrity and generosity in benefaction.[36]

Primitive names might also be derived from the names of perfumes,[37] insects,[38] animals,[39] plants,[40] or precious stones.[41] Children might also be named after professions[42] or after the names of religious initiates[43] or magistracies. If a father held a prominent magistracy, the child might receive the name of that magistracy, such as Πρυτάνευς[44] or Στρατήγιος.[45]

Similarly, the name Πρόξε(ι)νος was given to a child by a father who had received a proxenia (see 7.02, 9.03).[46] This principle applies equally to

35. Further examples include Εὐτύχης, Εἰρηναῖος, Φιλήτη, Νίκη, Τυχικός, Ὑγεία, Ἀγαθός.

36. Cf. ἁγνότατος (Robert, *BE* [1976]: 469). Names in Ἁγν- have various origins and meanings; see Eduard Williger, *Hagios: Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des Heiligen hellenisch-hellenistischen Religionen,* RVV 19 (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1922), 66–72, no. 192. For theophoric Ἀγνόδωρος see Letronne, "Mémoire," 54; Ludwig Ziehen, "Der Mysterienkult von Andania," *ArchRW* 24 (1926): 29–60, esp. 47–48. Ἄγνος Φιλοτίμου appears in a list of ephebes (*IG* II² 2063, L. 16).

37. E.g., Ἀμαρακίς/Ἀμαρακίνη, Ἀρωματίνη/Ἀρωμάτιον, Ζμύρνος, Κίνναμος, Κόστος, Μαλαβαθρίνη, Μυρώ/Μύρον, Μυρισμός, Νάρδιον/Ναρδίνη, Σμύρνη, Στακτή, Στύραξ (Robert, *BE* [1977]: 340, p. 376; cf. Robert*Noms* 177–80, 185).

38. E.g., Ἄκορνος, Βρεῦκος, Δρῖλος, Κερκώπη, Μάστακος, Ῥόμεις (O. Masson, "Onomastique et lexique: Noms d'hommes et termes grecs pour 'ver,' 'sauterelle,' 'cigale,' etc.," *MH* 43 [1986]: 250–57; *SEG* 36.1557).

39. See § 4.10.1; on anthroponyms consisting of names based on animals, such as the bear, lion, and wolf, see O. Masson, in ΗΔΙΣΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ. *Logopédies: Mélanges de Philologie et de Linguistique grecque offerts à Jean Taillardat* (Paris and Louvain: Peeters, 1988), 171–77 (*SEG* 38.1995).

40. See R. Arena, "Per l'interpretazione di Alcuni nomi Greci," *RIL* 116 (1982): 3–10, esp. 9–10 (*SEG* 35.1783).

41. E.g., Ἀμέθυστος, Βήρυλλος, Ἰαπίς, Μαργάρις, Ὀνυχίων, Οὐνιών, Σαρδίων, Σαρδόνυξ, Σμαραγδός (R. Merkelbach, "Ein kleiner Topas," *ZPE* 48 [1982]: 218; *SEG* 32.1659).

42. E.g., the name Ὀρνιθίων (*IG* I² 1067) is taken from the profession of ὀρνιθᾶς (poulterer) attested both in Sicily and especially in Egypt (Robert, *BE* [1976]: 136); cf. O. Masson, "Quelques noms de metier grecs en -ας et les noms propres correspondants," *ZPE* 11 (1973): 1–19 (*Onomastica Graeca Selecta* I, 163–81).

43. On Μύστης and related names (Μυστίων, Μυστικός) see Paul Bernard, "Les rhytons de Nisa. *I.* poétesses grecques," *JSav* (1985): 25–96, esp. 61, no. 103 (*SEG* 36.1550).

44. See Robert, *BE* (1971): 463, 581.

45. See Robert, *BE* (1962): 315 (Caesarea Maritima). However, the name Στεφανηφορικὸς Στεφανηφορικοῦ does not necessarily imply the father was *stephanephoros.* On the practice of names in -ικος in the imperial period see the text following; regarding names of magistrates and dignitaries see L. Robert, "Cours 1961–1962 Hautes Études," in *OMS* 4.203–8, esp. 206–7.

46. See Robert, *BE* (1971): 114 (cf. no. 206); *BE* (1977): 340, p. 376; Bechtel*PN,* 514. See infra § 9.03.

religious offices, with children bearing such names as Ἱερεύς.[47] The old magistracies of βασιλεύς and βασιλείδης were the basis of children receiving such names as Βασιλεύς,[48] Βασίλεος,[49] and Βασιλείδης,[50] especially in the eastern Mediterranean.

In Syria, some children were named Μάλχος[51] and Μαλχίων,[52] these being translations of the Syriac term for "king." The names Τιμοῦχος, Τιμουχίων, and Τειμοῦχος are derived not from τιμή but from the gathering of magistrates known as the τιμοῦχοι.[53] However, it is improbable that these same names were used with the same connotation in subsequent generations.

Obviously, a failure to recognize the use of the names of magistrates as personal names in an inscription can lead to significant errors of interpretation. Moreover, names terminating in -ικός/-ική (e.g., Στρατονικός, Πρυτανικός, Ἱερατικός, Λυκιαρχικός) are mere affectations and do not indicate that the implied office was ever actually held by the father.[54]

By the second century A.D., the -ιος (fem. -ια) suffix was used to form names other than theophoric names, such as Δρακόντιος from δράκων (dragon). Especially popular was the use of abstract qualities to form names similar to nicknames, such as Γελάσιος (Laughing One). By the fourth century A.D., the popularity of this category of names had risen to such an extent that they became the most popular form of Greek name. For example, 43 percent (i.e., 61 out of 140) of the individuals with Greek names recorded on inscriptions of Aphrodisias (A.D. 250–650) have -ιος/-ια suffixes.[55]

Simple derived names were also created from diminutive forms of adjectives by using the suffixes -ιλος, -υλος, and -υλλος, forming such names Θράσυλλος/Θάρσυλλος, Ἰσχύλος, Ἡδύλος, Πόλυλλος, and Βράχυλλος. Similarly, Ἀγάθυλλος, Ἄνθυλλος, Ἄντυλλος, Ἀρίστυλλος, Δάμυλλος, and Δίυλλος are derived from ἄγαθος, ἄνθος, ἄντος, ἄριστος, δᾶμος, and δῖος, respectively.[56]

47. See BechtelPN 539; See Robert, *BE* (1972): 420.

48. See Robert, *BE* (1977): 419 (Ephesos).

49. See Robert, *BE* (1971): 703 (Sinai).

50. See Robert, *BE* (1970): 207 (Phoenicia); BechtelPN 533.

51. See Robert, *BE* (1961): 846 (Syria); cf. *BE* (1942): 164.

52. Friedrich Zucker ("Semitische Namen auf den neu gefundenen Inschriftstelen von Minturnae," *Hermes* 78 [1943]: 200–204) studies Semitic, especially Aramaic, names of slaves and freedmen, including Μαλχίων.

53. See L. Robert, "Review: Gunter Gottlieb, *Timuchen: Ein Beitrage zum griechischen Staatsrecht* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1967)," *Gnomon* (1971): 38–41; Robert, *Hellenica,* VII, 171 (Τιμοῦχον); *SEG* 38.2035.

54. See Louis Robert, "Cours 1961–1962 Hautes Études," 205.

55. As listed by C. M. Roueché in *IAphrodChr* 339–42.

4.10 Compound Nontheophoric Names

Composite names ending in -αγόρας (meaning "having such-and-such character") have an auspicious meaning for those who bear them. Examples are Ἁγναγόρας (Chaste), Ἀρτεμαγόρας (Sound/Healthy), Κυδραγόρας (Noble). Many compound names express a good omen or a propitious idea, as in the case of names beginning with Εὐ-, Καλλι-, and Καλο- (e.g., Εὐαγόρας).

Alternatively, it is hardly surprising that one does not find names beginning with κακό or δυσ- (unlucky/bad). There are persons called Εὐδαίμων, Εὔδωρος, and Ἀγαθόδωρος, but not Κακοδαίμων, Δυσδαίμων, Δύσδωρος, or Κακόδωρος. Similarly, μανία (madness), μῆνις (wrath), and λύπη (grief) are not used unless the meaning is corrected with a verb, such as παύω or λύω, indicating the cessation of sadness and so on (e.g., Παυσανίας, Λυσανίας, Παυσίλυπος).[57]

Compound nontheophoric names can be subdivided into three types: (1) adjectives compounded with substantives; (2) verbs compounded with substantives; (3) combinations of a particle/adverb/preposition with another term.

4.10.1 Adjectives Compounded with Substantives

In the case of names composed of an adjective and a substantive, the two terms are often interchangeable. Examples are Αἰνεσίδημος or Δημαίνετος, Ἀρχέβουλος or Βούλαρχος, Ἱπποκράτης or Κράτιππος/Κρατήσιππος,[58] Ἀγάθανδρος or Ἀνδράγαθος. Many compound names begin with the adjective φιλο- in an active meaning, that is, "loving such-and-such" (e.g., Φιλόδημος, Φιλοδίκης, Φιλοκλῆς, Φιλόβροτος, Φιλόξενος). Some names beginning with Φιλο- terminate with names of animals, especially dogs (e.g., Φιλοκύων) and horses (e.g., Φίλιππος or its synonym Ἐράσιππος), these being the two animals for which Greeks had particular affection.

Names ending in -λέων are derived from either λέων (lion) or λεώς/λαός (people). In the former case, we have such names as Γοργολέων, Δηϊλέων,

56. Not from Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Ἀντοκλῆς, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Δαμοκλῆς, and Διοκλῆς (see Letronne, "Mémoire," 18).

57. See Letronne, "Mémoire," 27.

58. On Greek names with -ιππος or Ἱππ(ο)- see A. Nagarkar in *CongrEpigr* VII, 422–23 (*SEG* 29.1753).

Ἀντιλέων, and Λυκολέων. The term λεώς is discernable in Ἀγρολέων, Ἀριστολέων, Εὐρυλέων, and Τιμολέων.[59] Some names can be formed with both -λέων or -λεώς/-λαος (e.g., Θρασυλέως[60]/Θρασύλαος, Ἐπιλέων/Ἐπίλαος, Ἑρμολέων/Ἑρμόλαος).[61] Synonyms of the names ending in -λεώς can be produced by inversion (e.g., Λέαγρος) and by substitution with -δημος (e.g., Ἀριστόδημος, Εὐρύδημος).

4.10.2 Verbs Compounded with Substantives

Some names are derived from the combination of a substantive with a verbally derived form, such as -αγόρας (e.g., Φιλαγόρας), -αλος (e.g., Ἀτραγάλος), -ανίας (e.g., Ἑρμανίας), -βοῦλος (e.g., Χαιρέβουλος), -δικος (e.g., Φιλόδικος), -δωρος (see § 4.11), -δοτος, or -κλης (see § 4.07). Many names are composed with the verb ἔχω in the form of the termination -οχος (e.g., Δεξίοχος, Μητίοχος, Ἀξίοχος, Δηΐοχος, Φάνοχος).[62] When the final term is verbally derived and does not exist otherwise in the language as an independent form, it generally cannot be used by itself to form a proper name.[63]

4.10.3 Combinations of a Particle/Adverb/Preposition with Another Term

Finally, some names are formed by combining a particle, adverb, or preposition with another term, such as a substantive, adjective, or verb (e.g., Εὔαγρος, Εὔαθλος, Ἀείμνηστος).

4.11 Nontheophoric Names Terminating in -δωρος

Names of this class can begin with an adjective, adverb, preposition, or noun. Examples are Πολύδωρος, Ἀγαθόδωρος, Μεγιστόδωρος, Κλυτόδωρος, Εὔδωρος, Ἀντίδωρος, Ἀμφίδωρος, Φιλόδωρος, Καλλίδωρος. The final

59. On personal names compounded with -λεως and -λαος see Threatte, *Grammar*, 1, § 50.0531–0532.

60. Θρασύλεως (nom.), -λεω (gen.), -λεῳ (dat.), -λεων (acc.); the -εως ending is a pseudodiphthong; in Homeric times it was -ηος. By a process of assimilation, the η shortened and the o became long. Consequently, they are counted as one syllable.

61. See Letronne, "Mémoire," 62–63.

62. See Letronne, "Mémoire," 17.

63. The name Δῶρος, referring to the head of the Dorian nation, is derived not from the verbal form but from the name of a hero, Dora.

-δωρος originally had an active sense of "being the cause of, author of, or giver of" something, as in Αἰολόδωρος, "Bestower of Gifts"; Βοτρυόδωρος, "Producer of Grapes"; Πλουσιόδωρος, "Bestower of Wealth"; and Γλυκύδωρος, "Bestower of Kindness." Similarly, such names as Νικόδωρος, Θυμόδωρος, Κλεύδωρος, and Πιστόδωρος identify their bearers as bestowers of victory, courage, glory, and trust, respectively.

4.12 Geographical Specificity of Names

Though many names are attested over a wide geographical sphere, some names are indicative of particular regions. The names Ἀδήριτος[64] and Ὑβλήσιος[65] are attested only in Samos. Κάρνις and Πολιάνθης have an exclusively Kyrenian provenance.[66]

Distinctively Macedonian names, such as Ἄδυμος, Βάλας, Κόρραγος, Περείτας, and Εὔλαιος, persist in Macedonia through the imperial period.[67] Bithynia evinces its own particular names, such as Βιοβρις/Βιοηρις.[68] Ἀγρεοφῶν is a characteristic name from Lycia and eastern Caria.[69] Σήραμβος is attested mostly in Dorian regions, such as Crete, Thera, Aigina, and Tarentum.[70]

Names ending in -γειτων and -γειτος (e.g., Καλλιγείτων, Ἡρόγειτος, Εὐγείτων/Εὔγειτος, Θέγειτος) are frequent in Megaris and Boiotia.[71] Most

64. See Robert, *BE* (1976): 531; cf. *BE* (1938): 299, 307.

65. See Robert, *BE* (1976): 531, p. 512; (1960): 318, no. 21.

66. See Robert, "Sur le nom d'un proxène d'Épidaure en Cyrénaïque," *REG* (1967): 31–39; *IG* IV² 96, L. 23; *GDI* III.2, 4833, L. 11. cf. Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris*, 42. For examples of Κάρνις and Πολιάνθης (Kyrene) see Bechtel*PN*, 234, 375. Olivier Masson ("Vocabulaire grec et anthroponymie: Hesychius σήραμβος 'escarbot' et le nom d'homme Σήραμβος," *RPhil* 49 [1975]: 13–18) collects eighteen geographically classed names; on Cretan forms see O. Masson, "Notes d'anthroponymie grecque et asianique," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 16 (1965): 158–76.

67. See Robert, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," 244, 246 n. 436 (*OMS* 5.331, 333 n. 436).

68. See Robert, *ÉtAnat*, 199–200, 222–25, 233 (and Mysia); L. Robert, "Inscriptions de Bithynie copiées par Georges Radet," *REA* 42 (1940): 302–22, esp. 310–11. For Nicomedia see Robert, *ÉtAnat*, 229ff., 235ff., 239; Gustave Mendel, "Inscriptions de Bithynie," *BCH* 24 (1900): 361–426, esp. 381; *SEG* 31.656, 35.1302.

69. It has a connection with the Agrioi gods: see P. Jacobsthal and A. H. M. Jones, "A Silver Find from South-West Asia Minor," *JRS* (1940): 16–31, esp. 27; Robert, *ÉtAnat*, 486.

70. See O. Masson, "Vocabulaire," *RPhil* 49 (1975): 17; on Cretan forms see O. Masson, "Notes d'anthroponymie," 158–76.

71. See Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," 231 n. 1 (*OMS* 5.261 n. 1); on the onomastics of Boiotian names see *SEG* 43.200.

names ending in -ερμος originate in Ionian settlements: examples are Ποσειδέρμος, Φώκερμος, Μελήσερμος, Νικήσερμος (Chios); Διονύσερμος (Samos); Πύθερμος (Phokaia, Teos, Ephesos).[72] The goddess Perasia, goddess of Hierapolis, gave rise to the name Περασιόδωρος in that place. The name Μαλούσιος is derived from Apollo Maloeis of Lesbos and is rarely attested except in Lesbos, in Aiolis, and near Teos in the Aiolian Troad.[73]

When such locally defined names are attested outside of their particular region, the individual's place of origin can be plausibly deduced. For example, Μακάπωρ is a well-known Thracian name that is also attested in other regions among soldiers from Thrace.[74] However, some names were given to commemorate guest-friendships, so distinctive foreign names are sometimes attested in areas to which they do not belong.

The names of children derived from local rivers obviously have a clear geographical focus.[75] The Maeander River gives rise to the names Μαιάνδωρος or Μαιάνδριος, the Skamander to the names Σκάμανδρος, Σκαμανδρώνυμος, Σκαμανδρόφιλος, Σκαμάνδριος, and Σκαμανδρότιμος.[76] The Kayster River of Lydia is attested by the name Καΰστριος and Καυστρόδικος in Ephesos and Colophon.[77] Μελήσανδρος (*SEG* 35.168) is

72. There are also examples of this name in Lindos (*ILindos* 184); in Massilia, the name has an Ionian character (see L. Robert, "Noms de personnes et civilisations grecques. I. Noms de personnes dans Marseilles grecque," *JSav* [1968]: 197–215, esp. 206–11 [*OMS* 7.141–58, esp. 150–51]; Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil*, 206–7; *BE* [1955]: 282). It is unclear whether these names are connected with the river Hermos (Letronne, "Mémoire," 65–69) or the god Hermes (Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris*, 113–14; Bechtel*PN* 164–66).

73. See Bechtel*PN* 527; *SIG*³ 113, col. I, L. 15.

74. See W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker: Eine ethnologische Untersuchung, II*, SBWien 131 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1894), 25–26; G. G. Mateescu, "I traci nelle epigrafi di Roma," *EphDac* 1 (1923): 57–252, esp. 253–90 (app. 1, list of names); G. G. Mateescu, "Nomi traci territorio scito-sarmatico," *EphDac* 2 (1924): 223–38. Other names peculiar to Thrace include Ἀρηπυρος (*IG* X/II, 1, no. 896), Βειθᾶς (no. 219), Βρυζος (no. 243), Γουρας (no. 94), Δεντουρμης (no. 1020), Δορζινθος (no. 242), Ζειπαρος (no. 805), Ζετιτις (no. 564), Μενδις (no. 446), Πυρουλας (nos. 509, 1020), Τόρκος (no. 446): see Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," 199–200; "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," 245 (*OMS* 5.332); *BE* (1973): 342.

75. See § 4.07, 4.07.3, 4.14. Examples are Αἴσηπος (Kyzikos); Ἀλφεός (Lakedaimonia); Ἀσωπός (Hyettos); Ἕβρος (Delphi); Ἠριδανός (Chios); Ἡρακλεώτης, Ἴλισος, Ἰλιονέως, Ἴναχος (Pergamon); Ἰνδός (Miletos), Ἴστρος (Delphi); Κάϊκος (Mytilene); Κῖνυψ (Thebes); Κύδαρος (Thasos); Νέστος (Delos); Νοῦς (Pherai; *IG* IX/2, 414B, L. 10); Στρύμουν (Larissa); Ὕπανις (Olbia); Φᾶσις (Laodikeia on the Lykos): see Bechtel*PN* 555–56.

76. See Robert, *BE* (1968): 432; Robert, *BE* (1974): 123; Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris*, 131; Louis Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (Geneva: Droz, 1966) 66.

77. Δωρόθεος Καυστροδίκου (Colophon) (Robert, "Études d'épigraphie grecque. XL. Inscriptions d'Herakleia," *RPhil* 10 [1936]: 113–70, esp. 161–62); Καϋστρόλοχος (Ephesos) (L. Robert, "Villes de Carie et d'Ionie dans la liste des Théorodoques de Delphes," *BCH* 70 [1946]: 506–23, esp. 511); Καΰστριος (L. Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse: Fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes," *RPhil* 41 [1967]: 7–84, esp. 15; *BE* [1967]: 497).

derived from the Melas River (Cappadocia), while Κηφισανδρος, Κηφισόδημος, Κηφισοφῶν, Κηφισοκλῆς, Κηφισόκριτος, Κηφισίας, and Κηφισίων are based on the Kephisos River in Attica. Εὐφράτης and Εὐφρατεία are obviously based on the Euphrates River.[78] In Macedonia, Ἄξιος is based on the great river of Macedonia, the Axios, whereas this name is elsewhere derived from the simple adjective "worthy."[79]

4.13 Names Attested in Colonies

Louis Robert established the principle that there is an onomastic connection between the homelands and their respective colonies.[80] The Phokian names Κρινᾶς (gen. Κρινᾶ) and Κρινίας are attested in two of the colonies of Phokis, Massilia, and Emporion.[81] Similarly, the name Βάρβαξ, indigenous to Thera, is also attested in the Therian colony of Kyrene.[82] Similarly, in his studies of the west coast of the Pontus Euxinus, Robert observed how there were two distinct onomastic groupings, one for the Ionian towns and another for the Megarian towns.[83] Hence, the onomastics of the Ionian town of Olbia Euxini—a colony of Miletos—are typically Ionian (e.g., Πύθερμος).[84] The Ionian origin of Odessos is marked by such names as Αἰαντίδης.[85] The names

78. See *IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 77; G. E. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia," part 1, *AnatSt* 9 (1959): 67–118, esp. 70, no. 2. On names deriving from the river Kephissos see D. W. Roller, "The Kaphisias Family of Tanagra," in *Boeotia Antiqua*, ed. J. M. Fossey and J. Morin (Amsterdam, 1993), 3:57–67.

79. See Robert, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," 206.

80. Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil*, 99–201; cf. Robert*Noms*, 521–36; Masson, "Remarques sur deux inscriptions de Cyrène et de Théra," *RPhil* 41 (1967): 225–31, esp. 230–31.

81. See L. Robert, "Noms de personnes et civilisations grecques," part 1, *JSav* (1968): 197–215, esp. 198 (*OMS* 7.141–215, esp. 142); see also *BE* (1969): 623. This is not to be confused with other instances of the same root that are found more widely, e.g., Κριναγόρας, Κρινάνθης, Κριναρέτη, Κρίνιππος (Bechtel*PN* 263).

82. See *IG* XII/3, 543; O. Masson, "Remarques sur deux inscriptions de Cyrène et de Théra, I," *RPhil* 41 (1967): 225–31, esp. 229–31; Robert*Noms* 192 n. 3.

83. Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," 165–236. Cf. Robert's analysis of names of Byzantium in *IByzEpit* 132–98; Robert, "Pierres errantes, muséographie et onomastique," *Berytus: Archeological Studies* 16 (1966): 5–39, esp. 7–8. For Ἰστρόδωρος and Ἰστροκλῆς in the territory of Istros and Tomis see Robert*Noms* 345 and n. 4; Bechtel*PN* 555.

84. See Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," 165–236.

85. Also attested in Athens, Priene, Lampsakos, Maroneia, and Chios. See Michel Feyel, "Nouvelles inscriptions d'Abdère et de Maronée," *BCH* 66 (1942–43): 176–99, esp. 198, no. 1; Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," 234 (*OMS* 5.264).

Τόμιον and Τωμίων in Odessos are derived from the eponymous hero of its sister city, Tomis (Thrace), both cities being founded by Miletos.[86] Likewise, the onomastics of Chersonesos are Megarian,[87] attesting to such names as Βόσπων and Βοσπόριχος, which are typical of Megara, Megarian colonies (e.g., Byzantium), and cities that had a commercial relationship with the Megarian colonies.[88]

Louis Robert has also documented the interesting phenomenon of children in colonies being named after rivers of the family's homeland. As I noted earlier in this chapter, river names are notably attested among slaves. For example, the slave name Ῥύνδαξ evokes the Rhyndakos River of western Mysia, which flows into the Propontis east of Kyzikos.[89] The Kaïkos River in Asia Minor gave rise to the name Κάϊκος and derivative forms, not only in Smyrna, Priene, Kyme, and Magnesia on the Maeander,[90] but also in places as far away as Massilia and Naxos.[91] Similarly, some names are formed by combining the names of the Kaïkos and Hermos Rivers, creating such composite names as Ἑρμοκάϊκος and Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος in the colonies Emporion and Massilia.[92]

4.14 Jewish Names

Persons of non-Greek origin often employed personal names from the theonomastic tradition of their local ethnos. For example, in Diaspora communities, many Jews had Greek or Latin personal names,[93] sometimes with a biblical name as well (e.g., Αἰλιανὸς ὁ καὶ Σαμουηλ [Aelianus, also known as Samuel]).[94] The Greek name Λεόντιος was popular among Jews as a Greek alternative for the name *Judah* (Lion's Cub).[95] Indices of attested Jewish names are helpful reference aids.[96]

86. See Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," 234 (*OMS* 5.264).

87. See Robert in *OMS* 7.209.

88. See Robert, "Discours d'ouverture," 38.

89. See Robert, *IByzEpit,* 145; L. Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie," 165–236 (*OMS* 6.57–70); Masson, "Remarques sur deux inscriptions," 231 n. 3; Bechtel*PN* 521–22, 538.

90. See Robert, "Noms de personnes," 211–12 (*OMS* 7.155–56); cf. Robert, *ÉtAnat,* 114 n. 1.

91. See Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil,* 200 n. 4; Robert, *BE* (1955): 282.

92. See Robert, "Une nouvelle statue archaïque au Louvre. II. L'inscription," *RA* 2 (1966): 216–22, esp. 221–22; L. Robert, "Noms de personnes," 212–23 (*OMS* 7.156–57).

93. See A. T. Kraabel, "The Impact of the Discovery of the Sardis Synagogue," in *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958–1975,* ed. G. M. A. Hanfmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 178–90, esp. 184; *IAphrodJud* 93–105. Cf. general comments in J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'Empire romain: Leur condition juridique, économique et sociale,* 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1914), 1: 221–34. Cf. also W. M. Ramsay, "Jews in the Graeco-Asiatic Cities," *Expos,* 6th ser., 5 (1902): 19–33, 92–109, esp. 103–4; G. Kittel, "Das kleinasiatische Judentum in der hellenistische-römischen Zeit: Ein Bericht zur Epigraphik Kleinasiens," *ThLZ* 69 (1944): 9–20, esp. 14. See infra n. § 4.14 n. 94, 95, 96, § 14.20 n. 131.

When the Greeks heard Jewish names, they perceived the foreign phonemes as those of their own language, a phenomenon known as phonetic polarization. The result is great diversity in the Greek orthography of Jewish names, depending on how they were pronounced and heard. For example, the *o* in name *Ya'akob* (Jacob) is rendered variously as ου, ω, or ο (e.g., Ἰάκουβος, Ἰάκωβος, Ἰάκοβος, Ἰακώβ/Ἰακόβ) and as υ in the derivative form Ἰακύβιος.

After Caracalla's Edict of Citizenship in A.D. 212 (see § 5.02), Jewish personal names were often absorbed into the Roman citizen's formula—becoming cognomina—and used for formal purposes. In other words, Jewish names continued in the form of cognomina beyond A.D. 212. For example, in Rome, we know of an Aurelius Joses (*IJudRom*L 209), an Appidia Lea (*IJudRom*L 212), and a Κλαύδιος Ἰωσης (*IJudRom*L 538). However, it is difficult to generalize, since we know of only a limited number of people with such names. Indeed, the situation is complicated for the middle to late third century A.D. by the opposite tendency of persons of modest (and sometimes

94. *IAphrodJud* 5–7, face *b,* L. 30; Heikki Solin provides useful insights on surnames among Jews in "Juden und Syrer im römischen Reich," in *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit (Kolloquium vom 8. bis 10. April 1974),* ed. G. Neumann and J. Untermann, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 40 (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1980), 301–30; cf. Margaret H. Williams, "Palestinian Jewish Personal Names in Acts," in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting,* vol. 4, *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting,* ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1995), 81–114.

95. The use of Maccabean names among Jews declines rapidly among Palestinian Jews after the Bar Kochba revolt. Jewish names in the Diaspora were often different from those preferred in Palestine; among the four to five most common personal names was *Judas* (see Williams, "Palestinian Jewish Personal Names in Acts," 79–114).

96. See *CPJud* 1.280–86, 2.263–69; Enno Littmann in Preisigke*NB* 519–26; *IJudKyren* 217–31; the indices of *IJudEg, IJudEur, IJudRom*L, *IJudRom*N; Franceso Vattioni, "I Semiti nell'epigrafia cirenaica," *SCO* 37 (1987): 527–43 (cf. *SEG* 37.1662). On Jewish female names in Palestine see Tal Ilan, "Notes on the Distribution of Jewish Women's Names in Palestine in the Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods," *JJS* 40 (1989): 186–200 (*SEG* 39.1618); R. S. Kraemer, "Non-Literary Evidence for Jewish Women in Rome and Egypt," *Helios* 13 (1986): 85–101; Heinz Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients,* Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde I.4 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1930); *IBethShe'arim* 227–28; *IGerasa,* 593–99; H. Withnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients,* Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde I.4. (Leipzig: E. J. Brill, 1930). For Semitic names see *SEG* 42.687. More generally, consult the indices to *BE* prepared by Institut Fernand Courby and Marcillet-Jaubert/Vérilhac.

higher) status (including Jews) to drop the full citizen nomenclature in inscriptions in preference for a single personal name.

4.15 Ethnics Used as Names

Some personal names are formed from ethnics; for example, the three daughters of Themistocles were named Ἰταλία, Συβαρίς,[97] and Ἀσία (Plutarch *Themis.* 32). In the Roman period particularly, many names are formed from ethnics by the addition of the termination -ικός (e.g., Μακεδονικός, Ἀλικός, Ἀνδρικός, Ἀτθικός, Ἀττικός, Δηλικός, Εὐβοϊκός, Λυδικός, Μηλικός, Ὀλυμπικός/-ιχός, Ὀμβρικός, Ποντικός, Πυθικός).[98] Such names do not necessarily indicate an individual's place of origin but, rather, may signify that the individual's family has a connection with a particular region or city, such as a commercial interest. For example, the region of Kolchis at the base of the Pontus Euxinus had exports in flax, hemp, wax, and pitch. The use of the personal name Κόλχος in cities that were trading partners of Kolchis, such as Olbia, Byzantium, and Kos, suggests that the family of the child so named had some commercial or related interest in the region of Kolchis.[99]

4.16 Chronology and Names

The popularity of particular names varied from time to time. For example, I have already discussed the rising popularity of theophoric names in the Hellenistic period (see § 4.04). Though names tended to become more homogeneous in the imperial period, with fewer regional distinctions, a number of names characteristic of this period also emerged. Especially important in this regard was the concept of *tyche* (luck/good fortune) in popular culture, giving rise to a host of names, such as Ἀγαθητύχη, Ἀγαθότυχος, and Καλότυχος. Included within this group are female names ending in -ής (gen. -ῆδος, dat. -ῆδι), such as Τυχής, Τυχικῆς and Ζωτικῆς.[100] Names of this kind and such names as Ἀβάσκαντος were probably intended to protect children from the evil eye (βασκανία), though Ἀβάσκαντος was also a popular slave name.[101]

Though a runner or a good servant might be named Ἀγαθόπους, this name was more often applied to someone whose feet were "good" in the sense of bringing good luck.[102] Good luck is also brought by persons named Καλόπους and Καλόποδια.[103] Καλόκαιρος, which had the meaning of "summertime" in common parlance,[104] was a good name for an augur, expressive of the wish that the augur might profit at the right moment and take advantage of favorable circumstances.[105] The imperial period also witnessed the growth of such names as Προκοπή (Prosperity) and Ἐπαύξησις (Increase).

4.17 The Patronymic, Papponymic, and Matronymic

Various additional names were appended to personal names—a patronymic, sometimes followed by an ethnic (see § 4.18) or demotic (see § 4.19). Greeks were not given a second name to denote the family, echoing the Latin *nomen gentilicium.* However, in the imperial period, the patronymic (πατρώνυμον) was frequently used. Technically speaking, a patronymic is not the "name of the father" but a "name deriving from the name of the father."[106] It was formed from the genitive (or an adjectival form) of the father's name, with or without the article (e.g., Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου [Alkibiades, son of Kleinias]). The use of a filiation formula is a sign of freeborn status, though in actual practice, it is

97. See O. Masson, "Review of Elena Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia, Napoli,* I, Casa editrice Quasar (1990)," *Epigraphica* 54 (1992): 305–6 (*SEG* 42.1787).

98. See, e.g., *IG* II² 4473; F. Pordomingo in *Symbolae: Ludovico Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae,* 2 vols., ed. J. L. Melena, Veleia Anejo 1 (Victoriaco Vasconum: Instituto de Ciencias de la Antigüedad, Universidad del País Vasco, 1985), 1:101–9 (*SEG* 35.1795). On the construction of ethnic names see Fritz Gschnitzer, "Stammes- und Ortsgemeinden im alten Griechenland," *WS* 68 (1955): 120–44, reprinted in *Zur griechischen Staatskunde,* Wege der Forschung 96 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), 271–97; L. Robert, *Hellenica,* II, 65–93.

99. See R. Flacelière, J. Robert, and L. Robert, *BE* (1939): 13; Bechtel*PN* 539. Kos had strong commercial ties with Byzantium and the northern shore of the Pontus Euxinus (see Robert, "Discours d'ouverture," 36–38). Cf. *SEG* 42.1785.

100. See L. Robert, "Voyages épigraphiques en Asie Mineure," *RPhil* 17 (1943): 170–201, esp. 194 n. 4; Robert in *OMS* 3.1592; Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil,* 159; Robert, *Hellenica,* XI–XII, 392–94; Robert, *BE* (1959): 411; Robert, *Hellenica,* XIII, 256 with n. 5; Robert*Noms* 215. Many other names fit into this same morphological pattern: e.g., Ἀπής, Ἀσκληπιοδώρας, Δημητριάς, Διονυσιάς, Δοξάς, Κοσμιάς, Κυριακής, Κυριλλάς, Μαριάς, Μαρκιανής, Μηνοφιλάς, Μητροδωράς, Συντυχής, Σωταριάς, Τατειάς, Τατιανής, Φιλοδοχιάς.

101. Ἀβάσκαντος, Ἀφθόνητος (Robert, *ÉtAnat,* 143 n. 1). See L. Robert, "Hellenica, XX: Décrets de Priène," *RPhil* 18 (1944): 5–56, esp. 41–42; Robert, "Discours d'ouverture," 41; O. Masson, "Remarques sur des épitaphes d'Amathonte," in *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (1975)* (Nicosia: Zavillis, 1975), 142–46, esp. 144; Robert, *BE* (1976): 746; Robert, *BE* (1971), 467; *IGUR,* II/1, 266, II/2, 895, 1049; *TAM* II, 1, 73, 208, 245; *SEG* 8.635.

102. See Robert, *BE* (1976): 749; (1968): 71, 434, 535. On the chronology of the use of this name see H. Solin in *L'Africa romana: Atti del VII convegno di studio Sassari, 15–17 dicembre 1989,* ed. A. Mastino (Sassari: Gallizzi, 1990), 177–86, esp. 181–83 (cf. *SEG* 39.1813).

103. See Robert, *Hellenica,* IX, 52–53 n. 3.

104. See Robert, *Hellenica,* IX, 65–66.

105. See Robert, *Hellenica,* IX, 54; Robert, *BE* (1951): 222. An analogous name is Καλήμερος (*Hellenica,* IX, 43–44, 64–66).

106. R. Merkelbach, "Patronymon heißt nicht: 'Name des Vaters,' " *ZPE* 87 (1991): 37–38.

often difficult to distinguish this formula from the formula expressing servile status (see § 4.22).

In the case of women, stating the patronymic was usually deemed of greater importance than stating the uxorial relationship. When both the father and husband are recorded with a woman's name, the patronymic usually appears first.[107]

Sometimes a papponymic (i.e., a name derived from the name of the grandfather) or a name derived from other ancestors was also appended. The matronymic (i.e., a name derived from the name of the mother) was widely used in the Hellenistic and imperial periods for both men and women. Examples are Ἀθηνογένης Πλουσίας (*IG* X/2.1, 133, L. 11), Ἀντώνιος Κλεοπάτρας (242, col. II, L. 6), and Ἀσιατικὸς Φίλας (68, L. 23; 69, L. 18).[108]

The matronymic was often used for illegitimate children of a free woman and a slave who owed their legal status to their mother.[109] However, the use of the matronymic was by no means reserved for the lower classes of slaves and freedmen. It was also frequently employed by the ruling classes. For example, in the following example, Πεισώ, the mother of Λασθένης is specified either because her husband, Σωσαμενός, also had children by another wife or because Peiso belonged to a respected family: . . . σὺν Λασθένηι τῶι Σωσαμενῶι τῶι ἐκ Πεισῶς [. . . with Lasthenes, son of Sosamenos, son of Peiso].[110] In this latter example, the name of the mother supplements, rather than replaces, the patronymic, with the preposition ἐκ being used to express filiation. We find the same usage in the following inscription:[111] ὁ πρὶν Ἀθηναίου Δημήτριος ἐνθάδε κεῖται, ἐκ Φρονίμας γεγαὼς ματέρος [Here lies Demetrios, once son of Athenaios, son of his mother, Phronima].[112] However, in some cases, the use of a mother's name in the filiation formula may simply indicate that the father was deceased.

107. See Torgen Vestergaard, L. Bjertrup, M. H. Hansen, T. H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein, "A Typology of the Women Recorded on Gravestones from Attica," *AJAH* 10 (1985) [1993]: 178–90.

108. See Argyro B. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society,* Meletêmata 8 (Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, 1988), 433–35.

109. See A. P. Christophilopoulos, "Αἱ μητρωνυμίαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν," in Δίκαιον καὶ Ἱστορία (Athens, 1973), 60–67.

110. J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1984): 333; cf. *IGRR* IV, 229, in which the third of three *strategoi* is referred to as "Menodoros, son of Euphemia" (Robert in *OMS* 4. 229).

111. See A. Chaniotis, "Die Inschriften von Amnisos," in *Amnisos nach den archäologischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit,* ed. J. Schäfer, 2 vols. (Berlin: Mann, 1992), 315–17; cf. A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Städten in der hellenistischen Zeit,* Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphischer Studien 24 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996), 423 n. 2040.

112. *SEG* 28.759 (Crete).

In the case of a father and son carrying the same name, various signs were devised to communicate this. The father's name might be indicated by adding the *siglum* ⸗, used extensively after 100 B.C.: Στέφανος⸗ = Στέφανος Στεφάνου (Stephen, son of Stephen).[113] This abbreviation is not normally employed on sepulchral monuments (where the full patronymic was usually written out in full). The same abbreviation is also observed with feminine names: Ἀλεξάνδρα⸗ = Ἀλεξάνδρα Ἀλεξάνδρου (*IG* II² 6945).

Alternatively, the *sigla* β′ (or δίς), γ′ (or τρίς), and δ′ (or τετράκις) were used to designate successive generations: for example, Μενεκράτης β′ signifies Μενεκράτης Μενεκράτους (Menekrates, son of Menekrates). The *siglum* γ′ (or τρίς) indicates a third generation: for example, Μενεκράτης γ′ would mean Μενεκράτης ὁ Μενεράτους τοῦ Μενεκράτους (Menekrates, son of Menekrates, grandson of Menekrates).[114] Likewise, δ′ (or τετράκις) specifies the great-grandfather.

The term νέος (junior/the younger) is also used in this respect, as in Λ. Αἴλιος Οὐικτωρεῖνος νέος ἐποίησε τὴν λάρνακα καὶ τὴν στήλην Λ. Αἰλίῳ Οὐικτωρείνῳ τῷ πατρὶ [Lucius Aelius Victorinus, the younger, constructed this larnax (= ostotheke) and stele for his father, Lucius Aelius Victorinus] (*CIG* 4003); the term νέος can also be employed to indicate the younger of two homonymous brothers.[115]

In the case of males, the ellipse of υἱός (or παῖς) is customary in prose except in the case of Roman names. Exceptions to this can usually be explained as coming under the influence of Latin practice, with its regular use of the filiation formula with the term *filius,* as in L(ucius) Oppius L(ucii) f(ilius).

In the case of females, a term of relation, such as θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ, ἀδελφή γυνή, or σύμβιος, is customary, as in Αὐρ(ηλία) Τάτις Ὀνησίμου χαλκέος (= χαλκέως) σύνβιος (= σύμβιος) [Aurelia Tatis, wife of Onesimos, the blacksmith].[116] If some such term is missing, it is unclear whether the genitive case specifies the woman's father (as in most cases) or her husband.

In the case of adoption, the adoptive father can be acknowledged using the formula ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ τοῦ δεῖνος (so-and-so, son of so-and-so, but by adoption, son of so-and-so). Cognate expressions,

113. *IBM* I, 44; *IG* II² 2191. Cf. *IG* II² 1754, LL. 2, 6–7, 11 (ca. 50 B.C.); 1043, LL. 89, 99, 101, 115, 118–19 (38/7 B.C.).

114. See Günther Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957), 56.

115. See Robert, *BE* (1972): 506; *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 106.

116. See Thomas Drew-Bear, "Local Cults in Graeco-Roman Phrygia," *GRBS* 17 (1976): 247–68, esp. 248–49, no. 2.

such as κατὰ ποίησιν/παίδωσιν δὲ τοῦ δεῖνος (but by adoption, son of so-and-so) and, in the case of a woman, κατὰ θυγατροποΐαν δὲ τοῦ δεῖνος, are also used.[117] Similarly, the terms θρέψας (s.v. τρέφω) and θρέπτος/-ον appear frequently in Anatolian inscriptions to specify a foster parent or child.[118] The order of the biological and adoptive fathers can be reversed using the formula ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος φύσει/γόνῳ δὲ τοῦ δεῖνος (so-and-so, adopted son of so-and-so, but by birth son of so-and-so).[119] There is also the possibility of a name change, as in Πάμφιλος Παρμενίσκου φύ(σει) δὲ Πύθων Ἀπολλοδώρου [Pamphilos, [adopted] son of Parmeniskos, but by birth Python, son of Apollodoros] (*IKos*PH 115, no. 61; cf. no. 60) and Τατειν Διογένους φύσει δὲ Ζωσᾶ [Tateis, daughter of Diogenes, but by birth named Zosas] (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 54).

Such expressions as υἱὸς πόλεως, υἱὸς δήμου, υἱὸς βουλῆς, and υἱὸς γερουσίας, attested in Asia Minor, are honorary titles given to notable persons, not patronymic formulae.[120]

4.18 The Ethnic

An ethnic is a technical term indicating the place, region, or nation of origin. Ethnics occur in two forms, adjectival (e.g., Βοιώτιος, Ἑλλήνιος, Φρύγιος) and substantival (e.g., Βοιωτός, Ἕλλην, Φρύξ).[121]

The ethnic for a single place may take a great variety of forms: for example, the ethnic of Herakleia is variously written as Ἡρακλεύς, Ἡρακλε(ι)ώτης, and Ἡράκλειος. One must be careful to avoid confusing ethnics with personal names derived from places of origin (see § 4.15). Foreigners and resident aliens (μέτοικοι) in particular are often cited with an ethnic, or the place-name may be introduced with the phrase οἰκῶν ἐν. Examples follow.

Ζηνόδοτος Κύδνου ὁ Περγαῖος
[Zenodotos, son of Kydnos, native of Perge][122]

117. On the adoption of women in Rhodian inscriptions see *SEG* 43.522.

118. See *MAMA* IX, pp. lxiv–lvi; cf. *IKibyra-Olbasa,* 72, 75; *SEG* 43.911; see *IGalatN* II, 313, 325.

119. See Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 56.

120. See L. Robert, *BE* (1951): 236; (1966): 168; (1967): 384. Cf. R. Van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation,* DMAHA 15 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1996).

121. See Fritz Gschnitzer, in *O-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag,* ed. A. Etter (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1986), 415–21. On ethnics on Crete see *SEG* 42.797. On ethnics in ephebic catalogues see J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1980): 94.

122. Paul F. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les grecs: Thiases, éranes, orgéons* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873), no. 49.

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται | Σύμφορος | Σικε(λὸς) Πανορμίτης
[Here lies Symphoros, Sicilian from Palermo][123]

Σμικυλίων Εὐαλκίδου ἐκ Κεραμέων
[Smikylion, son of Eualkides, native of Kerameis] (*IG* II² 6338)

However, there are also instances in which the person's ethnic is used to convey citizenship. Examples follow.

Βουλαγόρας Ῥόδιος[124]
[Boulagoras, citizen of Rhodes] (*IG* XII/1, 155)

Ἀντιοχὶς Διοδότου Τλωὶς
[Antiochis, daughter of Diodotos, citizen of Tlos] (*TAM* II, 595)

4.19 The Demotic

Kleisthenes is well known for having enrolled the citizens of Athens in ten new tribes (φυλαί), each tribe being composed of three τριττύες, and each τριττύς being composed of a number of demes (δῆμοι). Tribes and demes had their own officers and were self-administered. The deme was a territorial unit comparable to a township; it had an administrative center and regional boundaries. Many other cities, such as Rhodes and Miletos, also divided their citizenry into demes.[125]

The demotic is an adjectival form of the name of the deme in which each citizen was registered, as in Ἀντίδοτος Ἀπολλοδώρου Συπαλήττιος [Antidotos, son of Apollodoros, from the deme of Sypalettos] (*IG* II² 337). Though the demotic was not a new feature in the naming formula beginning in 403 B.C., the full name of an Athenian citizen consistently included a personal name, a patronymic, and a demotic.

Demotics are given in one of two ways: as an adjectival form of the deme

123. *ICUR* I, 2585; cf. 2151, Σιδόνιος (from Sidon).

124. On the ethnic Ῥόδιος/Ροδία see Vincent Gabrielsen, "The Status of *Rhodioi* in Hellenistic Rhodes," *ClMed* 43 (1992): 43–69 (*SEG* 42.744).

125. On Rhodes see Ioannes C. Papachristodoulou, Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ῥοδιακοὶ δῆμοι. Ἱστορικὴ Ἐπισκόπηση: Ἡ Ἰαλυσία (Athens, 1989), which also deals with demes of Ialysos, Kamiros, and Lindos (*SEG* 39.719); on Miletos see Marcel Piérart, "Athènes et Milet," *MH* 40 (1983): 1–18 (*SEG* 33.970).

TABLE 7. The Kleisthenaic Demes

Acharnai (Oineis)	Hekale (Leontis)
Acherdous (Hippothontis)	Hermos (Akamantis)
Agryle, Lower (Erechtheis)	Hestiaia (Aigeis)
Agryle, Upper (Erechtheis)	Hippotomadai (Oineis)
Aigilia (Antiochis)	Hybadai (Leontis)
Aithalidai (Leontis)	Ikarion (Aigeis)
Aixone (Kekropis)	Ionidai (Aigeis)
Alopeke (Antiochis)	Iphistiadai (Akamantis)
Amphitrope (Antiochis)	Kedoi (Erechtheis)
Anagyrous (Erechtheis)	Keiriadai (Hippothontis)
Anakaia (Hippothontis)	Kephale (Akamantis)
Anaphlystos (Antiochis)	Kephisia (Erechtheis)
Angele (Pandionis)	Kerameis (Akamantis)
Ankyle, Lower (Aigeis)	Kettos (Leontis)
Ankyle, Upper (Aigeis)	Kikynna (Akamantis)
Aphidna (Aiantis)	Koile (Hippothontis)
Araphen (Aigeis)	Kollytos (Aigeis)
Atene (Antiochis)	Kolonai (Antiochis)
Athmonon (Kekropis)	Kolonai (Leontis)
Auridai (Hippothontis)	Kolonos (Aigeis)
Azenia (Hippothontis)	Konthyle (Pandionis)
Bate (Aigeis)	Kopros (Hippothontis)
Besa (Antiochis)	Korydallos (Hippothontis)
Boutadai (Oineis)	Kothokidai (Oineis)
Cholargos (Akamantis)	Krioa (Antiochis)
Cholleidai (Leontis)	Kropidai (Leontis)
Daidalidai (Kekropis)	Kydantidai (Aigeis)
Deiradiotai (Leontis)	Kydathenaion (Pandionis)
Dekeleia (Hippothontis)	Kytheros (Pandionis)
Diomeia (Aigeis)	Lakiadai (Oineis)
Eiresidai (Akamantis)	Lamptrai, Lower/coastal (Erechtheis)
Eitea (Akamantis)	Lamptrai, Upper (Erechtheis)
Eitea (Antiochis)	Leukonoion (Leontis)
Elaious (Hippothontis)	Lousia (Oineis)
Eleusis (Hippothontis)	Marathon (Aiantis)
Epieikidai (Kekropis)	Melite (Kekropis)
Epikephisia (Oineis)	Myrrhinous (Pandionis)
Erchia (Aigeis)	Myrrhinoutta (Aigeis)
Erikeia (Aigeis)	Oa (Pandionis)
Eroiadai (Antiochis)	Oe (Oineis)
Eroiadai (Hippothontis)	Oinoe (Aiantis)
Euonymon (Erechtheis)	Oinoe (Hippothontis)
Eupyridai (Leontis)	Oion Dekeleikon (Hippothontis)
Gargettos (Aigeis)	Oion Kerameikon (Leontis)
Hagnous (Akamantis)	Otryne (Aigeis)
Halai (Aixonides [Kekropis])	Paiania, Lower (Pandionis)
Halai (Araphenides [Aigeis])	Paiania, Upper (Pandionis)
Halimous (Leontis)	Paionidai (Leontis)
Hamaxanteia (Hippothontis)	Pallene (Antiochis)

TABLE 7—*Continued*

Pambotadai (Erechtheis)	Prospalta (Akamantis)
Peiraieus (Hippothontis)	Ptelea (Oineis)
Pelekes (Leontis)	Rhamnous (Aiantis)
Pergase, Lower (Erechtheis)	Semachidai (Antiochis)
Pergase, Upper (Erechtheis)	Skambonidai (Leontis)
Perithoidai (Oineis)	Sounion (Leontis)
Phaleron (Aiantis)	Sphettos (Akamantis)
Phegaia (Aigeis)	Steiria (Pandionis)
Phegous (Erechtheis)	Sybridai (Erechtheis)
Philaidai (Aigeis)	Sypalettos (Kekropis)
Phrearrhioi (Leontis)	Teithras (Aigeis)
Phyla (Kekropis)	Themakos (Erechtheis)
Phyle (Oineis)	Thorai (Antiochis)
Pithos (Kekropis)	Thorikos (Akamantis)
Plotheia (Aigeis)	Thria (Oineis)
Poros (Akamantis)	Thymaitadai (Hippothontis)
Potamos, Lower (Leontis)	Trikorynthos (Aiantis)
Potamos, Upper (Leontis)	Trinemeia (Kekropis)
Potamos Deiradiotes (Leontis)	Tyrmeidai (Oineis)
Prasiai (Pandionis)	Xypete (Kekropis)
Probalinthos (Pandionis)	

Note: Tribe name in parentheses.

name ending in -ευς or -ιος (e.g., Πειραιεύς, Κολλυτεύς, Συπαλήττιος) or in conjunction with a preposition (e.g., ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἐν Κολλύτῳ οἰκῶν, ἐξ Ἀθμονέων). Deme names on gravestones are invariably not abbreviated but written out in full.[126] Table 7 lists the Kleisthenaic demes in alphabetic order, along with their tribal affiliations.[127]

4.20 Surnames

Perhaps under Roman influence, Greeks began to adopt surnames in official documents, especially in Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia (see § 5.06). The surname

126. On variations in the spelling of abbreviations of Attic demotics see D. Whitehead, "Abbreviated Athenian Demotics," *ZPE* 81 (1990): 105–61 (*SEG* 40.286).

127. See David Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica 508/7–ca. 250 B.C.: A Political and Social Study* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) (*SEG* 36.304). For a complete list of demes (in Greek) see Peter von Schoeffer, Δῆμοι, *RE* 5 (1905): 1–132, esp. 35–122; cf. *PA* 2.493–630. W. K. Pritchett (*The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes* [Baltimore, 1942], 13–23) supplies additional information on the rearrangement of demes and the creation of new tribes. For the geographical location of demes see C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attica: A Study of the Policy of Kleisthenes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); cf. Robin Osborne Jr., *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika,* Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

was connected to the personal name with the ὁ καί construction or, less commonly, with ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος, ὁ λεγόμενος, or ὁ ἐπίκλησις.[128] Examples follow.

Δημήτριος Ἀρτεμιδώρου ὁ καὶ Θρασέας[129] Μάγνης ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου
[Demetrios [son] of Artemidoros, also known as Thraseas, from Magnesia on the Maeander] (*IKyme* 41).

Ταῦρος τοῦ Ἀμμίας ὁ καὶ Ῥῆγλος
[Tauros [son] of [his mother] Ammia, also known as Reglos] (*IBM* II, 171).

Surnames were sometimes used to indicate one's ancestry or to eliminate confusions when two persons held the same personal name. Surnames were also employed to include an indigenous name.[130] In Asia Minor, indigenous people tried to assimilate their foreign names to Greek onomastics through the use of such surnames. For example, the Lycian Κτησικλῆς ὁ καὶ Κτασαδας had two names,[131] a well-known Greek name, Κτησικλῆς, and an indigenous name, Κτασαδας. He probably chose the Greek name on account of its similarity to his original name, though there is no philological connection between them.

4.21 Greek Names of Women

Olivier Masson has surveyed the range of female names and classified them as either simple or metonymic, on the basis of formation and content.[132]

128. See Gregory Horsley, "Names, Double," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David N. Freedman et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 4:1011–17; on name changes with πρότερον and πρίν see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, XIII, 232–33.

129. Some first-declension proper names ending in -ας form the genitive ending in -α (long), the Doric genitive (e.g., Ἀννίβας → Ἀννίβα [Hannibal], Ἰωνᾶς → Ἰωνᾶ, Βαρνάβας → Βαρνάβα, Ἰούδας → Ἰούδα), except when preceded by a vowel (e.g., Ἀνδρέας → Ἀνδρέου). The accent of the genitive corresponds with that of the nominative. All masculine proper names ending in -ης/-ας have the vocative ending in -η/-α (long). On genitives in Egypt ending in -η/ῆ instead of -ου/οῦ see *SEG* 43.1243.

130. See Robert*Noms* 16–19; *BE* (1974): 142. On double names in Egypt see W. Clarysse, "Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration," *Aegyptus* 65 (1985): 57–66 (*SEG* 35.1599).

131. See H. A. Ormerod and E. S. G. Robinson, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pamphylia," *BSA* 17 (1925): 215–49, esp. 238, no. 19.

132. O. Masson, "Remarques sur les noms de femmes en grec," *MH* (1990): 129–38 (*SEG* 40.1678). On genitive forms of female names ending in -ω and names composed with -κλέος see C. Gallavotti in *Studies in Diachronic, Synchronic, and Typological Linguistics: Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science IV, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 11 (Amsterdam: J. Benjamin, 1979), 251–63 (*SEG* 29.1742). On feminine names ending in -ης see R. Merkelbach, "Agnes," *ZPE* 45 (1982): 39–40 (*SEG* 32.1664); R. Merkelbach, "Die patronymische gebildeten Frauennamen," *ZPE* 59 (1985): 41–44; G. Laminger-Pascher, "Zu den Frauennamen auf -ῆς," *EpigAnat* 6 (1985): 83–85 (35.1794). On names of Jewish women in Palestine see supra § 4.14. On Illyrian names of women in Thessaly see O. Masson, "Variétés Thessaloniennes," *RPhil* 54 (1980): 229–32 (*SEG* 30.1834).

4.21.1 Simple Names

Simple female names include

1. names of women derived from male names (e.g., Ἀλεξάνδρα);[133]
2. elementary soubriquets derived from either adjectives (e.g., Ἀσπασία, Ἡδεῖα, Ἱλάρα, Καθάρα, Μίκ(κ)α, Σίμη, Σμμίχη, Φίλα/Φίλη/Φιλίστη/Φιλτέρα) or participles (e.g., Ἄνθουσα [Blooming], Θάλλουσα, Φιλουμένη);[134]
3. names derived from the calendar, festivals, or divine names (e.g., Ἀθηναῖς, Ἀπολλωνία, Ἀσκληπιάς, Ἀφροδισία, Νουμνίς);
4. names derived from geographical names (e.g., Αἰγυπτία, Ἀσία, Δελφίς, Δωρίς, Ἑλλάς, Θεττάλη, Ἰταλία, Λύδη, Σύμβαρις);
5. names referring to a social situation.

4.21.2 Metonymic Names

Metonymic names are based on a comparison and either terminate with the -ιον suffix or are based on abstracts. Metonymic names include

1. neuter names ending in the suffix -ιον that are affective, not pejorative (e.g., Αἴσχριον, Ἀρίστιον, Ζεύξιον, Ἡγήσιον, Ἡδύλιον, Μίκιον, Μόσχιον, Χοιρίδιον), contrary to the use of -ιον in male names[135] (this group includes names derived from neuter adjectives ending in -ον, such as Γλάφυρον, Ἴλαρον, Λίγυρον, Πίθανον, Σῖμον, Σόβαρον, Σύνετον, Χλίδανον);

133. Some Greek names with the masculine endings -ας and -ες are used of women in Lycia: see Robert, *BE* (1959): 411.

134. See O. Masson, "Noms grecs de femmes formés sur des participes," *Tyche* 2 (1987): 107–12.

135. See Louis Robert, "Deux inscriptions de l'époque impériale en Attique," *AJP* 100 (1979): 153–65, esp. 161, no. 9 (*SEG* 29.1761). On neuter female names in Attica see O. Masson, *Horos* 7 (1989): 45–52 (*SEG* 39.318).

2. neuter names derived from abstracts (e.g., Δόξα, Δόσις, Εὐανδρία, Εὔπραξις, Εὐτυχία, Μελέτη, Σοφία), with a special category being forms ending in -μα that have a corresponding abstract noun (a daughter would more likely be named Ἀγάπημα, e.g., than Ἀγάπη);[136]
3. names derived from objects ending in -μα and -ματιον (e.g., Ἄθυρμα, Ἄγαλμα/Ἀγαλμάτιον, Ἁρμάτιον, Σκύλμα/Σκυλμάτιον, Τόρευμα/Τορευμάτιον);[137]
4. names derived from mammals (e.g., Βοΐσκα), birds (e.g., Ἀλκυώ), reptiles (e.g., Χελώνη), insects (e.g., Κανάρα), fish (e.g., Σηπία), and plants and herbs (e.g., Ἀμαρακίς).[138]

4.22 Slaves of Greek Masters

Slaves were named either by their masters or by the slave dealers who sold them. Though there was no law to prevent slaves from bearing the same names as free men, in actual practice they tended to be given stock names that were typical of those of servile status (e.g., Μνήμη, Γνώμη).[139]

Especially common were names derived from an ethnic[140] or region,[141] names expressing the race of a slave (e.g., Μάνης),[142] names describing personal appearance (e.g., Ξανθίας,[143] Πυρρίας[144]), heroic and historical names

136. Other examples are Ἀξίωμα, Δώρημα, Ἐπίτευγμα, Ἐπίτευξις, Εὕρημα, Κτῆμα, Λάλημα, Μέλημα, Νίκημα, Νόημα, Παρόραμα, Σύνθημα, Τρύφημα, Φίλημα, Χ(ρ)ῆμα, Ὠφέλημα: see L. Robert in *IByzEpit* 150; *SEG* 26.1892; L. Robert in *ILaodikeia* 270 n. 1. See Adolf Wilhelm's study of female names ending in -μα (e.g., *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde,* SBWien 7 [Vienna: A. Holder, 1909], 220). Cf. L. Robert, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," 205; Jules Albert Foucault, *Recherches sur la langue et le style de Polybe,* Collection d'études anciennes (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1972), 19–21.

137. On names ending in -ματιον see O. Masson, "Quelques noms grecs recents en -μάτιος," *Arctos* 21 (1987): 73–77 (*SEG* 37.1810; cf. 34.1707).

138. See nn. 38–40.

139. For names characteristic of servile status consult Heikki Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: Ein Namenbuch,* 3 vols., Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996); *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: Ein Namenbuch.* CIL, Auctarium. 3 vols. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter 1982). For Attic slave names see C. Fragiadakis, *Die attischen Sklavennamen, von der spätarchaischen Epoche bis in die römische Kaiserzeit* (Athens, 1988) (*SEG* 38.280; O. Masson, *BE* [1990]: 355). Linda Reilly has also compiled an index of attested slave names from the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands dating from V B.C.–III A.D. (*Slaves in Ancient Greece: Slaves from Greek Manumission Inscriptions* [Chicago: Ares, 1978]).

140. E.g., Σύρος/α, Αἰγύπτος/α, Θρᾷξ/Θράισσα, Ῥόδιος/α, Θεττάλη, Λάκων.

141. E.g., Τίβειος (from Paphlagonia).

142. The name Μάνης was especially common among slaves of Phrygian background.

143. A typical slave name used in Greek comedy, for a character named for his yellow wig or hair.

144. A popular name for red-haired slaves from Thrace.

(Πάρις, Κροῖσος), and names describing a desirable quality in a slave, such as Δρόμον (Quick-Footed), Φιλοδεσπότης (Servile), Ὀνήσιμος (Profitable), and Ἀβάσκαντος (Secure against Spells), or simply designating low social status, such as Σπάταλος (Wanton) or Ἀτίμητος (Despised). Πέδων (based on πεδάω) denoted a slave who was always shackled. The name Ἀγάπητος (Lovable), and its equivalents Ἔραστος and Φίλητος were often borne by slaves in Rome.[145] Flower names, such as Ἄνθινος (Flowery) and Ἄνθος (Blossom), are typically, but not exclusively, servile.

The name of the slave's master, in the genitive case, usually follows that of the slave, as in Ἔρως Καίσαρος (= Ἔρως Καίσαρος δοῦλος [Eros, slave of Caesar] and Μελίφθονγος Ματούρου . . . Ἑλικὼν Ματούρου [Meliphthongos, slave of Maturos, . . . Helicon, slave of Maturos] (*IG* XIV, 617). Care must be taken not to interpret a master's name as a patronymic (see § 5.10). In actual practice, it is often impossible to distinguish between these two types of names. Indices of names that are characteristic of servile status are helpful in this regard (see n. 139) but not determinative. Similarly, personal names derived from geographical ethnics that do not correspond to a particular city or federation are sometimes indicators of servile origin (e.g., personal names derived from Thrace, Syria, Lydia, or Phrygia or from names of rivers).

The omission of the patronymic in contexts where one is expected may indicate servile status. However, even this is not conclusive, since eminent persons are also known to have omitted their patronymic. Neither is the use of nicknames and neuter names ending in -ιον proof of servile status, particularly in the case of female names. There are, in fact, no absolutely reliable onomastic indicators to determine servile status in the absence of such a term as δοῦλος or θρέπτος (this latter term also being used to specify a "foster" relationship, see § 4.17).[146]

4.23 Methodological Considerations

In etymological studies, one normally studies both the form and the meaning of a given word and then looks for a formal correspondence between them. Onomastics can be a very challenging field in this regard, because usually only

145. See Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen,* 2:880.

146. θρέπτος can mean "foster child/slave." For the various meanings of θρέπτος see *MAMA* IX, lxiv–lxvi (B. M. Levick and S. Mitchell); Robert, *BE* (1939): 35; *SEG* 43.911; A. Cameron, "ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ and Related Terms in the Inscriptions of Asia Minor," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), 27–62. Cf. the cognate participial term θρέψας/θρεψάσα.

the form of a personal name—not its meaning—is known. In the face of this problem, Ladislav Zgusta has set down three principles for the etymological analysis of unusual names.[147]

First, one must confirm the correctness of the form of a given name by checking the stone or a squeeze or photo to ensure that the text has been read correctly. One should also confirm that the word divisions are correct. So-called ghost names can easily be created by erroneous transcriptions and false word divisions.[148]

Second, it is important to determine whether a name is a primary or secondary name. A secondary name is one that is based on another name, such as the name of a deity, hero, or river. For example, Δημήτηρ is a primary name of a goddess, but the name Δημήτριος is a secondary name based on the name of the goddess. Only the etymology of the primary name is relevant to etymological and geographic considerations. For example, the Cilician name Μόμψος is a secondary name derived from the name of the mythical hero Μόψος. Only the etymology of the primary name, Μόψος, is significant. Similarly, the geographic diffusion of a secondary name is of no consequence with respect to historical linguistic analysis. For example, Zgusta observes: "*Joseph* is certainly a Hebrew name, but it would be mad to make any conclusions based on the distribution of its occurrence in early Christian Europe. Here it is a secondary name which can be used only as a testimony to the spread of the Christian cult of Saint Joseph; its etymology in this case is quite irrelevant."[149]

Third, with regard to foreign names, one must determine whether the meaning has been naturalized into Greek. When a foreign word has been naturalized, its original etymology is no longer relevant to its meaning in Greek culture. The phonemes of foreign words are perceived and reexpressed in the phonemes of one's own native language, with the original etymological meaning being lost. This phenomenon is known as *phonetic polarization.*[150]

147. L. Zgusta, "Some Principles of Work in the Field of the Indigenous Anthroponomy of Asia Minor," *AION(ling)* 6 (1965): 89–99.

148. On ghost names see Thomas Drew-Bear, "Review: Gertrud Laminger-Pascher, *Beiträge zu den griechischen Inschriften Lykaoniens,*" *Gnomon* 59 (1987): 604–14 (*SEG* 37.1237).

149. Zgusta, "Some Principles of Work," 92–93.

150. See Zgusta, "Some Principles of Work," 95–97. On account of this transposition of phonemes, it is often very difficult to determine whether a rare personal name is indigenous. One must also take into consideration so-called lallnames, i.e., names that arise in the speech of infants, or of adults to infants, that are unrelated to similar or identical names in other languages: e.g., Παπας, Παπιας, Νανα, Τατα, Τατεις (Robert*Noms* 348; P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* [reprint, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1896], 345).

4.24 Prosopography

The study of historical individuals, their family connections, and their careers is known as prosopography. A prosopographical profile can include such information as precise dates associated with the individual (e.g., birth, death, floruit, association with particular events); extant sources for all information; place of origin, residence, and death; functions, profession, and status; and family relations (preferably summarized in stemmata).

Tal Ilan has discussed the validity of such criteria as chronology, geography, and titles for the identification of persons.[151] Sometimes, epigraphists and papyrologists who have consulted only epigraphical or papyrological inventories, but not both, wrongly declare they have discovered a new name. It is necessary to consult beyond one's own discipline (including the evidence of coins) to avoid making such false claims.

To date, the accumulated literature on the method of Greek prosopography is extremely limited. John Fossey's 1991 introduction to the subject, *The Study of Ancient Greek Prosopography,* is a welcome addition indeed.[152] This work discusses the importance, history, and methods of prosopography, complete with an extensive bibliography.

To help scholars to determine what other information is known about a particular individual named in an inscription or to determine the geographical and chronological limits of a given name, a number of regional prosopographiae have been compiled. For example, over thirty thousand Athenian citizens are known by name; J. Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*[153] has now been superseded by John Traill's *Persons of Ancient Athens.*[154]

Unfortunately, no general prosopographia exists for Asia Minor, but there are specialized treatments for Asia Minor such as those by Ladislav Zgusta and

151. Tal Ilan, "Julia Crispina, Daughter of Berenicianus, a Herodian Princess in the Babatha Archive: A Case Study in Historical Identification," *JQR* 82 (1991/92): 361–81 (*SEG* 42.1783).

152. John Fossey, *The Study of Ancient Greek Prosopography* (Chicago: Ares, 1991); see esp. 55–59.

153. J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica,* 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Reimeri, 1901; reprint, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1966) (= *PA*); cf. Johannes Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (excerpted from Öfversigt af Finska vetenskaps-Societetens forhandlingar 52, 1 [Helsinki: Öfversigt, 1909–10], pp. 1–177; reprinted as *Supplement to J. Kirchner's Prosopographia Attica* [Chicago: Ares, 1981]).

154. John Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens,* 20 vols. (Toronto: Athenians, 1994–) (= *PAA*) (cf. *SEG* 39.314), also available at <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca:8080/attica>. Cf. M. J. Osborne, *Foreign Residents of Athens: An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica,* Studia Hellenistica 33 (Louvain: Peeters, 1996).

Louis Robert,[155] and for many other specific regions.[156] Zgusta's *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Zgusta*KP*) is an indispensable tool, replacing J. Sundwall's defective collection *Die einheimische Namen der Lykier* (1913; supplemented by his *Nachträge* in 1950). Fortunately, most regional corpora, such as IK, *MAMA*, and RECAM series, have indices of proper names. Two new prosopographical series should also be mentioned: the first is entitled McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History (MUMCAH);[157] the second, *Prosopographiae Graecae Minores,* edited by John Fossey, is forthcoming. This latter series will comprise separate treatments of individual cities or small adjacent cities, beginning with central Boiotia (vol. 1)[158] and the Kopaic area of Boiotia (except Akraiphiai) (vol. 2). The reader should consult John Fossey's *Study of Ancient Greek Prosopography* (17–49) for a bibliography of other regional prosopographies.

Not all prosopographiae are organized on the basis of region. For example, I. E. Stefanis has catalogued persons who performed in Greek theatrical and musical contests and the so-called entr'acte performers (ἀκροάματα) from 500 B.C. to A.D. 500 in the Greek and Roman world; the indices of this work include listings of surnames, patronymics, metronymics, ethnics, and functionaries of the σύνοδοι and κοινά.[159] Another example of this thematic type of prosopographia is F. Mora's collection of names of worshipers of Isis.[160]

155. Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague: Tschechoslowaksichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964) (= Zgusta*KP*); Ladislav Zgusta, *Neue Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Anthroponymie,* Dissertationes orientales 24 (Prague: Academia, 1970) (= Zgusta*NB*); L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine,* BAH 13 (Paris 1963), 551–70 (= Robert*Noms*). A full review of *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* was published by Claude Brixhe, along with a series of additions and corrections, including toponyms, ethnics, and theophoric names that were omitted ("Sur un corpus des noms indigènes d'Asie Mineure," *REG* 78 [1965]: 610–19).

156. See the supplementary bibliographies in this chapter and chapter 6.

157. One book in the series is Duane W. Roller's *Tanagran Studies,* 2 vols., MUMCAH 9 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1989).

158. Except Thebes, because of Koumanoudis's work.

159. I. E. Stefanis's Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνῖται: Συμβολὲς στήν προσωπογραφία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων (Heraklion, 1988) includes actors already catalogued by Stefanis in *Hellenika* 35 (1984): 29–37, as well as additions and corrections to the catalogues of actors in the following works: Paulette Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1976); J. B. O'Conner, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908); I. Parenti, *Dionisio* 35 (1961): 5–29.

160. F. Mora, *Prosopografia Isiaca,* 2 vols., EPRO 113 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990) (*SEG* 40.1718).

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5

The Onomastics and Prosopography of Roman Names in Greek Inscriptions

5.01 Overview

Unlike the Greek single-name system, the Roman naming system was binominal or trinominal in nature. Up until the late second century B.C., the naming formula was a binominal system, consisting of the praenomen (see § 5.03) and the nomen gentilicium (see § 5.02), sometimes followed by the filiation formula. By the late second century B.C., the cognomen (see § 5.04) had become increasingly popular, with all three names together forming the *tria nomina* (see fig. 10): praenomen, nomen gentilicium, cognomen.[1] These tria nomina should be thought of not as the "complete" Roman name but, as Benet Salway observes, "as a transitory stage in an evolutionary process" from one binominal system to another.[2]

By the late second century A.D., the praenomen had largely fallen into disuse, except in the case of the aristocracy (and even in this case it ceased to function as an individuating name), resulting in the restoration of an essentially binominal system, this time of nomen and cognomen (see § 5.05). It was not uncommon for Greeks and indigenous peasants of the Roman Empire to adopt a Roman praenomen, nomen gentilicium, or cognomen, singly, as if it

1. On Roman names generally see Benet Salway, "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from *c.* 700 B.C. to A.D. 700," *JRS* 84 (1994): 124–45; for works on Roman prosopography see the supplementary bibliography in this chapter.

2. Salway, "What's in a Name?" 124.

were a Greek personal name. Needless to say, this is an indicator not of Italian ancestry, much less of Roman citizenship, but rather of the spread of Roman cultural dominance in a given region.

To the praenomen, nomen gentilicium, and cognomen, a filiation was often added. In Latin, the filiation was formed from the genitive form of the father's praenomen (or cognomen) and was interposed between the nomen gentilicium and cognomen followed by the term *f(ilius)*. In Greek inscriptions, the term υἱός was sometimes used, parallel to the Latin term *f(ilius)*, though it was more frequently omitted. For example, the Greek form of the name *Sex(tus) Numonius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Iulianus* would be:

Σέξ(τος)	+	Νουμώνιος	+	Σέξ(του) [υ(ἱὸς)]	+	Ἰουλιανός
praenomen		nomen gentilicium		filiation		cognomen

[Sextus Numonius Iulianus, son of Sextus]

The Greek East did not uniformly adopt the Latin system of inserting the filiation formula between the nomen and cognomen. Sometimes the filiation followed the full name, as in Σέξ(τος) Νουμώνιος Ἰουλιανός Σέξ(του) [υ(ἱὸς)]. In the imperial period, the father's cognomen is often preferred to his praenomen in the filiation formula.[3] The use of a filiation formula was a customary indication of free birth. However, the absence of filiation does not necessarily indicate servile status. Care must be taken not to confuse the filiation formula in Greek inscriptions with the formulae indicating freed and servile status (see § 5.08–10).

5.02 The Nomen Gentilicium

The nomen gentilicium (name of family group/clan) was the heritable family name. This name was passed on, unaltered, to all descendants of a family, including women and adopted sons, and was retained by women even after their marriage. Male nomina gentilicia customarily terminate in *-ius* (e.g., *Pomponius* = Pomponia [fem.]).[4] This termination is helpful in distinguishing

3. See Georges Daux, "La formule onomastique dans le domaine grec sous L'Empire Romain," *AJP* 100 (1979): 13–30, esp. 19–23.

4. Cf. also the archaic forms *-eus, -aeus, -eius, -aius;* exceptions to this rule are comprised of names of foreign origin, such as those ending in *-erna/-ina* (Etruscan), *-as/-anas* (Umbrian), *-enus* (Picenian), and *-acus* (Gallic).

between a nomen gentilicium and a cognomen. In Greek-speaking areas, gentilicia ending in -ιανος/-ianus are also attested.[5]

When a peregrinus was granted Roman citizenship by the emperor, he would normally adopt the praenomen and nomen of the current emperor (e.g., *P. Aelius, M. Aurelius*). This nomen is referred to as a dynastic or imperial nomen,[6] examples of which follow.

Imperial Nomina

Iulius/ia	(under Iulius Caesar, Augustus)
Antonius/ia	(under Marcus Antonius during the Second Triumvirate)
Octavius/ia	(under Augustus)
Claudius/ia	(under Tiberius, Claudius)
Flavius/ia	(under Vespasian, Titus, Domitian)
Cocceius/ia	(under Nerva)
Ulpius/ia	(under Trajan)
Aelius/ia	(under Hadrian)
Septimius/ia	(Septimius Severus)

Recipients of these grants of citizenship can be classified into three categories: (1) veteran soldiers who acquired citizenship by serving as legionaries or auxiliaries, this fact often being explicitly stated; (2) freedmen of emperors, governors, or private *patroni,* and (3) citizens of the empire who received grants of citizenship under Caracalla. Once citizenship was granted, the dynastic nomen would be passed on to all members of the family; for example, M. *Ulpius* Pomponius Superstes (*ILS* 9414) belonged to a peregrine family that acquired citizenship under Trajan. Clearly, in the case of such dynastic nomina, the choice of nomen was not determined by the popularity of the emperor but was a direct consequence of the conferring of honor or the extension of citizenship. Moreover, those who had attained conspicuous honor in the imperial hierarchy would often adopt the nomen of the reigning dynasty. The most frequently occurring Greek abbreviations of these dynastic nomina are recorded in table 11 later in this chapter (see § 5.12).[7] The most

5. See O. Salomies, "Beiträge zur römischen Namenkunde," *Arctos* 18 (1984): 93–104; for an inventory of Roman gentilicia see H. Solin and O. Salomies, *Repertorium Nominum Gentilium et Cognominum Latinorum,* 2d ed. (Hildesheim, 1994).

6. See Bernard Holtheide, *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia* (Freiburg im Breisgau: HochschulVerlag, 1983).

7. Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1:150.

notable development with respect to grants of citizenship was the adoption of the praenomen and nomen *M.* Αὐρήλιος/Αὐρηλία after A.D. 212. Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* extended the right of citizenship to all free subjects in the empire,[8] including even rustic peasant farmers with little or no previous contact with Roman culture.[9] In effect, all cities were made *municipia,* and Roman law became the law of the entire empire. New citizens adopted the nomen of their imperial benefactor, M(arcus) Aurelius, to signify that they too had become Roman citizens under the *Constitutio,* prefixing his nomen to their ancestral single name, which was converted into a cognomen (i.e., (M.) Aurelius + cognomen). For example, Ζόσιμος Λεωνίδου would be renamed (M.) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ζόσιμος. This construction was used not only by the first generation who achieved citizenship but also by subsequent generations of offspring. In some inscriptions, the dynastic nomen Αὐρ(ήλιος) appears before every name.[10] It is not surprising that *Aurelius* became the most popular nomen in the eastern empire in late antiquity. It was the name of the mass of the population whose family had received citizenship under Caracalla's grant. It was entered on official records but was not used in everyday parlance. Thus, the nomen *Aurelius* became a mark of citizenship status for all New Romans but ceased to signify one's family relationship or to serve any individuating function.

In the west, *Aurelius* ran a close second place in popularity with the well-established *Iulius,* whose usage persisted throughout the centuries. In the period A.D. 330–400 or later, the popularity of *Iulius* was overtaken by *Flavius,* the nomen of the dynasty of Constantine, especially in the higher echelons of society.[11] In Egypt, Christian clerical status (especially that of abbots) was often indicated by substituting *Abba* (ἀββᾶ or ἀββᾶς) for the secular nomen *Flavius* or *Aurelius.*[12] The name *Valerius* belonged to the dynasty of Diocletian.

The use of a dynastic nomen can have consequences for the dating of

8. See K. Buraselis, ΘΕΙΑ, ΔΩΡΕΑ: Μελέτες πάνω στὴν πολιτικὴ τῆς δυναστείας τῶν Σεβήρων καὶ τὴν *Constitutio Antoniniana* (Athens, 1989), 127–48 (*SEG* 39.1858; Peter van Minnen, "De Novis Libris Iudicia," *Mnemosyne* 45 [1992]: 285–88).

9. See, e.g., *IGBulg* III/1, 1517; A. K. Orlandos, "Unedited Inscriptions Found from the Time of the Anastylose of the Katapoliani of Paros," *ArchEph* (1975) [1976]: *ArchChron* 1–36, esp. 6–8, no. 3.

10. Cf. the study of Greek citizens who received *civitas Romana* and acceded to the equestrian and senatorial orders in *La Mobilité sociale dans le monde romain: Actes du colloque organisé à Strasbourg (novembre 1988),* ed. Edmond Frézouls (Strasbourg: AECR, 1992), 231–52.

11. See Salway, "What's in a Name?" 137–38.

12. See J. G. Keenan, "The Names *Flavius* and *Aurelius* as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 13 (1974): 283–304.

inscriptions. For example, an inscription in which everyone bears the name *Aurelius* clearly dates from a time after the *Constitutio* of A.D. 212. Consider the more interesting case in which the individuals named in an inscription bear the name *Aurelius* but most of their fathers do not.[13] This suggests that the generation that is listed lived during the period A.D. 212–17, whereas their fathers were by and large deceased by this time.

Sometimes the full Roman name, including the imperial/dynastic nomen, is followed by a mention of the personal name that the individual carried prior to the adoption of *Marcus Aurelius,* using the formula ὁ πρίν or πρότερον. For example, prior to the *Constitutio,* M. Aurelius Polychronios Charmides carried the name Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πολυχρόνιος Χαρμίδης πρότερον Πολυχρόνιος Τατιανοῦ, τρὶς τοῦ Χαρμίδους [Polychronios, son of Tatianos, grandson of Charmides].[14]

By contrast, the Old Romans, whether *cives* (πολῖται) or *peregrini* (ξένοι/μέτοικοι), continued to employ an alternative system: they retained the hereditary gentilicia that they had held before the *Constitutio,* and they displayed *Aurelius* as a praenomen—not as a nomen—that is, *Aurelius* + nomen + cognomen (e.g., *Aurelius Iulius Marinus*).[15] Similarly, in Asia Minor, noble Greeks resisted becoming mundane Aurelii, opting instead to trace their ancestry back as many as five or six generations through the use of multiple patronymic formulae according to the traditional Greek style.

In late antiquity, some members of the old aristocracy began to use more than one nomen, having both a traditional nomen signifying the family connection and a dynastic nomen. This pretentious practice, known as *gentilicial polyonymy,* allowed the aristocracy to set themselves apart from the masses, who bore only dynastic nomina (especially *Aurelius* and *Flavius*). The innovation of gentilicial polyonomy brought about a second onomastic system that coexisted with the more widespread system of dynastic names.

5.03 The Praenomen

The praenomen served as the individuating name, making it possible to distinguish one family member from another (since all family members shared the same nomen gentilicium). Most of these praenomina end in the

13. See, e.g., W. M. Ramsay, "The Graeco-Roman Civilisation in Pisidia," *JHS* 4 (1883): 23–45, esp. 30.

14. See Robert, *Hellenica,* XIII, 232 (cf. 27, 253); *MAMA* VIII, 576; Robert, *BE* (1949): 23, (1961): 828.

15. See Salway, "What's in a Name?" 134.

TABLE 8. Frequently Attested Nomina

Aelius	Critonius	Mevius	Samiarius
Aemilius	Decumius	Mindius	Satricanius
Allidius	Didius	Mundicius	Saufeius
Al(l)ius	Diobellius	Naevius	Seius
Ampius	Domitius	Nerius	Septimius
Anicius	Egnatius	Nimmius	Serpoleius
Annaeus	Erucius	Nonnius	Servilius
Annius	Fabius	Novius	Sestius
Antonius	Fabricius	Numitorius	Sextilius
Arellius	Felsonius	Nummius	Spedius
Arius	Flaminius	Numonius	Staius
Atanius	Flavius	Obellius	Stenius
Attiolenus	Fulvius	Octavius	Stertinius
Audius	Furius	Ofellius	Stlaccius
Aufidius	Gerillanus	Olius	Sulfius
Aurelius	Gerraeus	Opellius	Sulpicius
Avilius	Gessius	Oppius	Titinius
Babullius	Granius	Orbius	Trebellius
Bombius	Heius	Orceius	Tuccius
Braundutius	Helvius	Otacilius	Tullius
Caecilius	Horarius	Paconius	Turpilius
Caelius	Hordionius	Pactumeius	Tuscenius
Caesonius	Hostilius	Pediasius	Tutorius
Calpurnius	Iulius	Pedius	Ulpius
Caltius	Laberius	Petronius	Valerius
Calvius	Labienus	Pettius	Varius
Castricius	Laelius	Plaitorius	Venoleius
Cerrinius	Laronius	Plautius	Veratius
Cincius	Licinius	Plotius	Verrinius
Cispius	Livius	Pompeius	Verus
Claudius	Loisius	Pompilius	Veturius
Clodius	Lollius	Pomponius	Veveius
Cluvius	Lucceius	Popilius	Vibius
Cocceius	Lucretius	Popillius	Vicirius
Cottius	Luxius	Porcius	Vinicius
Cornelius	Maecius	Pumidius	Viseius
Cornius	Magulnius	Quinctius	Vitellius
Cossinius	Mamilius	Raecius	Umbricius
Cossutius	Marcius	Rasennius	Volusius
Cottius	Memmius	Rutilius	
Crassicius	Mescinius	Sabinius	
Crepereius	Messius	Salvius	

adjectival suffix *-ius* (fem. *-ia*). The eldest son was normally given the praenomen of his father. Cases in which the eldest son does not bear his father's name may have resulted from a (previous) short-lived firstborn son being given this name.

He who was *luce natus* (born by day) might be called Lucius; he who was *mane natus* (born in the morning) might be called Manius; he who was born with a *naevus* (birthmark) might be given the name *Gnaeus;* he who caused his parents *gaudere* (to rejoice) at his birth might be given the name *Gaius.* In actual fact, of course, it is seldom possible to determine if such correspondences actually existed. Children were sometimes given ordinal numerals as names (e.g., *Primus, Secundus, Tertius, Sextus*),[16] though these names did not necessarily correspond to their birth order but, instead, have originally indicated the month in which a child was born.[17]

Indeed, it is likely that in the case of patricians, there were not such correspondences between praenomina and their meanings, since the choice of praenomina employed by the patrician class was quite limited, being restricted by family tradition. Generally, a given gens would restrict itself to a fixed number of praenomina. For example, the Aemilii and Cornelii used only seven; the Claudii had only six. Though there were as many as thirty praenomina prior to Sulla, this number decreased over time until only about eighteen praenomina were employed by the patricians, though the choice was much wider for nonpatricians.[18] Table 9 lists the most frequently occurring praenomina.

In the first century B.C. through the first century A.D., when the cognomen had generally replaced the praenomen as the individuating name (see § 5.04–05), there was an attempt on the part of aristocratic families to reestablish the former usage of the praenomen. This sometimes involved reviving supposedly ancient praenomina or, more often, using cognomina as praenomina, placing them in the first position, in place of a true praenomen.

16. On numeral praenomina see Hans Petersen, "The Numeral Praenomina of the Romans," *TAPA* 93 (1962): 347–54.

17. In total, about fifty-six praenomina were in wide use by Romans of the regnal and republican period. George Chase ("The Origin of Roman Praenomina," *HSCP* 8 [1897]: 103–84, esp. 135) has listed sixty-four known praenomina, but some of these were cognomina taken over as praenomina. Olli Salomies (*Die römischen Vornamen: Studien zur römischen Namengebung,* CHL 82 [Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1987]) lists over two hundred attested praenomina.

18. See Iiro Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina,* CHL 36.2 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1965); I. Kajanto, "The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina," *Latomus* 27 (1968): 517–34.

TABLE 9. Frequently Attested Praenomina

Appius	Marcus	Salvius
Aulus	Minatius	Septimus
Decimus	Novius	Servius
Gaius	Numerius	Sextus
Gnaeus	Olus	Spurius
Herius	Ovius	Statius
Kaeso	Pescennius	Tiberius
Lucius	Publius	Titus
Mamercus	Quintus	Vibius
Manius		

5.04 The Cognomen

The cognomen was chronologically the last element to develop in the full Roman tria nomina. Originally, and for a long time, very few persons had cognomina, since they were normally reserved for the elite, especially the patrician families. However, the fact that some gentes shared the same nomen but emerged from different origins created the need for a way to distinguish between them. The adoption of cognomina provided the means to differentiate between individuals belonging to different gentes that shared the same nomen.

Since the number of available praenomina was very limited, the need also arose for genuine distinguishing names.[19] By the late first century B.C., the cognomen came into general use, gradually overtaking the praenomen as the individuating name, so that, in public, men came to be addressed by their nomen and cognomen—not their praenomen.

Cognomina begin to appear in official Latin documents in the late second century B.C.,[20] but they do not become common until about the Sullan period (after ca. 85 B.C.).[21] Cognomina of the *plebs ingenue* (freeborn commoners) were not in general use until about 25 B.C. In fact, even in the first century A.D., one can find freemen without a cognomen, as was also the case for most women at this time.[22]

19. See Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina,* 29; T. J. Cadoux, "Names, Personal", *OCD*² 720–21, esp. 721.

20. However, their use is attested much earlier. See Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina,* 19.

21. See Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina,* 30.

22. See I. Kajanto, "On the First Appearance of Women's Cognomina," in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1973), 402–4; on freedman with cognomen (*ILLRP* 701), born 112/111 B.C., see Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina,* 29.

TABLE 10. Frequently Attested Cognomina

Crescens	Proculus
Faustus	Rufus
Felix	Sabinus
Fortunatus	Saturninus
Hilarus	Secundus/-a
Ianuarius	Severus
Maximus	Tertius/-a
Primus/-a	Victor
Priscus	Vitalis

With men being addressed in public by their nomen and cognomen by the late second century A.D., the Roman onomastic system was once again essentially binominal (nomen + cognomen) in nature. In cases where the praenomen persisted, it ceased to fulfill any individuating function (see § 5.05). In the third and fourth centuries A.D., the cognomen even tended to eclipse the nomen in importance.

Among the known aristocratic gentes, there was an average of twenty-three cognomina in use within each gens. The frequency of particular cognomina varied greatly, with some being far more popular than others. Iiro Kajanto explains: "the Romans had little imagination in name-giving. They were more willing to give their children a cognomen which was well-known to everybody than to venture unfamiliar or new names."[23] The cognomina listed in table 10 occur with particularly high frequency.[24]

Cognomina occur with many different suffixes, such as *-anus, -inus, -io, -osus, -acus, -icus, -itas, -olus, -ullus,* and *-it(t)a.* The *-anus* suffix (which could be added to the father's nomen) accounts for about 80 percent of all occurrences (e.g., *Aelianus, Caecilianus, Iulianus, Albanus, Bovillanus*). It originally had the meaning "belonging to." Thus, *Aemilianus* originally indicated that one belonged to the gens Aemilia, while *Aurelianus* indicated that one belonged to the gens Aurelia. The sources of cognomina are more diverse than is sometimes supposed. For example, cognomina might be adopted from a man's mother or grandmother or even from his father's best friend.

On Delos, in the Hellenistic period, there was a tendency to omit the cognomen in Greek inscriptions, even when it appeared in a Latin version of the same text. Thus, in a bilingual Delian inscription, *P(ublius) Sextilius L.(ucii) f(ilius) Pilo* is rendered simply as Πόπλιος Σεξτίλιος Λευκίου (*IDelos*

23. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina,* 29–30.

24. For inventories of cognomina see Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina,* 2–417, esp. 379–417; Solin and Salomies, *Repertorium Nominum Gentilium et Cognominum Latinorum.*

VI, 1753). This suggests that the innovation of the cognomen took additional time to establish itself in Greek onomastic practice, even after it was in common use in Latin onomastics.

The period from the late first century B.C. to the late second century A.D. witnessed the gradual use of the cognomen instead of the praenomen as the individuating name. By about 100 B.C., Romans began to invent new cognomina, thereby giving their children a greater degree of individuality. New cognomina could be formed from praenomina, nomina gentilicia, geographical terms (e.g., *Sabinus, Romanus*), the names of divinities (e.g., *Martialis* after Mars, *Saturninus* after Saturnus), festivals, and calendars (e.g., *Ianuarius*).[25] There were also so-called wish names (*Faustus, Felix, Fortunatus, Maximus, Victor, Vitalis*). Cognomina might relate to other factors, such as physical characteristics,[26] temperament,[27] place of origin, or place with which the father had a connection (e.g., *Gallus, Ligus, Siculus, Tuscus*).

At first, these new cognomina tended to avoid the *-ius* termination because it was indicative of the nomen, except in cases where there was little chance of confusion. However, in late Roman onomastics, many new cognomina did end in *-ius*. This practice had already arisen in Greek onomastics, where the -ιος suffix was employed to form not only theophoric and hierophoric names but also names based on abstract qualities (see § 4.10, 4.21.2). By the late third century A.D., the -ιος suffix was adopted for the formation of new Latin cognomina in *-ius*, by the invention of new Latin coinages. Prior to this, the inventive use of the *-ius* suffix had been restricted to agnomina (see § 5.06). Naturally, the use of this suffix spread more rapidly among New Romans than among Old Romans. In the post-Constantinian period, respectable Christianity also increasingly adopted as cognomina Hebrew and Aramaic names from Scripture (e.g., *Iohannes*/Ἰωάν(ν)ης, *Maria*/Μαρία, *Thomas*/Θωμᾶς). Also in vogue were compound formations expressing Christian concerns, such as *Anastasius*/Ἀναστάσιος, *Bonifatius*/Βονιφάτις, *Theodorus*/Θεόδωρος, and *Theodosius*/Θεοδόσιος.[28] Jewish names were similarly converted into cognomina (see § 4.14, 11.08).

25. The name *Ianuarius* accounts for almost 50 percent of calendaric cognomina.

26. E.g., *Albus* (White), *Barbatus* (Bearded), *Cincinnatus* (Curly), *Longus* (Tall).

27. E.g., *Benignus* (Kind), *Blandus* (Pleasant), *Cato* (Smart), *Serenus* (Serene).

28. See R. Bagnall, "Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt," *BASP* 19 (1982): 105–24, criticized by E. Wipszycka in "La valeur de l'onomastique pour l'histoire de la christianisation: À propos d'une étude de R. S. Bagnall," *ZPE* 62 (1986): 173–81; cf. Bagnall, "Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply," *ZPE* 69 (1987): 243–50. See also Salway, "What's in a Name?" 139–41; G. H. R. Horsley, "Name Change as an Indication of Religious Conversion in Antiquity," *Numen* 34 (1987): 1–17.

From the time that cognomina had become the individuating name, the aristocracy began to adopt multiple cognomina to memorialize their noble ancestors. For example, Fl(avius) Areobindus Dagalaiphus (consul in 506) bears the cognomina of both his father, Fl. Dagalaiphus (consul in 461), and his grandfather, Fl. Areobindus (consul in 434). By the addition of multiple cognomina, an individual's name could also commemorate bilateral or even multilateral ancestry (as in the case of adoption).[29]

In a manner similar to the development of gentilicial polyonymy among the aristocracy in late antiquity (see § 5.02), the third century A.D. witnessed cognominal polyonymy among the rising new nobility who were taking high office. In the words of Benet Salway, the "extraordinary plurality of names certainly was a phenomenon of the new aristocracy of the imperial period."[30]

5.05 The Decline of the Praenomen and the Return to a Binominal System

By the late fourth century A.D., the praenomen fell into disuse in common parlance. Thereafter, Roman onomastics returned to a binominal system, using the nomen and cognomen. Thus, a funerary inscription of a commoner recording the full tria nomina suggests a date prior to the mid–third century A.D. but after the third century B.C. The notable exception to this practice are inscriptions that name aristocratic families and emperors: here, a fossilized praenomen long continued in use in conjunction with the dynastic nomen, cognomen, and titulature. In this case, the praenomen had become fossilized and obsolete, to such an extent that all sons were given the same praenomen, namely, that of their father.

Several developments led to the praenomen passing away as an individuating name and to the reversion to a binominal system. First, the list of praenomina in use was very restricted, so many persons bore the same name. Second, when a civilian Greek or any other foreigner became a Roman citizen, it was customary for him to take the praenomen and nomen of the current emperor, while retaining his former personal name as a cognomen (though some adopted a new Latin cognomen instead); for example, in the case of the family of M. Ulpius Carminius of Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2782), one of its ancestors had adopted the praenomen and nomen of the emperor Trajan (M. Ulpius Traianus). Similarly, when a noncitizen was accepted into a legion and

29. See Salway, "What's in a Name?" 141–42.

30. Salway, "What's in a Name?" 131; cf. 132–33.

thereby acquired *civitas* or when an auxiliary soldier acquired *civitas* for merit or on receiving an honorable demobilization, the recording officer was likely to record the new citizen's name with the praenomen and nomen of the current emperor and to convert the personal name the new citizen had borne throughout his service into a cognomen.[31] A manumitted imperial slave would also take the praenomen and nomen of the current emperor. As a result of such practices as these, many persons in a given generation would share the same praenomen and nomen, and the praenomen largely became an invariable unit, along with the nomen (as in *Marcus Aurelius*), with no onomastic utility. For this reason, praenomina and nomina were often not even recorded on epigraphical records.

By the third century A.D., there are signs that both the trinominal and binominal systems were beginning to break down. Symptomatic of this trend are such names as *Julius Septimius Symmachus* and *Ursius Aruntius Caianus* (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 134), where two gentilicia are employed, the first as a praenomen. There are even instances of three gentilicia being used (as in *Septimius Ursius Caius*).[32]

5.06 The Agnomen

Some persons had extra cognomina, each additional name being termed an *agnomen* (additional name)[33] by grammarians. In Greek inscriptions, Roman agnomina were placed after the tria nomina (or *duo nomina*) and were sometimes introduced with the formula ὁ καί (also known as)[34] (e.g., [Κλ.] Τιβέριος Πολύχαρμος ὁ καὶ Ἀχύριος [Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, also known as Achyrios]).[35] The agnomen could also be introduced with a participial expression, such as ὁ λεγόμενος, ὁ καλούμενος, ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος, ὁ ἐπικληθείς, or ὁ κληθείς. In the case of Γ. Ἰούλιος Ῥοῦφος ὁ καὶ

31. I am grateful to Joyce Reynolds for this observation.

32. See Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina,* 143, 172. This phenomenon can also be observed in inscriptions of early III A.D. from the baths at Kremna: see G. H. R. Horsley, "The Inscriptions from the So-Called Library at Cremna," *AnatSt* 37 (1987): 49–80.

33. Also known as a supernomen (surname), double name, or biname (see § 4.20); for a detailed discussion of double names see Iiro Kajanto, *Supernomina: A Study in Latin Epigraphy,* CHL 40.1 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1966), 95–103 (index); G. H. R. Horsley, "Names, Double," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 2d ed., ed. David N. Freedman et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 4:1011–17.

34. In Latin, agnomina are introduced by formulae (*qui et, sive, vel, qui vocitatur*) and are usually positioned between the nomen gentilicium and cognomen.

35. See N. Vulic, "Inscriptions grecques de Stobi," *BCH* 61 (1932): 291–98; *IJudDonateurs* 18–19. Here, the praenomen and nomen, Claudius Tiberius, are in reverse order.

Ἀφροδείσιος Ἀσκληπιάδης Ζωταίου Ἐπίνεικος [Gaius Julius Rufus, also known as Aphrodisios Asklepiades Epineikos, son of Zotaios] (*IPergamon* 485, l.l. 20–21), the individual had an official Roman name, *Gaius Iulius Rufus,* and his original name, *Aphrodisios Asklepiades Epineikos, son of Zotaios,* which he had borne prior to his becoming a Roman citizen.

Agnomina arose from a variety of causes and origins. Some were employed as honorary titles (*cognomina ex virtute*), especially after the notable demonstration of an exploit or personal quality: for example, P(ublius) Cornelius Scipio was given the agnomen *Africanus* after his defeat of Hannibal. Similarly, the agnomen *Augustus* was given to Iulius Caesar Octavianus by the Senate in 27 B.C. When foreigners (especially Greek freedmen) were admitted into a Roman gens, they sometimes retained their original personal name as an agnomen (though more often as a cognomen).

Agnomina were also employed in naming adopted aristocratic children. When a child or youth passed from one family to another by adoption, he would assume the three names of his adoptive father and convert his own nomen gentilicium into an agnomen by adding the adjectival suffix *-anus,* thereby preserving part of his artistocratic pedigree. Thus, after Gaius Octavius's postmortem "adoption" by Gaius Julius Caesar, he became Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Prior to his conversion, the apostle Paul was known as Σαουλ/Σαουηλ, but shortly thereafter he is known by the Roman name Παῦλος, his full name being Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος (Acts 13:9); apparently, he adopted the cognomen of his first major convert, Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus (see Acts 13:4–12).[36]

5.07 Roman Names of Women

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, most women lacked a praenomen. Their individuating name consisted of the nomen or cognomen of their father, in a feminine form for example, Claudius (nomen) → Claudia (see fig. 11), *Tullius* (nomen) → *Tullia, Pompeius* (nomen) → *Pompeia, Tertullus* (cognomen) → *Tertulla, Marius* → *Maria* (Rom. 16:6), *Julius* → *Julia* (Rom. 16:7).[37] Where there was more than one woman in the *familia,* such designations as *Maior* (Elder) and *Minor* (Younger) might be adopted, or adjectives

36. See H. Dessau, "Der Name des Apostels Paulus," *Hermes* 44 (1910): 347–68; cf. T. B. Mitford, "Cappadocia and Armenia Minor: Historical Setting of the Limes," *ANRW* II, 7.2 (1979) 1381 n. 519; Mitchell, *Anatolia,* 2:7–9.

37. See Mika Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women,* Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 1994).

based on numerals might be added (e.g., *Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, Quinta*).

Women began to appear with cognomina at the beginning of the first century B.C.[38] From that time onward, cognomina become increasingly popular for women. With the increased use of cognomina among women, the boundaries between the praenomen and cognomen began to fluctuate. For example, sometimes a woman's praenomen was positioned after her nomen and was thereby treated as a cognomen.[39] With the return to an essentially binominal onomastic system by the mid–third century A.D., all women bore cognomina as well as nomina (e.g., Ἰουλία Εὐτυχία, Οὐαλερία Ἀριστεῖνα).[40]

Women's names in inscriptions are usually accompanied by a term of relation, such as θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ, ἀδελφή γυνή, or σύμβιος (e.g., Οὐαλερίαν Μάρκου θυγατέρα [Valeria, daughter of Marcus [Valerius]]).[41] When a woman married, she normally retained her nomen (and cognomen):[42] thus, the wife of Marcus Antonius Hermeias bore the name *Claudia Erotion* (i.e., "daughter of Claudius Erotios/ias"), not *Antonia Hermeia.*[43] Similarly, the wife of Stabulio bore the name *Cornelia Fortunata* (i.e., "daughter of Cornelius Fortunatus").[44]

5.08 Slaves of Roman Masters

The personal names of slaves were often given to them by the slave dealers or by their masters on acquisition. However, it is probable that some slaves with pronounceable foreign names might have retained them. A slave did not have a nomen, since he or she was considered to be a *res* (thing), that is, an object that belonged to a free family. Accordingly, it was normal to write or speak of

38. See I. Kajanto, "On the First Appearance of Women's Cognomina," in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1973), 402–4.

39. See I. Kajanto, "Women's Praenomina Reconsidered," *Arctos* 7 (1972): 28–30.

40. *IGUR* I, 160 col. I, C 20; col. III, C 10 (Roman Campagna, A.D. 150).

41. Cairo, late I–early II A.D.; see Pieter J. Sijpesteijn, "An Unpublished Greek Funeral Inscription," *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978): 418–20.

42. From I B.C. through the imperial period, husbands and wives sometimes have the same nomen gentilicium; this may result from both being freed slaves of the same master, from the wife being a freed slave of the husband, or if they happened to be cousins.

43. Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ἑρμεία ἀργυροκόπου νεοποιοῦ καὶ Κλαυδίας Ἐρωτίου γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ (after A.D. 41; *IEph* VI, 2212).

44. . . . τὴν Σταβυλίωνος σύνβιον Κορνηλίαν Φορτουνᾶταν (Tomis, II A.D. Ernst Pfuhl and Hans Möbius, *Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs,* 2 vols., Deutsches Archäologisches Institut [Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1977], 2:1606).

a slave as a possession of his master or mistress, for example, a Julian "thing" (*res*). This is the only sense in which a slave could be associated with a nomen gentilicium.

From the end of the Republic onward, the Latin convention of naming slaves of Roman households was to cite the slave's personal name (and sometimes ethnic) followed by the owner's praenomen and nomen (or nomen and cognomen) in the possessive genitive. In Latin, the owner's name is accompanied by the word *s(ervus)*, providing a model for some Greek inscriptions (e.g., Εὔτυχος Ἰουλίας Ταβίλλης δοῦλος πραγματευτὴς [Eutychos, slave and business agent of Julia Tabille] [*TAM* V/1, 442]). However, it was more customary for the Greek formula to simply employ the possessive genitive, with no corresponding Greek term for *servus* (e.g., Ξάνθος Λύκιος Γαίου Ὀρβίου [Xanthos, the Lycian, slave of Gaius Orbius]).[45] Slaves occasionally had double names, some of which are aliases or nicknames (e.g., Ἀλέξανδρος Βαβύλλιος Λευκίου [Alexander, nicknamed Babullios, slave of Lucius]).[46]

5.09 Roman Names of Freedmen

Strictly speaking, only a slave who was liberated by a formal legal process became a Roman citizen and was therefore entitled to a full Roman name.[47] In such cases, a new freedman (*libertus*/ἀπελεύθερος) would adopt his master's praenomen and nomen gentilicium and (since he had no right to his master's cognomen) would convert his original personal name into a cognomen.

The complete Roman name of a freedman in its Latin form would specify his legal status using the term *l(ibertus)*, preceded by the master's praenomen (or nomen) in the genitive case. Thus, Cicero's slave Tiro adopted Cicero's praenomen and nomen, *Marcus Tullius*, when freed, but not his cognomen (*Cicero*), and he retained his personal name as a cognomen, thus becoming M. Tullius M(arci) l(ibertus) Tiro. His praenomen, *Marcus*, would have been useless as an individuating name, since he shared it with all of Cicero's freedmen.

Similarly, if Dionysodoros, slave of Cn. Domitius Gelasus, was manumitted, he would be known as Cn. Domitius Cn. 1. Dionysodoros.[48] The male

45. Sounion, II/III A.D (*IG* II² 1366).

46. Delos, ca. 99/98 B.C. (Pierre Jouguet, "Fouilles du port de Délos," *BCH* 23 [1899]: 56–85, esp. 64, no. 12, L. 5).

47. See Theodore E. Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphia: Corpus inscriptionum latinarum supplementum*, 9 vols. (Rome and Berolini: G. Reimerum, 1872–1913), 4:42; J. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Délos mentionnés dans les inscriptions de l'île," *BCH* 36 (1912): 5–218, esp. 138.

48. On Greeks adopting Roman names see Horsley in *NewDocs* 2.106–8.

slave of a female master would often take the praenomen of his owner's father and the nomen (in masculine form) of his female owner. Hence, Menophilus, slave of Livia Augusta (daughter of Marcus Livius Drusus) became M(arcus) Livius Aug(ustae) l(ibertus) Menophilos.[49]

Greek inscriptions naming freedmen usually lack a term equivalent to *libertus* and instead simply employ the genitive form of the master's praenomen. This genitive can easily be misunderstood as a filiation formula (see § 5.10).[50] Freedmen sometimes adopted a different praenomen from that of their master, at least prior to the end of the Republic. In the following two examples from Delos, two freedmen assumed the nomina of their masters but adopted new praenomina, *Aulus* and *Numerius*, respectively.

Αὖλος Πλώτιος Μάρκου[51]
[Aulus Plotius, freedman of Marcus [Plotius]]

Νεμέριος Τουτώριος Γναίου[52]
[Numerius Tutorius, freedman of Gnaeus [Tortorius]]

Similarly, some Greek inscriptions omit the genitive formula that explicitly cites the freedman's former master. For example, when the slave Εὐτύχης Γαΐου Φουλβίου was manumitted by his master Γ(άϊος) Φουλβίος Πίος, he became simply Γ(άϊος) Φούλβιος Εὐτύχης, not Γ(άϊος) Φούλβιος Γαΐου Εὐτύχης.[53]

5.10 Distinguishing between Free Men, Freedmen, and Slaves

In inscriptions, it is often impossible to distinguish between free men (*ingenui*), freedmen (*liberti*), and slaves. If the term υἱός is used, the matter is straightforward—the name refers to a free man. For example, Αὖλος Κόττιος Νεμερίου υἱός = Aulus Cottius Numerii f(ilius) (*IDelosIRD*, p. 30). However, absence of the term υἱός is not grounds for concluding that an individual was a freedman or slave: for example, Λεύκιος Αἰμύλιος Ποπλίου

49. See John E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, 2d ed., rev. S. G. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), 219–20.

50. See Gunther Zuntz, *Aion, Gott des Römerreichs*, (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitatsverlag, 1989), 39–40 (*SEG* 39.1812).

51. = A(ulus) Plotius Marci l(ibertus); 150–125 B.C. (*IDelos* VI, 1732).

52. = N(umerius) Tutorius Gn(aei) l(ibertus); A.D. 113 (*IDelos* VI, 1753).

53. Rome, II–III A.D. (A. Stein, *BCAR* 56 [1928]: 302–3, no. 27).

could either be freed or free, that is, either Lucius Aemilius Publii l(ibertus) or Lucius Aemilius Publii f(ilius).[54] In view of his Roman praenomen and nomen, it is less likely that he was a slave, though many slaves did bear Latin names, especially in the western Mediterranean from the first century B.C. onward; for example, the freedman Λεύκιος Ὄρβιος Λευκίου Λικῖνος (= L. Orbius L. l.) originally bore the Roman name *Licinus* as a slave.[55]

Freed imperial slaves who had formerly belonged to private citizens might make reference to this in their filiation by citing two cognomina, with one being the nomen of their previous master converted into a cognomen with the suffix *-anus* in addition to their praenomen converted into a cognomen.[56] However, this same onomastic pattern could also result outside of the imperial family, so this suspicion can only take one so far.

Many slaves of the imperial age bore personal names of Greek or foreign derivation. Upon manumission, these names were converted into cognomina. Hence, individuals appearing in a Roman context (e.g., Italy) and bearing Greek cognomina (e.g., Αὖλος Καστρίκιος Δέκμου Ἀχαιός)[57] might be freedmen. However, freeborn Greeks came to Italy in considerable numbers, and many of these men either had Roman citizenship or acquired it while in Italy; such persons would also bear Greek cognomina on their epitaphs and on other inscribed monuments. Therefore, in reaching a judgment on

54. *IDelosIRD*, pp. 10, 137; similarly, neither does the term Ῥωμαῖος necessarily indicate that a person is freeborn, since it is also applied to freedmen and slaves.

55. See Marcel Bulard, "Fouilles de Délos," *BCH* 31 (1907): 421–529, esp. 440, no. 30. According to Tenney Frank, a Greek cognomen indicates that a freedman came from the hellenized half of the empire, though a Latin cognomen did not prove western origin, since these too were given to easterners. M. L. Gordon ("The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Roman Empire," *JRS* 14 [1924]: 93–111) called Frank's approach into question by proving that Greek names were sometimes borne by westerners. Thus, despite the fact that Greek names predominate among freedmen in imperial inscriptions, one cannot presume that the freedmen all came from the Greek-speaking part of the empire (cf. Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1969], 6–8).

56. See Iiro Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae II.1 (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1963), 27; Henry Lemonnier, *Étude historique sur la condition privée des affranchis aux trois premiers siècles de l'empire romain* [Paris: Hachette, 1887], 176).

57. *IDelosIRD*, p. 25. Georges Fabre (*Libertus: Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la République romaine* [Rome: École française de Rome; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1981], 93–121, esp. 99 n. 51) discusses the use of the cognomen by Delian freedmen. Marie-Thérèse Couilloud-Le Dinahet ("Nécropole délienne et épigraphes: Problèmes d'interprétation," *BCH* 108 [1984]: 347–50) defends her view (contra Fabre) that persons in Delian epitaphs whose names consist of a Latin praenomen, nomen, and Greek cognomen, without mention of the former master in the genitive, were freedmen.

whether a particular individual was free, freed, or a slave, one must consider the whole social context and accept the real possibility of error.[58]

5.11 The Transliteration of Latin Names into Greek

The transliteration of Latin proper names into Greek varied over time as a result of the evolving phonology and orthography of Koine Greek (see chap. 15).[59] Especially important was the rendering of the Latin *v*. Prior to the second century A.D., initial *v* was usually transliterated as ου (e.g., *Vespasianus* → Οὐεσπασιανός, *Valerius* → Οὐαλέριος, *Verus* → Οὐέρος, *Varius* → Οὐάριος). Medial *v* was normally transliterated as αου/εου (e.g., *Flavius* → Φλαούιος, *Severus* → Σεουῆρος, *Avillius* → Ἀουίλλιος) or sometimes as ου. This practice gradually died out in the third century and the fourth century A.D.[60] Beginning in the second century A.D., initial *v* and medial *v* began to be transliterated as β (e.g., *Victor* → Βίκτωρ, *Vibius* → Βείβιος, *Venustus* → Βενοῦστος, *Valerius* → Βαλέριος, *Flavius* → Φλάβιος, *Severus* → Σεβῆρος).[61] This change in the transcription of *v* is attributable to the corresponding phonetic shift of β from a stop (as in English *b*at) to a fricative (as in English *w*ood) (see § 15.06).[62]

The latin *u* was transcribed in Greek usually as ου (e.g., *Lucius* → Λούκιος, *Augustus* → Αὔγουστος) but also as ευ (e.g., Λεύκιος) and ο (e.g., *Sulpicius* → Σολπίκιος, *Secunda* → Σεκόνδα). The Latin *o* was normally transcribed as ω (e.g., *Antoninus* →Ἀντωνίνος), with the expected interchange between Greek ω and ο (e.g., Ἀντονῖνος).

The Latin short *e* was normally transcribed by ε (e.g., *Vestinus* → Οὐεστίνος), but η is not uncommon; conversely, the long *e* is transcribed by η, with the variant ε. The Latin *i* fluctuated between ε and ι (e.g., Δομετιανός/

58. On status indicators of freedmen and slaves see P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), chap. 3; Lemonnier, *Étude historique sur la condition privée des affranchis*, 176. Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1887), 1:323.

59. See Heikki Solin and Olli Salomies, *Repertorium Nominum Gentilium et Cognominum Latinorum* (Hildesheim and New York, 1988) (*SEG* 38.1993); cf. G. Purnelle, in *Serta Leodiensia Secunda: Mélanges publiés par les Classiques de Liège à l'occasion du 175e anniversaire de l'Université* (Liège: Université de Liège, 1992), 389–404 (*SEG* 43.1244).

60. In the transcription of the name *Octavius*, the *v* is sometimes omitted (e.g., Ὀκτάιος, Ὀκτάειος, and sometimes Ὀκτάυιος).

61. Medial *v* after *a* was sometimes transliterated as αουβ.

62. See Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1, *Phonology*, Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità LV (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1976), 233.

Δομιτιανός). The Latin *ui* was transcribed υι, as one would expect (e.g., *Quietus* → Κυιήτου, *Quietianus* → Κυιητιανός),[63] though the phonic interchange between αυ and α also gives rise to such orthographic variations as *Claudius* → Κλαύδιος/Κλάδιος, *Faustus* → Φαύστος/Φάστος, and *Augustus* → Αὐγούστων/Ἀγούστων.

5.12 The Abbreviation of Praenomina

In Latin inscriptions, Roman praenomina (when used) were always abbreviated by suspension to the first one or two letters, according to a regular system of abbreviation. This practice is indicative of the fact that the praenomen was subjugated in importance to the nomen. Roman praenomina, though abbreviated in inscriptions, were probably pronounced in full when said aloud.

Unlike Latin, Greek had no such standardized system of name abbreviations (see § 2.05–06). The use of the first one, two, three, or even four letters in abbreviating a given name was somewhat capricious. This fact, combined with the reality that the Greeks abbreviated both Greek and Latin names, resulted in some degree of ambiguity. For example, *M* could be used to abbreviate not only the Latin names Μᾶρκος, Μαρκία, and Μαρία but also the Greek names Μακάριος, Μακαρία, and Μάρτυς. However, when abbreviations are taken in context, it is rare for there to be any difficulty; before interpreting the meaning of an abbreviation, it is necessary to determine not only whether the individual is male or female but also whether the name is Roman or Greek. The abbreviated forms of Γάϊος and Γναῖος were *C* and *CN* because *C* originally had the value of *G* in Latin. Table 11 records some of the most frequently occurring Greek abbreviations of Roman praenomina, as well as dynastic nomina.[64]

The use of abbreviations for names is sometimes indicated by an oblique stroke (as in AYP′), a horizontal *S* (as in AYP ∽), or a superscript bar (as in $\overline{\text{AYP}}$) (see § 2.05–06). The earliest extant abbreviated names of emperors are in the Nilometer inscriptions, dating from the reign of Augustus.[65] Such abbreviations increased in frequency thereafter. The rise of the Flavian dynasty (A.D. 69–96) coincided with the spread of abbreviations for other

63. However, *Quintus* is spelt Κοίντος in earlier inscriptions and Κυίντος in later ones. *Aquila* normally appears as Ἀκύλα.

64. For abbreviations of Greek proper names see M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C.–A.D. 110)*, Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine Suppl. to vol. 9 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940); reprinted in Al. N., (comp., *Greek Abbreviations: Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts, and Early Printed Books* (Chicago: Ares, 1974), 1–125.

65. See J. A. R. Munro, "Some Pontic Milestones," *JHS* 20 (1900): 159–66, esp. 163.

TABLE 11. Greek Abbreviations of Latin Names

Praenomina	
Α, ΑΥ, ΑΥΛ	Αὖλος [Aulus]
Γ, ΓΑ, ΓΑΙ	Γάϊος [Gaius]
ΓΝ, ΓΝΑ	Γναῖος [Gnaeus]
Δ, ΔΕΚ	Δέκιμος [Decimus]
Κ, ΚΟ	Κοῖντος, Κοῖντα [Quintus/-a] (abbreviated "Q" in Latin)
Λ, ΛΟΥ, ΛΟΥΚ	Λούκιος [Lucius], also Λουκίλιος/-ία
Μ, ΜΑΡ	Μᾶρκος, Μάαρκος, Μάρκια [Marcus/-ia]
Π, ΠΟ, ΠΟΠ, ΠΟΥ	Πόπλιος [Publius], also Ποπλίλιος, Ποπλίκιος Πούβλιος [Publius]
Σ, ΣΕ, ΣΕΞ	Σέξτος [Sextus]
ΣΕΡ	Σέρουιος [Servius]
Τ, ΤΙΤ, sometimes ΤΙ	Τίτος [Titus]
ΤΙ, ΤΙΒ, sometimes Τ	Τιβέριος, Τιβερία [Tiberius/-ia]
Dynastic Names	
Α, ΑΥ, ΑΥΡ, ΑΥΡΗ	Αὐρήλιος, Αὐρηλία [Aurelius/-ia]
ΑΙΛ	Αἴλιος, Αἴλια [Aelius/-ia]
ΑΝ, ΑΝΤ, ΑΝΤΟ	Ἀντώνιος, Ἀντωνία [Antonius/-ia]
ΑΥΓ, ΑΥΓΟΥΣ	Αὔγουστος [Augustus]
Ι, ΙΟ, ΙΟΥ, ΙΟΥΛ	Ἰούλιος, Ἰουλία [Julius/-ia]
ΚΛ	Κλαύδιος, Κλαυδία [Claudius/-ia]
ΜΑΥΡ, ΜΑΡ	Μ(άρκος) Αὐρήλιος, Μ. Ἀ <υ>ρήλιος
Σ, ΣΒ, ΣΕ, ΣΕΒ	Σεβαστός, Σεβαστή [Augustus/-a]
ΤΡΑ	Τραϊανός [Traianus]
ΟΥΛ	Οὔλπιος, Οὐλπία (Ulpius/-ia)
Φ, ΦΛ, ΦΛΑ	Φλάβιος, Φλαβία [Flavius/-ia]

names, such as Τ(ίτος) and Φλ(άουιος). Though abbreviations are attested earlier,[66] it was not until the second century A.D. that most of the set of Roman praenomina and dynastic nomina (as well as many Greek personal names) had a more or less standard set of corresponding Greek abbreviations (see table 11).

5.13 Naming and Titular Conventions of Roman Emperors

The formulae employed in the naming of the aristocracy, including consuls, prefects, and emperors, evolved over time and could be quite complex (see the works on titulature in this chapter's supplementary bibliography). With

66. E.g., Καίσ(αρος) (Theban graffiti [*IEg*Baillet 2.399, no. 1587; 271, no. 1206]); Χοφάρν(ου), Ποσειδ(έου), Παμφίλ(ου), Ἡρακλ(είδης), Μύρ(ωνος), Στρατόνει(κος), Ἀρδαρ(ίσκου?), Λυσι(στράτου?), Ἀντισθ(ένης), Ἀλεξάν(δρου), Ἀριστ(ίων?), Σαμβ(ίων) (*IPontEux* II, 25–31, no. 29B). Cf. *CIG* 4863 (time of Septimius Severus); *IGRR* I, 1317, L. 6; *CIG* 4922, L. 8.

respect to imperial titulature, the basic order of information is, first, the emperor's full name (praenomen, nomen, filiation, cognomen, agnomen), followed by his official titles. In addition to this official titulature, optional titles could also be added: among these are Εὐσεβής (Pius), Εὐτυχής (Successful), Εὐεργέτης (Benefactor), Σωτήρ (Savior), Ἄριστος (Noblest), and others (e.g., Τροπαιοῦχος, "one to whom trophies are dedicated"). Following Elagabal, all emperors assumed the title *Pius Felix Augustus*/Εὐσεβής Εὐτυχής Σεβαστός (or *Invictus Aug.*) upon their succession.

5.13.1 Praenomen

In 38 B.C., Augustus abandoned the praenomen *Gaius,* substituting in its place αὐτοκράτωρ/*imp(erator),* meaning "one who deserves reverence."[67] This change emphasized his new role in contrast to his previous role as triumvir and military despot. Following the example of Augustus, many other emperors adopted the praenomen Αὐτοκράτωρ, but this usage was not uniform; in some instances, Αὐτοκράτωρ precedes, rather than replaces, the original praenomen (e.g., Αὐτοκράτορα Τιβέριον; see § 5.13.11 [no. 12]). Some inscriptions omit it altogether preferring other titles (e.g., ὁ νεὸς Ἥλιος; see § 5.13.11 [no. 15]).

5.13.2 Nomen

The cognomen of the gens Iulia was *Caesar*/Καῖσαρ. Augustus substituted this cognomen in place of his adoptive nomen (*Iulius*), thus becoming Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ. By the Flavian period, the conjunction of *Imperator* with *Caesar* (Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ) had come to be so closely associated with imperial power as to become increasingly the unchanging starter to each emperor's title, followed by whatever each felt to be the most distinctive feature(s) of his name.

5.13.3 Filiation

Following the praenomen and nomen gentilicium comes the filiation. The imperial father of the emperor is named according to his cognomen (or occasionally his nomen). Some emperors expanded this formula to include a third or fourth generation, as follows:

67. For a discussion of the origin and evolution of the title αὐτοκράτωρ (= *imperator*) see Chryses Pélékidis, Μελέτες ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας (Jannina, Greece 1979), 9–31 (Robert, *BE* [1981]: 143a).

nomen/cognomen of the grandfather (gen.) + υἱωνός/ἔκγονος/*n(epos)*
nomen/cognomen of the great-grandfather (gen.) + ἀπόγονος/*pron(epos)*

In many instances, the emperor is described as deified or divine (θεός/*divus*). The Iulii claimed descent from the gods and the kings of Rome through Julius Caesar. Hence, Augustus and Tiberius employed the phrase θεοῦ υἱός (see, e.g., § 5.13.11 [nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11]) to indicate that they were sons of the deified Julius Caesar (θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱός; see § 5.13.11 [no. 5]) and Augustus (θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν; see § 5.13.11 [no. 12]), respectively. In other words, they were acclaimed not as sons of "God" but as sons of their deified forebears (see § 14.08).[68] The title θεοῦ υἱός served to make the emperor higher in status than mortals but not fully equal to the Olympian gods. In A.D. 54, Nero permitted his predecessor, Claudius, to be named *divus,* thereby becoming himself *divi filius* (e.g., θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱός), that is, "the son of deified Claudius." Since Vespasian could not claim descent from the *divi* who preceded him, he did not adopt the terminology of the cult of the emperor. Only after his death was he raised to the rank of *divus.*

5.13.4 Cognomen and Agnomen

The cognomen Σεβαστός/*Aug(ustus)* was employed as a title of honor by Iulius Caesar Octavianus and subsequently adopted by all his successors as a cognomen. Many emperors from Domitian onward adopted the title Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός/*Augustus Germanicus.* In some cases, the original tria nomina of the emperor is sandwiched between Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ and Σεβαστός. By a kind of fictitious adoption, Hadrian assumed his predecessor's cognomen, Τραϊανός/*Traianus,* along with his own.

Additional names (agnomina) (see § 5.06) might also be added, such as Παρθικός (Μέγιστος)/*Parthicus* (*Maximus*),[69] Ἀραβικός/*Arabicus,*[70]

68. According to S. R. F. Price ("Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult," *JHS* 104 [1984]: 79–95), the usage of θεός in imperial titulature is different from the use of Latin *divus,* and the phrase θεοῦ υἱός is not a translation equivalent of *divi filius,* since θεός was also used of living emperors. Price argues that in ritual practice, emperors were not equated with gods but were located somewhere between the human and the divine; against this position, Philip Harland ("Honours and Worship: Emperors, Imperial Cults, and Associations at Ephesus [First to Third Centuries A.D.]," *Studies in Religion* 25, no. 3 [1996]: 319–34) has argued that the emperors and gods were both equated in a sacrificial context and that they did function as gods within the cultic activity of the cities.

69. By Trajan, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Sept. Severus, Caracalla, Gallienus, Claudius II, and Aurelian. See § 5.13.11 (nos. 39, 42, 44–45, 52–53; Παρ. Μέγ. at nos. 52–54).

70. By Sept. Severus and Caracalla, see § 5.13.11 (no. 54).

Ἀδιαβηνικός/*Adiabenicus*,[71] and Βρεταννικός/Britannicus.[72] Emperors after Augustus added other titles of honor, usually claiming some clear grounds for doing so, especially victory in battle. The most important of these titles are listed in sections 5.13.5–10.

5.13.5 Ἀρχιερεὺς (Μέγιστος)/*Pont(ifex) Max(imus)*

In 12 B.C., Augustus was made ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος (*pontifex maximus*), that is, the president of the priestly college of pontiffs. Thereafter, the pontificate was bestowed on all his imperial successors.[73]

5.13.6 Ὕπατος/*Co(n)s(ul)*

The particular consulship in the rule of the emperor is usually enumerated.[74] The customary formula is ὕπατος τὸ + ordinal number + ἀποδεδειγμένος/καθεσταμένος (having been proclaimed consul *x* times).

5.13.7 Αὐτοκράτωρ/*Imp(erator)*

A repetition of the term αὐτοκράτωρ/*imperator* indicates the number of times the emperor had been saluted with this title, counting from the first salutation of his accession to emperor (e.g., αὐτοκράτορα τὸ ἑνδέκατον [saluted as emperor eleven times]). When αὐτοκράτωρ appears with no numeral, it indicates the period following his first salutation. This title sometimes appears last in the naming sequence.

5.13.8 Δημαρχικὴ Ἐξουσία/*Trib(unicia) Potestas*

The most highly publicized power conferred on the emperor was his *tribunicia potestas*. This power was conferred shortly after his elevation as emperor and was renewed each year thereafter, thus numbering the years of

71. By Sept. Severus and by Caracalla (see § 5.13.11 [no. 54]), and by Constantine.

72. See § 5.13.11 (no. 53).

73. See Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis*, American Studies in Papyrology 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 196.

74. On the twenty-eight governors of praetorian imperial provinces styled ὑπατικός/*consularis* from II–III A.D. see Bernard Rémy, "Ὑπατικοί et *consulares* dans les provinces impériales pretoriennes au II^{e} at III^{e} siècles," *Latomus* 45 (1986): 311–38 (cf. *SEG* 36.1525).

his reign and marking the beginning of the regnal (but not calendar) year[75] (e.g., δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἕκτον [in the sixth tenure of his tribunician power]). The first conferment is cited without a numeral.

5.13.9 Τ(ε)ιμητής/*Censor*, Ἀνθύπατος/*Proconsul*

The office of τ(ε)ιμητής/*censor* was held by Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus. Domitian expanded this title to αἰώνιος τιμητής/*censor perpetuus*. Since this latter title gave offense, it was dropped thereafter. The title ἀνθύπατος/*proconsul* was adopted by Trajan and was adopted by later emperors when they were outside of Italy (i.e., in one of their provinces) and were thus exercising their proconsular power in the manner for which it had originally been devised.

5.13.10 Πατὴρ Πατρίδος/*P(ater) P(atriae)*

The title πατὴρ πατρίδος/*pater patriae*, "father of the country," was conferred on Augustus in 2 B.C. and on all succeeding emperors except Tiberius (who refused it), Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (nos. 16, 21, 29, 45). By the time of Domitian, it was usually placed last in the list of titles.

5.13.11 Chronological List of Roman Emperors with Exempla

The following list provides the full names and dates of the rule of all Roman emperors through to Constantine, beginning with Julius Caesar (though not an emperor himself). The names and dates are followed by examples of references taken from the Greek epigraphical record. This list should be supplemented with additional information, such as the specific dates in which an emperor received the *tribunicia potestas* for the first time, held a consulship, was honored with an imperial acclamation, or received a surname associated with a victory (e.g., *Parthicus, Germanicus*, etc.). These elements of imperial nomenclature provide invaluable chronological criteria for dating inscriptions. They can be obtained from Dietmar Kienast's *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*.[76]

75. See § 6.01.

76. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990.) See also Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, 230–56; *De Imperatoribus Romanis*, an on-line encyclopedia of Roman emperors, <http://www.salve.edu/~ dimaiom/deimprom.html>; *Rulers of the Roman and Byzantine Empires: 753 B.C.–A.D. 1479* <http://www.nwitt.dircon.co.uk/roman/>.

The Julio-Claudian Dynasty (49 B.C.–A.D. 68)

Julius Caesar[77] (Gaius Julius Caesar, dictator) 49–44 B.C.

1 Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα ἀρχιερέα καὶ δικτάτωρα (*SIG*³ 759)

2 Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Γαΐου υἱὸν Καίσαρα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὕπατον (*SIG*³ 760)

3 Γαΐῳ Ἰουλίῳ Γαΐου υἱῷ Καίσαρι (*SIG*³ 763, L. 5)

4 Γάϊος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ (*SIG*³ 764, L. 10)

Augustus[78] (C. [=Gaius] Octavius, b. 23 Sept. 63 B.C.; after postmortem adoption by C. Julius Caesar, C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus; first imperator; title *Augustus* conferred 16 Jan. 27 B.C.) 27 B.C.–19 Aug. A.D. 14

5 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς ὕπατός τε τὸ τρίτον καθεσταμένος (*SIG*³ 768; before 27 B.C.)

6 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱόν (*SIG*³ 769; before 27 B.C.)

7 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεύς, ὕπατος τὸ δωδέκατον ἀποδεδειγμένος καὶ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὀκτωικαιδέκατον (*SIG*³ 780)

8 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ (*SIG*³ 781)

9 Αὐτοκράτορος δὲ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ὄγδοον ὑπάτου (*SIG*³ 785, L. 19)

10 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν Σεβαστὸν εὐεργέτην (*SIG*³ 778)

Tiberius[79] (Ti. Claudius Nero, b. 16 Nov. 42 B.C.; after adoption, Ti. Iulius Caesar) 19 Aug. A.D. 14–16 Mar. A.D. 37

11 Τιβέριον Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν Σεβαστὸν σωτῆρα εὐεργέταν (*SIG*³ 791A)

12 Αὐτοκράτορα Τιβέριον Καίσαρα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν Σεβαστὸν (*SIG*³ 791B)

13 Αὐτοκράτορος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν (*SIG*³ 792)

Caligula (C. [=Gaius] Caesar Germanicus, b. 31 Aug. A.D. 12; son of Germanicus; grandson of Drusus I, who was the younger brother of Tiberius; commonly called "Gaius Caesar"; nicknamed "Caligula" by his father's soldiers) 18 Mar. A.D. 37–24 Jan. A.D. 41

14 Γαΐον Καίσαρα (*SIG*³ 798, L. 1)

15 ὁ νεὸς Ἥλιος Γάϊος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός (*SIG*³ 798, L. 3)

Claudius (Ti. Claudius Drusus [?], b. 1 Aug. 10 B.C.; younger son of Drusus I; brother of Germanicus) 24 Jan. A.D. 41–13 Oct. A.D. 54

16 Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικόν, ἀρχιερῆ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἕκτον, ὕπατον ἀποδεδειγμένον τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτορα τὸ ἑνδέκατον, πατέρα πατρίδος (*SIG*³ 801C)

17 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος (*SIG*³ 806)

Nero[80] (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, b. 15 Dec. A.D. 37; adopted by Ti. Claudius Caesar; his name was combined with the name of his adopted father and with the name of his maternal great-grandfather [Nero Drusus Germanicus], and he became known as Ti. Claudius Drusus Germanicus Caesar; from A.D. 54 to 68, known as Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) 13 Oct. A.D. 54–9 June A.D. 68

18 Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱόν, Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἔκγονον, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπόγονον, Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικόν, ἀρχιερέα, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτορα (*SIG*³ 808)

19 Νέρων Κλαύδιος, θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱός, Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπόγονος, Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεύς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτωρ (*SIG*³ 810, L. 5)

20 Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ (*SIG*³ 814, col. III 25)

The Year of the Four Emperors (A.D. 68–69)

Galba (Servius Sulpicius Galba, b. 24 Dec. 3 B.C.) 8 June A.D. 68–15 Jan. A.D. 69

Otho (Marcus Salvius Otho, b. 28 Apr. A.D. 32) 15 Jan.–16 Apr. 69

Vitellius (Aulus Vitellius, b. 7 [or 24?] Sept. A.D. 12 [or 15?]) 2 Jan.–20 Dec. 69

The Flavian Dynasty (A.D. 69–96)

Vespasian[81] (Titus Flavius[82] Vespasianus, b. 17 Nov. A.D. 9) 1 July 69–23 June 79

21 Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Οὐεσπασιανῷ Σεβαστῷ ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ αὐτοκράτορι τὸ πατρὶ πατρίδος ὑπάτῳ τὸ ἀποδεδειγμένῳ τὸ τειμητῇ (*SEG* 28.1218)

22 Αὐτοκράτορι Οὐεσπασιανῷ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ (*SEG* 31.851)

23 Αὐτοκράτορος Τίτου Φλαουίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ (*SEG* 35.1483)

Titus[83] (Titus Flavius Vespasianus, b. 30 Dec. A.D. 39?) 24 June 79–13 Sept. 81

24 Τίτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ (*SIG*³ 817.5)

25 Αὐτοκράτορος Τίτου Καίσαρος (*SIG*³ 818)

77. E.g., *SEG* 26.1241, 27.484, 30.1617, 34.177.

78. E.g., *SEG* 26.1243, 1269, 1392, 1824; 27.385; 29.125, 167–68, 1646; 30.1246–47, 1255, 1627; 31.108; 32.833, 874, 1097, 1128, 1135; 33.464; 35.612; 35.744, L. 35; 35.1130, 1169.

79. E.g., *SEG* 26.1269, 1392; 28.1080, 1205; 30.1645; 31.1105, 1516; 32.1163; 33.1089; 35.508.

80. E.g., *SEG* 26.1270, 1754, 1816; 28.885; 31.919, 920, 1363; 32.251, 1605; 34.182, 1122, 1326, 1594.

81. E.g., *SEG* 26.1665, 1801, 1841; 29.579; 31.1071; 34.1312.

82. See T. V. Buttrey, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature*, BKP 112 (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1980) (cf. *SEG* 30.1813).

83. E.g., *SEG* 30.1631; 31.943, 1071; 32.1635; 35.1483.

26 Τίτῳ Καίσαρι Οὐεσπασιανῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὸ ἀρχιερεῖ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὑπάτῳ τὸ ἀποδεδειγμένῳ τὸ τειμητῇ (*SEG* 28.1218)

27 Αὐτοκράτορα Τίτον Φλαύιον Οὐεσπασιανὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν (*SEG* 31.943)

28 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν, Τίτον Οὐεσπασιανὸν Σεβαστόν ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον (*SEG* 30.1635)

Domitian[84] (Titus Flavius Domitianus, b. 24 Oct. A.D. 51) 14 Sept. 81–18 Sept. 96

29 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱός [[Δομετιανὸς]] Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ′, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ κα′, ὕπατος τὸ ιε′, τειμητὴς διὰ βίου, πατὴρ πατρίδος (*SIG*³ 821C)

30 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Δομιτιανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν (*SEG* 32.1099)

31 Αὐτοκράτορος Δομιτιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ (*SIG*³ 821D–E)

32 Κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Δομιτιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ (*SEG* 758)

Nerva[85] (M. Cocceius Nerva, b. 8 Nov. A.D. 30) 18 Sept. 96–27? Jan. 98

33 Θεοῦ Νέρουα (*SEG* 30.1308)

34 Αὐτοκράτορα Νέρουαν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν (*SEG* 27.918)

Trajan[86] (M. Ulpius Traianus, b. 18 Sept. A.D. 53?; adopted by Nerva in 98, a few months before Nerva's death) 28 Jan. 98–7 Aug. 117

35 Αὐτοκράτορα Νέρβαν Τραϊανὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικόν Ἄριστον (*SIG*³ 825B)

36 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανός (*SEG* 32.1202)

37 Αὐτοκράτορι Νερούᾳ Τραιανῷ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Γερμανικῷ Δακικῷ (*SEG* 28.869)

38 Αὐτοκράτορος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ (*SEG* 30.1308)

Hadrian[87] (P. Aelius P. f. Sergia Hadrianus, b. 24 Jan. A.D. 76; adopted by Trajan when Trajan was on his deathbed) 11 Aug. 117–10 July 138

84. E.g., *SEG* 27.1009–10; 29.1100–101; 30.1749; 31.1071; 34.1577; 35.1483. On titulature of Domitian see Alain Martin, *La titulature épigraphique de Domitien*, BKP 181 (Frankfurt: Athenaum, 1987) (cf. *SEG* 37.1773).

85. E.g., *SEG* 35.706, 753–54.

86. E.g., *SEG* 26.242, 959, 1246, 1271, 1826–27; 28.738, 884; 29.1102; 30.1308; 31.404, 953, 1124, 1300, 1410; 32.1550; 33.1129; 35.254, 753–54.

87. E.g., *SEG* 26.125, 1273, 1486; 27.809; 28.562; 29.1283; 30.89; 31.173; 32.185, 253, 255, 1244; 34.156. On the awarding of the title *Augusta* to Sabina see *SEG* 32.1639.

39 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Δακικοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν, θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱωνός, Τραϊανὸν Ἁδριανὸν Σεβαστόν (*SIG*³ 829C; cf. 829B)

40 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (*SIG*³ 830, L. 5)

41 Τραϊανοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος (*SIG*³ 842)

42 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνός, Τραϊανὸς Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, τὸ δ′, ὕπατος τὸ γ′ (*SIG*³ 833; cf. 831–33, 837–38)

43 Αὐτοκράτορι Ἁδριανῷ σωτῆρι (*SIG*³ 835)

44 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν, θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱωνόν, Τραϊανὸν Ἁδριανόν Σεβαστόν, ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἕνατον, ὕπατον τὸ τρίτον (*SIG*³ 836)

The Antonines (A.D. 138–92)

Antoninus Pius[88] (T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius [Arrius] Antoninus, b. 19 Sept. A.D. 86; after adoption by Hadrian, T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius) 10 July 138–7 Mar. 161

45 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ Νερούα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἁδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ [- -], αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β′, ὕπατος τὸ γ′, πατὴρ πατρίδος (*SIG*³ 849; cf. 850 and 851, L. 15)

46 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τ. Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς (*SIG*³ 852)

Marcus Aurelius[89] ([M. Annius?] Catilius Verus, b. 26 Apr. A.D. 121; adopted by his uncle Antoninus Pius as M. Aelius Aurelius Verus) 7 Mar. 161–17 Mar. 180

47 Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Καίσαρος (*SEG* 28.598)

48 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ις′, ὕπατον τὸ γ′ (*SEG* 33.520)

L. Verus (L. Ceionius, b. 130; adopted by Antoninus Pius as L. Aurelius Commodus; took name Verus on becoming joint emperor) 7 Mar. 161–69

Commodus (L. Aurelius Commodus, b. 31 Aug. A.D. 161; ruled jointly in A.D. 176–80) 17 Mar. 180–31 Dec. 192 (sole emperor)[90]

49 Λ. Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος (*SEG* 28.598)

88. E.g., *SEG* 26.147, 168, 171, 1220; 28.195, 198; 29.152; 30.1310; 32.256, 1447; 33.893.

89. See *SEG* 26.690, 784, 1652; 28.1458; 29.692; 33.520; 34.1090, 1309–10; 35.1318.

90. E.g., *SEG* 26.128, 1440; 28.598; 29.1108–9; 32.1271; 33.1133; 35.1359.

50 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ [[M. Αὐρ. Κόμμοδος]] Εὐσεβής (*SIG*³ 873)

Pertinax (P. Helvius Pertinax, b. 1 Aug. A.D. 126) 31 Dec. 192–28 Mar. 193

Didius Iulianus (M. Didius Severus Iulianus, b. 30 Jan. A.D. 133) 28 Mar.–1 June 193

The Severans (A.D. 193–337)

Septimius Severus[91] (L. Septimius Severus, b. 11 Apr. A.D. 145) 9 Apr. 193–4 Feb. 211

51 Αὐτοκράτωρ Λ. Σεπτίμιος Σευῆρος Περτίναξ Σεβαστός (*SIG*³ 875)

52 . . . τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σευήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος καὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς μητρὸς κτλ. (*IGRR* IV, 468; *CIG* 6829)

Caracalla[92] (Septimius Bassianus, b. 4 Apr. A.D. 186 [or 188?]; elder son of Septimius Severus; named M. Aurelius Antoninus in A.D. 186; joint emperor from 3 May 198) 4 Feb. 211–8 Apr. 217.

53 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρῆλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Εὐσεβὴς Σεβαστὸς Παρθικὸς μέγιστος, Βρεταννικὸς μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος (*SIG*³ 883)

54 . . . (αὐτοκράτορος) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου (*IGRR* IV, 468; *CIG* 6829)

Macrinus (M. Opellius Macrinus, b. A.D. 164 or 166) 11 Apr. 217–8 June 218

Elagabal[93] (Varius Avitus, b. A.D. 203 or 204?; addressed by soldiers as M. Aurelius Antoninus) 16 May 218–11 Mar. 222

55 Τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν [[Αὐτοκ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεβ. Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσε]]βοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ (*SEG* 33.1136)

Severus Alexander[94] ([M. Iulius Gessius?] Bassianus Alexianus, b. 1 Oct. A.D. 208?; after adoption on 10 July 221, M. Aurelius Severus Alexander) 13 Mar. 222–Feb./Mar. 235

56 Αὐτ(οκράτορα) Καί(σαρα) Μ. Αὐρήλιον Σεουῆρον Ἀλέξανδρον, Εὐσεβῆ, Εὐτυχῆ, Σεβαστόν (*SIG*³ 886)

57 Τὸν θεοφιλέστατον αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης δεσπότην Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Σεουῆρον [[Ἀλέξανδρον]] Σεβαστὸν (*SEG* 31.677).

91. E.g., *SEG* 26.1365, 1383; 27.919; 28.871, 1209; 29.802; 30.131; 31.1294–95; 33.166; 34.187; 35.753, 1414.

92. E.g., *SEG* 26.1365; 27.921–22, 940; 28.871; 29.1345; 30.1331; 31.1295; 32.1473; 33.775, 1097; 34.187; 35.1375, 1414.

93. E.g., *SEG* 29.1281.

94. E.g., *SEG* 26.192, 835; 28.577; 31.970, 1133; 33.1136–37; 34.597.

Maximinus Thrax (C. Iulius Verus, b. A.D. 172 or 173) Feb./Mar. 235–Apr.? 238

58 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γ. Ἰουλ. Ο[[ὐήρου Μαξιμί]]νου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος Γ. Ἰουλ. Μ[[αξιμίν]]ου Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπινείκια (*SEG* 26.1261).

Gordian I (M. Antonius Gordianus, b. A.D. 158 or 159?) Jan.? 238

Gordian II (b. A.D. 192) Jan.? 238

59 Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Ἀντωνίῳ Γορδιανῷ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ. (*SIG*³ 888)

Pupienus (M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, b. ca. A.D. 164) Jan./Feb.–May? 238

Balbinus[95] (D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus) Jan./Feb.?–May? 238

Gordian III[96] (M. Antonius Gordianus, b. 20 Jan. 225 or 226?) Jan./Feb.? 238–244

60 Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Ἀντωνίωι Γορδιανῶι Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβαστῷ, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β′, ὑπάτῳ, π(ατρὶ) π(ατρίδος) (*SEG* 34.614).

61 Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον Καίσαρα Μ(άρκον) Ἀντώνιον Γορδιανόν (*SEG* 28.586).

Philippus Arabs (M. Iulius Philippus, A.D. 204?) 244–Sept./Oct. 249. his son, who had the same name and was joint ruler in 247–49, was given the titles *Caesar* in 244, *Augustus* in 246, and *Germanicus* and *Carpicus* in 248.

62 Θ<ε>ιοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Σεβ(αστοῦ) (*SEG* 28.591).

Decius (C. Messius Decius, b. A.D. 190 or 200?) Sept./Oct. 249–June 251.

63 Αὐτοκρατόρων Γαΐων Μεσσίων Κυΐντων Τραϊανῶν Δεκίων Σεβββ. καὶ Ἐρενν. Ἑτρουσκίλλα Σεβ. (*SIG*³ 890)

Trebonianus Gallus (C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus) June? 251–Aug.? 253

Aemilius Aemilianus (M. Aemilius Aemilianus, b. 207 or 214) July/Aug.–Sept./Oct. 253

Valerian[97] (P. Licinius Valerianus, b. 200) June/Aug. 253–June? 260

64 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Πόπλιον Λικίννιον Οὐαλεριανόν Σεβαστόν (*SIG*³ 891)

Gallienus[98] (b. ca. 213) Sept./Oct. 253–Sept. 268

65 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Πούπλιον Λικίννιον Γαλλιηνόν, εὐσεβῆ, εὐτυχῆ, Σεβαστόν (*SIG*³ 892)

95. E.g., *SEG* 32.1312.

96. E.g., *SEG* 30.782, 32.1312, 34.1519.

97. E.g., *SEG* 28.592.

98. E.g., *SEG* 26.129, 27.925, 28.592.

Claudius II Gothicus (M. Aurelius Claudius, b. 10 May 214?) Sept./Oct. 268–Sept. 270

66 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρ. Κλαύδιος εὐσεβὴς εὐτυχὴς **Σεβ.**, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δεύτερον, ὕπατος, **πατὴρ** πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος (*SIG*³ 895)

Quintillus (brother of Claudius II Gothicus) Sept. 270

Aurelian[99] (L. Domitius Aurelianus, b. 9 Sept. 214?) Sept. 270–Sept./Oct. **275**

67 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκ(ιος) Δομίτιος Αὐρηλιανὸς Εὐσεβής, Εὐτυχής, Σεβ(αστὸς) (*SEG* 26.1298).

Tacitus[100] (M. Claudius Tacitus, b. ca. 200) late 275–mid-276

Florianus[101] (M. Annius Florianus) winter 276

Probus (M. Aurelius Probus, b. 19 Aug. 232) summer 276–winter 282

Carus[102] (M. Aurelius Carus, b. ca. 224?) 282–83

Numerianus (younger son of Carus, b. ca. 253) July/Aug.? 283–Nov. 284

Carinus (elder son of Carus, b. ca. 250) 283–Aug./Sept. 285

Diocletian[103] (b. 22 Dec. ca. 245) 20 Nov. 284–1 May 305

68 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Γ(άιον) Αὐρήλιον Οὐαλέριον Διοκλητιανὸν Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστὸν καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Οὐαλέριον Μαξιμιανόν (*SEG* 33.1098).

69 Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρσιν ⟦Γ. Οὐαλ. Διοκλητιανῷ⟧ τῷ ἀνεικήτῳ Σεβ(αστῷ) ⟦καὶ Γ. Οὐαλ. Μαξιμιανῷ τῷ ἀνεικήτῳ Σεβ(αστῷ)⟧ (*SEG* 31.932)

Maximianus[104] (b. 21 July? ca. 250) Oct./Dec. 285–ca. July 310

70 Σεβαστοῦ Ἰοβίου Μαξιμίνου (*SIG*³ 900, L. 20)

Constantius I (Flavius Valerius Constantius, b. 31 Mar. ca. 250) 1 Mar. 293–25 July 306

71 Τοὺς μεγίστους κὲ θιοτάτους αὐτοκρατόρους (*sic*) Φλ(άβιον) Οὐαλ(έριον) Κωνστάντιον κὲ Γαλ(έριον) Οὐαλ(έριον) Μαξιμιανὸν Σεβ(αστοὺς) (*SEG* 35.737).

Galerius[105] (P. Licinius Galerius, b. 250? 260?) 21 May? 293–May 311

99. E.g., *SEG* 28.578.

100. E.g., *SEG* 34.1306.

101. E.g., *SEG* 35.375.

102. E.g., *SEG* 31.1101.

103. For regnal formulae from Diocletian onward see Roger S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt,* BASP Suppl 2 (Missoula, MO: Scholars, 1979); cf. *SEG* 26.1371; 28.1426; 30.1814; 31.932, 940; 32.900; 34.713; 35.1471.

104. E.g., *SEG* 26.1366, 1381; 31.932, 940; 32.900; 33.1098; 34.713. See Diocletian (nos. 68–69).

105. E.g., *SEG* 26.722, 1366; 29.1165; 31.904, 932, 1101; 34.713; 35.743, 759–60. Cf. Constantius I (no. 71).

Licinius (Valerius Licinianus) 311–23

Maximinus Daia (b. 20 Nov. 270 or 285?) 1 May 305–313

Severus II 1 May 305–Mar./April 307

Maxentius (b. ca. 275/78? or 283?) 28 Oct. 306–28 Oct. 312

Licinius (b. ca. 265) 11 Nov. 308–19 Sept. 324

Constantine I[106] (Gaius [also Marcus and Titus] Flavius Valerius Constantinus, b. 27 Feb. 272 or 273) 25 July 306–22 May 337

72 Φλάβ. Οὐαλ. Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ [.]′ (*SIG*³ 901)

73 τὸν Μέγιστον Αὐτοκράτορα Φλάβιον Κωνσταντῖνον (*SIG*³ 903A)

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106. See *SEG* 26.1365–66, 28.1228, 29.1165–66, 33.1051, 35.758D.

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6

Calendars, Eras, and the Dating of Inscriptions

One of the most important questions with regard to any inscriptions is that of its date. Unfortunately, many inscriptions give no explicit information concerning their date of origin, making their precise dating quite impossible. The matter is somewhat simpler when an inscription supplies such information. However, such data require substantial interpretative skill on the part of the epigraphist, since many dating systems can only be understood with reference to the particular city or region in question.

The subject of calendars and dating is immensely detailed and complex. Athens alone had three calendars: a lunar regulatory calendar, a festival calendar (which used the same month names but was often significantly out of phase with the lunar calendar),[1] and a prytany calendar.[2] The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with various types of calendars and dating systems, leaving the reader to consult more detailed treatments as needed.[3]

1. Cf. the Metonic cycle (see n. 50).

2. See W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone,* University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology 4.4 (Berkeley: University of California Press), 267–402; B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961); O. Neugebauer and W. K. Pritchett, *The Calendar in the Fifth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928); W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947).

3. See Alan E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology: Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity,* HbA 1.7 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1972); E. J. Bickermann, *Chronology of the Ancient World,* rev. ed., Aspects of Greek and Roman Life (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980); W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung,* Altertumswissenschaft (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928).

At the outset, it is useful to mention briefly some of the contours of this subject. First, there is the persistent problem of reconciling time based on the passage of months (which is a lunar phenomenon) with the notion of a year (which is solar in nature). Second, the Greeks distinguished between the natural year (ἐνιαυτός) as a cycle of seasons and the civil year (ἔτος): a natural year could begin at any chosen point and would last for one complete cycle of the seasons; the civil year had a fixed beginning and length, as defined by the city in question. Third, it is necessary to distinguish between calendric systems that simply name the years but do not count them (eponymous dating) and those systems that employ some kind of sequential numeration (dating according to an era). I will first attend to the subject of eponymous dating and the related issues of how the length of a year was determined and subdivided into months.

6.01 Eponymous Dating

Many Greek inscriptions do not use a continuous numeration of the years from a point of origin. Rather, decrees were customarily dated by specifying the name of the eponymous magistrate presiding at the time, sometimes even employing emperors and divinities as eponymous officials.[4]

The eponymous magistrate in Athens was the chief archon (ὁ ἄρχων). He was the formal head of state, with all civic decrees being dated with his name (i.e., ἄρχοντος τοῦ δεῖνος). Each Athenian archon commenced his one-year term of office on the first day of the month of Hekatombaion. Elsewhere, the title of the eponymous magistrate varied from place to place throughout the Greek world.[5] Here follows a representative sample.

ἀρχιπρύτανις	Aigiale
ἀρχιπρόβουλος	Termessos, Sagalassos[6]
ἄρχων	Andros, Antikyra (Phokis), Arkensine, Athens (with

4. On emperors see Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil*, 143–50; on divinities, Robert, *Hellenica*, II, 50–64.

5. See R. K. Sherk, "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities," parts 1–5, *ZPE* 83 (1990): 249–88; 84 (1990): 231ff. (corrigendum to *ZPE* 89 [1991]: 38); 88 (1991): 225–60; 93 (1992): 223–72; 96 (1993): 267–95. Cf. *SEG* 40.1660, 43.1229; Clemens Gnaedinger, "De Graecorum magistratibus eponymis quaestiones epigraphicae selectae" (Ph.D. diss., Argentorati, 1892); David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 2:1518 n. 50.

6. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1:264, 2:1506 n. 32; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 165.

	γραμματεύς), Boiotia (until the Roman period),[7] Chalcis (with ἡγεμών, πολεμάρχοι), Delos (cf. ἐπιμελητής), Delphi,[8] Elateia, Eretria, Halai (board), Histiaia, Imbros, Karystos, Kytinion, Lemnos, Magnesia on the Maeander,[9] Megara, Melos, Naxos, Olbia (in the Roman period; cf. ἱερεύς), Opons, Paros, Skarphea, Syros, Tenos, Thasos, Thronion
βασιλεύς	Argos, Chalcedon, Heraklea Pontika,[10] Methymna (Lesbos), Molossis, Samothrace, metropoleis of Egypt
βούλαρχος	Amphissa
γραμματιστάς	Ambrakia, Korinth (before 146 B.C.)[11]
δημιουργός	Amorgos, Astypalaia, cities of Cilicia,[12] Elis, Kamiros, Knidos, Lousoi (eponymous college), Minoa, Nisyros, Olous, Pamphylia, cities of Peloponnesos, Polyrhenia, Samos, Tritaia
ἐπιμελητής	Delos[13]
ἐπιστάτης	Amphipolis (with an eponymous priest)
ἔφορος	Sparta (in Hellenistic period; cf. πατρονόμος), Thera (replaced by ἱερεύς by the time of Tiberius)
ἡγεμών	Euboia, Chalcis (with ἄρχων)[14]

7. See D. Knoepfler, "Sept années de recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie (1985–91)," *Chiron* 22 (1992): 411–503 (*SEG* 42.401); Michel Feyel, *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au IIIe siècle avant notre ère* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1942), 73–74.

8. On chronology of Delphian archons from 346–39 see Patrick Marchetti, "La construction du temple de Delphes et la date d'Aristônymos," *BCH* 103 (1979): 151–63 (cf. *SEG* 27.107–11, 29.456); Georges Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, Fouilles de Delphes: III, Epigraphie: fascicule hors série (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1943) (cf. *SEG* 34.374); G. Colin, "Notes de chronologie delphique," *BCH* 22 (1898): 1–200.

9. Before mid–III B.C., when the Magnesians began to date according to the local *stephanephoros* (*IMagnMai*, p. xxix; Fritz Gschnitzer, "Prytanis," *RE* Suppl. 13 [1973]: 730–815, esp. 743–47).

10. See Brian C. McGing, "The Kings of Pontus: Some Problems of Identity and Date," *RhM* 129 (1986): 248–59 (*SEG* 36.1161).

11. After 146, *duoviri*.

12. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, 2:835 n. 20; Jones, *Greek City*, 339 n. 36.

13. With eponymous ἄρχων during the second period of Athenian rule (166–88 B.C.).

14. See Sherk, "Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities," part 2, 237–38.

ἱερεύς	Aktion, Amphipolis (cf. ἐπιστάτης), Egypt,[15] Epidauros, Korkyra, Lindos, Megalopolis, Odessos,[16] Olbia (from III B.C. to the Roman period),[17] Olynthos, Pheneus, Potidaea (Kassandreia), Rhodes (city), Tegea, Thessalonika (with *agonothete* of Augustus), Thera (by the time of Tiberius; cf. ἔφορος), Torone
ἱεροθύτης	Agrigentum
ἱεροποιός	Erythrai
ἱππάρχης	Kyzikos, Thyatira
μόναρχος	Kos (sometimes with a priest of Roma and Augustus)
πατρονόμος	Sparta (from the Hellenistic period; cf ἔφορος)
πολέμαρχος	Chalcis (board, with ἡγεμών, ἄρχων), Chios, Eretria (with ἄρχων)
πολιτάρχης	Charadros
προστάτης	Epiros (with πρύτανις)
πρύτανις[18]	Anaktorion, Anazarbos, Apollonia, Chios (through II B.C.; cf. στεφανηφόρος), Ephesos, Epiros (with προστάτης),[19] Eresos, Kolophon, Kyme, Lebedos, Lesbos, Methymna, Mitylene, Rhegion, Tarsos, Temnos, Teos
πρωτόκοσμος	Crete (president of board or eponymous board)[20]
πρωτολόγος	Ikonion
στεφανηφόρος	Aphrodisias, Bargylia, Chios (from II B.C.; cf. πρύτανις), Gambreion, Herakleia ad Latmum, Hierapolis, Iasos, Kalymna, Leros (of Miletos), Magnesia on the Maeander (by mid-III B.C.), Miletos (previously αἰσυμνῆται τῶν μολπῶν), Minoa on Amorgos (in the Roman period), Mylasa, Myndos, Nysa (in the Roman period), Phokaia, Priene, Sardis, Smyrna, Stratonikeia, and generally through the Greek cities of Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia[21]
στρατηγός	Akarnania, Achaia, Aitolia, Beroia, Buthrotos,[22] Thessaly, Epiros, Italos (Phthiotide), Lakonia (*strategos* of league), Lamia,[23] Mantinea, Phokis, Thebes (Phthiotis)
ταμίας	Kalauria
ὕπατος (consul)	Roman provinces

15. See Willy Clarysse and G. Van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt (P.L. Bat. 24): Chronological List of the Priests of Alexandria and Ptolemais with a Study of the Demotic Transcriptions of Their Names,* Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 24 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983).

16. See Z. Gočeva, "Prêtres éponymes d'Odessos et de Dionysopolis," *Klio* 62 (1980): 49–53 (*SEG* 30.811).

17. Then ἄρχων: see P. O. Karyškowskij, "The Eponyms of Olbia," *VDI* 2 (1978): 82–88 (in Russian; cf. *SEG* 28.647).

18. The eponymous *prytanis* had no connection with the *prytaneis,* which were subcommittees of some councils (cf. n. 31, § 13.02).

19. See Sherk, "Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities," part 2, 234–35.

20. Exceptions were Olos and Polyrhenia (cf. δημιουργός).

It should be noted that the mere presence of one of the above titles in an inscription does not necessarily imply that the magistrate was eponymous. These titles were also used to name noneponymous civic magistrates (see § 13.04, 13.08). Which official a given city would select for its eponymous magistrate was a matter of choice.

The usual formula to designate an eponymous magistrate is ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος,[24] with or without a designation of office, as in ἐπ' Εὐτυχίδα [during [the magistracy] of Eutychides].[25] This information was sometimes supplemented by citing the corresponding calendar month (and day), as in ἐπὶ Δημογένου ἄρχοντος, Μουνιχιῶνος [during the archonship of Demogenes, in the month of Mounychion] (*IG* II² 1328B). The same formula is employed to date the inscriptions of voluntary associations (e.g., fig. 12). The conversion of such information into Julian dates requires access to dated lists of eponymous officials. The dates of many eponymous officials are still uncertain. More is known about the precise dates of the Athenian archons than about the eponymous magistrates of any other city (see § 13.05).[26] This information

21. The eponymous *stephanephoros* spread widely throughout the Roman period, subsuming this role from other eponymous titles. In the Roman period, in cities where the eponymous official was called *prytanis,* there was often a constitutional change whereby the eponymate was transferred to the *stephanephoros,* perhaps in an effort to separate the eponymate from real political power. See H. E. Stier, "Stephanephoria," *RE,* 2d ser., 3A (1894), 2343–47; Georg von Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 3d ed., 2 vols., HbA 4.1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1963–72), 1:499; Jones, *Greek City,* 163, 167, 174, 234, 310 n. 62, 339 n. 36.

22. In addition to the *prostates* and priest of Asklepios.

23. See Jones, *Greek City,* 162–63, 166, 168, 185, 337 n. 22.

24. "During the magistracy of so-and-so" (e.g., *IG* II² 337, L. 2; 1327, L. 2).

25. *SEG* 27.513 (Kos, III B.C.).

26. For lists of Athenian archons for 500–323 B.C. see Marcus N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions,* 2 ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946–48); for the Persian period: George F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars,* 2d

permits many Attic decrees to be dated with considerable accuracy. Nonetheless, the dates of many archonships are not known, and the reconstructions of the lists of some periods is often tentative, still awaiting confirmation on the basis of new evidence.

In Delos, the archons of 326–168 B.C. are known from the inventory lists of the temples.[27] Some lists of *stephanephoroi* are also available, as in Miletos, Priene, and Herakleia.[28] Incomplete lists of eponyms are available for many other areas, including Boiotia, Achaia, Delphi, Aitolia, and Thessaly.[29] In the

ed., rev. R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), 397–401; for 480–307 B.C., *PA* 2.631–35; for 347/6–348/7, B. Meritt, *Historia* 26 (1977): 161–91; for 307–100 B.C., W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), xv–xxv; for 291–196 B.C., M. J. Osborne, "The Chronology of Athens in the Mid-Third Century B.C.," *ZPE* 78 (1989): 209–42 (*SEG* 39.310); W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Archonship of Pytharatos (271/0 B.C.)," *Hesperia* 23 (1954): 284–316, esp. 312–16; for 265/4–230/29, B. Meritt, *Hesperia* 1 (1981): 78–99; for 222–177 B.C., Habicht, *Studien,* 158–77 (*SEG* 32.348); for 234–100 B.C., W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 20–25; for 159–140 B.C., Christian Habicht, "The Eponymous Archons of Athens from 159/8 to 141/0 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 (1988): 237–47 (*SEG* 38.274); for 100–48 B.C., James A. Notopoulos, "Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire," *Hesperia* 18 (1949): 1–57, esp. 11–12; Sterling Dow, "New Readings in the Archons Lists *IG* II^2 1713 and 1716," *AJA* 37 (1933): 578–88; Sterling Dow, "Archons of the Period after Sulla," in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore L. Shear, Hesperia Suppl* 8 (Baltimore, Md: J. H. Furst, 1949), 116–25; for 48–29 B.C., *IG* II^2, 4.1, p. 25; for 29 B.C. onward, Simone Follet, *BICS Suppl* 55 (1989): 37–44 (*SEG* 39.311); Notopoulos, "Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire," 12–19; J. A. Notopoulos, "Ferguson's Law in Athens under the Empire," *AJP* 64 (1943): 44–55; James H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 11 (1942): 29–103, esp. 81–89. For revisions and new schemes see W. B. Dinsmoor, "Summary Table of Athenian Archons from 203/2 to 101/0," *Hesperia* 26 (1957): 94–97; S. V. Tracy, "Notes and Discussions: ΤΟ ΜΗ ΔΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΝ," *CP* 86 [1991]: 201–4.

27. J. Coupry, *Inscriptions de Délos,* vol. 2, *Amphictyonie attico-délienne, actes administratifs (Nos. 89–104)* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1972), 328–38; Jacques Tréheux, "Les dernières années de Délos sous le protectorat des Amphictions," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire,* 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1949), 2:1008–32, esp. 1031–32.

28. For Miletos see W. Blümel, "Inschriften aus Karien I," *EpigAnat* 25 (1995): no. 26. For the period 525–259 B.C., followed by a gap, then continuing to A.D. 31–32, see George Kawerau and Albert Rehm, *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen,* vol. 3, *Das Delphinion in Milet,* ed. Theodore Wiegand (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1914), 241–75, nos. 122–28; Albert Rehm, *Milesische Chronologie von Sulla bis Tiberius,* SBAW 8 (Munich: K. Akademie, 1939), 3–45, esp. 24–25. For fragments of lists at Priene and Heracleia see *IPriene* 141–42; *OGI* 459; Michel 668. Cf. M. Wörrle, "Inschriften von Herakleia am Latmos I: Antiochos III, Zeuxis und Heracleia," *Chiron* 18 (1988): 421–76, esp. 431, 437; W. Ameling, "Antiochus II: Herakleia am Latmos und Rom," *EpigAnat* 10 (1987): 19–40, esp. 24–31 (*SEG* 37.984); Magie, *Roman Rule,* 837–38 n. 23.

29. For Boeotia see supra n. 7; for Achaia, André Aymard, "Les stratèges de la confédération Achéenne de 202 à 172 av. J.-C.," *REA* 30 (1928): 1–62, esp. 62 (list); for Delphi, supra n. 8; for Thessaly, *IG* IX/2, pp. xxiv–v.

absence of such ancient lists, it is often impossible to translate eponymously dated inscriptions into a Julian date. Obviously, the study of institutions embedded in this chronological system is affected by this uncertainty.

In addition to eponymous dating, the Athenians also dated many official Attic documents according to the prytany calendar. The council was subdivided into executive committees, composed of individual members each known as a *prytaneis* (πρυτάνεις). There were as many executive committees as there were tribes, each consisting of fifty councillors from the same tribe (see § 13.02).[30] The civil year was divided into a corresponding number of equal periods, each period being known as one *prytany* (πρυτανεία).[31]

Each prytaneis took a turn as the governing committee, serving in rotation for the period of one prytany. The days within each prytany were numbered in succession using ordinal numbers.[32] This was sometimes supplemented with a specification of the corresponding calendar day, though the specification of the prytany was considered to be the more important of the two datings.

In Athens, the name of the recording secretary was also employed as a means of dating decrees.[33] In the year 366/5 B.C., the term of the secretary was set at one year.[34] From 366/5 to 357/6 B.C., the annual eponymous secretary was chosen by lot, with no fixed order. Thereafter, the position was made to rotate according to official tribal order. Any citizen knowing the tribal affiliations of the demes and the official order of the tribes would have been able to calculate the date of a given decree on the basis of the secretary's demotic.[35] In

30. The ten Kleisthenaic tribes (φυλαί), in their regular order, are Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis, and Antiochis. In 307/6 B.C., two new tribes were added, Antigonis and Demetrias. In 224/3 B.C., Ptolemais was added, and Antigonis and Demetrias were abolished in 201/200 B.C. The tribe of Attalis was added in 200 B.C., the tribe of Hadrianis in A.D. 124/125. The official order of tribes changed every time new tribes were added (see A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, 2d ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981], 111–15; cf. Jones, *Greek City*, 158, 172, 176, 338 n. 30, 359 n. 68).

31. In accordance with the number of Athenian tribes at any given time, the year was divided into ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen prytaneis. When there were only ten tribes, the first four sets of prytaneis served for 36 days each, and the remaining six served for 35 days each, making a total of 354 days; this varied over the centuries as new tribes were added and existing tribes abolished.

32. See Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 63.

33. See Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, 5; Salvatore Alessandri, "Alcune obsservazioni sui segretari ateniesi nel IV. sec. a.c.," *ASNP*, 3d ser., 12, no. 1 (1982): 7–70, esp. the appendix, which tabulates all known secretaries in Athens from 368/7–318/7, with the name of the archon followed by a year-by-year commentary on each of the secretaries (cf. *SEG* 32.346).

34. Prior to this, the secretary's term was one prytany in length, as determined by lot.

35. See Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, 5–6. William S. Ferguson (*Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932], 22–36 [table II]) worked out the cycle of tribal rotations of secretaries for the years up to 103 B.C. This cycle was broken at least twice (cf. William S. Ferguson, *The Priests of Asklepios: A New Method of Dating Athenian Archons*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology 1, no. 5 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1906], 131–73, esp. 172–73 [app. 1, list of priests]). For a list of secretaries for the period 234/3–101/0 see Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, 20–25.

such places as Pergamon and Egypt, ruling kings were used as the eponymous official (i.e., βασιλεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνος/βασιλέως δεῖνος).[36] The rule of a king was counted from the year of his accession to the throne. For example, a series of inscriptions on cinerary urns found at Alexandria are dated according to the regnal years of the Ptolemies. Some of these are also dated by the months of the Syro-Macedonian calendar or the Egyptian calendar. The following example dates by all three methods:[37] Lθ' Ὑπερβερεταίου λ' | Φαρμουθὶ ζ' [Year nine [of Ptolemy IV], thirtieth day [of the Syro-Macedonian month] of Hyperberetaios, seventh day [of the Egyptian month] of Pharmouthi].

Under the Roman empire, inscriptions of formal documents issuing from Rome or Roman authorities were often dated according to the name of the first of the two consuls (known as the *consules ordinarii*) in office in a given year, that is, ὑπατ(ε)ία τοῦ δεῖνος (see § 14.01, 14.05).[38] A list of consuls for the period prior to Augustus was made available to the public on the Arch of Augustus.[39] Today, most (but not all) of the consuls up to the seventh century A.D. are known.[40] The *consules suffecti*[41] also frequently occur

36. Summarized by L. Robert in *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, BEHE 272 (Paris: Champion, 1938), 143–44; see also Robert, *Hellenica*, II, 520.

37. Brian F. Cook, *Inscribed Hadra Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Meriden Gravure, 1966), 24, no. 9.

38. However, under the empire, the date is more often implied by the current emperor's titles. Documents issuing from a civic authority, or even a Roman colony, did not also date inscriptions by consul.

39. See A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

40. See Attilio Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell'Impero romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Sussidi eruditi 3 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1952); Géza Alföldy, "Consuls and Consulars under the Antonines: Prosopography and History," *AncSoc*, (1976, 263–99, translated from his *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (Bonn: Rudolph Habelt, 1977); Paul M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.): Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Elite im Römischen Kaiserreich*, DMAHA 6 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1989) (cf. B. M. Levick, *CR* 42 [1992]: 116–17); R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, and K. S. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987); J. Bodel, "Chronology and Succession 2: Notes on Some Consular Lists on Stone," *ZPE* 105 (1995): 279–96; E. Badian, "The Consuls, 179–49 B.C.," *Chiron* 20 (1990): 371–413 (*SEG* 40.1703); Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 140–62.

41. After six months of office or even less, the *consules ordinarii* of a given year would resign, and *consules suffecti* (supplementary consuls) would take office in their place. This practice was begun under Caesar, resumed by Augustus in 12 B.C., and made the regular practice in 3 B.C.

in dating formulae but can only be used to date an inscription if their years of office can be assigned.

Dating according to Roman emperors also found its way into Greek inscriptions.[42] Inscriptions that employ this system tend to count the tribunates of emperors, not the years of their reign. The chief feature of becoming princeps was the *tribunicia potestas* (δημαρχικὴ ἐξουσία), a right that began when a man was elevated as emperor (see § 5.13.8; cf. 7.08, n. 31). Despite the fact that it was a perpetual title, it was renewed at the beginning of each year, marking the beginning of the regnal (but not calendar) year (e.g., δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἔκτον).[43]

There are exceptions to this practice. Inscriptions from the provinces are usually dated by the regnal years of the current emperor, using the simpler formula "in the *x*th year of the reign of . . ."[44] This simplified dating formula was employed in Egypt under Roman rule up to the time of Diocletian and in Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Cyprus, Bithynia, and Pontus.

Beginning in A.D. 312, some inscriptions are dated according to indiction (ἰνδικτίων), often abbreviated ΙΝΔ, as in ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ′ εὐτυχεστάτης [in the twelfth [year] of the most blessed indiction] (*ISard*BR 18, L. 5). Each indiction consisted of a cycle of fifteen years, usually commencing on 1 September, except in Egypt, where it varied.[45] The first year of an indiction was the tax year for the people.[46] Since people tended to know the tax years better than the official consular dates, indictions became the standard method for dating documents from the reign of Diocletian onward, and this method became obligatory in A.D. 537. The number of an indiction specified the year within this fifteen-year tax cycle, not the cycle itself.[47] Since the indiction cycles themselves were not numbered, dating by indiction is useful only if it can be related to another dating system.[48]

42. See Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil*, 143–50.

43. ". . . having had his tribunate renewed six times" (*SIG*³ 801C).

44. The indices to *IGRR* I and III show dating by regnal years in Bithynia, Pontus, Cyprus, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. See Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Syriac Bill of Sale from Dura-Europos," *JNES* 25, no. 1 (1966): 1–16, esp. 8 (dating conventions); cf. Luke 3:1.

45. See Franz Hohmann, *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden (Römische Kaiserzeit)* (Berlin: Franz Siemenroth, 1911), 40.

46. On the problem of the beginning of the annual *indictio* see Denis Feissel, "Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne VII," *BCH* 108 (1984): 545–79, esp. 568–71 (*SEG* 34.1683).

47. The indiction number of a given year can be calculated by adding 3 to the year number of the Christian era and dividing this sum by 15; the remainder is the indiction number of the year (see Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 79).

48. See J. W. Kubitschek, "Aera," *RE* 1 (1894): 606–66, esp. 666.

6.02 Lunar and Lunisolar Calendars

A lunar (i.e., synodic) month is 29½ days long.[49] Hence, a lunar year (twelve synodic circles of the moon) is 354 days long, that is, 11½ days shorter than a solar year. Prior to Solon (archon 594/593 B.C.), Greek calendars were lunar in structure, the first month being counted as thirty days, and the remaining months begin counted alternately as 30- and 29-day months, respectively (= 354 days), 11 days less than a solar year. Lunar calendars were obviously impractical, because they shifted over time with respect to the seasons of sowing and harvesting and their related religious festivals.

To compensate for this shortfall, the Greeks adopted a lunisolar calendar for their civil calendar. This calendar intercalated extra days to keep the months in relative synchrony with the seasons and religious festivals. Fractions of months or even single days were added according to the need of the moment. Such was the irregularity of intercalation in earlier times that it is often not possible to determine Julian equivalents for many dates. This problem was somewhat alleviated when the Greeks began to intercalate extra months at prespecified regular intervals in the cycle of the lunisolar calendar.[50]

6.03 The Naming of the Months

In many inscriptions, the day and month (in the genitive case) are specified, in addition to the name of the eponymous magistrate. The customary formula for a Greek date is eponym, month, day[51] (e.g., ἐπὶ Νικοστράτου ἄρχοντος . . . Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἐνάτει ἱσταμένου[52] [during the archonship of

49. It is measured sometimes as the time between two new moons but more commonly (since it was easier to determine) as the point of the first visibility of the crescent. Dates established according to the moon are termed κατὰ θεόν.

50. See E. Bischoff, "Kalender," *RE* 10 (1919): 1568–1601. On the Athenian calendar cf. supra n. 2. The Athenian calendar does not appear to have followed the Metonic cycle, a solar calendric cycle of nineteen solar years, or 235 lunar months (110 months with twenty-nine days [i.e., hollow], 125 months with thirty days [i.e., full], probably intercalating a thirteenth month in the same year as the Babylonian calendar), in which the moon (nearly) returns to the same apparent position at the same dates in the corresponding year of each cycle. The month names in the Metonic cycle were the same as the Athenian month names. This cycle was particularly useful for dating astrological observations and constructing almanacs that offered weather forecasts for agriculture and their related festivals.

51. See Wilhelm Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 3d ed., HbA 1.5 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1914), 334–38.

52. On the word ἱσταμένου see § 6.04.

Nikostratos . . . [in the month of] Elaphebolion, on the ninth [day] of the rising of the month] [*IG* II² 646, L. 1]).

The names of the months varied from town to town.[53] This is largely due to the fact that month names are often derived from the names of local or regional festivals and deities. For example, the month of Lenaion received its name from the Dionysian festival of Lenaia celebrated at that time. Hence, differences in the local cults gave rise to differences in the naming of the months. In the Hellenistic period, variations were also introduced as a result of the dependency of cities on different monarchies (e.g., Syrian, Ptolemaic; cf. § 6.06).

From the time of Solon (archon 594/593 B.C.), the Attic civil year began with Hekatombaion, theoretically coming immediately after the new moon of the summer solstice. In the first century A.D., Boedromion was appointed first month of the year instead of Hekatombaion. A thirteenth month (μὴν ἐμβόλιμος/ἐμβολιμαῖος) was intercalated at fixed intervals known variously as Ποσειδεών β′ or Ποσειδεών ὕστερος and later as Ἁδριανιών.

Attic Month Names

Ἑκατομβαιών (first month until I A.D.; approx. July)
Μεταγειτνιών
Βοηδρομιών (first month in early I A.D.)
Πυανεψιών
Μαιμακτηριών
Ποσειδεών
[Ποσειδεών β′ /ὕστερος or Ἁδριανιών] (intercalary month)
Γαμηλιών
Ἀνθεστηριών
Ἐλαφηβολιών
Μουνυχιών
Θαργηλιών
Σκιροφοριών

The names of the months of many cities and regions are known, but their relative order cannot always be determined with any degree of confidence

53. See C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (Heidelberg, 1997); Ludwig Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 2 vols. (Berlin: August Rücker, 1825), 1:97–98, 275, 393, 414–30; *IBM* III, 78–79 (Ephesos); Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 20–48. The names of months are always masculine.

(e.g., in Samos, Lesbos, and Crete). Under the empire, the practice arose in some citites of Asia Minor of naming particular months after emperors (e.g., Καισάριος, Τιβέριος, Ἁδριανιών) or substituting ordinal numbers for the corresponding month names (e.g., μὴν ἕκτος, μὴν ἔνατος, μὴν δωδέκατος). Some cities, such as Phokis, had two calendars, one that numbered the months ordinally and a second with proper month names.

Frequently, calendars periodically intercalate an extra month to keep the months in relative synchrony with the seasons and religious festivals.[54] For example, in Delphi, the sixth month, Ποιτρόπιος ὁ πρῶτος, was followed by an intercalary month, Ποιτρόπιος ὁ δεύτερος, in the years 176/5, 168/7, 163/2 (?), 154/3, 143/2, 140/39, and 130/29 (?; or 134/33) B.C. In Aitolia, the intercalary month followed the month of Δῖος and was known as Δῖος ἐμβόλιμος.

Table 12 lists some of the best-attested Greek month names whose order has been established.[55] Names marked with (1) are the first months of the cycle. The alignment of the columns in the table is valid only for the imperial period.

6.04 The Counting of the Days

The practice of numbering the days of the months in three successive decades is widely attested throughout Greece. The first day was known as νουμηνία (first of the month/new moon). The second through tenth days counted the "rising" of the month (ἱσταμένου μηνός), using ordinal numbers.

The second decade (i.e., days 11–19) was counted either by continuing the previous count (i.e., 11th, 12th, 13th, . . . 19th) or by recommencing the count with 1 (i.e., 1st, 2d, 3d, . . . 9th) followed by term μεσοῦντος (μηνός). The twentieth day was known as εἰκάς or εἰκοστή.

The third decade (days 21–29/30) was counted in terms of the "dying" or waning of the month (μηνὸς φθίνοντος/παυομένου/λήγοντος/ἀπιόντος/μετ'

54. See P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1982), 3–76 (*SEG* 32.427), regarding the intercalary months, the federal calendar (33–46), the urban calendar (47–54), the Boiotian year (55–70), the calendar κατὰ θεόν, and the counting of days in the Hellenistic period (71–76).

55. There has been considerable argument over the calendar of Kos; table 12 lists the most probable ordering of the months, but see Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 111–13, for an overview of the problem. On the Rhodian calendar see C. Börker, "Der rhodische Kalender," *ZPE* 31 (1978): 193–218 (*SEG* 28.687; Robert, *BE* [1979]: 310); the Rhodian year was divided into semesters, called χειμερινὰ ἑξάμηνος and θερινὰ ἑξάμηνος (*ILindos* 707, L. 8; *IG* XII/1, 94, L. 11; *IG* XII/1, 95b, L. 5).

TABLE 12. Greek Month Names

Phokis	Locris	Delphi	Amphissa	Aitolia
Δέκατος	Δωδέκατος	Ἀπελλαῖος (1)	Πάναμος	Λαφραῖος
Βοαδρόμιος/Ἔνδεκατος	Πρῶτος (1)	Βουκάτιος	Ἀγραστυών (1)	Πάναμος
Δωδέκατος	Δεύτερος	Βοάθοος	(unknown)	Προκύκλιος (1)
Πρῶτος (1)	Τρίτος	Ἡραῖος	(unknown)	Ἀθαναῖος
Ἀμάλιος/Δεύτερος	Τέταρτος	Δαιδαφόριος	(unknown)	Βουκάτιος
Τρίτος	Πέμπτος	Ποιτρόπιος	Παναγύριος	Δῖος
Διονύσιος/Τέταρτος	Ἕκτος	Ἀμάλιος	Γιγάντιος	Εὐθυαῖος/Εὐσαῖος
Πέμπτος	Ἕβδομος	Βύσιος	(unknown)	Ὁμολώιος
Λάφριος/Ἕκτος	Ὄγδοος	Θεοξένιος	Ποιτρόπιος	Ἑρμαῖος
Ἕβδομος	Ἔνατος	Ἐνδυσποιτρόπιος	Ποιτρόπιος	Ἄρειος Διονύσιος
Ὄγδοος	Δέκατος	Ἡράκλειος	Πόκιος	Ἀγύειος/Ἀγυίης
Ἀφάμιος/Ἔνατος	Ἐνδέκατος	Ἰλαῖος	Ἀμών	Ἱπποδρόμιος

Boiotia	Thessaly	Halos	Lamia	Epidauros
Ἱπποδρόμιος	Φυλλικός	Ἑκατόμβιος	Ἱπποδρόμιος	Ἀξέσιος/Ἀξόσιος (
Πάναμος	Ἰτώνιος (1)	Ὁμολώιος	Πάναμος	Καρνεῖος
Παμβοιώτιος	Πάνημος	Θυῖος	Ἰτώνιος	Πραράτιος
Δαμάτριος	Θεμίστιος	Ἀδρόμιος (1)	Ἀπελλαῖος	Ἑρμαῖος
Ἀλαλκομένιος	Ἀγαγύλιος	Εὐώνιος	Θεμίστιος	Γάμος
Βουκάτιος (1)	Ἑρμαῖος	Πυθοῖος	Βώμιος (1)	Τέλεος
Ἑρμαῖος	Ἀπολλώνιος	Ἀγναῖος	Θριξάλλιος	Ποσιδαῖος
Προστατήριος	Λεσχανόριος	Διονύσιος	Γεῦστος	Ἀρταμίτιος
Ἀγριώνιος	Ἄφριος	Γενέτιος	Λύκεος	Ἀργιάνιος
Θιούιος	Θυῖος	Μεγαλάριος	Θῦος	Πάναμος
Ὁμολώιος	Ὁμολώιος	Θεμίστιος	Ἄρεος	Κύκλιος
Θειλούθιος	Ἱπποδρόμιος	Δέματρος	Χρυτταῖος	Ἀπελλαῖος

Delos (until 166 B.C.)	Kos	Rhodes
Ἑκατομβαιών	Πάναμος	Πάναμος (intercalary)
Μεταγειτνιών	Δάλιος	Καρνεῖος
Βουφονιών	Ἀλσεῖος	Δάλιος
Ἀπατουριών	Καρνεῖος	Θεσμοφόριος (1)
Ἀρησιών	Θευδαίσιος	Διόσθυος
Ποσειδεών	Πεταγείτνυος	Θευδαίσιος
Ληναιών (2)	Καφίσιος	Πεδαγείτνυος
Ἱερός	Βαδρόμιος	Βαδρόμιος
Γαλαξιών	Γεράστιος	Σμίνθιος
Ἀρτεμισιών	Ἀρταμίτιος	Ἀρταμίτιος
Θαργηλιών	Ἀγριάνιος	Ἀγριάνιος
Πάνημος	Ὑακίνθιος	Ὑακίνθιος

εἰκάδας). Sometimes, the waning days were counted 1st, 2d, 3d, and so on, but more often they were counted in reverse order, that is, from the last day in the decade (the 30th/29th) to first day in the decade (the 21st).[56] According to this latter scheme, the 30th (or 29th) is known as πρώτη (ἡμέρα) φθίνοντος (μηνός) or as ἕνη καὶ νέα, and the 21st is called δέκατη φθίνοντος:[57] for example, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς ἕκτῃ (ἡμέρᾳ) φθίνοντος means "on the sixth day of the waning [= the 25th of the month] of Elaphebolion," with Elaphebolion having thirty days. From about 307 B.C., the expression "ordinal number" + φθίνοντος μηνός was replaced with μετ' εἰκάδας (after the twentieth day).[58] In a month with twenty-nine days (i.e., a "hollow" month), one day was omitted.[59]

The days of the months were counted according to decades in many other regions, in ways very similar to that already described. Other calendars counted the days of the month sequentially from the first day of the month to the last.[60]

6.05 Roman Calendars

The pre-Julian Roman calendar[61] was based on a lunisolar year of 355 days beginning in March. To maintain some degree of synchrony between the months and the seasons, an additional month was intercalated every few years. This intercalation was not performed at regular intervals. Consequently the

56. E.g., ἐπὶ Ἀπφίου μην[ὸ]ς Λώου ἡ ἀπιόν(τος) [In the year when Apphion held office, on the eighth day from the end of the month of Loos] (*ISard*BR 119).

57. It is called ἐνάτη φθίνοντος in a "hollow" month (i.e., in a twenty-nine-day month).

58. The new count was not entirely consistent, sometimes being counted backward (see Benjamin D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 4 [1935]: 525–85; S. Charitonides, "The First Half of a Bouleutai List of the Fourth Century B.C.," *Hesperia* [1961]: 30–57, esp. 51–52). Dinsmoor ("Review: O. Neugebauer, W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Calendars of Athens*," *American Historical Review* 54, no. 2 [1949], 337) has proposed that after 307, the count was uniformly backward. Pritchett (in Neugebauer and Pritchett, *The Calendars of Athens* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963], 349–50) rejects a forward count.

59. According to W. K. Pritchett ("The Calendar of the Gibbous Moon," *ZPE* 49 [1982]: 243–66; cf. *SEG* 32.353, 156; cf. also Mogens H. Hansen, "When Did the Athenian *Ecclesia* Meet?" *GRBS* 23 [1982]: 331–50), the omitted day in the last decade of a hollow month was the day with which the backward count ended, i.e., δευτέρα φθίνοντος. According to Samuel (*Greek and Roman Chronology*, 59–60) δευτέρα φθίνοντος is replaced with ἕνη καὶ νέα. However, J. A. Walsh ("The Omitted Date in the Athenian Hollow Month," *ZPE* 41 [1981]: 107–24; cf. *SEG* 31.124) defends B. D. Meritt's view that the omitted day in a hollow month was δεκάτη/ἐνάτη φθίνοντος, not δευτέρα φθίνοντος.

60. See e.g., *IAmyzon* 194; *IKos*PH, index V.

61. See Gerhard Radke, *Fasti Romani: Betrachtungen zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Kalendars*, Orbis Antiquus 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990) (cf. J. Briscoe, *CR* 41 [1991]: 404–6).

TABLE 13. The Counting of Attic Days

1st νουμηνία	16th ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα
2d δευτέρα ἱσταμένου	17th ἑβδόμη ἐπὶ δέκα
3d τρίτη ἱσταμένου	18th ὀγδόη ἐπὶ δέκα
4th τετρὰς (not τετάρτη) ἱσταμένου	19th ἐνάτη ἐπὶ δέκα
5th πέμπτη ἱσταμένου	20th εἰκάς/εἰκοστή/δεκάτη προτέρα (backward count)
6th ἕκτη ἱσταμένου	21st δεκάτη φθίνοντος/δεκάτη ὑστέρα
7th ἑβδόμη ἱσταμένου	22d ἐνάτη φθίνοντος/ἐνάτη μετ᾽ εἰκάδας (i.e., 20th day)
8th ὀγδόη ἱσταμένου	23d ὀγδόη φθινοντος/ὀγδόη μετ᾽ εἰκάδας
9th ἐνάτη ἱσταμένου	24th ἑβδόμη φθίνοντος/ἑβδόμη μετ᾽ εἰκάδας
10th δεκάτη ἱσταμένου	25th ἕκτη φθίνοντος/ἕκτη μετ᾽ εἰκάδας
11th ἑνδεκάτη	26th πέμπτη φθίνοντος/πέμπτη μετ᾽ εἰκάδας
12th δωδεκάτη	27th τετρὰς φθίνοντος/τετρὰς μετ᾽ εἰκάδας
13th τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα	28th τρίτη φθίνοντος/τρίτη μετ᾽ εἰκάδας
14th τετρὰς ἐπὶ δέκα	29th δευτέρα φθίνοντος/δευτέρα μετ᾽ εἰκάδας (i.e., in full [i.e., 30-day] month)
15th πέμπτη ἐπὶ δέκα	29th ἕνη καὶ νέα/πρώτη (ἡμέρα) φθίνοντος (μηνός) (i.e., in hollow [i.e., 29-day] month)
	30th ἕνη καὶ νέα/πρώτη (ἡμέρα) φθίνοντος (μηνός) (in full [i.e., 30-day] month).

pre-Julian calendar became irretrievably confused, especially when corrupt officials added days and months to prolong their terms of office or to delay elections.

In 45 B.C., Julius Caesar implemented the so-called Julian calendar, which was a solar calendar. It was based on the Egyptian solar calendar but implemented a superior form of intercalation. The Julian calendar had 365 days, with one "bissextile" day intercalated every fourth year in February (e.g., in 9, 5, and 1 B.C. and in A.D. 4, 8, 12, etc.). Four months had thirty days (i.e., September, April, June, and November), February had twenty-eight days, and the remaining months had thirty-one days.[62] The month names were derived from numbers and from the names of gods, the sun, the moon, and planets; the two exceptions to this rule were *Quintilis*, later changed to *Julius*, and *Sextilis*, later changed to *Augustus*.[63]

62. This is virtually identical to our own Gregorian calendar. The Julian calendar advances by forty-four minutes every four years with respect to the sun. The Gregorian calendar omits three intercalary days every four hundred years beginning in A.D. 1600.

63. The month name *January* was derived from *Janus; February* from *februus* (meaning "purificatory [sacrifices]"); *March* from the god Mars; *May* from a deity, perhaps *Maius* or *Maia; June* apparently from the diety *Juno*. The month name *April* is of unknown origin. In their original form, the month names for July–December, were derived from numbers. July and August were then renamed for *Julius* and *Augustus*, respectively.

Julian Month Names

Ἰανουάριος
Φεβρυάριος[64]
Μάρτιος
Ἀπρίλιος[65]
Μάϊος[66]
Ἰούνιος[67]
Ἰούλιος[68]
Αὔγουστος
Σεπτέμβριος[69]
Ὀκτώβριος[70]
Νοέμβριος[71]
Δεκέμβριος

Each month was divided into three parts with respect to three particular dates: the calends (καλανδοί) was the first day of each month, the nones was the ninth day before the ides,[72] and the ides (εἰδοί/ἴδοί) was the middle day of each month.[73] Days were not numbered from the beginning of the month but counted backward from the next calends, nones, or ides, as the case may be.

The days were counted inclusively, that is, including the final day itself. Thus, whereas one might consider the third day before the ides (13th) of January to be 10 January, it was actually 11 January. Similarly, πρὸ πέντε καλανδῶν Μαΐων[74] [on the fifth day before the calends of May] is the 27th (not the 26th) of April. Though many local calendars and month names

64. Also Φεβροάριος, Φρεβάριος, Φεβλάριος, Φευρουάριος, Φεβρουάριος.
65. Also Ἀπρείλιος, Ἀπρήλιος, Ἀπρήλιος.
66. Also Μάηος.
67. Also Ἠούνιος.
68. Also Ἰούλιος, Ἠούλιος.
69. Also Σεπτέβριος.
70. Also Ὀκτόβριος, Ὠκτώβριος, Ὠκτούβρηος, Ὀκτρώβιος.
71. Also Νωέμβριος, Νοβέμβριος, Νουέμβριος.
72. The nones was either the seventh day of March, May, July, or October or the fifth day of the remaining months.
73. The ides was either the fifteenth day of March, May, July, or October or the thirteenth day of the remaining months.
74. *ISard*BR 18, L. 4. On the naming of weekdays in late antiquity see K. A. Worp, "Remarks on Weekdays in Late Antiquity Occurring in Documentary Sources," *Tyche* 6 (1991): 221–30; *SEG* 41.1753 (cf. 34.1684).

TABLE 12. Greek Month Names

Phokis	Locris	Delphi	Amphissa	Aitolia
Δέκατος	Δωδέκατος	Ἀπελλαῖος (1)	Πάναμος	Λαφραῖος
Βοαδρόμιος/Ἔνδεκατος	Πρῶτος (1)	Βουκάτιος	Ἀγραστυών (1)	Πάναμος
Δωδέκατος	Δεύτερος	Βοάθοος	(unknown)	Προκύκλιος (1)
Πρῶτος (1)	Τρίτος	Ἡραῖος	(unknown)	Ἀθαναῖος
Ἀμάλιος/Δεύτερος	Τέταρτος	Δαιδαφόριος	(unknown)	Βουκάτιος
Τρίτος	Πέμπτος	Ποιτρόπιος	Παναγύριος	Δῖος
Διονύσιος/Τέταρτος	Ἕκτος	Ἀμάλιος	Γιγάντιος	Εὐθυαῖος/Εὐσαῖος
Πέμπτος	Ἕβδομος	Βύσιος	(unknown)	Ὁμολώιος
Λάφριος/Ἕκτος	Ὄγδοος	Θεοξένιος	Ποιτρόπιος	Ἑρμαῖος
Ἕβδομος	Ἔνατος	Ἐνδυσποιτρόπιος	Ποιτρόπιος	Ἄρειος Διονύσιος
Ὄγδοος	Δέκατος	Ἡράκλειος	Πόκιος	Ἀγύειος/Ἀγυίης
Ἀφάμιος/Ἔνατος	Ἐνδέκατος	Ἰλαῖος	Ἀμών	Ἱπποδρόμιος

Boiotia	Thessaly	Halos	Lamia	Epidauros
Ἱπποδρόμιος	Φυλλικός	Ἑκατόμβιος	Ἱπποδρόμιος	Ἀξέσιος/Ἀξόσιος (
Πάναμος	Ἰτώνιος (1)	Ὁμολώιος	Πάναμος	Καρνεῖος
Παμβοιώτιος	Πάνημος	Θυῖος	Ἰτώνιος	Πραράτιος
Δαμάτριος	Θεμίστιος	Ἀδρόμιος (1)	Ἀπελλαῖος	Ἑρμαῖος
Ἀλαλκομένιος	Ἀγαγύλιος	Εὐώνιος	Θεμίστιος	Γάμος
Βουκάτιος (1)	Ἑρμαῖος	Πυθοῖος	Βώμιος (1)	Τέλεος
Ἑρμαῖος	Ἀπολλώνιος	Ἀγναῖος	Θριξάλλιος	Ποσιδαῖος
Προστατήριος	Λεσχανόριος	Διονύσιος	Γεῦστος	Ἀρταμίτιος
Ἀγριώνιος	Ἄφριος	Γενέτιος	Λύκεος	Ἀργιάνιος
Θιούιος	Θυῖος	Μεγαλάριος	Θῦος	Πάναμος
Ὁμολώιος	Ὁμολώιος	Θεμίστιος	Ἄρεος	Κύκλιος
Θειλούθιος	Ἱπποδρόμιος	Δέματρος	Χρυτταῖος	Ἀπελλαῖος

Delos (until 166 B.C.)	Kos	Rhodes
Ἑκατομβαιών	Πάναμος	Πάναμος (intercalary)
Μεταγειτνιών	Δάλιος	Καρνεῖος
Βουφονιών	Ἀλσεῖος	Δάλιος
Ἀπατουριών	Καρνεῖος	Θεσμοφόριος (1)
Ἀρησιών	Θευδαίσιος	Διόσθυος
Ποσειδεών	Πεταγείτνυος	Θευδαίσιος
Ληναιών (2)	Καφίσιος	Πεδαγείτνυος
Ἱερός	Βαδρόμιος	Βαδρόμιος
Γαλαξιών	Γεράστιος	Σμίνθιος
Ἀρτεμισιών	Ἀρταμίτιος	Ἀρταμίτιος
Θαργηλιών	Ἀγριάνιος	Ἀγριάνιος
Πάνημος	Ὑακίνθιος	Ὑακίνθιος

εἰκάδας). Sometimes, the waning days were counted 1st, 2d, 3d, and so on, but more often they were counted in reverse order, that is, from the last day in the decade (the 30th/29th) to first day in the decade (the 21st).[56] According to this latter scheme, the 30th (or 29th) is known as πρώτη (ἡμέρα) φθίνοντος (μηνός) or as ἕνη καὶ νέα, and the 21st is called δέκατη φθίνοντος:[57] for example, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς ἕκτῃ (ἡμέρᾳ) φθίνοντος means "on the sixth day of the waning [= the 25th of the month] of Elaphebolion," with Elaphebolion having thirty days. From about 307 B.C., the expression "ordinal number" + φθίνοντος μηνός was replaced with μετ' εἰκάδας (after the twentieth day).[58] In a month with twenty-nine days (i.e., a "hollow" month), one day was omitted.[59]

The days of the months were counted according to decades in many other regions, in ways very similar to that already described. Other calendars counted the days of the month sequentially from the first day of the month to the last.[60]

6.05 Roman Calendars

The pre-Julian Roman calendar[61] was based on a lunisolar year of 355 days beginning in March. To maintain some degree of synchrony between the months and the seasons, an additional month was intercalated every few years. This intercalation was not performed at regular intervals. Consequently the

56. E.g., ἐπὶ Ἀπφίου μην[ὸ]ς Λώου ἡ ἀπιόν(τος) [In the year when Apphion held office, on the eighth day from the end of the month of Loos] (*ISard*BR 119).

57. It is called ἐνάτη φθίνοντος in a "hollow" month (i.e., in a twenty-nine-day month).

58. The new count was not entirely consistent, sometimes being counted backward (see Benjamin D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 4 [1935]: 525–85; S. Charitonides, "The First Half of a Bouleutai List of the Fourth Century B.C.," *Hesperia* [1961]: 30–57, esp. 51–52). Dinsmoor ("Review: O. Neugebauer, W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Calendars of Athens*," *American Historical Review* 54, no. 2 [1949], 337) has proposed that after 307, the count was uniformly backward. Pritchett (in Neugebauer and Pritchett, *The Calendars of Athens* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963], 349–50) rejects a forward count.

59. According to W. K. Pritchett ("The Calendar of the Gibbous Moon," *ZPE* 49 [1982]: 243–66; cf. *SEG* 32.353, 156; cf. also Mogens H. Hansen, "When Did the Athenian *Ecclesia* Meet?" *GRBS* 23 [1982]: 331–50), the omitted day in the last decade of a hollow month was the day with which the backward count ended, i.e., δευτέρα φθίνοντος. According to Samuel (*Greek and Roman Chronology*, 59–60) δευτέρα φθίνοντος is replaced with ἕνη καὶ νέα. However, J. A. Walsh ("The Omitted Date in the Athenian Hollow Month," *ZPE* 41 [1981]: 107–24; cf. *SEG* 31.124) defends B. D. Meritt's view that the omitted day in a hollow month was δεκάτη/ἐνάτη φθίνοντος, not δευτέρα φθίνοντος.

60. See e.g., *IAmyzon* 194; *IKos*PH, index V.

61. See Gerhard Radke, *Fasti Romani: Betrachtungen zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Kalendars*, Orbis Antiquus 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990) (cf. J. Briscoe, *CR* 41 [1991]: 404–6).

continued in use after the introduction of the Julian calendar, they were gradually replaced by the Julian system with the notable exception of the Jewish calendar.

6.06 The Syro-Macedonian, Egyptian, and Ptolemaic Calendars

Though poorly attested in the surviving sources, it is known that the original Macedonian calendar developed as a result of Alexander's contact with Babylon. This "Macedonian" calendar was essentially the lunar calendar of the Babylonians, with the substitution of Macedonian month names for the original Babylonian names. It intercalated seven lunar months over a nineteen-year cycle. The Macedonian calendar is best known through its adapted forms in the Seleucid territories and in Egypt as the so-called Syro-Macedonian and Ptolemaic calendars, respectively.

The Syro-Macedonian calendar, also known as the "Seleucid" calendar, assigned Macedonian month names to the months of the Babylonian cycle, with the months Xandikos (= Addaru) and Hyperberetaios (= Ululu) being intercalary months, and with a nineteen-year intercalation cycle.[75] However, the choice of the first month in the twelve-month sequence varied from city to city. The days within each month were counted with alphabetic numerals (α′–λα′ [see § 2.09]), not according to a decadal system. This calendar was in wide use in areas originally under Seleucid control in the Roman East. It survived in Syria at least until A.D. 46/47 and was still in use in Dura Europos in the late second century A.D.

Syro-Macedonian Month Names

Ἀπελλαῖος
Αὐδυναῖος
Περίτιος
Δύστρος
Ξανθικός (intercalary)
Ἀρτεμίσιος
Δαίσιος
Πάνημος
Λώος

75. See Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 139–45; cf. 142–43 for attempts to correlate the Seleucid calendar with the Babylonian calendar.

Γορπιαῖος
Ὑπερβερεταῖος (intercalary)
Δῖος

The Egyptians were the first to adopt a purely solar calendar. Their solar year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days being added to bring the total to 365 days. The new year began on the first day of Thoth, which, in the time of Alexander, fell in mid-November. However, owing to a quarter-day inaccuracy of the calendar, Thoth had shifted to 31 August by the time of Octavian's arrival in Egypt. This calendar was used in Egypt and Kyrenaika in both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.[76]

Egyptian Month Names

Θώθ[77] (1)	(Σεβαστός)[78]
Φαωφί[79]	(Σωτής)
Ἀθύρ[80]	(Νέος Σεβαστός)
Χοιάκ[81]	(Ἰουλιεύς)
Τυβί[82]	(Θεογένιος)
Μεχίρ[83]	(Νερώνιος)
Φαμενώθ[84]	(Γάϊος/Γαιῆος/Γάϊος Σεβαστός)
Φαρμουθί[85]	(Ἀγρίππινος)
Παχών	(Γερμανίκειος)
Παῦνί[86]	(Δρουσίλληος)
Ἐπιφί[87]	(Δρουσεύς/Δρουσιεύς)
Μεσορί[88]	(Καισάρειος)

76. See T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, 2d ed., Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 39 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1969).

77. Also Θωῦθ, Θῶθυ.

78. Month names in parentheses were in use under Caligula. See A. E. Hanson, *Atti XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, 3 vols. (Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo studio dei papiri Ercolanesi, 1984), 1107–13; cf. *SEG* 34.1523.

79. Also Φαώφ, Παωφί.

80. Also Ἀτύρ.

81. Also Χυάκ, Χοιάχ, Χοιαχί, Χοϊάχ.

82. Also Τωβεί.

83. Also Μεχείρ, Μεχέρ.

84. Also Φαμενώτ.

85. Also Φαρμουτί, Φαρμουθεί, Φαμουθή.

86. Also Παεινί, Παινεί, Παοινί.

87. Also Ἐπειφί, Ἐπιφεί, Ἐπίφ, Ἐπείφ.

88. Also Μεσορή, Μεσορί, Μεσορά, Μησουρή, Μησορή, Μεσώρ.

The Egyptians also had a lunar calendar that employed the same month names as the Egyptian solar (i.e., civil) calendar. An intercalary cycle of twenty-five years was used to regulate the lunar calendar with respect to the solar calendar.[89] The Ptolemaic calendar, an adapted Syro-Macedonian calendar, was also used in Egypt alongside the Egyptian lunar and solar calendars. This Ptolemaic calendar employed the same month names as the Syro-Macedonian calendar, with the year beginning with the month of Dystros. The cycle of the calendar was adapted to the Egyptian solar calendar, the latter determining the day on which each Macedonian month should begin. The month of Peritios was an intercalary month, with a second Peritios (called *Peritios embolimos*) being inserted on a biannual basis. This system of intercalation lost seven and a half days every two years with respect to the Egyptian solar calendar.

From the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Egyptian state documents were double-dated according to both the Ptolemaic and Egyptian solar calendars.[90] Following his reign, attempts to regulate the Macedonian cycle with respect to the Egyptian cycle seem to have ceased, with the Macedonian calendar pursuing an independent course. In the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, the Macedonian calendar was completely assimilated to the Egyptian solar calendar by equating Macedonian month names to the Egyptian civil months, with the Macedonian month Dystros being equated with Thoth. In other words, dates were in fact Egyptian dates stated in terms of Macedonian month names, with no relationship to the moon whatsoever.[91]

In 119/118 B.C., in the reign of Ptolemy II Euergetes, the Macedonian months were reassimilated to the Egyptian calendar, this time by equating the Macedonian month of Dios with Thoth, a correlation that lasted throughout the Roman period.[92] In 30 B.C., Augustus tied this Ptolemaic (Egyptian) year to the Julian system.

A Macedonian calendar of some kind was also used in previous Ptolemaic possessions in Asia Minor, most notably in Lycia.[93] It seems unlikely that the

89. See R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt,* Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 26 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

90. The tables of Theodore C. Skeat (*Reigns of the Ptolemies)* provide a means to convert into Julian dates.

91. See Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 149–50.

92. See T. C. Skeat, "The Macedonian Calendar during the Reign of Ptolemy Euergetes I," *JEA* 34 (1948): 75–79.

93. See Louis Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale: Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie,* CRHP 3, Hautes Études du Monde Gréco-Romain 2 (Geneva: Librairie Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard, 1966), 54.

Ptolemaic calendar was then used; as Alan Samuel observes, "it would be difficult to preserve the cyclical arrangement outside Egypt, since the cycle depended upon the old Egyptian calendar as its control."[94] More probably, local calendars simply adopted the Macedonian month names or adopted a Seleucid-type calendar.

6.07 Calendars of the Hellenistic Kingdoms and Eastern Roman Provinces

A number of other calendric systems were used in the Hellenistic kingdoms and cities of the eastern Mediterranean prior to the establishment of Roman rule. Many cities had their own city-state calendars. The manner of counting the days varied from city to city and from time to time; there is evidence of both a decadal count (see § 6.04) and a sequential count, either with alphabetic numerals (α′–λα′ [see § 2.09]) or with the ordinals written out in full (see § 2.07, table 3).[95]

There was also innovation: the so-called Asian calendar was used extensively in Asia Minor, its new year commencing on 23 September, with one intercalary day inserted into the month of Xanthikos every four years. It applied Syro-Macedonian month names to the established length of the Julian year.[96]

Such local systems were gradually replaced with the Julian system, introduced into Asia in 9 B.C. The Julian basis for many calendars in Asia Minor is clearly indicated by the fact that the start of their new year was often Augustus's birthday, 23 September (literally the ninth day before the calends of October), and by their intercalation of one day every four years. The methods of regulating other local calendars with respect to the Julian system varied from place to place. However, the local month names persisted in many Asian cities, such as Ephesos, Smyrna, Miletos, Pergamon, and Magnesia on the Maeander. The names of the months of many of these cities are known, but their relative order cannot be determined with certainty (e.g., at Magnesia). In such cases as Cappadocia, the names of the months are spelled in numerous ways in different sources because the indigenous names were unfamiliar to Greek and Latin ears.[97] Table 14 lists some of the best-attested month names.

94. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 151.

95. Cf. Miletos, Magnesia, Ephesos, and Sardis (see Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 115, 122, 124, 132–33).

96. See, e.g., *IPriene* 105 (*OGI* 458); cf. *OGI* 456.

97. See Krister Hanell, *Das Menologium des Liber Glossarum,* Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund II (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1932), 13, 27–32.

TABLE 14. Month Names of the Eastern Roman Provinces

Ephesos	Smyrna	Asia	Miletos	Cyprus
Νεοκαισαρεών (1)	Καισάριον	Καισάριος	Βοηδρομιών	Ἀρχιερεύς
Ἁγναιών	Τιβέριον	Ἀπελλαῖος	Πυανοψιών	Ἔσθιος
Μαμακτηριών	Ἀπατούριον	Αὐδυναῖος	Ἀπατουριών	Ῥωμαῖος
Ποσειδέων	Ποσειδέων	Περίτιος	Ποσειδέων	Ἀφροδίσιος
Ληναιών	Ληναιών	Δύστρος	Ληναιών	Ἀπογονικός
Ἀνθεστηριών	Ἱεροσέβαστον	Ξανθικός	Ἀνθεστηριών	Αἰνικός
Ἀρτεμισιών	Ἀρτεμίσιον	Ἀρτεμισών	Ἀρτεμισών	Ἰούνιος
Ταυρεών	Εὐαγγέλιος	Δαίσιος	Ταυρεών (1)	Καισάρειος
Θαργηλιών	Στρατόνικον	Πάνημος	Θαργηλιών	Σεβαστός
Κλαριών	Ἑκατομβαῖον	Λῶος	Καλαμαιών	Αὐτοκρατορικός
Κλαριών	Ἀντιοχεών	Γορπιαῖος	Πάνημος	Δημαρχεξούσιος
Μεταγειτνιών	Λαοδίκιον	Ὑπερβερεταῖος	Μεταγειτνιών	Πληθύπατος

Byzantium	Perinthos	Bithynia	Kyzikos	Cappadocia
Ὑακίνθιος	Πυανεψιών	Πριέπιος/Πριέτηος	Πάνημος	Ἀπομεναμά
Ἀργριάνιος	Ποσιδεών/Σεβαστός	Ἀφροδίσιος	(unknown)	Ἀρθρά
Μαλοφόριος	Ἀνθεστηριών	Δημήτριος	(unknown)	Τετουσία
Ἡραῖο	Ἀρτεμίσιος	Ἡραῖος/Ἄρειος	Κυανεψιών	Ὡσμωνία
Καρεῖνος	Δαίσιος	Ἑρμειος	Ἀπατουρεών	Σόνδαρα
Μαχανεύς	Πάνημος	Μητρῶος	Ποσειδέων	Epagomenal
Πεταγείτνιος	Καλαμαῖος	Διονύσιος	Ληναιών	Ἀρτανία
Διονύσιος	(unknown)	Ἡράκλειος	Ἀνθεστηριών	Ἀρταεστίν
Εὔκλειος	Ληναῖος	Δῖος	Ἀρτεσμισιών	Ἀραιότατα
Ἀρτεμίσιος	(unknown)	Βενδιαῖος	Ταυρεών	Τίριξ
Λύκειος	Βοηδρομιών	Στράτειος	Θαργηλιών	Armotat
Βοσπόριος	Κρονιών	Ἄρειος	Καλαμαιών	Ξανανθηρί
				Μιθρί

The alignment of the columns in the table is valid only for the imperial period.

6.08 Dating according to Eras

Beginning in Hellenistic times, some geographical areas preferred to date inscriptions according to eras rather than by eponym.[98] Such eras commemorated events, such as victories in battle, the liberation of cities, or the year of

98. The best overview of the eras is W. Leschhorn, *Antike Ären: Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros,* Historia Einzelschriften 81 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993) (*SEG* 43.1218), with a catalogue of eras on 435–541 (*SEG* 43.1217). Cf. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum,* 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), 944–45; Kubitschek, "Aera," 632ff.; Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World,* 70–78.

the creation of a Roman province. If one knows the era used and its point of departure, civil years can easily be translated into Julian years so long as the calendar was not lunisolar. If the calendar was lunisolar, one must also know whether a month had been intercalated that year. Since no Greek year begins on January 1st, a year dated according to an era will inevitably overlap two Julian years. Therefore, it is necessary to designate Julian equivalences with a double date (e.g., 133/2 B.C.). To take a concrete example, one cannot equate the year 305 of the Macedonian era with A.D. 157, because three-quarters of the Macedonian year 305 actually fell in A.D. 158. Thus, A.D. 157/8 is the correct Julian equivalent to 305.[99]

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Ἁγναιών	Τιβέριον	Ἀπελλαῖος	Πυανοψιών	Ἔσθιος
Μαμακτηριών	Ἀπατούριον	Αὐδυναῖος	Ἀπατουριών	Ῥωμαῖος
Ποσειδέων	Ποσειδέων	Περίτιος	Ποσειδέων	Ἀφροδίσιος
Ληναιών	Ληναιών	Δύστρος	Ληναιών	Ἀπογονικός
Ἀνθεστηριών	Ἱεροσέβαστον	Ξανθικός	Ἀνθεστηριών	Αἰνικός
Ἀρτεμισιών	Ἀρτεμίσιον	Ἀρτεμισών	Ἀρτεμισών	Ἰούνιος
Ταυρεών	Εὐαγγέλιος	Δαίσιος	Ταυρεών (1)	Καισάρειος
Θαργηλιών	Στρατόνικον	Πάνημος	Θαργηλιών	Σεβαστός
Κλαριών	Ἑκατομβαῖον	Λῶος	Καλαμαιών	Αὐτοκρατορικός
Κλαριών	Ἀντιοχεών	Γορπιαῖος	Πάνημος	Δημαρχεξούσιος
Μεταγειτνιών	Λαοδίκιον	Ὑπερβερεταῖος	Μεταγειτνιών	Πληθύπατος

Byzantium	Perinthos	Bithynia	Kyzikos	Cappadocia
Ὑακίνθιος	Πυανεψιών	Πριέπιος/Πριέτηος	Πάνημος	Ἀπομεναμά
Ἀργριάνιος	Ποσιδεών/Σεβαστός	Ἀφροδίσιος	(unknown)	Ἀρθρά
Μαλοφόριος	Ἀνθεστηριών	Δημήτριος	(unknown)	Τετουσία
Ἡραῖο	Ἀρτεμίσιος	Ἡραῖος/Ἄρειος	Κυανεψιών	Ὡσμωνία
Καρεῖνος	Δαίσιος	Ἑρμειος	Ἀπατουρεών	Σόνδαρα
Μαχανεύς	Πάνημος	Μητρῶος	Ποσειδέων	Epagomenal
Πεταγείτνιος	Καλαμαῖος	Διονύσιος	Ληναιών	Ἀρτανία
Διονύσιος	(unknown)	Ἡράκλειος	Ἀνθεστηριών	Ἀρταεστίν
Εὔκλειος	Ληναῖος	Δῖος	Ἀρτεσμισιών	Ἀραιότατα
Ἀρτεμίσιος	(unknown)	Βενδιαῖος	Ταυρεών	Τίριξ
Λύκειος	Βοηδρομιών	Στράτειος	Θαργηλιών	Armotat
Βοσπόριος	Κρονιών	Ἄρειος	Καλαμαιών	Ξανανθηρί
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Beginning in Hellenistic times, some geographical areas preferred to date inscriptions according to eras rather than by eponym.[98] Such eras commemorated events, such as victories in battle, the liberation of cities, or the year of

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Ταυρεών	Εὐαγγέλιος	Δαίσιος	Ταυρεών (1)	Καισάρειος
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inscriptions from the twelfth consulate of Augustus (5 B.C.).[103] At one point in its history, Athens counted the years from the visit of the emperor Hadrian to the city in A.D. 126. The era of Diocletian (ἔτους Διοκλητιανοῦ) is reckoned from 29 August A.D. 284, a date that actually antedates his accession on 20 November A.D. 284.[104] Though this began as a regnal dating, it did not continue as such, since it persisted in use long after Diocletian's abdication. The imposition of the Diocletian reform upon the astronomers of the time required so much work that when Diocletian abdicated, the numbering from the beginning of his reign continued in order to avoid implementing a new system. Cities that won their freedom from the Seleucids often initiated their own eras of liberation, reckoned from the year of each city's independence.[105] Eras of liberation were adopted by Tyre (275 or 274 B.C.), Laodikeia (62 or 81 B.C.), Apameia (41 B.C.), and Tripolis of Phoenicia (between 105 and 95 B.C.).[106] Pompey's liberation of cities in the east in the sixties B.C. also generated several Pompeian eras, including that of Antioch, which began in 66 B.C.[107]

A number of Caesarean eras arose in the forties B.C. For example, the Caesarean era of Antioch commemorated the Battle of Pharsalus on 6 June 48 B.C., when power was passed from Pompey to Julius Caesar.[108] The eras of Cleopatra was reckoned according to the regnal years of Cleopatra from 52 B.C.[109]

The determination of which era applies to a particular city must often be worked out for each city individually. Alan Samuel remarks that "the scholar who must work with a specific era is probably reduced, at least for the local city eras, to examining all the available evidence to come to a new and

103. See Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium,* 129–33.

104. See Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World,* 105 n. 59.

105. E.g., Amyzon, 167 B.C. (*IAmyzon* 309); Tyre, 18 Oct. 126 B.C. (*SEG* 2.330). See Henri Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes, No. 56, Ères pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie," *Syria* 31 (1954): 73–80; "Antiquités Syriennes, No. 73, Temples, cultes et souvenirs historiques de la Décapole," *Syria* 36 (1959): 60–78, esp. 70.

106. See Henri Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes, No. 42, Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie: Antioche, Apamée, Aréthuse, Balanée, Épiphanie, Laodicée, Rhosos, Damas, Béryte, Tripolis, l'ère de Cléopâtre, Chalchis du Liban, Doliché," *Syria* 27 (1950): 5–50; "Antiquités Syriennes, No. 48, Aradus et Baetocaecé," *Syria* 28 (1951): 191–220, esp. 210–16.

107. The cities liberated by Pompey include Gadara (64 B.C.), Gerasa and Philadelphia (63 B.C.), and Apamea (66 B.C.). See Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 247 n. 1.

108. See Robert, *BE* (1972): 388.

109. Dated fifteen years before this in some papyri (see Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes, No. 42, 43).

satisfactory conclusion."[110] In Syria, for example, the cities evince considerable variety. In Antioch alone, four different eras were used at different times in the city's history:

Seleucid era	–65/4 B.C.
Pompeian era	65/4–50/49 B.C.
Caesarean era	49/8–7/6 B.C.
Aktian era	7/6 B.C.–

There are also a number of so-called provincial eras, most important of which are the Macedonian era (autumn of 148 B.C.), the Achaian era (146 B.C.), and the Sullan era (85 B.C.), each counting the years of Roman rule in particular regions. The Sullan era was used widely in Asia Minor, Sulla being regarded as the region's great reorganizer. The Sullan era was reckoned from Sulla's triumph over Mithridates and his reconquest of Asia in 85 B.C. (23 September).[111] For example, inscriptions from Saittai (Lydia) are dated by the Sullan era (e.g., ἔτ(ους) σνέ μη(νὸς) Ἀπ[ελλαίου] η΄ [in the year 255 [of the Sullan era = A.D. 170], in the month of Apellaios, on the eighth day]).[112]

The Augustan era, also known as the Aktian era, counted the years from the victory of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium (2 September 31 B.C.).[113] All cities who adopted the Augustan era shared this same reference point, with year 1 being the year in which the battle was fought (31/30 B.C.).[114]

Two eras existed side by side in Macedonia, the provincial era and the Augustan era.[115] The provincial era, the older of the two, counted from the organization of the Roman province in the autumn of 148 B.C. (1 Dios [= 15 October]). Thus, an inscription dated "in the three hundred and fifty-seventh year" of the provincial era would be from A.D. 209. The Augustan era (ἔτος Σεβαστόν/ἔτος Ἰούλιον/ἔτος νίκης) was counted from the third year of

110. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 246, 248.

111. See Wilhelm Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928), 76; Kubitschek, "Aera," 638. Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 33.16.

112. *SEG* 29.1188. Cf. *SEG* 29.1183–87; LBW 1146; W. M. Ramsay, "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," part 2, *JHS* 8 [1887]: 461–519, esp. 517–18.

113. See U. Wilcken, "Octavian after the Fall of Alexandria," *JRS* 27 (1937): 138–44, esp. 138; Jean Bingen, "Le Sammelbuch I 5244 et l'ère Augustéenne d'Égypte," *Chronique d'Égypte* 77 (1964): 174–76.

114. See Tod, "Macedonian Era Reconsidered," 394.

115. These are in addition to the counting of the years of independence from 317 B.C., in use prior to 148 B.C.

Augustus (reckoned from 31/30 B.C.).[116] It was adopted by Macedonia after 27 B.C., by which time the title Σεβαστός[117] had been bestowed on Augustus.[118]

The work of Marcus Tod forms the basis of all research on the Macedonian era.[119] However, contrary to Tod, the Augustan era was not always specified by the formula ἔτος Σεβαστόν, nor are all anonymously dated inscriptions dated according to the provincial era.[120] Fanoula Papazoglou has been able to rehabilitate Tod's general principles. Her conclusions are as follows: Immediately following the introduction of the Augustan era, inscriptions were always dated with the formula ἔτος Σεβαστόν. This applies to such low dates as ἔτους η΄ καὶ ι΄ and ἔτους γ΄ καὶ ν΄. Conversely, low dates lacking the formula ἔτος Σεβαστόν always refer to the provincial era. By the second half of the first century A.D., the Augustan era became so established that it was cited without the ἔτος Σεβαστόν formula. The Augustan era was used in most inscriptions of the state, while the provincial era tended to be used in private inscriptions.[121]

116. See, e.g., Paul Foucart, "Décret des artistes Dionysiaques d'Argos," *RA* 22 (1871): 107–15, esp. 109.

117. As opposed to the epithet σεβαστός.

118. See Salomon Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885), 479–81; Kubitschek, "Aera," 632ff.

119. See Tod, "The Macedonian Era I," *BSA* 23 (1919): 206–17; "The Macedonian Era II," *BSA* 24 (1921): 54–67; "The Macedonian Era Reconsidered," 382–87; cf. Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2:1289–90; Robert, *Hellenica,* XI–XII, 553. Tod ("Macedonian Era Reconsidered," 387–89) produced a list of dated inscriptions from Roman Macedonia, classed into three groupings: those that were double-dated (five inscriptions), those dated according to the Augustan era (twenty-two inscriptions), and—the largest number—those dated from an anonymous era (forty-six inscriptions).

120. D. Decev ("L'inscription de Svete Vrac," *Annuaire de Musée National Archeologique de Plovdiv* 2 [1950]: 51–52, no. 1) has provided indisputable proof of the anonymously dated inscriptions that are actually dated according to the Augustan era: e.g., [κατὰ Μ]ακεδόνας ἔτους βνσ΄. Cf. Charles Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," *HThR* 41 [1948]: 153–204, esp. 162; Robert, *BE* [1948]: 112, [1949]: 99).

121. See F. Papazoglou, "Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie Macédoniennes," *BCH* 87 (1963): 517–44, esp. 517–26. P. Perdrizet argued that some inscriptions from the region of Philippi must be dated by an era later than the provincial era; moreover, the fact that the Roman colony of Philippi was founded in 30 B.C. makes it difficult to determine whether it reckoned its year from 32 B.C. (Augustan) or from 30 B.C. (i.e., from its founding) (see Tod, "Macedonian Era II," 65). J. Coupry, M. Feyel, Paul Collart, and Tod agree that Philippi reckoned according to the provincial era (see Jacques Coupry and Michel Feyel, "Inscriptions de Philippes," *BCH* 60 [1936]: 37–58, esp. 38–41; Paul Collart, *Philippes: Ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine,* École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires 5 [Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937], 306–11; Tod, "Macedonian Era Reconsidered," 395). The provincial era was never abandoned, because it was deeply rooted in the popular consciousness. Hence, some inscriptions are double-dated, with the Augustan era always appearing first.

The Augustan era was used as a basis for counting the years in many other parts of the Greek-speaking world during the Roman era.[122] In Samos and Philadelphia, for example, one finds inscriptions dated from ἔτος τῆς Καίσαρος νίκης [the year of the victory of Caesar].[123] When the Augustan era was used, it was on account of local initiative, not imposition by the Roman government. For example, the region around Akmonia first dated documents according to the Sullan era,[124] then subsequently switched to dating by the Augustan era sometime in the third century A.D. There are also instances of double-dating according to both eras (e.g., [ἔτ]ους ξζ΄ [Augustan era] τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ ρκα΄ [era of Sulla] = A.D. 36/7).[125]

A special subclass of dating according to era is the system of reckoning time on the basis of regional games. From the third century B.C. onward, some inscriptions are dated by counting Olympiads (e.g., *SIG*³ 557), taking their name from the games known as the ὀλυμπιάς held in Olympia. According to this reckoning system, the sequential number of the Olympiad (Ol.) was cited following by a specification of the year within that four-year cycle, with Ol. 1 being equivalent to 776 B.C.[126] The term ὀλυμπιάς was also applied to the period of four solar years following the Olympic games: thus, there was no "Olympic year" per se, since the games were held at four-year intervals (e.g., 776, 772, 768 B.C., etc.);[127] hence, ὀλυμπιὰς ἑκατοστὴ could refer either

122. Though William Ramsay (*The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* [London: John Murray, 1890], 441–42) claimed that Augustan or Aktian dating was not in use in proconsular Asia, this is false. The dates on many inscriptions make sense only if calculated according to the Augustan era (see W. H. Buckler, "Lydian Records," *JHS* 37 [1917]: 88–115; e.g., *IGRR* IV, 626 [region of Akmonia]). An interesting example surviving from Grimenothyrae (Traianopolis) is dated ἔτους σπβ΄ (year 282), followed by an erasure of the name of the emperor (*IGRR* IV, 626). If this date is reckoned by the Sullan era (cf. *IGRR* IV, 623–25), the year would be A.D. 197, leading to the conclusion that the expunged name must be that of Septimius Severus. However, his name was not normally erased. If the date is reckoned according to the Aktian calendar (= A.D. 251), the name must be that of Trebonianus Gallus, which makes much more sense (see Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:1290 n. 37). Cf. the era of Actium in Kyrene: see Robert, *Hellenica,* XI–XII, 533; Gerhard Perl, "Die römischen Provinzbeamten in Cyrenae und Creta zur Zeit der Republik," *Klio* 52 (1970): 319–54, esp. 320.

123. For Samos see Victor Chapot, *La Province romaine pronconsulaire d'Asie* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1904), 385–86; *ILydia*B 20–21; Walther Kolbe, "Studien zur Attischen Chronologie der Kaiserzeit," *AM* 46 (1921): 105–56, esp. 115–16 (table IV). Cf. *IGRR* IV, 991 (ἔτους γ΄ = 29/28 B.C.). For Philadelphia see *IGRR* IV, 1615 (ἔτους ο΄ καὶ α΄ τῆς Καίσαρος νείκης [A.D. 40]), 1619 (*SIG*³ 883), 1653 (A.D. 214; rescript of Caracalla); *ILydia*KP III, no. 54 (A.D. 42/43).

124. See Ramsay, "The Cities and Bishoprics," 517–18; LBW 1676.

125. *ILydia*B 29 (Daldis, Lydia).

126. See Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 189–90.

127. To be more precise, they alternated between spacings of forty-nine and fifty months (Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 191).

TABLE 15. Summary of the Principal Eras

776 B.C.	Era of the Olympic games of Olympia (Olympiads, 4-year period)
582 or 586	Era of the Pythian games of Delphi (Pythiads, 4-year period)
582	Era of the Isthmian games of Korinth (Isthmiads, 2-year period)
567	Era of the Argolid games (Nemiads, 2-year period)
337 (autumn)	Era of the rule of Mithridates
317	Macedonian era of independence
312 (autumn)	Seleucid era or Syro-Macedonian era
297	Pontic regnal era (after Mithridates VI), Bithynian regnal era
259 (Oct.)	Era of Aradus
148	Macedonian provincial era
146	Achaian era
85 (23 Sept.)	Sullan era/era of Sulla
71	Era of Amastris
70	Era of Sinope (later 45 B.C.)
66	Era of Pompey (Syria)
52	Era of the rule of Cleopatra
48 (6 June)	Pharsalian era, Caesarean era (Antioch)
31 (2 Sept.)	Aktian era/Augustan era
25	Galatian era, Chersonesos (local urban era)
21	Era of Tavion
6	Paphlagonian Neoklaudiopolis, Gangra, and Pompeiopolis
5 B.C.	Era of Paphlagonia
A.D. 34	Era of Komana
56	Era of Tyras
64	Eras of Trapezous, Neokaisareia, and Zela
284 (29 Aug.)	Era of Diocletian

to the hundredth set of games or to the four-year period following the hundredth games. Olympiads were counted up to the 294th Olympiad in the reign of Theodosius (A.D. 400).

Other regions employed comparable systems tied to regional games, such as the Pythian games in Delphi (counting Pythiads from 582 or 586 B.C.),[128] the Isthmian games of Korinth (counting Isthmiads from 582 B.C.), and the Argolid games (counting Nemiads[129] from 567/6 B.C.). Table 15 lists some of the best-attested eras.

6.09 Dating Inscriptions That Are Not Self-Dated

Since many inscriptions do not contain explicit dating information, various interpretive strategies are required to deduce their date. Some inscriptions can

128. Four-year periods that coincided with the third year of the Olympiad.

129. Cf. P. Perlman, "The Calendric Position of the Nemean Games," *Athenaeum* 67 (1989): 57–90 (*SEG* 39.343).

be dated accurately on the basis of the events, circumstances, or persons to which they refer, when the same events, circumstances, or persons are also mentioned in other ancient sources. Other inscriptions are associated with buildings or works of art that can be roughly dated on stylistic grounds. For example, the fashion of clothing and hairstyles depicted in reliefs can be helpful in the dating of some epitaphs to a particular period or century.[130] In many instances, the epigraphist must search for less explicit clues for dating, such as constitutional arrangements or the titles of officials. For example, the use of Roman names for officials in inscriptions from Rhegion points to a date after the grant of Roman citizenship throughout Italy in 89 B.C.

The studious observation of the grammatical, orthographic, and syntactical features of an inscription, as well as its distinctive vocabulary and formulae, can also lead to inferences with respect to dating. For example, the formula ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης is attested with notable frequency in many decrees of third-century A.D. Lycia (see § 8.06, 13.01).[131] If the inscription in question has been unearthed in an archaeological excavation, the stratigraphic layer may also provide crucial information. As a last resort, though notoriously unreliable, letter forms and the forms of abbreviations may provide the only available clue to the date of an inscription (see § 2.02).

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130. On the poor possibilities of dating inscriptions on the basis of reliefs see T. Corsten, "Über die Schwierigkeit, Reliefs nach Inschriften zu datieren," *IstMitt* 37 (1987): 187–99 (*SEG* 37.1778). Cf. Alice Mühsam, "Attic Grave Reliefs from the Roman Period," *Berytus* 10 (1952–53): 53–114 (pl. VII–XXIV); Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 183–86, § 138.

131. See Robert, *Documents de l'Asia Mineure,* 54.

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Part 2

The Nature of Greek Inscriptions

7

The Classification of Greek Inscriptions

Though any system of classification is to some extent artificial and arbitrary, inscriptions do nonetheless manifest characteristics that permit them to be legitimately grouped in various ways, such as on the basis of content, form, location, and date. Larger corpora (collections) of inscriptions usually organize inscriptions according to several of these criteria in some hierarchical order of precedence.[1] For example, Wilhelm Ditttenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* grouped inscriptions firstly on the basis of broadly defined chronological periods and secondly on the basis of content, according to whether they were public (*res publicae*), sacred (*res sacrae*), or private inscriptions (*vita privata*). "Public" inscriptions include any official transaction of an emperor, league, amphictyony, state, or subdivisions of the state, such as tribes and demes. "Private" inscriptions are the reverse of this, encompassing all inscriptions relating to private life (e.g., funerary inscriptions).

The distinction between public and private inscriptions is helpful, since these two types of inscriptions tend to manifest different characteristics. Most public inscriptions were drafted by administrators and engraved by the official or preeminent workshops of the state; they are generally more monumental in character than private inscriptions and more homogeneous in style. Private inscriptions are largely the product of the peripheral workshops. Though some are quite formal in style, they generally tend to have more

1. On the criteria of classification used by antiquarians from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries see I. Calabi Limentani, "Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici dallo Smetio al Morcelli: Antichità, retorica, critica," *Epigraphica* 49 (1987): 177–202.

errors and to be more heterogeneous in style, especially in multilingual and multicultural contexts, such as Asia Minor and Palestine.

Though a classification based on this distinction between public, private, and sacred is undoubtedly helpful for some research applications, it also has disadvantages, for it separates inscriptions that share a common form into separate categories. For example, according to this classification, all decrees would not be grouped together but would be separated into the categories public and sacred, despite the fact that their forms are essentially the same.

No single classification system is ideally suited to all types of inscriptions and all research applications. This book classifies inscriptions primarily on the basis of form (e.g., decrees, dedications, honorific inscriptions, epitaphs, manumissions). However, some inscriptions are more naturally classified in other ways (e.g., inscriptions on metal, inscriptions on portable objects, graffiti). The remainder of this chapter discusses the following categories of inscriptions:

7.01 decrees, laws, treaties, and official letters
7.02 honorific decrees, proxeny decrees, and honorific inscriptions
7.03 dedications and ex-votos
7.04 prose and metrical funerary inscriptions
7.05 manumission inscriptions
7.06 other legal instruments of common law
7.07 boundary stones
7.08 milestones
7.09 herms
7.10 sacred laws
7.11 other sacred inscriptions
7.12 inscriptions on public and private works and buildings
7.13 accounts and catalogues
7.14 inscriptions on portable objects
7.15 quarry and masons' marks
7.16 inscriptions in metal
7.17 graffiti
7.18 artists' signatures

It is beyond the scope of this book to treat in equal detail each of these eighteen categories of inscriptions. Separate chapters have been dedicated to the first five of these (§ 7.01–05; cf. chaps. 8–12, 16). Consequently, their exposition in this chapter will be correspondingly brief. Conversely, the categories in sections 7.06–18 will be discussed in greater detail, since they will not be dealt with elsewhere in this book.

7.01 Decrees, Laws, Treaties, and Official Letters

A decree (ψήφισμα/*decretum*) is an authoritative decision with the force of law handed down by an official body or person, such as a civic council, phratry, confederacy, or emperor (see chap. 8). At the level of civic government, most decrees were enacted by some combination of council, assembly, and principal magisterial board of state. These are comparable to the *senatus consulta* (δόγματα συγκλήτου) of the Roman Senate.

Other kinds of legal documents include letters of kings and emperors,[2] treaties (see § 8.12), and laws.[3] There were laws to govern virtually every aspect of society: for example, agrarian laws,[4] laws governing the conferral of citizenship on foreigners, customs laws,[5] tax laws,[6] funerary laws,[7] laws to regulate public and private disputes, laws concerning the distribution of land,[8] and laws concerning the army. Sacred laws will be dealt with in a separate section (§ 7.10).

7.02 Honorific Decrees, Proxeny Decrees, and Honorific Inscriptions

Honorific decrees were enacted to publicly recognize and commend persons who had served as patrons or performed exemplary service for the city (see chap. 9). They often include a citation of the exact text to be inscribed on a stele or base. Forming a subclass of honorific decrees are proxeny decrees by

2. See, e.g., Jean Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques: Textes, traductions et notes* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1960): 115–17. See also *SEG* 28.1224, 1566; 31.1088; 32.460–61, 1252; 35.1083, 1150; 36.681; 37.99; 38.1075, 1170–71; 39.615; 42.411, 573, 989, 994. For a rescript see *SEG* 37.1186.

3. See, e.g., Ilias Arnaoutoglou, *Ancient Greek Laws: A Sourcebook* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); Pouilloux, *Choix*, 118–35; *SEG* 33.638, 665; *SEG* 35.823.

4. See, e.g., Daniel J. Gargola, "Grain Distributions and the Revenue of the Temple of Hera on Samos," *Phoenix* 46 (1992): 12–28; L. Migeotte, "Distributions de grain à Samos à la période hellénistique: Le 'pain gratuit' pour tous?" *SEJG* 31 (1989–90), 297–308 (*SEG* 40.735); *SEG* 37.724, 42.776.

5. See, e.g., *SEG* 36.991, 1027; 37.865; 43.752.

6. See, e.g., *SEG* 34.1449, 37.1458; *IGRR* III, 1056.

7. See, e.g., R. Garland, "The Well-Ordered Corpse: An Investigation into the Motives of Greek Funerary Legislation," *BICS* 36 (1989): 1–15 (*SEG* 39.1795); *SIG*^{3} 1218 (decree of Solon).

8. See, e.g., *IG* IX^2/1, 609 (*SEG* 29.468).

which a city would express its gratitude to a citizen of a foreign state who was going to offer hospitality to one of its own citizens (see § 9.03).[9]

Honorific inscriptions (*tituli honorarii*) were used by cities, groups, and individuals to commend benefaction and exemplary service. They are similar in intent to an honorific decree but lack the formal structure of a decree (see § 9.04). However, the formula of a civic honorific inscription, namely, "the city honors so-and-so," implies the passage of an honorific decree for the honorand, despite the fact that the text of the decree is not quoted on the stele itself. Inscriptions of this kind are usually engraved on statue bases, columns, and stelae.

7.03 Dedications and Ex-votos

Dedications (*dedicationes*) record the offerings made to the gods as acts of piety, often in conjunction with petitions or thanksgivings. Ex-votos (*donaria*), or votive offerings, are dedications made in fulfillment of a vow (see chap. 10).

7.04 Prose and Metrical Funerary Inscriptions

Funerary inscriptions (*tituli sepulcrales*) are more numerous than inscriptions of any other category. They may be written in prose or verse (see chaps. 11, 16). They appear on plain stelae, tombs, sarcophagi, funerary reliefs, ostothekae, cinerary boxes, *columnellae,* and *cippi.*

7.05 Manumission Inscriptions

The manumission or liberation of slaves was one of the most important social and legal institutions throughout the Roman world. Manumission contracts

9. See, e.g., Onno M. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Greek East,* DMAHA 17 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997); Jean-Pierre Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident,* Mémoire couronné par l'Academie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (Louvain: Peeters, 1895–1900; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970); Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1896; reprint, Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1969); Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909); Paul Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs: Thiases, éranes, orgéons, avec le texte des inscriptions rélatives à ces associations* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873); B. H. McLean, "Hierarchically Organised Associations on Delos," in *CongrEpigr* XI, 361–70; J. Ustinova, "The *Thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos in Tanais," *HR* 31 (1991–92): 150–80 (*SEG* 38.1648, 42.726).

were frequently inscribed, perhaps to ensure that as many people as possible might know of the person's new legal status in society (see chap. 12).[10]

7.06 Other Legal Instruments of Common Law

In addition to manumission contracts, there are other legal instruments of common law (*instrumenta iuris privati*). These include leases and deeds of sale,[11] mortgages, contracts,[12] loans of money, and wills.[13] Such documents were usually written on papyrus or wooden tablets. Since there was usually no reason to publicize their contents, most of these documents were not engraved in stone. People went to the expense of having them inscribed only when some particular benefit was to be expected from this. Some were inscribed so that they might be set up in a sanctuary, thereby putting the transaction under the protection of the deity. An abridged version of the will of Ptolemy VII, referring to a foiled assassination attempt in 155 B.C. by Ptolemy VI, was published for propaganda purposes.[14]

Some inscriptions make direct reference to the deceased's will as the authority under which an action has been taken, with such expressions as κατὰ διαθήκην or ἐκ διαθήκης (in accordance with [his] will). Sometimes a will was engraved to publicize the terms under which a bequest was given, in an attempt to ensure that the terms would be fulfilled. For example, one such will requires that the beneficiaries erect and crown a statue in honor of the deceased (*IG* II² 2771–76). Another records the will of a priestess of Dionysos, included within which is a bequest to the *mystai* of a Dionysiac religious association (*thiasos*), made under the condition that a crown of roses be offered on the funerary *bomos* of the priestess, presumably on the anniversary

10. See Pouilloux, *Choix,* 135–39.

11. E.g., for leases of public lands see M. B. Walbank in *Agora* XIX, 145–207, nos. L1–L16, LA1–LA8 (*SEG* 41.103); for leases of temple estates see John Harvey Kent, "The Temple Estates of Delos, Rheneia and Mykonos," *Hesperia* 17 (1948): 243–338, esp. 320–38. Cf. the corpus of inscriptions concerning real estate and house prices in Attica (V–III B.C.): see K. Hallof, *EAZ* 31 (1990): 517–22 (*SEG* 40.296 bis); *SEG* 11.1185, 28.833, 31.1650, 32.225, 37.542, 38.670–73, 42.694; *SIG*³ 302.

12. E.g., for a financial contract between a private person and the temple concerning a loan (late II B.C.) see D. Mulliez "Un document financier inédit de la fin du II[e] s. av. n. è.," in *Delphes: Centenaire de la "grande fouille" realisée par l'École française d'Athènes, 1892–1903: Actes du colloque Paul Perdrizet, Strasbourg, 6–9 novembre 1991,* ed. Jean-Françoise Bommelaer, TCRPO 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 317–32. Cf. *IG* II² 2499 (= *SIG*³ 1097); *IDidyma* 292–93, nos. 492A–C; Welles 18–20; *OGI* 225 (B and C only).

13. For a loan see *SEG* 42.472; for a will, *SEG* 30.1392.

14. *SEG* 9.7 (ca. Mar. 155 B.C.); see W. F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970–79), 3:553–54.

of her death.[15] If this association defaulted on this condition, the funds were forfeited to the *mystai* of a second association, and if this second association defaulted, the bequest was to be handed over to the city.

7.07 Boundary Stones

Boundary stones (ὅροι/*termini*) were used to mark the territorial limits of states,[16] military zones forbidden to public access, the limits to which the right of asylum of a sanctuary extended, and the limits of temple estates (even where there was no question of asylum). An example reads, ὅρος ἱεροῦ Ἡρακλείου ποδῶν πεντήκοντα [[this stone marks the] boundary of the sanctuary of Herakles fifty feet [ahead]].[17]

Charles Clermont-Ganneau discovered one of the stelae that were placed at intervals around the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem, forbidding pagans and Gentiles from passing through the sacred enclosure: μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ[18] εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου· ὃς δ' ἂν λήφθῃ ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον [let no foreigner enter within the screen and enclosure surrounding the sanctuary; [for] whoever is apprehended [doing so] shall be the cause to himself that death overtakes him].[19] A circular sanctuary boundary marker from Herakleia prohibits the interment of corpses in the sanctuary: ὅρος τὸ ἱερὸ (= τῷ ἱερῷ)· τόδε ἐνδὸς μὴ θάπτειν [this stone [marks the boundary] for the sanctuary; do not inter [corpses] in this area].[20] Occasionally, boundary stones can be quite verbose, including various sacred laws, as in the case of a boundary marker from the asylum of the sanctuary of Dionysos in Tralles.[21]

Boundary stones were also erected to mark the limits of private property. These stones are often quite laconic, simply reading ὅρος[22] or ὅρος χωρίου/οἰκίας τοῦ δεῖνος (stone [marking the boundary] of the property of so-and-so).[23]

So-called mortgage stones were erected on mortgaged land, bearing some such formula as ὅρος χωρίου πεπραμένου ἐπὶ λύσει τῷ δεῖνι (this stone [marks] the property being held for redemption by so-and-so.)[24] Boundary stones were also used to mark land put up as security for a bride's dowry, with the formula ὅρος οἰκίας ἐν προικὶ ἀποτετιμημένης τῷ δεῖνι (this stone [marks] the boundary of property pledged as a dowry for so-and-so).[25] Boundary stones bearing the words ὅρος μνήματος τοῦ δεῖνος (e.g., *IG* II² 2527–42), ὅρος θήκης τοῦ δεῖνος (*IG* II² 2586–88b), or ὅρος σήματος τοῦ δεῖνος (*IG* II² 2572–77) were set up to mark private burial plots.

7.08 Milestones

Milestones (*milliaria*) are cylindrical distance markers—normally about 1.8 meters in height—which were placed on roads throughout the Roman world.[26] They measured distances in two directions, often stating both the number of Roman miles from the previous major town and the number of miles to the end of the road in the next major town (see, e.g., *IG* II² 5181–2, 5202–4). On some milestones, only one of these measures is given.

The letters on milestones tended to be large, perhaps to enable a traveler to read them without stopping his carriage or horse.[27] However, the curved surface of the stones made them more difficult to read than modern road

15. See Charles Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," *HThR* 41 (1948): 153–204, esp. 167–68; *IG* X/2, 260.

16. E.g., *SIG*³ 936–38; *SEG* 39.608, 42.406; *SEG* 36.234 (trittys boundary markers). *IPriene* 151 and 154 are probably a series of frontier markers; they are numbered alphabetically (e.g., ὅρ(ος) α′ and ὅρος θ′) and probably sequentially. Though F. Hiller von Gaertringen thinks *IPriene* 153 and 155 were numbered alphabetically, ὅρ(ος) ΔΙ and ὅρος ΔΠ (i.e., 14 and 84), they are more likely numbered acrophonically (i.e., 11 and 15) (see Marcus N. Tod, "The Greek Numeral Notation," *BSA* 18 [1911–12]: 98–132, esp. 121).

17. *IG* II² 2611. Cf. *IG* II² 2602; *Agora* XIX, 5–37, nos. H1–72 (*SEG* 41.126); *SEG* 43.54–57 (security *horoi*).

18. Cf. Robert, *BE* (1948): 251, on ἀλλογενής.

19. See E. J. Bickerman, "The Warning Inscriptions of Herod's Temple," *JQR* 37 (1947): 387–405. Cf. *OGI* 598; *SEG* 8.169.

20. This inscription, referring to a peribolos within the temple grounds, is a common ordinance for Greek temples (*LSAM* 83).

21. *LSAM* 75 (= *CIG* 2919; Michel 804).

22. E.g., *IG* II² 2516–23.

23. See J. H. Oliver, "Horoi as Reserved Areas," *GRBS* 4 (1963): 141–43; S. D. Lambert, "Notes on Two Attic *Horoi* and some Corrigenda to *The Phratries of Attica*," *ZPE* 110 (1996): 77ff. Vertical inscriptions (i.e., inscriptions read from the top down) are found in some Greek *horoi* and *cippi:* see M. Guarducci, "Paestum: Cippo arcaico col nome di Chirone," *NSc* (1948): 185–92, esp. 185–86; for security *horoi* see *Agora* XIX, 18–21, 37–51, nos. H73–130; *SEG* 37.1336, 1409; *SEG* 38.165–67, 39.199–201, 41.133.

24. See John van Antwerp Fine, *Horoi: Studies in Mortgage, Real Security, and Land Tenure in Ancient Athens,* Hesperia Suppl 9 (Baltimore: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951). For examples see *IG* II² 2684–756; *SEG* 29.157–59, 31.150–51, 32.235–37. L. R. F. Germain ("The Attic Apotimema," in *Studi in onore di Arnaldo Biscardi,* 6 vols. [Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino, La Goliardica, 1982–87], 3:445–57 [*SEG* 32.226; cf. *SEG* 23.96]) studies the meaning of the term ἀποτίμημα in *IG* II² 2498 and in mortgage *horoi* (*IG* II²2656, 2678, 2701, 2767). These inscriptions illustrate the principle of ἀποτιμήματα (mortgaged property) held in favor of a deme, temple, and eranos, but not for a private individual.

25. E.g., *IG* II² 2659–83.

26. See entries concerned with milestones in the supplementary bibliography in this chapter.

27. Questioned by G. Walzer, noting that the figure may be unusually large, while the remainder may be quite small.

signs. The actual stones seem to have been mass-produced, complete with an inset *tabula ansata,* ready for inscribing. These framed panels with ornamental "handles" were frequently too small to accommodate the complete text, necessitating the continuation of the text outside the panel.

Under the Republic, milestones on main roads often bore the names of consuls or other officials involved with the construction (or repair) of roads. In the Principate, the name and titulature of the reigning emperor was usually cited. In Latin inscriptions, the number indicating the distance from the city is preceded by MP (*milia passuum*),[28] while Greek inscriptions use the symbol M or MI (e.g., ἀπὸ τῆς δεῖνος πόλεως μ(ίλλια) ζ') [seven Roman miles from the city of such-and-such]).

Under the Republic, milestones were set up at intervals of one thousand paces (one Roman mile) on military roads. In the imperial period, the official road system was greatly expanded, resulting in an extensive system of milestones throughout the empire, serving the interests of both trade and frontier defense. For example, sixteen milestones have been discovered on the Egnatian Way, the main road linking Italy with Greece.[29] The earliest and most important of these, dating from the time of Trajan, was discovered near Thessaloniki; it is a bilingual inscription set up by Cn. Egnatius, proconsul of Macedonia, after whom the road took its name.[30]

Some milestones are of great historical significance. They bear witness to the date when principal roads were constructed, and they sometimes provide information regarding the financing and construction of roads, not to mention other historical events. For example, the timing of the arrival of Roman Legio VI Ferrata in Caparcotna is confirmed by a bilingual milestone on the Diocaesarea (Sepphoris)-Caparcotna road, dated from the fourteenth year of the tribunate of Hadrian (A.D. 130). The Greek section of the inscription reads ἀπὸ Διοκαισαρίας μίλια ι' [ten thousand paces [ten Roman miles = fifteen kilometers] from Diocaesarea). This milestone proves that by the year A.D. 130, Legio VI was in Palestine and the Caparcotna road and camp had already been constructed.[31]

28. E.g., MP VII = 7,000 *passus.*

29. See Paul Collart, "Les milliaires de la via Egnatia," *BCH* 100 (1976): 177–200 (cf. ***BE*** [1977]: 14); Georges Daux, "Le milliaire de la Via Egnatia au Musée de Louvre," *JSav* (1977): 145–61; N. G. L. Hammond, "The Western Part of the Via Egnatia," *JRS* 64 (1974): 185–94 (cf. *SEG* 39.666).

30. See Jean Bousquet, "Un nouveau milliaire de la via Egnatia," *BCH* 98 (1974): 813–16.

31. See Baruch Lifshitz, "Sur la date du transfert de la legio VI Ferrata en Palestine," *Latomus* 19 (1960): 109–11, esp. 111 (figs. 2–3, pl. 4); other milestones have been found on the route of Diocaesarea (Sephhoris), one bearing the name of the emperor Hadrian (no date) (M. Avi-Yonah, "Newly Discovered Greek and Latin Inscriptions," *QDAP* 12 [1946]: 98–102, nos. 11–16, esp. 13). A milestone found in the vicinity of Raphia (A.D. 233) measures the distance from the borders of the province of Syria-Palestine: Αὐτ(οκράτορι) Καίσ(αρι) Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Σεουήρῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εὐσεβ(εῖ) εὐτυχ(εῖ) Σεβ(αστῷ), δημ(αρχικῆς) ἐξουσ(ίας) τὸ ιβ', ὕπατῳ τὸ γ', ἀνθύπατ(ῳ), π(ατρὶ) π(ατρίδος)· ἀπὸ ὅρων Συρίας Παλαι[στ(ίνης) μίλια--] [To the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander the pious, the fortunate Augustus, [endowed with the] tribunicia potestas for the twelfth time, consul for the third time, proconsul, father of the country; from the borders of Syria-Palestine [*X* Roman miles]] (D. Barag, "The Borders of Syria-Palaestina on an Inscription from the Raphia Area," *IEJ* 23 [1973]: 50–52).

7.09 Herms

A herm (ἑρμῆς) is a quadrangular pillar, lessening in width toward the base, about the height of a man, and dedicated to Hermes Propylaios. Herms were surmounted by busts of Hermes or sometimes other deities, depicted without arms or legs but usually with an erect phallus.[32] When the bust is of a divinity other than Hermes, such as Athena or Herakles, the work is called a Hermathena, Hermeracles, and so on, as the case may be. Herms were symbolic of Hermes as presider over matters of boundary.

Sometimes herms were inscribed with riddles, apothegms, moral precepts, or the names of those who fought in battle. They were erected on streets, near porches, on doors, on tombs, and in gymnasia, palaestrae, sanctuaries, temples, and agorae. For example, in the ancient agora of Athens, herms were arranged along the colonnade between the Stoa Poikilé and the Stoa Basileios.

7.10 Sacred Laws

Civic cults[33] and voluntary religious associations[34] prescribed sacred laws (*leges sacrae*) concerning all aspects of their cultic life and membership. There

32. See Henning Wrede, *Die antike Herme,* Trierer Beiträge zur Allertumskunde 1 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1985). See also *SEG* 29.161, 174, 180, 196; 30.123, 143, 181; 31.36, 38, 123, 185, 519; 32.213, 239–40, 315, 317, 1050–51; 33.350, 716, 946; 34.195–96, 315, 898; 35.26, 28, 209–10, 342.

33. On epigraphical sources for Greek religion see "Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion," *Kernos* 4– (1991–) (annual review); Brigitte Le Guen-Pollet, *La vie réligieuse dans le monde grec du V^e^ au III^e^ siècle avant notre ère: Choix de documents épigraphiques traduits et commentés,* Collection "Amphi 7" (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1991) [1992] (*SEG* 42.1992); Robin Hägg and N. Marinatos, ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence: Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22–24 November 1991* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Athen, 1994); Tullia Linders and Brita Alroth, ed., *Economics of Cult in the Ancient Greek World: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium, 1990,* Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 21 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1992) (*SEG* 42.1822); *LSAM, LSCG, LSCG Suppl, ILegesSacr.* On gender difference in sacred laws see S. G. Cole, *Helios* 19 (1992): 104–22. Cf. *IG* V/1, 1390 (*SEG* 42.341); *LSCG Suppl* 121 (*SEG* 28.866); *LSCG* 140 (*SEG* 34.792); *LSCG* 175 (*SEG* 33.669); *SEG* 33.149; *SEG* 35.956–57; *SEG* 36.376, 1221; *SEG* 37.343, 743; *SEG* 38.335.

34. See, e.g., *LSAM* 20 (*SEG* 31.1002); Louis Robert, "Deux inscriptions de l'époque impériale en Attique," *AJP* 100 (1979): 153–65, esp. 152–59. On cults performed not as part of the

were, for example, laws for ex-votos (e.g., *LSAM* 74; *LSCG* 70), laws for participation in cults (e.g., *LSAM* 58), laws concerning the prophets (e.g., *LSAM* 53), laws outlining the duties and arrangements for the sale of the office of the priesthood,[35] and laws concerning the nature, time, and cost of sacrifices to particular gods (e.g., *LSCG* 96).

Unlike sacred decrees, sacred laws provide no explicit information concerning their enactment.[36] When such laws are directed toward the public at large, one suspects that the priests or state officials were responsible for enforcing such laws and that the collecting of fines may have initiated the legislation. In the case of voluntary religious associations (θίασοι, ἔρανοι, ὀργεῶναι), the founder of the association had the prerogative to establish the cultic laws.

For example, a Lycian slave who worked for his Roman master in the Laurian silver mines founded a cult to the lunar god Men Tyrannos (*IG* II² 1366). Since he lacked the funds to erect a new temple for his new association (*eranos*), he adapted an abandoned heroon (shrine of a hero). He laid down a set of sacred laws and then invited others to join him in the worship and sacrifice to Men, the observance of these laws being the primary requirement of membership. Fines were often imposed on anyone who transgressed the law or attempted to change the fundamental laws of the associations.[37]

Some sacred laws were often set up at the entrances to sacred enclosures,

communal religion of the city but by private religious societies see M. L. Freyburger-Galland, G. Freyburger, and J. C. Tautil, *Sectes religieuses en Grèce et à Rome dans l'antiquité païenne,* Collection Realia (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1986) (cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *CR* 38 [1988]: 296–98); Marie-Françoise Baslez, *Recherches sur les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des religions orientales à Délos (II^e–I^er avant notre ère),* Collection de l'École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles 9 (Paris: L'École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1977) (*SEG* 40.361).

35. For duties see *LSAM* 79; *IG* VII, 235. For sale see *LSAM* 3–5, 23, 52, 56, 71; *LSCG Suppl* 77; *IPriene* 174. Sacred laws can take the form of a series of injunctions followed by the penalties against transgressors; these injunctions may be expressed either as third person imperatives or in infinitival constructions.

36. The process whereby laws (νόμοι) were passed differed from that of decrees. In Athens, the chairman (ἐπιστάτης) of the council would ask at the first regular meeting of the year if there were any proposals for new or altered laws to be brought forward. In the third regular meeting of the council, a legislative commission of νομοθέται was appointed to deliberate over these new laws. This process was known as "voting [ἐπιχειροτονία] upon laws." If the verdict was in favor of the new law, it had the same authority as a decree of assembly. The practice later arose of bringing new legislative proposals before the people at any meeting and allowing the people themselves to decide.

37. See, e.g., *IG* II² 1275 (obligations of members of a *thiasos*); *IG* II² 1368 (minutes of the society of Iobacchi); *IG* II² 1369 (regulations of an *eranos*); *SIG*³ 985 (regulations of a private religious association in Philadelphia); *LSAM* 2 (regulations of a *thiasos*); *LSAM* 60 (regulations of a funerary cult); *CIJ* I, 694 (regulations of a synagogue in Stobi).

forbidding entry to anyone in a state of ritual impurity.[38] For example, persons who had committed forbidden acts or had come into contact with particular animals or objects—thereby being in a state of ritual impurity—were forbidden access. The minutiae of these laws vary significantly according to the nature of the cult and local custom. For example, an inscription from Lindos declares that all who enter should be in a state of purity, which, among other things, required that members refrain from lentils, goat's flesh (three days prior), and cheese (one day prior); those who had come into contact with a corpse had to stay away for forty days.[39] The cult of Men in Sounion required its members to abstain from eating garlic and pork and excluded for only ten days those who had come into contact with a corpse.[40]

7.11 Other Sacred Inscriptions

Sacred inscriptions (*tituli sacri*) of all sorts abounded in sanctuaries, either in the form of stelae or engraved on small monuments and walls. Some sanctuaries are noted for their profusion of sacred inscriptions, such as the temple of Apollo at Didyma (see *IDidyma*), the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda (Caria),[41] and the Asklepieion at Pergamon (see *IPergamon* III).

In Epidauros, miraculous accounts of healings were set up within the precinct of the temple of Asklepios. Votive stelae, statuettes, and altars were sometimes placed in the pronaos or opisthodomos of the temple, and some were even hung on walls or columns within the cella itself.

This category of inscription includes reports of sacred games and religious festivals,[42] ritual calendars,[43] responses from the oracles,[44] hymns and

38. Cf. an inscription from Ialysos (Rhodes) requiring that copies be set up in three different places (*LSCG* 136). On purity and sacred law see R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 352–56 (app. 3).

39. *IG* XII/1, 789 (= *LSCG* 139).

40. *IG* II² 1366 (= *LSCG* 55).

41. See *ILabraunda;* Jonas Crampa, *The Greek Inscriptions,* 2 vols. (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1969–72).

42. See Mitchell, "Festivals, Games," 183–95; M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer adonischischen Stiftung aus Oenoanda,* Vestigia, Beiträge zur Alte Geschichte 39 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1988); A. Chaniotis, "Sich selbst feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenisimus im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Politik," in Michael Wörrle, Paul Zanker, eds. *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus: Kolloquium, München, 24. bis 26. Juni 1993.* (Munich: Beck, 1995), 147–72; R. Ziegler, *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik: Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1985); P. Ghiron-Bistagne, "Les concours grecs en Occident, et notamment à Nîmes," *Spectacula* 2 (1990): 223–32 (*SEG* 40.913); *TAM* II, 549 (*SEG* 28.1227). On the role of feasts in Hellenistic society see Françoise Dunand, "Sens et fonction de la fête dans la Grèce hellénistique," *DHA* 225 (1978): 201–19 (*SEG* 28.1606); on festivals of Attic demes see *SEG* 37.243, 42.1764.

aretalogies,[45] healing narratives,[46] magical formulae,[47] prayers,[48] confessions,[49] curses,[50] oaths,[51] inscriptions on cult tables,[52] sacred stones,[53] and quotations

43. E.g., *SEG* 30.1327, 37.244, 38.134, 41.744, 43.605; *SIG*³ 1024; *LSCG* 52, 151A (*SEG* 28.699, 39.849). *LSAM* 41; *LSCG* 20, 28, 62, 64, 96, 165, 169; *LSCG Suppl* 10; M. H. Jameson, "Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece," in *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity,* ed. C. R. Whittaker, CPS Suppl 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 87–119 (*SEG* 38.2017).

44. See the listings on oracles in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

45. E.g., Isis hymns of Medinet Madi, metrical inscriptions of pope Damasius. See S. M. Burstein, ed., *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 146, no. 112; the listings on hymns and aretalogies in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

46. See the listings on healing narratives in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

47. For apotropaic statues see Christopher A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York and Oxford University Press, 1992); *SEG* 42.1816 (cf. 30.1662); Armand Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1964) (cf. *SEG* 31.1595). For a love charm see *SEG* 30.1742. Cf. Hondius, 115; *SEG* 33.1603, 34.1436, 36.676–78, 36.692; Horsley in *New Docs* 1.34, 47. See also the listings on curses in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

48. See Simon Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); *SEG* 28.1568, 29.1773, 34.1125–26, 36.1577, 37.1001, 40.1049.

49. See G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (Bonn: Rudolph Habelt, 1994); M. Ricl, "The Appeal to Divine Justice in the Lydian Confession Inscriptions," in *Forschungen in Lydien,* ed. E. Schwertheim, Asia Minor Studien 17 (Bonn: Rudolph Habelt, 1995), 67–76; A. Chaniotis, "Tempeljustiz im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien," in *Symposion 1995,* ed. Gerhard Thür and Julie Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas (Cologne: Bohlau, 1997), 357–84; J. C. Nieuwland and H. S. Vernsel, "Een Kleinaziatisch Staphorst: De religieuze cultur van de biechtinscripties," *Lampas* 23 (1990): 165–86; H. S. Versnel, "In he grensgebied van magie en religie: Het gebed om recht," *Lampas* 19 (1986): 68–96. See also *SEG* 28.910, 914; 33.1598, 35.1269; 36.1577; 37.1000–1001; 38.1229–30, 1233–37, 1265–67; 40.1050, 1711; 43.855.

50. See the listings on curses in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

51. The verb of oath taking, ὄμνυμι, is a transitive verb that takes the accusative case of the deity sworn by, as well as the oath sworn. The expression ὀμνύναι τοὺς θεούς (swear by the gods) seems to be an abbreviation of ὀμνύναι ὅρκον τῶν θεῶν. The alternative is the formula ὀμνύναι τὸν ὅρκον (swear to an oath). The verb ἐπιορκεῖν is the usual verb for "to swear falsely." An example is the oath of Berenike and her sons (ca. 300–280 B.C.): see *IGBulg* III/2, 1731; K.-L. Elvers, "Der 'Eid der Berenike und ihrer Söhne': Eine Edition von *IGBulg* III/2, 1731," *Chiron* 24 (1994): 241–66.

52. See D. Gill, *Greek Cult Tables* (New York: Garland, 1991) (*SEG* 42.1806). On cult tables in Christian churches see E. Chalkia, *Le mense paleocristiane: Tipologia e funzioni delle mense secondarie nel culto paleocristiano,* Studi di antichità cristiana 47 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1991); Anastasius C. Bandy, "Early Christian Inscriptions of Crete," *Hesperia* 32 (1963): 229–47 (cf. *SEG* 42.1807).

53. See Uta Kron, "Heilige Steine," in *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon,* ed. Heide Froning, Tonio Holscher, and Harald Mielsch (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1992), 56–70 (*SEG* 42.1821).

from Jewish and Christian scriptures.[54] In its fullest sense, this category comprises all inscriptions relative to religious cults, both public and private. However, in actual practice, certain types of inscriptions are customarily treated as a separate group; these include dedications, sacred decrees, catalogues of sacred treasures, lists of priests, and records of temple administration.

Also included within the category of sacred inscriptions are the so-called μνησθῇ inscriptions. They are often found in sanctuaries, though the formula is also attested in building inscriptions and funerary inscriptions. The expression τὸ προσκύνημα ποιεῖν usually means "to write (the text of an inscription, known as) a *proskyneme* (on a stele or wall)." In his study of these inscriptions, Albert Rehm identifies two main types of formula.[55] The so-called metropolitan type is attested in continental Greece, on the Greek islands, in Egypt, and in graffiti in many places and is found especially in sanctuaries. It employs the formula ἐμνήσθη ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος (I, so-and-so, commemorated so-and-so).[56] The second type, using the formula μνησθῇ ὁ δεῖνα, was more popular in the Greek East.[57] When such a term as ἐμνήσθη is used, the person named is absent, and the worship is offered on his/her behalf. Such acts of worship could be made in an effort to placate a god or to seek divine blessing.[58]

54. See, e.g., L. Malunowicz in *Studia Evangelica (Papers Presented to the Fifth International Congress on Biblical Studies held at Oxford, 1973)*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982), vol. 2 p. 3 (*SEG* 39.1836). See also *SEG* 34.1428, 1668, 1727–28; 37.1272–73.

55. Albert Rehm, "ΜΝΗΣΘΗ," *Philologus* 94 (1939–40), 1–30; cf. L. Robert, *BE* (1942): 24.

56. E.g., Ἀμέριμνος ἐμνήσθη Ἁρμονίας τῆς εἰδίας (= ἰδίας) κυρίας ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἧς ὁ ἀριθμὸς με' (or αλε') τοῦ καλοῦ ὀνόματος (I, Amerimnos, commemorated my own mistress, Harmonia, for a good [life], who [attained] an age of forty-five [or thirty-six?] with a good name). Cf. Robert, *BE* (1964): 618.

57. See, e.g., *SEG* 37.1442, 40.1604.

58. In the so-called *proskynema* inscriptions of Egypt, προσκύνημα (an act of worship) is offered to a god. The basic formula is τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ δεῖνος, often supplemented with additional information, such as the names of the deities to whom the inscription is addressed and the names of friends or relatives of the *proskynema* writer. The customary formula cites the name of this third party in the genitive using the formula τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ δεῖνος ποιεῖν παρὰ θεῷ (to perform an act of worship before the god on behalf of so-and-so). A common variant of this formula employs the dative case (i.e., τὸ προσκύνημα τῷ δεῖνι ποιεῖν παρὰ θεῷ). See G. Geraci, "Ricerche sul *proskynema*," *Aegyptus* 51 (1971): 3–162; E. Bernard, "Réflexions sur les proscynèmes," in *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, ed. Daniele Conso, Nicole Fick, and Bruno Poulle (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1994), 43–60; Adam Lajtar, "*Proskynema* Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir El-Bahari: New Evidence for Pagan Cults in Egypt in the Fourth Century A.D.," *JJurP* 21 (1991): 53–70 (cf. *SEG* 41.1612–15); André Bataille, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1951); *CIG* 4760, 4897B, 4900, 4940. See also *SEG* 33.1315, 1320–22; 36.1405, 1411–15, 1417, 1419–30, 1433–34, 1438–40, 1451–52; 37.1640; 38.1845.

7.12 Inscriptions on Public and Private Works and Buildings

Throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, there was an increasing tendency to engrave the names of benefactors on both public and private edifices (*aedificiorum publicorum et privatorum tituli*).[59] A patron's name might be written on a particular building part that the patron had financed, such as a single column,[60] portico, or mosaic.[61] Building inscriptions are often found on temples, theaters, gymnasia, baths, gates, towers, walls, bridges, arches, architraves,[62] columns, and aqueducts, most of which were funded at private expense (though their upkeep was the responsibility of the city). There was a significant increase in building under the Flavian emperors and Trajan, a trend that continued throughout the second century A.D., resulting in a profusion of building inscriptions in this period.

A building inscription engraved on an architrave, archivolt, or architectural molding forms an integral part of the structure and overall decorative scheme of the building, as in the case of the inscriptions engraved on the architraves of the portico of the peribolos (enclosure wall) of the temple of Athena Polias in Pergamon[63] and the portico of Philip in Delos.[64] In contrast, a building inscription inscribed on a wall panel,[65] a stele, or a block erected near a building was not an integral part of the overall design.

The most detailed building inscriptions typically record a number of points of information, such as (1) an account of the circumstances under which the edifice was constructed, (2) a record of the name of the person who had the structure built (or restored), (3) an acknowledgment of the generosity

59. E.g., *SEG* 43.478, 790.

60. E.g., columns contributed by M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus (*IEph* VI, 2076–83).

61. On mosaics see M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung: Eine Quellenstudie* (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1989) (cf. *SEG* 39.1805); *SEG* 37.1289–93 (Aphrodisias), 1465–69, 1790–91. On methodological questions concerning ancient written sources and mosaics see P. Bruneau, "Philologie Mosaïstique," *JSav* (1988): 3–73 (*SEG* 38.1988); *SEG* 42.965, 983, 1295, 1423–29.

62. On the practice of having one's name engraved on the architrave of temples and other public buildings, and on the role of the Hecatomnids in this, see Simon Hornblower, *Mausolus*, Classical Civilizations (London and New York: Methuen, 1982).

63. See Richard Bohn, *Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros*, Altertümer von Pergamon II (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1885), 40–44.

64. See René Vallois, *Les portiques au sud du hiéron: Le Portique de Philippe*, EAD VII.1 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1923), 4–8 (fig. 13).

65. See, e.g., Dominique Mulliez, "Notes d'épigraphie delphique II et III," *BCH* 112 (1988): 375–91 (*SEG* 37.395).

of the patron, and (4) a specification of the year when the structure was completed.[66] The name of the patron usually appears in the nominative case.[67] If the patron happens to be a god, the cost of construction was paid out of the temple treasury. The verb of construction or dedication (e.g., ἐποίησεν, κατεσκεύασεν, ἀνέθηκεν, ἔκτισεν) is frequently omitted. However, verbs expressing the rebuilding or renovation of a monument (e.g., ἀποκατέστησεν) are normally expressed. The specification of the year of the structure's completion (or restoration) usually takes the form ἐπὶ followed by the name of the eponymous magistrate (see § 6.01).

The identity of the building or structure may also be cited (in the accusative case), the interpretation of which may require specialized knowledge. Fortunately, an array of reference aids for architectural terms is available.[68] Many inscriptions do not record the name of the structure, this fact being self-evident when the inscription was in situ. However, when a building inscription is not found in situ and its exact provenance is unknown, it is often impossible to determine the nature of the structure to which a building inscription refers.

66. See, e.g., Heinrich Lattermann, *Griechische Bauinschriften*, Dissertationes Philologicae Argentoratenses Selectae XIII, no. 3 (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1908); D. Knoepfer, "Sept années de recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie (1985–1991)," *Chiron* 22 (1922): 411–502, esp. 489–90, no. 161; E. Ziebarth's comments in Dittenberger's *SIG*³, p. 26, under nos. 1182–203, 1213–17; *SEG* 38.691, 42.417.

67. On the contribution of women to the construction and repair of buildings in Ephesos see Guy Rogers, "The Constructions of Women at Ephesos," *ZPE* 90 (1992): 215–23 (cf. *SEG* 42.1028).

68. A. K. Orlandos and J. N. Travlos, Λεξικὸν ἀρχαίων ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν ὅρων (Athens, 1986) (*SEG* 38.2024); Marie-Christine Hellmann, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque d'après les inscriptions de Délos*, BEFAR 278 (Athens and Paris: École française d'Athènes, 1992) (cf. *SEG* 42.735); R. Ginouvès and R. Martin, *Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine*, vol. 1, *Matériaux, techniques de construction, techniques et formes du décor*, vol. 2, *Éléments constructifs, supports, couvertures, aménagements intérieurs* (Athens: École française d'Athènes; Rome: École française de Rome, 1985–92) (*SEG* 36.1598, 38.2024, 42.1850); Auguste Choisy, *Études épigraphiques sur l'architecture grecque* (Paris: Librairie de la Société anonyme de publications périodiques, 1884); F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, 2 vols., Vestigia 1–2 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1959–61); Friedrich Ebert, *Fachausdrücke des griechischen Bauhandwerks*, vol. 1, *Der Tempel* (Würzburg: Druck der Königl. Universitätsdruckerei H. Sturtz, 1911). On religious architecture see H. F. Mussche, *Greek Architecture*, 2 vols. Monumenta Graeca et Romana 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963–68). Cf. F. Courby, "Sur quelques termes d'architecture qui se recontrent dans des inscriptions de Délos," *BCH* 34 (1910): 501–7; S. Keyer, "La terminologie de l'architecture grecque," *MusBelge* 13 (1909): 37–55, 123–45, 207–26. On references to profiles and ornaments in stone and wood see S. Altekamp, "Griechische Architekturornamentik: Fachterminologie im Bauhandwerk?" *ZPE* 80 (1990): 33–64 (corrigendum to *ZPE* 81 [1990]: 252; *SEG* 40.1732).

7.13 Accounts and Catalogues

The category known as accounts (*tabulae*) is comprised of financial records, such as lists of assets, expenditure accounts, building accounts,[69] tribute lists, and treasury inventories.[70] Magistrates who were charged with financial management had to keep such financial records and hand them over for inspection to those who followed them in office. For example, inventories of temple treasuries served as an official audit, verifying that nothing was missing from the treasury contents at the time when the responsibility was handed over from one board of treasurers to another.[71] The inventory lists are preceded by such a formula as (θεοί)· τάδε (προσ)παρέδοσαν οἱ ταμίαι (τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων) τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ ἐπὶ δεῖνος ἄρχοντος/γραμματεως [gods (be with us!) This is what the treasurers [of the sacred goods] of the god handed over when so-and-so was archon/secretary].[72]

Marcus Tod has studied the use of letters to label sequentially, and thereby organize, sections of a text, especially the various parts of financial reports and inventories.[73] In Athens, for example, sequential series of letters (A, B, Γ, Δ, etc.) were used to indicate the separate clauses of the reports of the treasurers, as well as lists of magistrates.[74] By comparison, the records of the *hieropoioi* in Delos used letter labels sparingly.[75]

69. On technical terms used in building accounts to describe the squaring of stone blocks see Angelina Dworakowska, *Archeologia* (Warsaw) 31 (1981): 11–18. Dworakowska discusses ἀποτείνω εὐτενής, περιτένεια, ἐπικαμπή, ἐπικάμπιον, and καμπύλος in *IG* I³ 474, 476; *IG* II² 1666, 1670, 1671, 1682, 1685.

70. See Sara B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion: The People, Their Dedications, and the Inventories* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1989); Léopold Migeotte, "Sur les rapports financiers entre le sanctuaire et la cité de Locres," in *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grèque: Actes du Colloque international d'épigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986, en l'honneur de Jacques Treheux,* Recueil de travaux 40 (Neuchâtel: Faculté des lettres, Université de Neuchâtel/Librairie Droz, 1988); D. Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995); Denis Knoepfler in *Comptes et Inventaires* (cf. M. J. Edwards, *CR* 39 [1989]: 270–71); Guarducci, *EG,* 2.189–314; Pouilloux, *Choix,* 140–45. See also *SEG* 28.832; 37.692; 42.130, 730.

71. According to T. Linders ("Inscriptions and Orality," *SymbOslo* 67 [1992]: 27–40; cf. *SEG* 38.767, 39.312, 42.1768), temple inventories and, to a lesser extent, temple accounts are dedications to the gods and have a symbolic character.

72. Cf. *IG* II², vol. 2.2. The most complete temple accounts are from Delos, where accounts were published on stone every year, and they give valuable information about the economic life of Delos and the Aegean (e.g., *IG* XI/2, 161A; cf. John Harvey Kent, "The Temple Estates of Delos, Rheneia, and Mykonos," *Hesperia* 17 [1948]: 243–338; *ESAR* 4.334–57). Elsewhere cf. τάδε παρέδοσαν ἐπιστάται . . . (*IG* II² 1544, 1546). See, e.g., *IG* II² 1296; *SIG*³ 1029. For record of the sale of sacrificial animals see *IG* II² 1533.

73. Marcus N. Tod, "Letter-Labels in Greek Inscriptions," *BSA* 49 (1954): 1–8.

74. Four points should be made with respect to the use of letter labels in Attica: first, letter labels are often preceded by τὸ (or τὰ) (e.g., *IG* II² 1469, LL. 7ff.; 1471; 1476, LL. 17ff.); second, letter labels sometimes consist of two letters (e.g., τὸ : ΑΑ : [*IG* II² 1443, L. 73]; τὰ δύο : ΑΑ : [*IG* II² 1491, L. 131]); third, they are usually preceded by ἐφ' ᾧι, ἐφ' εἷ, or ἐφ' αἷς (by ἵνα in earlier documents from 371–342 B.C.); fourth, following each letter label, the word παρασεσήμανται (stamped on) is implied or expressed in whole (e.g., *IG* II² 1496, LL. 176ff., 217ff.; see Tod, "Letter-labels," 5). Cf. Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.117–19 § 5.0221.

75. E.g., in records of weights, one finds ordinal numbers written out in full, e.g., ὁ πρῶτος ὁλκὴν δραχμὰς HCT, ὁ ἕνατος καὶ δέκατος (*IG* XI 161B, 107ff., 113–14). Alternatively, one finds letter names used (τὸ ἄλφα, τὸ βῆτα, etc.) (*IG* XI, 205). A. T. Linders (*OAth* 19 [1992]: 69–73; cf. *SymbOslo* 67 [1992]: 37–40 [*SEG* 42.1768]) argues that the Delian temple accounts were meant not as instruments of efficient accounting but rather as instruments to control the sacred overseers (*hieropoioi*); cf. J. Bousquet, *Les Comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle,* IDelph 2 (Paris, 1989) (*SEG* 39.460).

76. Alison Burford, "The Purpose of Inscribed Building Accounts," in *CongrEpigr* V, 71–76, esp. 75.

77. E.g., *SEG* 36.465. For *neopoioi* see *SEG* 36.1028; for *hieropoioi, SEG* 32.216.

78. E.g., *IG* II² 1999 + 2003 + 2339 (*SEG* 33.153); *SEG* 32.172.

79. Θεωροί: see *IG* XII/8, 273–80, 283, 285; *SEG* 29.763–64; A. J. Graham, "On the Great List of *Theori* at Thasos," *AncW* 5 (1982): 103–21 (*SEG* 31.755); *SEG* 30.1821.

80. E.g., *IG* II² 1368, 1786 (*Agora* XV, 382), 1787 (*Agora* XV, 394); *SEG* 28.161–89, 34.136. In the Roman period, catalogues of *prytaneis* were grouped according to deme and introduced with the formula ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τοῦ δεῖνος οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς δεῖνος φυλῆς τιμήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀεισίτους ἀνέγραψαν (*CIG* 184, 190, 192).

81. Lists of ephebes were set up in the gymnasia beginning with the formula ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἄρχοντος . . . κοσμητεύοντος . . . παιδοτριβοῦντος . . . τοῦ δεῖνος κοσμητεύοντος . . . ἐπὶ γυμνασιάρχου τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ ὑπογυμνασίαρχου τοῦ δεῖνος. See M. B. Hatzopoulos in *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Temenides,* vol. 1, *Athnémonte-Kalindoia,* ed. Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, Meletêmata 11 (Athens: Kentron Hellenikes kai Romaikes Archaiotetos, 1992), 87–94; Robert, *Hellenica,* XI–XII, 369–80; *SEG* 42.580–83, 28.192–200, 29.152, 33.158, 34.153, 36.797–99, 38.675–86, 39.184–89, 40.1568, 42.108. On foreigners in Ephebic lists see M.-F. Baslez, "Citoyens et non-citoyens dans l'Athènes impériale au Ier et au IIe siècles de notre ère," in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium,* ed. Susan Walker and Averil Cameron, BICS Suppl 55 (London: University of London, 1989), 17–36 (*SEG* 39.315); *SEG* 38.278.

Building accounts constitute an important subsection of the accounts category. It was once thought that such accounts served as checks on administrative competence and as guides for subsequent building projects. However, Alison Burford has noted how the production of these accounts varied dramatically over time, even in the same location. Moreover, on close inspection, it is clear that these accounts were often not carefully produced or particularly accurate. Burford concludes that building accounts were inscribed to ensure "the preservation of as many names as possible of those who had contributed effort and interest to the work, whether as financial administrators, building commissioners, entrepreneurs, or craftsmen."[76] Considered in this light, building accounts could actually be treated as a form of honorific inscription.

The category known as catalogues (*catalogi*) consists largely of lists of names, such as names of eponymous magistrates, magistrates,[77] councillors,[78] archons (e.g., *SEG* 29.289), *theoroi* (§ 9.03, 13.05),[79] *prytaneis* (§ 6.01, 13.02, 4, 7, 8),[80] ephebes,[81]

priests and priestesses,[82] *theorodokoi* (§ 9.03),[83] demes (*SEG* 36.230), phratry members,[84] benefactors and donors,[85] taxpayers (*SEG* 37.333), officials commended for service,[86] and soldiers killed in battle.[87] Lists of the victors of prizes at the agonistic and gymnastic competitions were set up in public places.[88] Membership lists of initiates, worshipers,[89] and members of voluntary religious associations[90] have also come down to us; for example, an inscription from a Dionysiac association discovered in the Roman Campagna (ca. A.D. 150) lists the names of more than four hundred *mystai* who belonged to this Dionysiac association and contributed toward the cost of erecting the statue to one of its priestesses.[91] Some lists are followed by a blank space to allow for the addition of more names as new donations were made.

7.14 Inscriptions on Portable Objects

This broad category comprises all inscribed objects that are easily portable, such as ostraca, vases, amphorae,[92] collyria,[93] lamps, statuettes, jewelry, gems,[94]

82. For lists of annual priesthoods at Seleucia in Pieria under Seleucus IV see *IGLSyria* III/2, 1184; *OGI* 245. See also *SEG* 32.204; 35.1361, 1521; 36.748; 37.1294; 42.1162; 43.926. For a list of priestesses see *SEG* 38.1878.

83. θεωροδόκοι: see *SEG* 30.494; 36.337, 500; 37.278; 38.413; 39.341, 468; 42.271.

84. See Charles W. Hedrick Jr., "The Phratry from Paiania," *CQ* 39 (1989): 126–35 (*SEG* 39.193).

85. E.g., for a list of donors for a Jewish community soup kitchen see *IAphrodJud;* cf. *SEG* 32.218, 37.970, 43.700. For a list of contributors to the Dionysia in Iasos see *Iasos* 160–67 (*SEG* 43.716).

86. E.g., *SEG* 15.104; cf. Guarducci, *EG,* 2.323–416.

87. E.g., *CIG* 165. These lists were divided into military units and specified rank and place of war; cf. military catalogues (*SEG* 30.448–52; 36.407; 37.385; 38.1876; 42.410, 414, 429).

88. See *IG* II² 2311–28. See *SEG* 28.1246; 29.452; 35.930; 36.469–76, 497, 499; 37.129; 38.162; 39.190; 41.114–18, 481. See Ludwig Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste,* Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 56 (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1977). Cf. Irene Ringwood, *Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals Chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence: Part 1, Non-Attic Mainland and Adjacent Islands, except Euboia,* Columbia University Dissertation (Poughkeepsie, NY, 1927); E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Chicago: Ares, 1987).

89. See W. V. Harris, "An Inscription Recording a Proconsul's Visit to Samothrace," *AJP* 113 (1992): 71–79. For a list of *mystai* see *SEG* 35.964–65; for initiates, *SEG* 42.780; for worshipers of Zeus Karaios, *SEG* 32.454. The membership list of the *thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos was divided into two main categories, ἀδελφοί and εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί (foster brothers) (see J. Ustinova, *HR* 31 [1991/92]: 150–80; *SEG* 28.1648, 42.726).

90. E.g., *IG* II² 1334, 2343–61. See *SEG* 32.503 (cf. 36.463), 700; 33.161; 34.1095; 35.131; 39.192; 43.59–60. See Robert, *Hellenica,* VI, 9–13.

91. *IGUR* I, 160.

92. See J.-Y. Empereur and Y. Garlan, "Bulletin Archéologique: Amphores et timbres amphoriques 1980–1986," *REG* 100 (1987): 58–109 (bibliography); A. Marangou-Lerat, *Le vin et les amphores de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale,* Études cretoises 30 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1996). On onomastics on amphora handles see O. Masson in *Recherches sur les amphores grecques: Actes du colloque international organisé par le centre national de la recherche scientifique, l'Université de Rennes II et l'École française d'Athènes (Athènes, 10–12 Septembre 1984),* ed. J.-Y. Empereur and Y. Galan, BCH Suppl 13 (Athens: École française d'Athènes; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1986), 37–44 (*SEG* 36.1552); G. R. Tsetskhladze, "Organization of Ceramic Production in Colchis during the Hellenistic Period," *Eirene* 27 (1990): 93–102 (*SEG* 40.1317). See also *SEG* 28.627, 745, 1537, 1603; 29.713, 792, 923; 32.787, 1454, 1629; 34.743, 746, 753, 956, 1425; 35.861, 891, 963; 36.670, 1493; 37.628, 680, 697, 764; 38.740, 743, 778, 860; 39.645, 673–74, 687, 913, 1108; 40.279–80, 607, 640, 1176, 1351, 1483; 42.702, 703 bis, 754, 781, 786, 1508–14, 1735; 43.108–9, 501, 569, 876, 909, 1007, 1109.

93. See, e.g., R. Boyer et al. "Découverte de la tombe d'un oculiste à Lyon (fin du IIe s. après J.-C.): Instruments et coffret avec collynes," *Gallia* 47 (1990): 215–49 (*SEG* 40.912).

94. See the listings on gems in this chapter's supplementary bibliography. For a gemstone depicting a naked Christ on a cross see Cecil Smith, "The Crucifixion on a Greek Gem," *BSA* 3 (1896–97): 201–6; *IGLRomania* 53. Imprecations of a general nature were engraved on gems and carried as talismans to ward off sickness and misfortune (see, e.g., B. Haussoullier, "Inscriptions de Crète," *BCH* 9 [1885]: 1–28, esp. 25–26, no. 23).

95. See R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae, Part I, Published Texts of Known Provenance,* Papyrologica Coloniensia 22, no. 1 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994); C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian,* University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 49 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950) (cf. *SEG* 31.1399); E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen des Instituts für Altertumskunde des Universtät zu Köln,* Papyrologica Colonensia 20 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992); Armand Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes,* Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des médailles et antiques (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1964); Roy Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion,* ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 107–37; Guarducci, *EG,* 4.271–83; Reinhard Pummer, "Samaritan Amulets from the Roman-Byzantine Period and Their Wearers," *RBibl* 94 (1987): 251–63 (*SEG* 37.1835). See also *SEG* 30.1794; 42.1582, 1804; 43.615, 1200, 1300–1302.

96. See D. O. A. Klose, *JNG* 34 (1984): 63–76, nos. 1–61 (*SEG* 39.1586).

97. See Émile Puech, "Inscriptions funéraires palestiniennes: Tombeau de Jason et ossuaires," *RBibl* 90 (1983): 481–533, esp. 499–533, nos. 1–41 (*SEG* 33.1278–93); Tal Ilan, "New Ossuary Inscriptions from Jerusalem," *SCI* 11 (1991/92): 149–59, nos. 1–4 (*SEG* 41.1558–61).

98. E.g., *SEG* 36.1458.

99. See F. Ferrandini Troisi, "'Pesi da Telaio' Segni e Interpretazioni," *MGR* 10 (1986): 91–114 (*SEG* 36.1538). See also *SEG* 38.269; 39.604, 1039.

100. See, e.g., S. B. Matheson, *Ancient Glass in the Yale University Art Gallery* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1980) (*SEG* 32.1625); *SEG* 42.1766, 43.1228.

101. *SEG* 28.717; 29.1788; 30.327, 372; 31.832; 32.619, 916; 35.756; 37.765; 36.1611; 39.623, 1525; 40.275, 1318, 1591, 1731; 41.820; 42.486, 504, 526.

102. *SEG* 28.1596, 34.999. For a votive anchor see *SEG* 33.260–61.

103. See Marie-Christine Hellmann, "Collection Froehner: Balles de fronde grecques," *BCH* 106 (1982): 75–87 (*SEG* 32.1691). See also *SEG* 30.1569, 1606; 31.1602–23. For a lead slingshot see *SEG* 42.428, 1417.

104. See Brigette Borell, *Statuetten, Gefässe und andere Gegenstände aus Metall,* Katalog der

amulets,[95] terracotta seals,[96] ossuaries,[97] bones,[98] weights and measures, loom weights,[99] glassware,[100] tesserae, handbells, spoons, bricks, tiles,[101] anchors,[102] sling bullets,[103] and javelin heads.[104]

Ostraca are inscriptions engraved with a sharp point or ink on potsherds (fragments of broken pottery). They have been found in large quantities, particularly in Egypt.[105] Ostraca were used as writing material because broken pottery was attained easily and at no cost. They were often inscribed with administrative texts, such as pay receipts, tax documents, contracts, and accounts, as well as with private letters, magical and astrological texts, and even literary texts. The practice of "ostracizing" dangerous politicians, attested in Megara and Kyrene (not to mention classical Athens), received its name from such ostraca, the broken pieces of pottery employed in the casting of votes.[106]

Epigraphy also includes texts that are scratched or impressed (or sometimes painted in ink)[107] on newly made pottery, such as lamps,[108] vases, and jars, prior to firing.[109] Many vase inscriptions record the manufacturer and painter of a vase (i.e., ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίησεν, ὁ δεῖνα ἔγραψεν; see § 7.18).[110] Vases might also record the owner of the vase (τοῦ δεῖνος εἰμί), the subject or persons represented on the vase (ὁ δεῖνα καλός), captions to illustrations of mythical scenes, or the name of the divinity to whom the object was dedicated. Small flasks for such things as eye lotion, perfume, and glue were often inscribed with labels describing their contents.

Stamps were impressed into amphorae, storage jars,[111] lamps, and bricks by means of long-handled metal punches or signet rings. The legal capacity of an amphora could be guaranteed by stamping its neck or handle with the name of local magistrates. Judging by the frequent orthographical errors, it would appear that these names were usually stamped with movable type.

Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg 3, no. 1 (Mainz, 1989), nos. 38, 46, 48–49, 53–54, 56 (*SEG* 39.1739–45).

105. See Ulrich Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien: Ein Beitrag zur Antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Adolf von Hakkert, 1899); John G. Tait and Claire Préaux, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,* 3 vols., Egyptian Exploration Society (London: Cambridge University Press, 1930–64), esp. the index in vol. 3 by Jean Bingen and Martin Wittek; Al. N. Oikonomides, *Inscriptiones Atticae: Supplementum Inscriptionum Atticarum,* 5 vols. (Chicago: Ares, 1976); *SEG* 42.32.

106. For Megara see *SEG* 37.371; for Kyrene, L. Bacchielli, *Libya Antiqua,* n.s., 1 (1995): 162 (pl. LXXVIb); for Athens, *Agora* XXV.

107. For paint see *SEG* 30.807, 33.264; for ink, *SEG* 30.1663.

108. *Lucernae* often record the name of the owner and maker; see the listings for lamps in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

109. See, e.g., Terence B. Mitford, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin: The Inscribed Pottery* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980).

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Amphorae could also be stamped with single letters or symbols, such as anchors, double hatchets, masks, tridents, dolphins, plants, and flowers.[112] Bricks were also stamped, especially in the Byzantine period, thereby dating them according to the reign and indiction of the emperor or with the names of military, civil, or ecclesiastical officials.[113]

Greek weights (*pondera*) of stone, lead, bronze, and terracotta were usually inscribed, though sometimes with only one or two letters or a monogram.[114] Others carry full inscriptions specifying such information as the name of the town, the name of the *agoranomos,* the date (according to the eponymous magistrate), the nature of the weight, various acclamations, or the term δημόσιον (belonging to the state), abbreviated in various ways.

Also included in this category are the many varieties of tesserae that were used in connection with hospitality, social aid, entertainment, gaming, and military operations.[115] Tesserae were made of a variety of materials, such as ivory,[116] bone,[117] bronze, clay,[118] or close-cut wood. Lead tesserae were struck in a circular form carrying symbols, monograms, and abbreviated words.[119] The inscriptions on some tesserae combine an abbreviated personal name with its corresponding symbol (e.g., Ἀσ(τακός) with a picture of a crayfish, the term Ἀλ(έκτωρ) with a picture of a cock).

112. See A. W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster and Guildford: Biddles, 1979).

113. E.g., *SEG* 34.1009, 36.921, 37.365, 43.933.

114. See, e.g., A. Kushnir-Stein, "An Inscribed Lead Weight from Ashdod: A Reconsideration," *ZPE* 105 (1995): 81–84; K. Hitzl, "Antike Gewichte im Tübinger Archäologischen Institut," *AA* (1992): 243–57. See also *SEG* 31.154, 967, 975, 1410; 35.673; 36.332, 1292, 1339–40; 38.1646–47; 42.221–22; 43.1057.

115. A *tessera hospitalis* (σύμβολον) was a small die given by a host to his guest on departure, at which time it was broken into two halves, with each party retaining one half. If either they or their descendants met again, these tokens would provide a means of recognition for the renewal of the family obligations of hospitality. *Tessera frumentaria* and *nummaria* are engraved voucher tokens given by magistrates to the poor on special occasions, to be exchanged for bread, wheat, wine, oil, or money, according to the inscription. A *tessera theatralis* is an admission ticket to a theater and other places of public entertainment. *Contorniates* were bronze discs resembling coins. A *tessera militaris* (σύνθημα) is a small wooden tablet on which was inscribed a watchword; it was given to soldiers by their officers to provide a means whereby they might distinguish between friend and foe (cf. Guarducci, *EG,* 2.444–58).

116. See. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "Alexandrica: Studies on Roman Game Counters III," *Chiron* 6 (1976): 205–39.

117. See L. Marangou, *Bone Carvings from Egypt,* vol. 1, *Graeco-Roman Period* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1976), 133–34.

118. E.g., *SEG* 30.114, 36.232, 37.342.

119. See M. Mitchiner, "Rome: Imperial Portrait Tesserae from the City of Rome and Imperial Tax Tokens from the Province of Egypt," *NC* 144 (1984): 95–114; *SEG* 42.838.

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7.15 Quarry and Masons' Marks

When stones were hewn from a quarry, various letters and numbers were cut into them or inscribed on lead seals and attached to them.[120] Such inscriptions range from a full documentation of the quarry operation (e.g., *IG* XIV, 2421, 1; *CIL* VIII, 14560) to a single name or serial number. Quarry blocks generally record, in summary form and in various combinations, serial numbers, consular dates, the sector of the quarry from which a stone was hewn or squared off, and the names of quarry officials and inspectors.[121]

From the early days of the empire, there was a tendency for the more important quarries to pass under imperial control.[122] Latin was the official language in the quarries of the eastern provinces that were imperially owned. However, any individual or city could operate its own quarry. These smaller quarries—using Greek instead of Latin—tended to remain in private hands and to serve local markets.

Quarry marks should be distinguished from masons' marks, the latter serving as instructions for the dressing of the marble into its final architectural form and for its assembly into the overall structure.[123] Masons' marks display a great variation in size, depth, and style of lettering. Many record what seem to be the names (sometimes abbreviated) of the masons who performed the final carving.[124]

7.16 Inscriptions in Metal

Inscriptions were sometimes engraved on metal. The scant number of surviving Greek specimens is a result of both their destruction (as subsequent generations melted the metal down for reuse) and the limited use of metal due to the much greater cost of this material.[125] The utilization of gold and silver seems to have been reserved for luxury items, such as jewelry, small vases, and gold and silver fillet;[126] leaves of gold or silver were also inscribed and used as amulets.

120. See § 0.05.

121. See L. Bruzza, "Iscrizioni di marmi grezzi," in *AdI* 42 (1870): 106–204; J. Svennung, "Numerierung von Fabrikaten und anderen Gegenständen im römischen Altertum," *Arctos* 2 (1958): 164–86; Marc Waelkens, Norman Herz, and Luc Moens, eds., *Ancient Stones—Quarrying, Trade, and Provenance: Interdisciplinary Studies on Stones and Stone Technology in Europe and the Near East from the Prehistoric to the Early Christian Period,* Acta archaeologica Louvaniensia Monographiae 4 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1992); T. Koželj, A. Muller, and J.-P. Sodini, "Des mines d'or à Thasos," *BCH* 106 (1982): 409–17 (Thasos). On technical terms used in building accounts to describe the squaring of stone blocks see A. Dworakowska, *Archeologia* (Warsaw) 31 (1981): 11–18. On imperial quarries in Egypt see Michael J. Klein, *Untersuchungen zu den kaiserlichen Steinbrüchen an Mons Porphyrites und Mons Claudianus in der östlichen Wüste Ägyptens* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1988) (*SEG* 40.1546). On mason marks on blocks in fortresses see H. Tréziny in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine: Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Rome 2–4 décembre 1980,* Collection de l'École Française de Rome 66 (Paris: Le Centre; Rome: L'École française de Rome, 1983), 108 n. 11, 111–13 (*SEG* 33.758); cf. *SEG* 30.1397, 42.394.

122. See J. C. Fant, *Cavum Antrum Phrygiae: The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia,* BAR International Series 482 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989); Marc Waelkens, "From a Phrygian Quarry: The Provenance of the Statues of the Dacian Prisoners in Trajan's Forum at Rome," *AJA* 89 (1985): 641–53 (*SEG* 35.1364); T. Koželj in *Roman Marble Quarrying and Trade: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, December 1986,* BAR International Series 453 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), 8–9 (*SEG* 38.1952); Angelina Dworakowska, *Quarries in Roman Provinces,* trans. Jerzy Bachrach (Wrocław: Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich, 1983) (*SEG* 35.1776); *SEG* 26.1384, 30.1476, 33.1217, 35.1364, 36.1194, 39.1373; K. Strobel, "Zur Dislozierung der römischen Legionen in Pannonien zwischen 89 und 118 n. Chr.," *Tyche* 3 (1988): 193–222, esp. 194–95 (Egypt) (*SEG* 38.1673); Fiehn, "Steinbruch," *RE* 3A (1929): 2242–93; J. Ward Perkins, "Tripolitania and the Marble Trade," *JRS* 41 (1951): 89–104. Phrygian marble (*marmor Synnadieum*) was taken from quarries at Dokimeion (Docimium) in the Upper Tembris Valley, which is thirty-six miles north of Synnada, the latter serving as the administrative center and collection point. See M. Waelkens, *Dokimeion: Die Werkstatt der repräsentativen kleinasiastischen Sarkophage—Chronologie und Typologie ihrer Produktion,* Archäologische Forschungen, 11 (Berlin: Mann, 1982); J. M. Reynolds and J. Ward Perkins, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1952), no. 794; *MAMA* IV, 6–8. Dated blocks in Phyrgian quarries range from the time of Nero (*CIL* III, 7005) to that of Marcus Aurelius (*CIL* III, 7032). Cf. W. M. Ramsay, "Asia Minor, 1924: V. Monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley," *JRS* 18 (1928): 21–40, esp. 22–23, no. 233; *CIL* III, Suppl. part II, 12227–9; W. M. Calder, "Julia-Ipsus and Augustopolis," *JRS* 2 (1912): 237–266, esp. 251–52, nos. 5–6.

123. See William B. Dinsmoor Jr. "Anchoring Two Floating Temples," *Hesperia* 51 (1982): 410–52. On marble workers' marks see J.-P. Sodini in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge,* ed. Xavier Barral i Altet, 3 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1986–90), 2:503–18 (*SEG* 37.1788); F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes,* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1969–89), 2:206–30. Cf. Vallois, *Les portiques au sud du hiéron,* 63–73 (alphabetic decimal system); J. Ward Perkins, "Tripolitania," 93–94 (cf. figs. 7–8 for Greek mason's marks).

124. See Ward Perkins, "Tripolitania," 94.

125. See, e.g., Karin Braun, "Die Dipylon-Brunnen B1: Die Funde," *AM* 85 (1970): 129–268, esp. 197–269.

126. On the use of gold and silver by wealthy Athenians see Michael Vickers, "Golden Greece: Relative Values, Minae, and Temple Inventories," *AJA* 94 (1990): 613–25, esp. 616–17. On "Orphic" *lamellae* see Maurizio Giangiulio, "Le laminette auree nella cultura religiosa della Calabria greca: Continuità e innovazione," in *Calabria antica,* vol. 2 (Reggio Calabria, 1994), 8–102; Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, *Le lamine d'oro 'orfiche'* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1993); F. Graf, "Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions," in *Masks of Dionysus,* ed. Thomas H. Carpenter and Christopher Faraone (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 240–58. For a phylactery on a gold tablet see *SEG* 35.1051; for a silver drinking cup, *SEG* 34.1036; for a gold ring with a horoscope, *SEG* 30.1795; for "Orphic" gold leaves, *SEG* 42.530; for monograms on gold rings, *SEG* 42.705.

Extant bronze specimens are less numerous in the Greek than in the Roman world, since Greece lacked the abundant copper mines available to the Romans.[127] For this reason, only the Greeks of western Greece and Italy are known to have used bronze routinely. Bronze was used for solemn documents, such as laws, treaties, votive inscriptions, and honorific decrees.[128]

Ancient writers refer to bronze stelae (στῆλαι χαλκαί), exceptional examples of which have been found at Olympia.[129] A remarkable bronze inscription from Elaea near Cyme (II B.C.) concerns the publication of a treaty arrangement with Rome agreed on in 129 B.C.[130] This decree records the response of one Greek city to the Roman's request to publish the treaty on bronze.[131]

Letters made of bronze were inset into monumental inscriptions (*inscriptiones caelatae*), especially on the facades of great edifices and on the epistyles of temples, arches, and rostra. These letters came equipped with hooks for their insertion into specially bored holes in the stone.[132] In most cases, the letters have long since disappeared, but traces of the holes often remain in the stones. For example, an honorific inscription for Nero on the east architrave of the Parthenon (A.D. 61/62) is equipped with attachment holes.[133]

Sometimes, gold or silver was overlaid on bronze letters, a process known as καταχρυσοῦν. In Attaleia, a dozen such gilded bronze letters were discovered at the foot of the Gate of Hadrian.[134] The foundry molds used to produce

127. Examples include a gilded bronze statue with inscription in Athens (303/2 B.C.; Olga Palagia, "A Colossal Statue of a Personification from the Agora of Athens," *Hesperia* 51 (1982): 99–113, esp. 111–12), bronze dedications (I B.C.; *SEG* 32: 391, 399), and a bronze shield (*SEG* 43.377).

128. See Callie Williamson, "Monuments of Bronze: Roman Legal Documents on Bronze Tablets," *ClAnt* 6 (1987): 160–83, esp. 171 n. 33, 180–82; Robert, *Hellenica,* III, 170–72; Robert, *Hellenica,* VII, 194–96.

129. Among the latest examples (*IOlympia* V, nos. 36–43) is a well-preserved proxeny decree dating III–II B.C. (no. 39 [= *GDI* I, 1172]). See W. Gauer, *Die Bronzegefässe von Olympia,* Olympische Forschungen 20/1 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1991). Cf. *SEG* 42.382; Guarducci, *EG,* 2.539ff.

130. *SIG*³ 694, LL. 23–29; another excellent bronze specimen recalls the dedication of a *temenos* to Osiris by Ptolemy Euergetes I and Queen Berenice (*CIG* 4694).

131. See C. Williamson, "Monuments of Bronze: Roman Legal Documents on Bronze Tablets," *ClAnt* 6 (1987): 160–83, esp. 181.

132. See the excellent collections in the Archaeological Museum at Tarracina and the National Museum at Budapest.

133. See Kevin K. Carroll, *The Parthenon Inscription,* GRBM 9 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982) (= *IG* II² 3277).

134. See Lanckoroński 1.161, no. 5; cf. G. Alföldy, "Augustus und die Inschriften," *Gymnasium* 98 (1991): 289–324.

these letters were in use for lengthy periods of time.[135] As a result, the evolution of the paleography of bronze letters is much slower than that of stone inscriptions, with archaic forms tending to survive longer.

Inscriptions in iron are rare because this metal was subject to rusting, quickly destroying the vestiges of any inscription. Lead, in contrast, resists oxidation and was inexpensive and easy to cut and engrave.[136] For example, inscriptions are found on lead water pipes and lead missiles.

Lead was also used for oracles, magical incantations, votives, and especially curse tablets (κατάδεσμοι/καταδέσεις, *defixiones/devotiones*).[137] Curse tablets, also known as *defixiones,* were normally inscribed, small, thin sheets of lead. They were often written in cursive script or in relief, the letters being impressed from the reverse side. Curse tablets were intended to influence, through supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons, against their will. They were usually buried in the grave of a "person untimely dead" (ἄωρος) or in the chthonic sanctuaries or placed in wells.[138]

7.17 Graffiti

The term *graffiti* is the plural form of the Italian word *graffito,* meaning "a scratched thing." It comprises all manner of inscriptions, drawings, and scrawls, written on walls, pillars, tombs, and doorposts. Graffiti are usually written in cursive script, either scratched into the surface with a sharp instrument (*stilus*) or written in charcoal, paint, or chalk.

As one would expect, graffiti subject matter varies widely, including bawdy jokes, messages to lovers, popular catchwords, insults to enemies, verses of un-

135. For inscribed bronze molds see *SEG* 31.879, 966; 37.624.

136. Pliny (*Natural History* 13.11) refers to *plumbea volumina* as an early writing material. On lead tablets see J. H. Kroll, "An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry," *Hesperia* 46 (1977): 83–146; Horsley, *NewDocs* 4.134–35. For a lead curse tablet see R. A. Billows, *ClAnt* 8 (1989): 173–205 (*SEG* 39.293). For a lead tablet addressed to the oracular shrine at Dodona see *SIG*³ 1163; H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), 266, no. 11; *SEG* 40.1595–96; cf. Ned Nabers, "Ten Lead Tabellae from Morgantina," *AJA* 83 (1979): 463–64 (*SEG* 29.927–35); Guarducci, *EG,* 4.85–86 (fig. 31); *SEG* 38.300. For lead urns see *SEG* 37.655–60; for a lead token, *SEG* 42.219; for lead tablets, *SEG* 42.794, 43.488.

137. E.g., *SEG* 30.325–26, 353; 34.952–53; 35.211–27; 37.217–24, 268, 389, 673, 681; 43.318–31.

138. See D. R. Jordan, "A Survey of Greek *Defixiones* Not Included in the Special Corpora," *GRBS* 26 (1985): 151–97; Cristopher A. Faraone, "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion,* ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3–32 (cf. *SEG* 41.1831).

known poets, and allusions to local events.[139] They are often the work of people with time on their hands, such as tourists, slaves, and schoolboys. Graffiti provide invaluable information concerning the popular language, thoughts, ideas, and religious beliefs of common people. For example, a well-known inscription discovered in the subterranean chambers of the Roman Palatine Hill ridicules one Alexamenos, who is represented as worshiping a crucified figure represented with the head of an ass: Ἀλε|ξάμενος | σέβετε (= -εται) θεόν [Alexamenos worships his god]. The figure is probably a mock representation of Christ or of Anubis, the jackal-headed god of Egypt (III A.D.).[140]

7.18 Artists' Signatures

Many funerary, dedicatory, and honorific monuments and many ceramic works bear the signatures of the artisans who created them (*signaturae artificum*).[141] Signatures connected with sculpture usually appear on the anterior face of the base, under the main inscription, though they may also appear on the base's side,[142] on its horizontal surface,[143] in the fluting of a column serving as a base,[144] or even on the statue itself.[145] In later periods, signatures were also engraved on the plinth.[146]

The customary verb for artists signatures is ποιεῖν. Earlier inscriptions preferred the aorist form (ἐποίησε), while the use of the imperfect form (ἐποίει) increased gradually until it predominated in the imperial period. The basic formula for an artist's inscriptions is ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος + ethnic/patronymic/demotic + ἐποίησε/ἐποίει. There are many variations of this formulae (e.g., ἔργον τοῦ δεῖνος), even by the same artist; the patronymic or ethnic may be omitted, the same artist may use ἐποίησε on one work of art and ἐπόησε on another, and the position of the verb may change.

More than five hundred engraved signatures have been collected, from

139. See the listings for graffiti in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

140. See George M. A. Hanfmann, "The Crucified Donkey Man: Achaios and Jesus," in *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, ed. Günter Kopcke and Mary B. Moore (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1979), 205–7 (pl. 55.1–2); Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.137. Cf. a metrical graffito describing the saving power of Pan: see E. Bernard, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs: Les inscriptions grecques* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), no. 8 (late III B.C.?); cf. Horsley, *NewDocs* 4.113.

141. See the listing on artists' signatures in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

142. E.g., *IBildauer*, nos. 11–12, 16, 329, 333.

143. E.g., *IBildauer*, nos. 33, 37, 65, 91.

144. E.g., *IBildauer*, nos. 5–6, 18, 25.

145. E.g., *IBildauer*, nos. 329, 333.

146. E.g., *IBildauer*, nos. 292–93, 331.

artists of many nationalities, many of whom are otherwise unknown. In Attica, the artist's name frequently appears without patronymic, ethnic, or demotic, making it impossible to determine whether the artist is local or a foreigner. Outside Attica, it is much less common to find an unqualified name. If no ethnic is given, the presumption is that the artist was probably local. Sometimes the teacher of the artist is also mentioned, especially if the teacher had a well-known reputation, as in Στέφανος Πασιτέλους μαθητὴς ἐποίει [Stephanos, student of Pasiteles, made this].[147]

In the Graeco-Roman period, it is not uncommon to find two names, indicating that the work was made in collaboration (see, e.g., *IBildauer*, no. 243). Bronze works sometimes record not only the name of the artist (ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίησε) but also the name of the craftsman who prepared the bronze (ὁ δεῖνα ἐχαλκούργησε).[148] If a sculpture has been restored, the restorer's name may also be given, as in Ἀρίστανδρος Σκόπα Πάριος ἐπεσκεύασεν [Aristandros, son of Skopas, from Paros, restored [this]] (*IBildauer*, no. 287; Delos).

The interpretation of artists' signatures is sometimes complicated by the fact that statues were copied, along with the original inscription and artist's signature.[149] There are also many instances in which statue bases were reused for the erection of new statues, with the original artist's signature remaining on the base.[150] A case in point is the statue base for the goddess Roma found in one of the shrines of the Establishment of the Poseidoniastai on Delos. The base bears the incomplete name of the sculptor, [Μένανδρος] Μέλανος Ἀθηναῖος [[Menandros] son of Melas the Athenian made [this statue]] (*IDelos* 1778), now restored on the basis of other inscriptions.[151] According to Hugo Meyer, the name *Menandros* refers to the original use of the block for a

147. *IBildauer*, no. 374; cf. no. 375 (the corresponding signature of a student of Stephanos). According to Günter Klaffenbach, if an artist names his father, he would also have been his teacher. Many persons named as fathers of artists are known to have been artists themselves; artists often handed down their craft to their sons. Klaffenbach might be correct in the majority of cases, but it must also be born in mind that students had an almost filial respect for their teachers, such that a teacher's name might occasionally follow in the genitive without qualification.

148. See Mario Segre, "Tituli Camirenses," *Annuario* 27–29 (1949–51): 141–276, esp. 228, no. 92.

149. See *IBildauer*, pp. 310–14.

150. E.g., *IG* II² 4144. Sometimes the reverse situation is found, with new inscriptions being put under old statues: e.g., inscriptions at Epidauros (*IG* IV²/1, 306) and Tegea (*IG* V/2, 77). Dio Chrysostomos (*Orat.* 31) sharply criticized the Rhodians' reuse of old sculpture in this way. In Lindos, old statues (ἀνδριάντες) were put on sale by the state during a period of financial crisis; however, in this instance, only uninscribed (ἀνεπίγραφοι) statues were put on sale (*ILindos* 419, LL. 30–34 [A.D. 22]).

151. Cf. *IDelos* VII, 2342, LL. 5–6, which preserves the name of the sculptor intact; *IDelos* VII, 2325, L. 2.

statue other than the Roma statue,[152] while Philippe Bruneau argues that the signature pertains to the Roma statue.[153] Thus, the interpretation of artists' signatures can be quite complex.

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152. H. Meyer, "Zur Chronologie des Poseidoniastenhauses in Delos," *AM* 103 (1988): 203–20, esp. 207–8. Meyer attempted to date the original usage of the block (*IDelos* 1778) by cross-references to the sculptor's name on *IDelos* 2342. This latter inscription can be dated precisely to 110/109 B.C.; cf. Charles Picard, "Fouilles de Délos (1910): Observations sur la société des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos et sur son histoire," *BCH* 44 (1920): 276.

153. Philippe Bruneau, "Deliaca (IX): 67. Encore le sanctuaire et les cultes des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos," *BCH* 115 (1991): 379–86, esp. 384–85; cf. B. H. McLean, "The Place of Cult in Voluntary Associations and Christian Churches on Delos," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World,* ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Steven Wilson (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 186–225. Bruneau's case has been strengthened by Jean Marcadé's dating of Menandros's signature on the Roma base to mid-II B.C. on the basis of paleography (*ISculpt* 2.67–68).

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8

Decrees

The minutes (ἀναγραφή) of the official proceedings of the council and the assembly, including the passage of decrees, were recorded on papyrus or wooden tablets and deposited in the city archives (see § 0.07). The contents of some of these minutes were publicized by engraving them on stelae and erecting them in public places.

It was not unusual to have several copies of the same document engraved and erected in different locations.[1] Indeed, many decrees specify the precise number of inscriptions to be made and their places of exhibition. A decree from Stratonikeia stipulates that it should be engraved on the wall of the pronaos of the Sarapieion and on a stele for the exedra of the bouleuterion (council chamber) and, finally, that an excerpt be engraved in the temple of Hekate (*CIG* 2715). Sanctuaries and the walls and antae of temples were popular locations because this was seen as a way of placing the decisions under the protection of the gods.[2] The Athenian acropolis was covered with such stelae, its surface still preserving traces of some of the recessed fittings that held them in place.

Important treaties between states were set up not only in the relevant cities but also in the foremost sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea. Other public buildings and spaces were also used, such as the theater, odeum, prytaneion (town hall), bouleuterion, and agora. For example, the wall of the portico of the agora in Magnesia on the Maeander was

1. For a document on the acropolis and in Myrina see *CIG* 2155; for one in three locations, *CIG* 118.

2. E.g., for Delphi see *CIG* 2339, 2331, 2332; for Megara, *CIG* 1052; for Olympia, *IOlympia,* p. 1ff.; for Priene, *CIG* 2905; for Ephesos, *IBM* III, 447; for walls and antae, *CIG* 2350, 2353, 2357, 2671, 2715, 3048, 3063.

covered with decrees from Greek cities from around the world acknowledging the feast of Artemis Leukophryene.[3]

Several categories of decrees appear for the first time in the Hellenistic period, such as *asylia decrees,* decrees honoring foreign judges, treaties (see § 8.12), and consolation decrees (see § 9.02). Asylia decrees were used to declare a temple or city to be "inviolable" (ἄσυλος). Various cities took this action to make themselves immune from war and from "raids at will" (σῦλαι) and sometimes to permit them to hold athletic games during times of military conflict. In other words, asylia decrees were a means of declaring political neutrality in wartime. These inscriptions were very common in the Hellenistic period from 260 B.C. to A.D. 22–23, ending when the Roman peace made such exemptions unnecessary.[4]

Widespread in the Hellenistic period are decrees honoring delegations of foreign judges to a city and describing the hospitality they were to receive during their stay.[5] Hellenistic cities, especially those on islands, would often request another city to dispatch "sent-for judges" (δικασταῖ μετάπεμπτοι) or a foreign tribunal (ξενικὸν δικαστήριον), usually numbering three to five judges, depending on the case. These judges would attempt to settle the dispute out of court and, failing conciliation (σύλλυσις), would pass a judgment.

8.01 The Passage of Decrees

A decree (ψήφισμα) was a legal enactment of the state.[6] In the system of state government, most decrees were enacted by the assembly, in coordination with

3. *IMagnMai,* p. xxx.

4. For bibliography on the subject of the language and legal forms in asylia decrees see K. J. Rigsby, *Asylia Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 13–14, 30–39.

5. See Ph. Gauthier, "Les rois hellénistiques et les juges étrangers: À propos de décrets de Kimôlos et de Laodicée de Lykos," *JSav* (1994): 165–95; L. Robert, "Les juges étrangers dans la cité grecque," in *Xenion: Festschrift für Pan. J. Zepos,* ed. E. von Caemmerer (Athens: Ch. Katsikalis, 1973), vol. 2: 765–82; Charles Crowther, "Iasos in the Second Century B.C.," Part 3, "Foreign Judges from Priene," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 40 (1995): 91–137; L. Robert, *Hellenica,* VII, 171–88.

6. See L. L. Sorge in *Symposion 1974: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Cologne: Bohlaw, 1979), 307–26. Mason (*Greek Terms,* 100, 126–31) discusses Greek terms used as technical terms for Roman legal legislation: e.g., *senatus consultum* (δόγμα συγκλήτου), *decretum decurionum/plebiscitum* (ψήφισμα), *rescriptum* (ἀντιγραφή or the less precise ἀπόκριμα, ἐπιστολή), *mandatum* (ἐντολή or the less precise πρόσταγμα, πρόσταξις), *edictum* (διάταγμα or the less precise ἐελτογράφημα, διάγραμμα, διαγραφή, δόγμα, ἔκθεμα, ἐπίταγμα, παράγγελμα, προγραφή, πρόγραμμα), *decretum* (ἐπίκριμα or the less precise διάταξις, κρῖμα), *constitutio* (διάταξις or the less precise οἰκονόμημα, ὑπόστασις, ψῆφος), *sententia* (ἀπόφασις or the less precise βούλημα, κρῖμα).

the council and sometimes the principal magisterial board of the state.[7] In Athens, no decree could be enacted by the assembly without first being brought before the council for consideration. Though this arrangement limited the sovereignty of the assembly in theory, in actual practice, the assembly could request that the council deliberate on particular issues.[8]

Only councillors (βουλευταί), principal magistrates, and boards of magistrates had the right to bring forward proposals for discussion in the council. Private citizens, envoys, messengers, and magistrates not otherwise empowered could not address the council by right; those who wished to do so were required to make a formal application for the right of approach to the council (πρόσοδος πρὸς τὴν βουλήν).

Before a formal motion could be put, a sequence of events had to be followed. First, someone had to introduce the proposal for general discussion, following which, another person moved that the proposal be put to a vote. If the vote carried, the proposal was put to a vote (ἐπιψηφίζειν) as a formal motion. In the Hellenistic period, only a councillor, principal magistrate, or board of magistrates could move the formal motion, regardless of who made the original proposal.[9] Thus, the formal mover of the motion was often not the person who originally introduced the proposal before the council.

As time passed, there was an increasing tendency for motions to be moved by boards of magistrates rather than by councillors. For example, in Pergamon, the *strategoi* invariably moved the motions, except in the very earliest of decrees. A. H. M. Jones remarks that "in some cities this practice is so uniform that it has been conjectured that only these bodies had the right of proposing motions."[10] Thus, the role of councillors sometimes became limited to that of introducing discussion of a motion (εἰσηγητής) and proposing that a motion be put to a vote (ἐπιψηφιστής).

7. On the role of these bodies see § 13.02, 13.04, 13.08. In IV Athens, only that which had been enacted by these bodies, as opposed to a special legislative commission, was termed a decree (see P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1972], 49).

8. See Rhodes, *Athenian Boule,* 52–53.

9. In Boiotia and neighboring cities, the introducer of a proposal also formally put the motion, as in Δημήτριος Μνασίλλου εἶπεν· προβεβουλευμένον εἶναι αὐτῶι πρὸς τὴ[ν βουλὴ] καὶ τὸν δῆμον (Michel 206; cf. 170–71, 204, 214–215, 222, 346). An example from Syros is ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι, Θεόκριτος Θεοκρίτου Ναξίτης ἔφοδον ἀπογραψάμενος ἐπὶ τὴμ βουλὴν εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ . . . [resolved by the council and people, Theocritos, son of Theocritos of Naksites, having made a written application to the council, moved: whereas . . .] (*IG* XII/5, 652; cf. 653).

10. A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 168. The notable exceptions to this rule are the free cities of Athens and Delphi.

Once a formal motion had been passed by the council, it became a preliminary resolution (προβούλευμα)[11] and was formally entered on the agenda (πρόγραμμα/προγραφή) of the next regular meeting of the assembly. In most cases, the council did not have the power to enact decrees without the ratification of the assembly (see § 8.07).

In Athens, each assembly meeting began with sacrifice and prayer, following which the presiding officers (*prytaneis* before 378/77 B.C., thereafter *proedroi*) would bring forward the published agenda, which listed the preliminary resolutions (προβουλεύματα) of the council. These were read out by the herald (κῆρυξ), and a vote (προχειροτονία) was taken to decide whether each preliminary resolution should be put to a vote immediately or discussed further and perhaps amended.[12]

Only after a preliminary resolution had received the approval of both the people (through the assembly) and the council did it become a decree (ψήφισμα). This two-tiered act of passage is communicated in the enactment formula ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (resolved by the council and the people [i.e., the assembly]). The secretary (γραμματεὺς) of the assembly was responsible for recording the minutes, which included the details of the passage of the decree, its final wording, and instructions concerning the deposit of these minutes in the public archives. These minutes were used as exemplars for the engraver (see § 0.07).

8.02 The Structure of Decrees

Most decrees share a similar, though variable, structure and standard formulae.[13] This structure normally exhibits some combination of the following seven features: invocation, dating formula, name of formal mover, preamble, enactment formula, citation formula, and instructions for engraving and public exhibition.

11. A προβούλευμα is either a definite motion of council to assembly (closed *probouleuma*) or an introduction of a matter for debate in assembly.

12. The standard work on procedures for passing decrees is Heinrich Swoboda, *Die griechischen Volksbeschlüsse: Epigraphische Untersuchungen* (Hildesheim: H. A. Gerstenberg, 1890); cf. C. G. Brandis, Ἐκκλησία, *RE* 5 (1905) 2163–200.

13. See Alan S. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees,* Mnemosyne Bibliotheca Classica Batava (Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1977); Rhodes, *Athenian Boule,* 64–68; Albert Billheimer, "Amendments in Athenian Decrees," *AJA* 42 (1938): 456–85; Wilhelm Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 3d ed., HbA 1.5 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1914), § 206–47; Salomon Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885), 336–58; Guarducci, *EG,* 2.5–57; Adolf Wilhelm, "XLI. *IG* II² 33 und *IG* II² 6," in *Attische Urkunden, V,* Vol. 5 SBWien 200.5 (Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1942), 3–86; Johannes Kirchner, "Sermo Publicus Decretorum Proprius," in *IG* II/4, 36–67.

8.03 Invocation: ΘΕΟΙ

Though the practice is by no means universal, many decrees begin with the word θεοί (or θεός) as a heading, often inscribed in well-spaced letters, sometimes on the stele's molding.[14] This cryptic dedicatory formula may indicate that the prescribed religious observances and prayers preceded the decision.[15] However, the later formula ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (for good fortune) may provide a clue to its meaning, suggesting the translation "(May the) gods (be with us)!" Whatever the truth of the matter, it is of no significance with regard to the interpretation of the decree itself.

8.04 The Dating of the Decree

The date of a decree was customarily specified by citing the name of the eponymous magistrate in the usual formula ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος followed by the designation of office (in the genitive case) (see § 6.01). In Athens, the name of the prytanizing tribe, the ordinal sequence of the prytany,[16] and the day of the month (in the genitive case) might also be specified (see § 6.01, 6.03).

In many decrees, the names of other officers were cited, including the secretary of the council (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς),[17] also known as the secretary of the prytany (ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν). The name of the secretary gave official sanction to public documents and became a means of identifying and dating decrees, in the same way as we might assign a document an identification number for easy reference (see § 6.01). Outside Athens, decrees were dated with the names of other eponymous magistrates.

14. For examples of the singular see *SIG*³ 817; Michel 265, 267, 444. For examples of the plural see *IG* II² 337 (L.1), 646 (L.1), 1327 (L.1); Michel, 269–70; Benjamin D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 7 (1938): 77–160, esp. 100, no. 18 (284/83 B.C.).

15. The formula was originally an imprecatory and apotropaic formula: see R. L. Pounder, in *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on His Eightieth Birthday,* ed. Alan L. Boegehold et al. GRBM 10 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1984), 243–50. Cf. A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions,* 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 39; Sterling Dow, "New Kinds of Evidence for Dating Polyeuktos," *AJA* 40 (1936): 57–70, esp. 63.

16. E.g., ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεΐδος πρώτης πρυτανείας [during the prytany of the tribe of Aigeis, the first prytany of the year] (*IG* II² 337, L. 3); cf. ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνηίδος ἑβδόμης πρυτανείας (*IG* II² 646).

17. E.g., ἧι Θεόφιλος Θεοδότου Ἀχαρνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν [in which Theophilos, son of Theodotos, from Archarnai, was secretary] (Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 7 [1938]: 77–160, esp. 100).

8.05 Formal Mover of the Motion

The name of the mover of the formal motion is often specified in conjunction with a verb of proposing, usually εἶπεν/εἶπον and sometimes ἔλεξε[18] (e.g., Εὐκτήμων Εὐμαρίδου Στειριεὺς εἶπεν . . . [Euktemon, son of Eumaridos, of the deme of Steireus moved . . .]).[19] The decree, cited next, grammatically depends on this verb of proposing.

Magisterial boards (e.g., οἱ πρόβουλοι, οἱ στρατηγοὶ) had power equal to or greater than councillors to move motions. A motion by the former is usually termed a γνώμη.[20] For example, the phrase γνώμη πρυτάνεων indicates that the original motion was moved by the board of *prytaneis* in the council (see § 13.07).[21] In Eretria, some motions are put by the *prytaneis* and *strategoi* together.[22] Other examples of such motions passed by magisterial boards include γνώμη προέδρων (Lindos), γνώμη προστατῶν (Kalymnos),[23] γνώμη πρυτάνεων/πρυτανίων (in many cities of Asia),[24] and γνώμη στρατηγῶν.[25]

Under the Principate, the fullest formulae is γνώμη (of magistrates), εἰσηγησαμένου τοῦ δεῖνος (introduced by so-and-so), ἐπιψηφισαμένου τοῦ δεῖνος (seconded by so-and-so) (e.g., *IG* XII/7, 239–40). However, parts of this formula are often omitted. In the case of *probouleumatic decrees* (see § 8.07), a motion might be passed down from the council to the assembly, where a new motion was substituted in its place; such motions are sometimes designated γνώμη δήμου (e.g., *LSAM* 32, L. 10; 33A, L. 11).

8.06 Preamble

The preamble, or motivation clause, usually includes an explanation of the background to the decree, setting forth the reasons for the stated motion and

18. E.g., Michel 170–71.

19. *IG* II² 1327, L. 2. Cf. *IG* II² 337, LL. 6–7; 646, L. 8; 1328A, LL. 3–4; 1328B, L. 2. Cf. also *LSAM* 33A, L. 11.

20. Sometimes termed a δόγμα (cf. Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.146; δόγμα βουλῆς [*IGRR* III, 1056]) or πρόθεσις (Aeolic cities).

21. Or in certain cases, directly to the assembly. See Georg von Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 3d ed., 2 vols. HbA 4.1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1963–72), 1:312 n. 2. Cf., in Iasos, πρυτάνεων γνώμη (Michel 464, 468–70).

22. *IG* XII/9, 205–6, 208–9, 212, 217.

23. E.g., *IBM* II, 232–33, 235–36, 238, 249–50, 279–80.

24. See Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1:312 n. 2. The Asian cities include Astypalaia (Michel 414), Bargylia, Kalynda, Erythrai, Halikarnassos, Iasos, and Samos.

25. E.g., ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι· γνώμη στρατηγῶν (*IPriene* 14).

the details concerning the passage of the motion. In honorific decrees, the statement of motives is frequently formulaic and exceedingly verbose (see § 9.01). A full motivation clause falls into two halves: the first begins with ἐπειδή (whereas/inasmuch as) or ἐπει (since);[26] the second begins with the hortatory formula ὅπως ἂν (οὖν) (in order that [therefore]), sometimes forming part of the formal citation. An example follows:

> Εὐκτήμων Εὐμαρίδου Στρειριεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἑρμαῖος Ἑρμογένου Παιονίδης, ταμίας γενόμενος πλείω ἔτη . . .
>
> ὅπως ἂν ἐφάμιλλον εἶ (= ᾖ) καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλοτιμεῖσθαι εἰδότας ὅτι χάριτας ἀξίας κομιοῦνται ὧν ἂν εὐεργετήσωσιν τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ὀργεώνων . . .
>
> [Euktemos, son of Eumaridos, of the Steirian deme, moved: whereas Hermaios, son of Hermogenes, of the Paionidaian deme, having been treasurer for many years . . .
>
> in order that there might also be a rivalry among the rest who aspire to honor, knowing that they will receive thanks befitting the benefits they confer on the association of the members . . .] (*IG* II² 1327, LL. 3–5, 20–23)

Private citizens and certain magistrates were required to apply for permission to introduce a proposal to the council. In the final text of the resulting decree, the individual and the nature of his application to the council are often recorded employing such formulae as "in regard to (περὶ ὧν) so-and-so's written application to the council (προεγράψατο εἰς τὴν βουλήν)" or "whereas (ἐπειδή) so-and-so approached (παραγενόμενοί/ἐπελθοντες) the council/council chamber (βουλήν/βουλευτήριον) and discussed in the council (ἀγγέλουσι/διελέχθησαν βουλῆ) . . . " The same formulae can be used for the motions of magisterial boards.[27]

Other frequently occurring verbs are εἰσαγγέλλειν (to announce),

26. E.g., ἐπει (since), περὶ ὧν (in regard to what), ὑπὲρ ὧν (in regard to what); for a discussion of the variety of peculiarities of preambles see H. Swoboda, *Die griechischen Volksbeschlüsse,* 222ff.

27. E.g., ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ ἄρχοντες προεγράψαντο . . . (Paros; *SIG*³ 562, LL. 2–3); περὶ ὧν οἱ στρόταγοι προτίθεισι (Mitylene; *IG* XII/2, 15, L. 13); εἰσαγγειλαμένων/εἰσηγησαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν (Ephesos; *IG* XII/3, 171).

εἰσηγεῖσθαι (to introduce), προγράφεσθαι (to make written application), and προτίθεναι (to propose).[28] The preamble may also specify the particular meeting at which the preliminary resolution came before the assembly. In Athens, many decrees were passed at the κυρία ἐκκλησία, which seems to refer to a regularly scheduled meeting in a prytany (e.g., *IG* II² 1292, 1327, 1328B).

8.07 Enactment Formulae

The enactment formula comes at the very beginning of many decrees, while it follows the dating formula in others. There are several types of enactment formulae, suggesting the use of different procedures. A decree that records its ratification by both the council and assembly is called a *probouleumatic decree.*

This information is succinctly contained in the common formula ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.[29] This formula specifies that a proposal, having been introduced, formally moved, and then carried by the council, became a preliminary resolution that was then passed on to the assembly (literally, ὁ δῆμος), where it was ratified.

The assembly sometimes commissioned the council for a preliminary resolution on a given matter. When the council produced the requested resolution, it would not mention the assembly (ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ), since it would be nonsensical to propose a preliminary resolution to the assembly that had originally recommended it in the first place.[30]

Strictly speaking, the council had the power to pass honorific decrees unilaterally, but in actual practice, they used this power only to honor such men as the council's own functionaries. The council could also unilaterally pass decrees pertaining to matters delegated to it by the assembly, such as the discipline of magistrates and the regulation of taxes.[31] These decrees similarly record only the ratification of the council (ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ).

Many decrees record only the ratification by the assembly, with the formula

28. See Jones, *Greek City,* 164, 336 n. 19.

29. The same formula is standard in Athens for all decrees from the mid-V B.C. to late V B.C.; this suggests that the more selective use of this formula in IV B.C. is a sign of decrees being probouleumatic in a special sense. For the dating implications of various forms of the ἔδοξεν clause, the name of the spokesman, and the motion formula in Athenian stoichedon inscriptions see William B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 14–17.

30. See Rhodes, *Athenian Boule,* 67–68.

31. See Jones, *Greek City,* 177. E.g., ἔδοξε τῶν Ἱεραπολειτῶν βουλῇ (Hierapolis; *OGI* 527, L. 3).

ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ . . . (it was resolved by the people that . . .).[32] This so-called nonprobouleumatic decree represents a different procedure. For example, after a discussion of the council's preliminary resolution, the assembly may reject the original motion and—rather than amending the original motion—substitute a new motion. Such new motions do not contain any indication of the motion's previous history as considered by the council and are therefore nonprobouleumatic.[33]

In the Roman period, many cities adopted the practice of ratifying all proposals by the principal board of state magistrates before passing it on to the council and assembly.[34] In such cases, the title of the magistrates appears in the enactment formulae, usually in combination with the assembly (e.g., ἔδοξε τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . [it was resolved by the *kosmoi* and the people . . .]).[35] Though the council usually goes unmentioned in such cases, passage by the council is implied. The exceptions to this rule are found in the Metropoleis of Egypt where—there being no council—magistrates alone fulfilled this function.[36]

8.08 Citation of Formal Motion

Coming after the preamble and enactment formulae is the exact wording of the preliminary resolution voted on by the council and assembly. In actual practice, many decrees omit either the enactment formula or the citation of the motion formula (e.g., *IG* II² 1327 has no enactment formula). The formal motion often begins with a wish that all would go well for the body that passed the decree once it is passed (ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ), followed by δεδόχθαι/ἐψήφισθαι [be it resolved that] and an infinitive construction (e.g., ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δεῖνα).

If the decree has a probouleumatic enactment formula, the motion will be likewise probouleumatic, mentioning the council and assembly: (ἀγαθῇ

32. Cf. ἔγνω δᾶμος in Michel 357, L.1.

33. The structure of decrees of many voluntary associations and professional guilds (e.g., θίασοι, ἔρανοι, κοινοί) are modeled on the nonprobouleumatic decree, namely, ἔδοξεν + name of association: e.g., ἔδοξεν τῶι κοινῶι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον [it was resolved by the Ionian-Hellespont guild of Dionysiac artists dedicated to Dionysos Kathegemon] (Michel 1015, L. 5); ἔδοξεν τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν (*IG* II² 1328B); decrees of an eranos (*SEG* 31.122). Cf. B. H. McLean, "The Agrippinilla Inscription: Religious Associations and Early Church Formation," in *Origins and Method—Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honour of John C. Hurd,* JSNT Suppl 86 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 239–70.

34. E.g., the cities of Boiotia (by II B.C.), Amorgos (Minoa), and Aigiale (see e.g., *SEG* 2.184).

35. See Michel 52–53, 55–60, 62–66, 440–42, 447–48 (Crete); cf. *TAM* II, 262.

36. See Jones, *Greek City,* 178, 340 n. 43.

τύχῃ.) δεδόχθαι/ἐψήφισθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ . . . ([For good fortune.] Be it resolved by the council and assembly . . .). Similarly, if the decree has a nonprobouleumatic enactment formula, the original formal motion will also be nonprobouleumatic.

8.09 Amendments

Members of the assembly had the right to speak against a preliminary resolution and to propose amendments. In Attica, an amendment is indicated by a second verb of saying (i.e., ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν) followed by τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ or καθάπερ ὁ δεῖνα and a δέ construction containing an infinitive verb that specifies the additions or amendments (see, e.g., *SIG*³ 1109). The practice of recording the full amendment was discontinued in Attica from 275 B.C. Amendments outside Attica are less common, the city preferring to modify the motion itself without any notation.

8.10 Directions concerning Engraving

Next follow instructions that concern the deposition of the minutes and the engraving and erection of the decree and that name the official charged with paying for and discharging these responsibilities. Typically, this was the duty of the respective secretaries of the council and the assembly or of a specially appointed commissioner (see § 0.07). They were usually directed to have the decree transcribed (ἀνάγραψαι) onto a stone stele (εἰς στήλην λιθίνην)[37] and to set it up in a designated place, such as a sanctuary (στῆσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι).[38] A stele might also be set up ἐν ἀκροπόλει (in the acropolis) (see *IG* II² 646, LL. 52–57) or παρὰ ταῖς εἰκόσι ταῖς δεῖνος (beside each of the paintings/busts of so-and-so) (see, e.g., Michel 1015, L. 36). The banal word στήλη is sometimes replaced by other terms: in towns of the Propontis and Pontus Euxinus, decrees read εἰς τελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου [on a stele of white stone]; in Thessaly, εἰς κίονα λιθίνην [on a stone column]. Finally, the

37. A στήλη is a slab of stone usually 1–2 meters high and 10–14 centimeters thick, slightly tapered to the top; there is sometimes reference to a "plaque" (πίναξ); cf. ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις διεξοδικῶς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος (*SIG*³ 694). G. Reger ("Some Remarks on '*IG* XII/8, 262 complété' and the Restoration of Thasian Democracy," *Klio* 72 [1990]: 396–401, esp. 400 nn. 25–26) comments on the customary formulae used in decrees from Thasos and other islands.

38. E.g., in Larissa, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κερδώιου. See Louis Robert, "Études d'épigraphie grecque: XL. Inscriptions d'Herakleia," *RPhil* 10 (1936): 113–70, esp. 130–31. Cf. *IG* II² 1328A, L. 17; 1328B.

official (e.g., νεωποιός/ης) or body responsible for paying (δοῦναι) the incurred expense (ἀνάλωμα) is named (see § 0.10).[39] Examples follow:

> τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ὑπηρετησάτω ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὁ νεωποίης Παμμένης
>
> [the cost of the stele and the engraving of this decree shall be paid for out of the sacred monies by the *neopoios* Pammenes] (*IPriene* 17, LL. 48–49)
>
> εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ ἀνάλωμα
>
> [the cost of inscribing of the stele is to be paid by the department of finance] (*IG* II² 646, LL. 55–57)

8.11 Abbreviated Decrees

Few decrees exhibit all features of this formal structure. In so-called abbreviated decrees, there is no dating formula, preamble, or mention of formal movers. All that is recorded is the legislative body that passed the decree and the decision itself.[40]

8.12 Treaties

There are more treaties (σπονδαί, ὅρκοι, συνθῆκαι) from the Hellenistic period than from any other period, before or after the death of Alexander the Great. Isopolity (ἰσοπολιτεία) treaties granted reciprocity of civil rights between two states.[41] Similarly, sympolity (συμπολιτεία) treaties granted the

39. See Alan S. Henry, "Provisions for the Payment of Athenian Decrees: A Study in Formulaic Language," *ZPE* 78 (1989): 247–95 (*SEG* 39.308).

40. Consider the following example from Knidos, which lays down some regulations concerning the sanctuary of Dionysos: "Resolved by the people of Knidos. Motion of the college of magistrates concerning those whom the Bacchants took legal action against, in order that the temple of Dionysos Bacchus may be kept pure. It is not lawful for anyone to lodge in the temple precincts of the Bacchants, neither male nor female; and if someone does lodge . . ." (*LSAM* 55; *IKnidos* 160).

41. E.g., *GDI* 5040; *OGI* 265.

interchange of civil rights between cities in a confederacy of states. Delimination treaties specified the agreed on territorial boundaries between two city-states.[42]

Treaties of "friendship and alliance" are also well attested.[43] Their purpose was to create a military alliance between two states against the military threat of a third party. Many examples of such treaties between Rome and the Greek states survive from the second and first centuries B.C. These treaties were initiated by the Greeks, who would send an embassy to Rome to request such an alliance. These alliances helped to ensure future security against hostile neighbors, as well as more influence at the center of power.[44]

That the texts of these alliance treaties with Rome were written according to a standardized form indicates that they were preceded by little or no actual negotiation. Each treaty began with a declaration of the permanent "friendship and alliance" (φιλία καὶ συμμαχία) that existed between Rome and the Greek state "on land and sea," adding that there shall be no war between them. Next, there was a pledge that neither party would allow the passage of the enemies of the other through its land or assist such enemies with weapons, money, ships, or (sometimes) grain. Moreover, each side pledged to come to the assistance of the other "as appropriate" (κατὰ τὸ εὔκαιρον) if a third party should initiate a war. An additional clause provided for the amendment of the treaty with the agreement of both parties. Finally, the details of the publication of the treaty were specified, with one copy being sent to Rome (usually for the temple of Jupiter) and others being set up in local places.[45]

42. Cf. the commercial treaty: see Roberts-Gardener 77, no. 30.

43. See, e.g., Jean Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques: Textes, traductions et notes* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1960), 96–107. See Stanley M. Burstein, ed., *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 29, no. 22 (*Illion* 45); 101, no. 77 (Sherk, *TDGR*, 30). See Roberts-Gardener, 36, no. 12; 37, no. 13; 77, no. 30; 82, no. 32.

44. See Robert M. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62* B.C. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 192–96. The alliances were probably not merely (as some have suggested) symbolic in nature, visible signs of Rome's satisfaction with the behavior of various Greek communities (cf. E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, 2 vols. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984], 1.13–53, 2.731–44).

45. See, e.g., Sherk, *RDGE*, 45–46 (*SIG*³ 694). For a detailed analysis of the form of treaties see Eugen Täubler, *Imperium Romanum: Studien zur Entswicklungsgeschichte des römischen Reichs*, Studia historica 2 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretscheider, 1964), summarized by D. W. Baronowski in "Treaties of Military Alliance in the Last Three Centuries B.C." (Ph.D. diss. University of Toronto, 1982), 109–21.

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9

Honorific Decrees, Proxeny Decrees, and Honorific Inscriptions

A great bulk of inscriptions record honors bestowed on persons who acted as benefactors (εὐεργέται, ἄνδρες φιλότιμοι) or performed some kind of exemplary service.[1] Such honorific inscriptions can be divided into three groups: private inscriptions, such as a client would set up in honor of his patron; public inscriptions set up by cities; and semiprivate inscriptions set up by groups. Both public and semiprivate inscriptions imply a preceding honorific decree, though many simply report the decision itself.

Acts of generosity shown toward a city or a particular group within a city exemplify the aristocratic ideal of rivalry for honor (φιλοτιμία).[2] Wealthy members of society would compete with one another in munificence; in so doing, they were motivated not necessarily by altruism but by personal ambition. Not only was the acquisition of honor seen to be an end in itself, but it could also lead to social mobility. In the Roman period, for example, the local aristocracy knew that they could improve their chances of gaining an imperial

1. See the general listings in this chapter's supplementary bibliography; Günter Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 2d ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966), 62–65, 77–83; Salomon Reinach, *Traite d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885), 358–73; Günter Gerlach, *Griechische Ehreninschriften* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1908); Arthur R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968).

2. Cf. φιλοτίμως, φιλότιμος, φιλοτιμέω. See David Whitehead, "Competitive Outlay and Community Profit: Φιλοτιμία in Democratic Athens," *ClMed* 34 (1983): 54–74. On giving in the ancient world see Hands, *Charities,* 26–61. On models of euergetism (e.g., *philotimia* model, superiority model, civil service model) see Guy Rogers, "The Gift and Society in Roman Asia: Orthodoxies and Heresies," *SCI* 12 (1993): 188–99.

appointment, such as senator and proconsul, by means of ostentatious displays of public generosity.[3] Many women are also conspicuous in the role of patroness.[4]

Many kinds of inscription can be either treated as subsets of the class of honorific inscriptions or grouped separately. Among these are the records of the victors of the athletic, dramatic, and musical contests (*tituli agonistici*).[5]

9.01 The General Structure of Honorific Decrees

There is no need here to repeat my general remarks concerning the structure of decrees (see chap. 8) except to summarize the general structure of honorific decrees and to outline the following unique features.[6]

A. Opening. The decree may open with one or a combination of any of the following: Invocation formula (θεοί/θεός), dating formula (ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος),[7] sanction formula (ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι), naming of mover of motion (e.g., ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος εἶπεν).

B. Motives. The preamble begins with a conjunction, such as ἐπειδή (whereas/inasmuch as), ἐπεί (since), or περὶ ὧν (concerning what). Its purpose was to declare the motives that gave rise to the conferral of the particular honor in question. This may take the form of a general statement, such as ἐπειδή/ἐπεί ὁ δεῖνα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον/τὴν πόλιν (inasmuch

3. On class mobility see K. Hopkins, "Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire," in *Studies in Ancient Society,* ed. Moses I. Finley (London: Routledge; Boston: Kegan Paul, 1974), 103–20.

4. On the role of wealthy women see Rogers, "Gift and Society," 188–99. On contributions by women, with or without κύριος, see *SEG* 43.526. Cf. supra § 7.12, n. 67.

5. See, e.g., Robert, *Hellenica,* II, 5–14; VI, 43–49; VII, 105–13; XI–XII, 350–68. For inscriptions pertaining to the musical contests in the Panathenaic games see Haritini Kotsidu, *Die musischen Agone der Panathenäen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit,* Quellen und Forschungen zur Antiken Welt 8 (Munich: Tuduv, 1991); Deborah Schafter, "Musical Victories in Early Classical Vase Painting," *AJA* 95 (1991): 333–34; S. H. Allen, "Moral and Divine Performances: New Evidence at the Breakers," *AJA* 97 (1993): 329–30; *SEG* 42.458. Cf. Stephen Mitchell, "Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor," *JRS* 80 (1990): 183–95.

6. See Jean Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques: Textes, traductions et notes* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1960), 17–50, esp. 17–18; M. Wörrle, "Vom tugendsamen Jüngling zum <gestreßten> Euergeten: Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete," in *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus: Kolloquium, München, 24. bis 26. Juni 1993 (Vestigia 47),* ed. Michael Wörrle and Paul Zanker (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), 241–50.

7. E.g., ἐπὶ Εὐθίου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ Ἀκαμαντίδος τρίτης πρυτανείας, εἰ Ναυσιμένης Ναυσικύδου Χολαργεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν, Βοιηδρομιῶνος ὀγδόει ἐπὶ δέκα, ἐνάτει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία . . . [when Euthios was archon, when the tribe of Akamantis governed in the third prytany, in which Nausimenes, son of Nausikydes from Cholargos, was secretary, the eighteenth day of Boedromion, which was the nineteenth day of the prytany, at the regularly scheduled meeting . . .] (*IG* II² 657; 287 B.C.).

as so-and-so is a generous man with respect to the people/city) or ἐπειδή ὁ δεῖνα εὔνους/πρόθυμος ὢν διατελεῖ τῶι δήμωι (or περὶ τὸν δῆμον) (inasmuch as so-and-so continues to be generous to the people). The term ἀνδραγαθία often expresses the same quality as ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός and more often implies generosity than bravery in war.[8]

Such statements were often supplemented with other general statements, such as καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων διατελεῖ τὰ συμφέροντα τῶι δήμωι (or περὶ τὸν δῆμον) (and by his words and deeds he continues to benefit the people) and μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ εὐγενεῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς ἐτελεσεν (he/she performed [his/her duties] magnanimously, nobly, and piously) (e.g., *SEG* 24.1112, LL. 18–19).

The benefactor was often praised with laudatory titles. One who is loyal to the emperor is lauded with the title φιλοσέβαστος.[9] Terms frequently associated with governors in the late Roman Empire include ἰθυδίκης (giving right justice), καθαρός (integrity), and μόχθος (toil).[10] The title πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως or τοῦ δήμου (father of the city/people) was bestowed in the later Roman and Byzantine eras.[11] In imperial inscriptions, the titles of laudatory rank for Roman senators and knights (i.e., λαμπρότατος/*clarissimus,* ἐξοχώτατος/*eminentissimus,* διασημότατος/*perfectissimus,* κράτιστος/*egregius*) are not always applied with the precision that one finds in Latin inscriptions.[12]

The preamble may also recount the specific accomplishments of the honorand. In the late Republic, this information could be quite concise. However, in the imperial period, such narrations were often exceedingly verbose and formulaic (see, e.g., *IG* II² 1263), so that one can easily lose sight of the principal idea if the overarching structure of the decree is not kept in mind.

C. Hortatory intention. Honors were bestowed on benefactors to encourage future benefaction. It was a visible reminder to potential benefactors that the people would respond with fitting gratitude, literally "repaying favors" (χάριν/χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι), conferring honor (τιμᾶν), and being mindful

8. See Whitehead, "Competitive Outlay and Community Profit," 55–74 (*SEG* 31.16).

9. See Robert, *Hellenica,* VII, 211–12; on other φιλ- prefixed words (φίλανδρος, φιλότεκνον) see XIII, 227–28.

10. See C. Foss in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students,* ed. Cyril Mango and O. Pritsak, Harvard Ukrainian Studies 7 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 196–219 (*SEG* 36.1031).

11. See C. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris, 1987), 215ff.

12. From the latter part of II A.D., equestrian officials in imperial service acquired the following regular appellations according to their rank: *vir eminentissimus* for praetorian prefects, *vir perfectissimus* for other prefects and higher procurators, and *vir egregius* for the remainder. See G. Alföldy, "Die Stellung der Ritter in der Führungsschicht des Imperium Romanum," *Chiron* 11 (1981): 167–215, esp. 190–91, 193–94 (*SEG* 31.1701).

(μεμνῆσθαι) of benefactions with continuing gratefulness (εὐχάριστος ὢν διατελεῖν). The hortatory intention is introduced with such phrases as

ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσιν πάντες ὅτι

(in order that all may know that)

ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοτιμῶνται ἀγωνίζεσθαι εἰδότες ὅτι

(in order that others may strive earnestly after honor in the knowledge that)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἐφάμιλλον ἦι πᾶσι εἰδόσι/εἰδότας ὅτι

(in order that it may be a matter of emulation to all in the knowledge that).

Alternatively, a group of parallel formulations employ either the adjective φανερός (personally or impersonally) or the verb φαίνεσθαι:

ὅπως ἂν οὖν φανερὸν εἶ (= ᾖ) πᾶσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἐπίσταται χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς εὐεργέταις

(in order that it may be evident to all that the people know how to repay favors to benefactors)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνωνται τιμῶντες

(in order that the council and the people may be clearly seen to honor).[13]

D. Resolution formula. Following the preamble is the citation of the formal motion, usually incorporating an infinitive construction (e.g., (ἀγαθῆι τύχηι) δεδόχθαι/ἔδοξε(ν) (τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι) ἐπαινέσαι αὐτον [[for good fortune]; be it resolved [by the council and the people] to praise him]). The council would often enact honorific decrees for the council's own functionaries

13. A. S. Henry ("The Hortatory Intention of Athenian State Decrees," *ZPE* 112 [1996]: 105–19) divides these formulae into subcategories and analyzes them according to working and chronological distribution. Cf. Michael Walbank, "Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 49 (1980): 251–57, esp. 253 n. 14.

without the ratification of the assembly.[14] However, most honorific decrees were passed by both bodies.

E. Decision. The approved course of action is expressed by an infinitive verb, usually ἐπαινέσαι, which depends on δεδόχθαι/ἔδοξε(ν). Included here is a statement of the honors awarded. These may include crowning (see § 9.05), the erection of a statue (see § 9.06), public dinners, and various other privileges, such as ἀλειτουργήτους ὄντας πάσης λειτουργίας (exemption from every liturgy/public service) (see § 13.09). Such decrees often include a citation of the exact wording to be inscribed on the monument itself.

F. Conclusion. The decree may end with a curse against anyone who would dare to alter its provisions, followed by the stipulation of a fine, as in the case of the following Delian decree.

> . . . and it is unlawful for anyone, whether a private member or an official, to propose, either in speech or writing, that anything in the honors granted should be changed, withdrawn, or invalidated contrary to this decree; otherwise, may he who proposes such a thing, either in writing or speech, or proposes such as a motion or brings such forward as a motion for a vote utterly perish, both himself and his children, and may those who observe these provisions have enjoyment of life and of goods, and may they be safe both by land and by sea. And whoever acts contrary to these provisions shall pay six thousand crowned drachmae[15] to Poseidon, and he shall be liable to legal action by him who is wronged.[16]

9.02 Consolation Decrees and Indirect Honorary Inscriptions

So-called consolation decrees (ψηφίσματα παραμυθητικά/*tituli memoriales*) appear for the first time in the imperial period. These decrees pay honor to

14. In Attic probouleumatic decrees, the mention of the council and the demos is followed by the formula τοὺς προέδρους οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον (those chosen by lot to be presiding officers in the assembly [literally, the people]). In Asia, the *conventus* of Roman citizens, the elders' association (γερουσία), and the young men's association (νέοι) often acted in conjunction with the council and the assembly in proposing honorary decrees (see Victor Chapot, *La Province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* [Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1904], 216–19).

15. I.e., drachmae bearing a wreath on the obverse side.

16. μηθενὶ ἐξέστω, μήτε ἰδιώτηι μήτε ἄρχοντι, μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ[ε γ]ράψαι ὡς δεῖ τῶν δεδομένων τιμῶν μεταθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν ἢ ἀκυρ[όντ]ι ποιῆσαι παρὰ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἢ ὁ γράψας ἢ ὁ εἴπας ἢ ὁ ἀναγνοὺς [ἢ] ὁ προθεὶς ἢ ὁ ἐπιχειροτονήσας ἢ ὁ γράψας ἢ ὁ προθεὶς ἐξώλης εἴη [α]ὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέ[κν]α αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτηροῦσι εἴη καὶ βίου καὶ τέκνων καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ὄνησις, καὶ εἴη αὐτοῖς σώιζεσθαι καὶ κατ[ὰ γ]ῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ὁ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀποτινέτω δραχμὰς στεφανηφόρους ἑξακισχιλίας ἱερὰς τοῦ Ποσειδῶγος καὶ ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῶι ἀδικουμένωι (*IDelos* 1520, LL. 58–66).

eminent citizens soon after their death. They were particularly common in Caria (especially Aphrodisias) and on the island Amorgos.[17] Their form is the same as that of a civic decree; typically, they command a public funeral for the deceased, offer condolences to the bereaved in eloquent rhetoric, and rehearse the honors given to the deceased in his or her lifetime, as well as providing other biographical information.[18]

There are also inscriptions in which a private person enumerates on a stele for posterity all the honors given to himself throughout his own lifetime. These are known as indirect honorary inscriptions. For example, the statesman Cassander of Alexandria Troas had a stele set up in a temple of his hometown listing the many honors conferred on him, including eighteen golden crowns (*SIG*³ 653A). He subsequently expanded this list with a second list chiseled into the northern wall of one of the treasuries in Delphi.[19]

9.03 Proxeny Decrees

The institution of the προξενία grew out of assistance that private citizens sometimes offered to visiting foreigners. Such visitors, whether merchants or official ambassadors, often required hospitality, support, and protection, not to mention assistance in dealing with the local state administration.

Proxeny decrees looked forward rather than backward: when a citizen was about to offer hospitality and assistance, the foreign state to which the visitor belonged would express its gratitude by conferring the title πρόξενος (public friend) on this citizen by means of a proxeny decree.[20]

17. See Robert, *Hellenica,* XIII, 229–31; LBW 1604, (cf. 1601); *SIG*³ 889 (Amorgos).

18. See K. Rosen, "Ehrendekrete, Biographie und Geschichtsschreibung," *Chiron* 17 (1987): 277–92.

19. *SIG*³ 653B. A second fragment of this list has been pubished by Pierre Amandry and Jean Bousquet ("Inscriptions de Delphes, II," *BCH* 64 [1940]: 76–127; cf. *SIG*³ 654A). Likewise, some inscriptions record the honorific decrees received by one person from different towns (e.g., two stelai erected by Eudemos of Seleuceia in Cilicia [*SIG*³ 644–45]; three stelai erected by Nikomedes in Kos [*IKos*PH 32–36, nos. 17–19]).

20. Regarding the civil rights and proxeny decrees in general see Christian Marek, *Die Proxenie,* Europaische Hochschulschriften III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaft 213 (Frankfurt and NY: P. Lang, 1984) (*SEG* 34.1691); Frizt Gschnitzer, "Proxenos," *RE* 13 (1973): 629–730; F. Gschnitzer, "Proxenos," *RE*Suppl. 13 (1973): 1–131; C. Marek, "Ein kretischer Offizier im Bundesgenossenkrieg," *ZPE* 48 (1982): 112–16; J. d'André, *La proxenie* (Toulouse: A. Montlauzer, 1911); André Gerolymatos, *Espionage and Treason: A Study of the Proxenia in Political and Military Intelligence Gathering in Classical Greece* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1986) (*SEG* 36.1523); Gary Reger, "Athens and Tenos in the Early Hellenistic Age," *CQ* 42 (1992): 365–83, esp. 381–82; Philippe Gauthier, "Épigraphie et institutions grecques," *Annuaire de l'EPHE* 108 (1975–76): 337–43; Jean Pouilloux, "Les inscriptions de Labraunda," *AntCl* 42 (1973): 544–51, esp. 546–47;

By the Hellenistic period, the title became increasingly honorary and frequently involved no duty whatsoever. Related to *proxenia* is the institution of *theorodokia,* in which private citizens would assist the visiting envoys (θεωροί) sent to announce various festivals. These citizens were awarded the title θεωροδόκος by foreign states.[21]

Other honorific titles, especially εὐεργέτης (benefactor), might also be conferred in a proxeny decree, as in ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ· Ἡγέλοχον τὸν Ταραντῖνον πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην [resolved by council that Hegelochos from Tarentum be [declared] a public friend and benefactor] (*IG* XII/9, 187; *GDI* III/2, 5308).

These public friends were accorded various honors, especially public praise (ἔπαινος), that is the proclamation (ἀνακήρυξις) of the said honor by the herald in the state sanctuaries and at public festivals. A crown might also be awarded (see § 9.05) or a statue erected (see § 9.06).

Normally, various privileges were also conferred (δεδόσθαι) on public friends in the event of their temporary or permanent residence in the foreign state: for example, many were given προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν καὶ προεδρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι (the right of front seats at public games and theater). They were also granted a seat of honor at τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαν (the religious festivals and public sacrifices). Sometimes decrees καλέσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, ἡ σίτησις ἐν πρυτανεῖῳ (call [the honorand] to a seat of honor at a dinner held in the *prytaneion*)[22] or even to a special banquet held in his honor,[23] as in ἄγεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμέραν τὴν ιη' τοῦ Μεχεὶρ

G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 4.1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1920–26), 1:224ff. (civil rights), 2:1246ff. (proxeny); Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 77–83; Reinach, *Traité,* 358–68; Michel 219, 345; *IMagnMai* 2–7, 9–10, 12. In the classical period, a *proxenos* was an ambassador who represented the interests of a foreign state. *Proxenoi* should be distinguished from those civil servants also referred to as πρόξενοι who sometimes hosted official visitors from out of state (e.g., from Sparta [Hdt. 6.57]).

21. On the *theorodokoi* lists in Delphi see A. Plassart, "Inscriptions de Delphes: La Liste des Théorodoques," *BCH* 45 (1921): 1–85. For fragments see Louis Robert, "Villes de Carie et d'Ionie dans la liste Delphes," *BCH* 70 (1946): 506–23; Georges Daux, "Listes Delphiques de Théorodoques," *REG* 62 (1949): 1–30, esp. 13–16. On lists in Epidauros see *IG* IV²/1 94–95. For a catalogue of *theorodoxoi* of the Nemean games and the Argive Heraia see Pierre Cabanes "Le pouvoir local au sein des États fédéraux: Épire, Acarnanie, Étolie," in *La Béotie antique: Lyon, Saint-Étienne, 16–20 mai 1983.* Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1985), 346–47.

22. Cf. the phrase σίτησις ἐν ἱεροθυτείῳ (being provided food at the place of sacrifice) (e.g., *IBM* II, 134), sometimes with the addition of the phrase ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν (at the state hearth).

23. For discussion of the terminology associated with banquets, banquet halls, food, and drinks see Pauline Schmitt Pantel, *La cité au banquet: Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques,* CEFR 157 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1992) (*SEG* 42.1746; cf. 31.1645); Christoph Börker, *Festbankett und griechische Architektur,* Xenia, Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen 4 (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1983) (*SEG* 33.1561); Robert, *Hellenica,* XIII, 224–25.

[and let there be a special dinner for them each year on the eighteenth day [of the month] of Mechier] (*IDelos* VI, 1521). The privilege of having seats of honor could be awarded as a standing, or even hereditary, honor.[24]

Some public friends were granted πρόσοδος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον (entry to the council and assembly), sometimes with the stipulation πρώτωι μετὰ τὰ ἱερά (first [in order] after the sacred rites), meaning that the public friend was granted entry immediately after the transaction of sacred business and the completion of the sacred rites.

Various additional rights also extended to public friends include πολιτείαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις (the hereditary right of citizenship to him and his descendants) and εἰσαγωγὴ καὶ ἐξαγωγή (or εἴσπλους καὶ ἔκπλους) (the right to import and export freely), as well as more specialized privileges, such as ἐπινομία (the right of pasture), ἐπιξυλία (the right of cutting timber), γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησις (the right to purchase land and a house), προδικία (priority in judicial proceedings), and προμαντεία (priority in consulting the oracle). A public friend might also be given σίτησιν εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ παισίν, ὅταν ἐπιδημέωσιν (public maintenance whenever he and his children reside [in the city]) (see, e.g., *SIG*³ 105, L. 5; Eretria, 411 B.C.).

Public friends were sometimes granted ἀλειτουργησία (exemption from public liturgies),[25] φόρων ἄφεσις (exemption from [any] payments/levies), ἀτέλεια (exemption from public burdens), ἀνεισφορία (exemption from taxation),[26] or at least ἰσοτέλεια (equality in taxes) with the citizens or, similarly, the benefit of paying economic taxes under the same favorable conditions as citizens (ἐντέλεια). They might also be guaranteed ἀσφάλεια καὶ ἀσυλία[27] (safety and inviolability of person) from σύλη πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ χρήμασιν (forcible seizure, in war and peace, on land and sea, to both them and their

24. An example is the honor extended to the poet Philippides: καὶ εἶναι αὐτῶι σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείωι καὶ ἐκγόνων ἀεὶ τῶι πρεσβυτάτωι (*IG* II² 657).

25. See Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis,* American Studies in Papyrology 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 103–4.

26. The public friend would still be required to pay taxes relating to his economic activities, such as import and export; see A. Chaniotis, "*Enteleia:* Zu Inhalt und Begriff eines Vorrechtes," *ZPE* 64 (1986): 159–62 (*SEG* 36.1600; *BE* [1988]: 375).

27. On this term see Kent J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

property).[28] Many proxeny decrees conclude with the general injunction that the public friend be extended τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις ὑπάρχει/δίδοται (all other courtesies that are accorded to other public friends and benefactors), occasionally with the addition of κατὰ τὸν νόμον (according to the law), indicating that these privileges were laid down in civic law. In times of national distress, cities were sometimes embarrassed by the few honors that they were able to confer ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος (at the present time) and accordingly made pledges that more fitting honors and benefits would be bestowed when better times returned.

Lists of public friends were carved on stelae and put on public display in the hometowns of the honorands, not only to publicize these honors, but equally to motivate others to host other visitors from the same states in the future.[29]

9.04 Honorific Inscriptions

Honorific inscriptions (*tituli honorarii*) commend persons who have acted as public benefactors or performed notable public service.[30] Honorific inscriptions of this type lack the formal structure of a decree but nonetheless imply a preceding official decision. In other words, the formula "the city honors so-and-so" implies the previous passage of a civic decree. These inscriptions were usually engraved on columns, stelae, and buildings and especially on statue bases (see figs. 15 and 16), either on the frontal faces or on bronze plaques affixed to the bases.

It is not possible to make an absolute distinction between honorific inscriptions and dedications. Some inscriptions serve both to honor individuals and to dedicate something to the gods, as does ὁ δῆμος ὁ Χίων Φησῖνον Σκυθίνου Ἀθηνᾶι Πολιάδι καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσι [the people of Chios [honored] Phesinos, son of Skythinos, [and dedicated this] to Athena Polias and to all the gods] (*IG* II² 2802).

In a typical honorific inscription, the name of the honorand and the group bestowing the honor (e.g., ὁ δῆμος, ἡ βουλή, οἱ φυλέται) are cited in

28. On the phrases εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας or εἰς σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως and variations see F. Gschnitzer in *Symposion 1979: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte,* ed. Hans Julius Wolff et al., Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte IV (Cologne: Bohlau, 1983), 143–64.

29. E.g., there are lists of state friends on the polygonal wall of Delphi (*SIG*³ 585).

30. See, e.g., *IG* II² 3222–4255; Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis, MO: Clayton, 1982) (*SEG* 33.1570).

the accusative and nominative cases, respectively, often without a verb (i.e., τὸν δεῖνα ὁ δεῖνα), as in Ἰουλίαν Δό|μναν Σεβασ|τήν μητέρα | κάστρων,| ἡ βουλὴ καὶ | ὁ δῆμος [to Julia Domna Augusta, mother of the camps, the boule and demos [dedicated it]] (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 156). Sometimes only the honorand is named (i.e., τὸν δεῖνα). When the honorand appears in the genitive case, it presupposes an ellipsis of such a term as εἰκόνα, δῶρον, or ἀνάθημα. A variety of verbs can also be employed (e.g., ἀνέστησεν, ἀνέθηκεν, ἐτίμησεν, ἔστησεν, ἔθηκεν, καθιέρωσε καὶ ἀνέστησεν).

In some inscriptions, the name of the group bestowing the honor is inscribed in the center of a crown sculpted in relief.[31] If the honors are awarded by several cities, there will be as many sculpted crowns as there are cities (see, e.g., *SEG* 42.1188). The reason for the conferral of an honor is often stated in a summary formula, explaining that the honorand was τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην (a patron and benefactor) or σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα (a respectable and generous man) or that the honor was given ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα (on account of his/her excellence, goodwill, and benefaction), as in τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἑρμαϊστᾶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμασε Ἀλκιμέδοντα Ἀλκιστράτου Ὑγασῆ χρυσέωι στεφάνωι, ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας τᾶς εἰς τὸ κοινόν [the association of Hermaïstai honored Alkimedon himself, son of Alkistratos, native of Hygas, with a golden crown, on account of the excellence, goodwill, and benefaction [he has shown] to the association].[32]

Specific commendations might be given, typically arranged in a series of participles. If the honors are bestowed for distinguished service in various offices (e.g., στρατηγήσαντι, ἱερατεύσαντι, γυμνασιαρχήσαντι), these services might be inscribed within a number of engraved crowns. Under the influence of Roman custom, some inscriptions list the full cursus honorum of political officials, often in inverse order, beginning with the highest function and concluding with the earliest and lowest.

The persons bestowing a given honor might also use the occasion to publicize their own titles or distinctions, as in Τ(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον) Μάξιμον φιλόσοφον Οὐάριος Σέλευκος κουράτωρ πλοίων κολ(ωνίας) Καισαρείας τὸν προστάτην [Varius Seleukos, curator of ships of the colony of Caesarea, [honors his] patron, Titus Flavius Maximus, the philosopher].[33]

31. For inscriptions within wreaths and diadems see M. Wörrle, "Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi I," *Chiron* 22 (1922): 337–76, esp. 352–53, no. 4; C. Veligianni, *Hellenika* 40 (1989): 239–56 (*SEG* 39.307).

32. See Paul Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les grecs: Thiases, éranes, orgéons* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873), 236, no. 59 (Tralles).

33. Caesarea Maritima after A.D. 71; see B. Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns from Caesarea Maritima," *ZPE* 99 (1993): 287–95, esp. 291.

The nature of the honor being conferred might be either described in general terms (e.g., ταῖς πρώταις τιμαῖς, ταῖς πρώταις καὶ μεγίσταις τιμαῖς, ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις τιμαῖς, ταῖς ἀξίαις τειμαῖς [fitting honors]) or itemized (e.g., προεδρίᾳ ἐν ἀγῶσι [front seats at public games], a golden crown [see § 9.05], the erection of a statue [see § 9.06]).

9.05 Crowns

In many honorific inscriptions, the instruction is given to crown the honorand (στεφανῶσαι αὐτόν).[34] Inexpensive crowns were woven from young branches (θαλλοῦ στέφανος), ivy (κιττοῦ στέφανος), laurel (δάφνης στέφανος), and flowers (ἄνθινος στέφανος). There are also references to painted crowns (στεφάνωι γραπτῶι)[35] and fillets (ταινία, ταινίδιον, λημνίσκος).

The most prized crowns were made of gold (χρυσῶι στεφάνωι), sometimes unbroken (διηνεκής). They were decorated with golden branches and with golden leaves made of thinly beaten sheets of gold, so as to resemble their natural counterpart. The exact value of these crowns is sometimes specified (e.g., χρυσοῦς στέφανος ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν).

Some inscriptions specify that the crown should meet the specifications stipulated by law (τῷ στεφάνῳ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου/κατὰ τὸν νόμον). For example, a benefactor in Rhodes was voted χρυσέωι στεφάνωι τῶι ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μεγίστωι [the largest golden crown [allowed/prescribed] by law] (*SIG*³ 1012C, L. 15). The crowns might be purchased outright or donated, or the money to purchase the crown could be given to the honorand (see, e.g., *IG* XII/5, 653).

The public proclamation of this crowning (στέφανος κηρυκτός, ἀνειπεῖν/ἀναγορεῦσαι/ἀναγγεῖλαι τὸν στέφανον) was scheduled for a particular place and occasion, frequently in the theater in conjunction with the dramatic competitions or at religious festivals and sacrifices. Some inscriptions stipulate that this crowning be repeated annually (e.g., στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἐν ταῖς συντελουμέναις θυσίαις τῶι Ποσειδῶνι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν [crown him yearly with a wreath of gold during the sacrifices that are offered to Poseidon on account of his exceptional merit] [*IDelos* VI, 1519, LL. 32–34]).[36]

34. See the listings for crowns in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

35. See, e.g., Foucart, *Des associations religieuses,* 237 no. 64.

36. Other examples are στεφανοῦσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ (*SIG*³ 762, L. 46 [Dionysopolis]) and ἀναγορεύεσθαι δὲ τὸν στέφανον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τὰ Διονύσια τῶι ἀγῶνι τῶν τραγωιδῶν (*IG* XII/5, 599 [Iulis]).

9.06 The Erection of Statues

Honorific decrees and honorific inscriptions often direct that a statue be erected for the honorand. Some decrees even record the precise wording to be inscribed on the statue base.[37] Statues of celebrated officials and intellectuals were sometimes crowned, anointed, carried in processions, and even believed to have the capacity to heal.[38]

If a group within a city (e.g., parents, friends, voluntary association) wished to honor an individual by setting up a statue in a public place, the permission of the city was required.[39] The group would normally petition the state for permission and, of course, pay the incurred expenses.[40] In certain circumstances, the honorand assumed the cost of the statue (e.g., βουλόμενος διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ στενοχωρίαν χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῆι πόλει ἀναδέχεται ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὸ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα [wishing, on account of the present financial distress of the state treasury, to also give graciously to the city in these matters, he will pay from his own resources the cost incurred for the statue] [*OGI* 339]). That permission to erect a statue was sought and received may be explicitly stated in honorific decrees with such statements as ψηφισαμένης/μένου τῆς βουλῆς (or τοῦ δήμου) or ψηφίσματι βουλῆς or κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, sometimes abbreviated as ΨΒ or ΨΒΔ. The erection of statues for distinguished persons, such as governors and emperors, required that ambassadors be sent abroad to receive permission.[41]

In inscriptions concerning statue erection, the council and assembly are named first, followed by the name and titles of the honorand, followed in turn

37. E.g., καὶ ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε· ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων Ἄδμητον Βὸκρου Μακεδόνα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Δηλίων (*IG* XI/4, 665).

38. See T. Pekáry "Statuen in Kleinasiatischen Inschriften," in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift Friedrich K. Dörner zum 65*, ed. Sencer Şahin, Elmar Schwertheim, and Jorg Wagner, 2 vols., EPRO 66 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 2:727–44, esp. 735–36 (cf. *SEG* 28.1656).

39. Regarding applications (αἰτήσεις) for permission to erect statues and other gifts of consecration see Robert, *Hellenica*, II, 110–11. See the Rhodian inscriptions in *ILindos* 419, LL. 43–45. On prohibitions to erect statues in certain places see Robert, *Hellenica*, III, 291. On the relocation of statues see Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, 241–43. See also T. W. French, "Archaeology in the Dodecanese, 1939–1946," *JHS* 65 (1945): 101–4, esp. 102; cf. Robert, *BE* (1948): 172.

40. Indicated by such expressions as δαπανήσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, προσδεξαμένου/παρασχόντος τὸ ἀνάλωμα, and οἴκοθεν τοῦ δεῖνος.

41. E.g., διὰ πρεσβευτοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος, διὰ πρεσβευτῶν/πρέσβεων τῶν δείνων, διὰ ἐπιμελητοῦ, διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ πρεσβευτῶν, διὰ ἐργεπιστατῶν καὶ πρεσβευτῶν. Cf. the erection of the statues by various cities in Athens for Emperor Hadrian (e.g., *IG* II² 3290). See Anton von Premerstein, "Griechiche-Römisches aus Arkadien," *ÖJh* 15 (1912): 197–218, esp. 215–18.

by the names of the representatives of the group that made the petition and paid the cost of the statue. For example, in the following inscription, a guild of leather workers honor one of their benefactors with a statue after a successful petition to the council and assembly: κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῆς λαμπροτάτης Καισαρέων Κιβυρατῶν πόλεως ἡ σεμνοτάτη συνεργασία τῶν σκυτοβυρέων Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Πολέμωνα [in accordance with the decree of the council and assembly of the illustrious [city of] Caesarea Kibyra, the most august guild of leather workers [honored with a statue] Tiberius Claudius Polemon] (*IGRR* IV, 907; A.D. 80–90).

If the state was responsible for the erection of the statue, an administrator was appointed to oversee its installation (ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως).[42] The appointed administrator was often chosen from among the colleagues, friends, or parents of the honorand. Alternatively, an entire town, tribe, or even the honorand might be assigned with this responsibility (e.g., ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ εἰκόνα στῆσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππου [and it is permitted for him to also erect a bronze bust of himself [portrayed riding] on horseback] [*IG* II² 450]).

The most frequently used terms for the erection of a statue are ἀνέστησε and ἀναστάσεως, though there are others (e.g., ἀναθέσεως, ἐπιθέσεως), sometimes paired with terms for the fabrication of the statue (e.g., κατασκευῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως, ποιήσεως καὶ ἀναστάσεως). The term εἰκών specifies an honorific likeness of a mortal, such as a living emperor or a local official.[43] It is a

42. See discussion of commissioners and awarding of statues by Histria Maria Alexandrescu-Vianu, "La sculpture en pierre à Istros (II) (III^e–I^er siècles)," *RESE* 25 (1987): 135–38 (*SEG* 37.626). Cf. ἐπιμελησαμένου, ἐπιμελητεύσοντος, ὑπὸ (τὴν) ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ δεῖνος, προνοησαμένου τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ δεῖνος, δι' ἐπιμελείας τοῦ δεῖνος, προνοίᾳ τοῦ δεῖνος, διὰ ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος, δι' ἐπιμελείας; the verb ἐπιμεληθέντος applies to any person commissioned to set up a statue, whereas ἐπιμελητεύοντος has the same value as ἐπιμελητοῦ τῆς πόλεως (i.e., a public official; see Robert, *BE* [1946–47]: 164). An inscription from Aphrodisias mentions two administrators, one charged with having the statue made, and a second charged with putting it in place (LBW 1602A).

43. See Gilles Sauron, *Quis Deum? L'expression plastique des ideologies politiques et religieuses à Rome à la fin de la République et au début du principat*, BEFAR 285 (Rome: Écoles française de Rome, 1944). W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson ("Greek Inscriptions from Sardes II," *AJA* 17 [1913]: 29–52, esp. 36–37) argued that Hepding's distinction between ἄγαλμα as a cult statue and εἰκών as a portrait statue is not viable. On the meaning of εἰκών, εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος, and εἰκὼν γραπτή see T. Pekáry, "Statuen in Kleinasiatischen Inschriften," in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* 2.735–36; cf. Hugo Hepding, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904–1905: II. Die Inschriften," *AM* 32 (1907): 241–414, esp. 250–51; Robert, *BE* (1958): 16 (cf. [1955], 210); Pierre Guillon, "La stèle d'Agamédès," *RPhil* 10 (1936): 209–35; L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes: Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineur*, EO 5 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937), 171; Adolf Wilhelm, "Die Beschlüsse der Chier zu Ehren des Leukios Nassios," *WS* 59 (1941): 89–109, esp. 104.

general term that can bear a variety of meanings.[44] It often refers to a painting, though it can also refer to a bronze bust, a stone statue, or even a statuette. This term can also be modified by other terms, such as τελεία and ὁλοσώματος (life-size),[45] κολοσσική (colossal), χαλκῆ (bronze), γραπτή (painted), ἐφ' ἵππου/ἔφιππος (on horseback), πεζική (on foot), or ἔνοπλος (bearing a shield).[46] The term ἀνδριάς specifies either a statue of a mortal or a cult statue.[47] The term ἄγαλμα refers to a life-size statue, more often referring to a statue dedicated to a deity, an immortal, or a deified emperor than to one dedicated to an honorand.[48] Nonetheless, ἄγαλμα is occasionally employed of statues of private citizens.[49] Ἀγάλματα were placed in the cellae of temples, as well as in the most conspicuous part of agoras. The normal term for a bust is πρόσωπον or προτομή. The term ἀσπιδεῖα refers to *imagines clipeatae*, that is, portraits of gods and, sometimes, rulers, painted on shields.

The material with which the statue should be made or finished may be specified, with such terms as λιθίνη (stone), μαρμαρίνη (marble), χαλκῆ (bronze), χαλκῆ ἐπίχρυσος (gold-plated bronze),[50] and γραπτή (painted).[51]

44. See L. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Athènes," *REA* (1964): 316–24 (*OMS* 2.832–40).

45. Francis Piejko ("Antiochus Epiphanes Savior of Asia," *RivFil* 114 [1986]: 425–36, esp. 430–31 [*SEG* 36.1597; cf. 42.1833]) argues that the term ἀνδριάς in this sense was eclipsed by εἰκών in inscriptions sometime between ca. 300 and 350 B.C. and thereafter does not occur independently from εἰκών. This term often modifies εἰκών (in the context of contracting, fabrication, setting up, supervision, and costs), so that the phrase εἰκόνος τοῦ ἀνδριάντος means something like "his own likeness/image as represented by that figure" (see Suzanne Saïd, "Deux noms de l'image en grec ancien: Idole et icône," *CRAI* [1987]: 309–35, esp. 323–24); for the use of στήλη and τύπος to mean "statue" see Denis Feissel, "Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne VII," *BCH* 108 (1984): 545–79, esp. 547 nn. 11 and 13, 552 n. 38.

46. See, e.g., *IG* XII/7, 240.

47. See A. Salatch, "Imago Clipeata εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος," *RA* 9 (1937): 14–25; Robert, *BE* (1938): 233, (1958): 16 (p. 180), (1961): 419, (1962): 203; Adolf Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 7 (Vienna: A. Holder, 1909), 141.

48. See Maria L. Lazzarini, "Epigrafia e statua ritratto: Alcuni problemi," *AAPat* 97 (1984–85): 83–103.

49. See Kirsten Koonce, "ΑΓΑΛΜΑ and ΕΙΚΩΝ," *AJP* 109 (1988): 108–10; cf. Lazzarini, "Epigrafia e statua ritratto." S. R. F. Price (*Rituals and Power* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984], 178) was incorrect in his distinction between ἄγαλμα and εἰκών in terms of location.

50. Or χρυσῆ, which is a shortened expression for the same.

51. E.g., εἰκόνα γραπτὴν (*IDelos* VI 1519, L. 37; 1520, LL. 20ff.), sometimes followed by ἐν ὅπλῳ (or ἐν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρύσῳ) (i.e., painted on a [gold-plated] shield).

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10

Dedications and Ex-votos

It was common practice in antiquity to dedicate offerings to the gods as acts of piety and in conjunction with petitions and thanksgivings.[1] Inscriptions that record such acts are known as dedicatory inscriptions. They can easily be recognized if they name a god, contain the verb ἀνέθηκε (or equivalent), or contains a dedicatory term, such as χαριστήριον (thank offering).

Some inscriptions straddle the conventional classification divisions between dedications and other types of inscriptions. A dedication to a god may at the same time be a gift to a particular community or to the emperor or fulfill some other complementary function. For example, an inscription recording the dedication of a statue to Zeus in Sardis also publicized the promulgation of new sacred laws.[2] Similarly, an inscription with a dedication to Isis concludes with a lengthy aretalogy by the goddess herself, with many "I am" statements.[3]

10.01 The Form

The typical form of a dedication states the name of the god in the dative case (τῷ δεῖνι) and the name of the dedicator in the nominative (ὁ δεῖνα), as in

1. See the supplementary bibliography in this chapter; Günter Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 2d ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966), 56–62; Salomon Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885), 373–87; Guarducci, *EG*, 2.128–88, 3.1–89, 4.167–89.

2. See Louis Robert, "Une nouvelle inscription grecque de Sardes: Règlement de l'autorité perse relatif à un culte de Zeus," *CRAI* (1975): 306–30; Horsley in *NewDocs* 1.21.

3. *IKyme* 41; *NewDocs* 1.18–19.

Νικίας ταμίας Ματρὶ θεῶν [Nikias, the treasurer, [dedicated this] to the mother of the gods] (*IG* II² 2950–51).

Many dedications have a laconic character, omitting key words that are to be understood by the reader, especially the verb. Of those inscriptions that do employ a verb, the most common is ἀνέθηκεν, though there are many others (e.g., ἀφιέρωσεν, καθιέρωσεν, ἱδρύσατο, ἐνεχείρισεν [→ ἐγχειρίζω], ἐτέλεσεν).

The formulae ἀνέθηκεν καὶ ἠργάσατο reflects Latin influence, being the equivalent of *fecit et dedicavit* (e.g., Οὐίκτωρ εὐξ[ά]||μενος ἀνέ|θηκεν κὲ ἠρ|γάσετο τῷ Δ[ι] | Δολιχηνῷ [Victor, in fulfilling a vow, had this made and dedicated it to Zeus Dolichenos]).[4]

Many dedications specify the means by which the object was paid for. This can be indicated with such phrases as ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων[5] or, in the case of a public monument, ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐπεσκευάσθη.

10.02 The Dedicator

Normally, the name of the dedicator appears in the nominative case and near the end of the sentence (e.g., Διὶ Ἡλιοπολείτῃ Καρμήλῳ | Γ(άιος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Εὐτυχᾶς.| Κόλ(ων) Καισαρεύς [Gaius Iulius Eutyches [dedicated this statue] to Heliopolitan Zeus of Mount Carmel. Colonist of Caesarea]).[6] In fact, some dedications consist solely of the dedicator's name in the nominative case, as in οἱ ἐν Δήλωι τραπεζῖται [the bankers of Delos [dedicated this]] (*IDelos* VI, 1715); similarly, some dedications record only the dedicator's name in the objective genitive (τοῦ δεῖνος), presupposing the ellipsis of such terms as ἀνάθημα or δῶρον/δωρεά.

If the dedication was made by a group of persons, the names of all members might be listed (see, e.g., *IDelos* VI, 1730). In dedications made by cities, the terms ἡ πόλις and ὁ δῆμος are often left unexpressed. Some dedications were offered on behalf of a third party, (i.e., ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖνος), which is to say that the gift is made "in the name of someone" or "for someone." This purpose can be expressed with ὑπὲρ, as in οἱ τὴν τετράγωνον ἐργαζόμενοι | ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων | καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων | καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων || Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἑρμεῖ [the merchants of the tetragonal agora

4. See Baruch Lifshitz, "Notes d'épigraphie Palestinienne," *RBibl* 73 (1966): 248–57, esp. 255.

5. Cf. ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασι, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόρων.

6. A small votive from Mount Carmel, II–III A.D.; see M. Avi-Yonah, "Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek," *IEJ* 2 (1952): 118–24, esp. 118.

[dedicated this] to Apollo and Hermes in the name of the Roman people and the Athenian people, for themselves, and for the merchants] (*IDelos* VI, 1709). The same purpose can be expressed without ὑπὲρ by means of the simple dative, as in Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Γ. Κάσσιος Σέξτος ἀρχιβουκόλος θεῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς συνμύσταις (= συμμύσταις) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὸ μάγαρον (= μέγαρον) ἐποίησεν [For good fortune. Gaïus Cassius Sextus, chief cowherd, had this grotto made from his own resources for Dionysos and for his fellow *mystai*].[7] Similarly, a circular votive altar with a frieze of female figures reads, Ζώπυρος Ζωπύρου τὸν οἶκον | Ἑστίαι καὶ τῶι δάμωι [Zopyros, son of Zopyros, [dedicated] this house to Hestia, and for the people] (*IBM* IV, 1154).

10.03 The Deity

The name of the god is normally cited in the dative case. In some dedications, only the name of the god is given, as in Ἑρμῆι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ [[Dedicated] to Hermes and Herakles].[8] The name of the deity is sometimes followed by an epithet (e.g., Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος, Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος).[9]

The objective genitive form of the god's name might be used instead, with or without such terms as ἀνάθημα or δῶρον. This form states that the object is now the property of the god: for example, Ἀφροδίτης[10] means "[property] of Aphrodite"; Διὸς Σωτῆρος (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 121), "[property] of Zeus Soter." In numerous more ancient dedications, the object itself speaks, proclaiming, ἱερός εἰμι τοῦ δεῖνος (I am the sacred property of [the god] so-and-so). Dedications were also made to deified emperors and the imperial family (e.g., θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς [to the deified Augusti])(e.g., fig. 18).[11]

Some dedications state that the initiative for the gift came directly from the god. According to Tertullian, the gods frequently communicated with

7. See Jean Bousquet, "Inscription d'Abdère," *BCH* 62 (1938): 51–54.

8. See C. Dunant and J. Thomopoulos, *BCH* 78 (1954): 331, no. 6; *SEG* 14.536 (Keos, I A.D.).

9. For Zeus Megistos see *SEG* 36.981; cf. 35.697. For Zeus Kasios see *SEG* 36.1582. On the epithets Ἅγιος and Ὅσιος see Glen W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 16–17. For epithets of Apollo and Artemis see *SEG* 31.1684; for epithets of Demeter, *SEG* 30.1174, 36.1578, 39.499, 39.1726, 40.1713; for epithets of Ῥώμη, *SEG* 31.1694. On divine epithets from Moesia Inferior and Thrace see M. Tačeva-Hitova in *CongrEpigr* VII, 475–76 (*SEG* 29.686).

10. *SEG* 13.424 (Delos, II–I B.C.). Names of deities do not have a definite article unless they are referred to in the context of a cult or are used emphatically: e.g., τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἕδος (the sanctuary of Athena); νὴ τὸν Δία (by Zeus!).

11. See E. Mary Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), no. 135; Robert, *Hellenica,* VI, 71.

mortals by dreams, explicitly stated by the phrase καθ' ὅραμα (through a dream), sometimes with priests serving as intermediaries.[12] Similarly, some dedications could also be made at the god's command, this fact being indicated by such expressions as κατ' ἐπιταγήν, ἐξ' ἐπιτάγματος, or κατὰ πρόσταγμα (according to [his/her] command). In an inscription found near Leukopetra (Macedonia), the most high god commands that a dedication be made: Ἀ[ρ]ιάγνη{ν}, Μητ[ρὸς θεῶν] | ἱερόδουλος, κατ' ἐπιτα|γὴν Θεοῦ Ὑ[ψί]στου, | μετὰ υἱοῦ Παραμό||νου τὴν ἐπιτ[αγ]ὴν | ἀπέδωκεν τῷ θεῷ [Ariagne, temple slave of the mother of the gods, according to the command of the most high god, dedicated what was commanded to the god, with her son Paramonos].[13]

Some dedicants received their divine instructions through oracles (κατὰ χρησμός, κατὰ μαντείαν),[14] by direct inspiration (κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν), or by a vision (κατ' ὄναρ), as indicated in the inscriptions κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν Διὸς Κιλ|λαμενηνοῦ Ἀρχελάου | κώμη Μηνὸς τεκοῦσαν | καὶ Μῆναν Τύραννον καθι||έρωσαν ἔτους σμϛ' μη(νὸς) | Πανήμου [in accordance with the inspiration of Zeus Killamenenos, the village of Archelaos dedicated [this statue of] the mother of Men and Men Tyrannos in the year 246, in the month of Panemos] and θεῷ Μηνεὶ χρ(ησμῷ) χρ(ηματισθεὶς) Ὕλας εὐχ|[ήν] [dedicated] to the god Men, having been warned by an oracle, Hylas [fulfilled his] vow].[15]

10.04 The Object of Dedication

The object of dedication is named in the accusative case, often using generic terms, such as χαριστήριον (thank offering), εὐχαριστήριον/ια (thank offering), ἀπαρχή (firstfruits), or δεκάτη (tithe). In many cases, the object is not mentioned in the inscription, it being obvious to the onlooker either because

12. Tertullian (*De anima* 47.2) writes, "it is to dreams that the majority of humanity owe their knowledge of God"; cf. Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 60–61.

13. Horsley in *NewDocs* 5.136; cf. Εἰσιὰς Διοδώρου ἐκ Λαμπρέων Μητρὶ θεῶν κατ' ἐπιταγήν. πάντα θεὸν σεμνύνομεν (*SIG*³ 1153). On the syncretism of Θεὸς Ὕψιστος with other deities see *SEG* 43.1308.

14. E.g., the oracular shrines of Claros and Didyma. Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Random House, 1986), 168–261; H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 171–202; Joseph E. Fontenrose, *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

15. *CMRDM,* no. 2.A8 (Kula, Lydia [?] [A.D. 161/2]; Horsley in *NewDocs* 3.29; *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 110. Cf. Paul Veyne, "Une évolution du paganisme Gréco-Romain," *Latomus* 45 (1986): 259–83 (*SEG* 36.1588). On Zeus in Asia Minor see *SEG* 43.1311.

the inscription is engraved on the object (as is often the case) or because it is displayed in close proximity to it. Unfortunately, some dedicatory inscriptions have long since become separated from the object into which they were incorporated or the object has become so damaged or fragmented that its identity is impossible to determine.

Almost anything could be dedicated to a god, the choice depending on the occasion, the dictates of law and custom, and, of course, the financial means of the offerers. Among the dedicated objects were small symbolic objects, altars, statues,[16] works of art, precious offerings of gold and silver,[17] equipment,[18] and even hymns[19] and scientific works.[20] A famous temple inscription records Alexander the Great's dedication of a temple in Priene to Athena Polias during the first part of his journey through Asia Minor: Βασιλεὺς | Ἀλέξανδρος | ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν | Ἀθηναίῃ Πολιάδι [King Alexander dedicated this temple to Athena Polias] (*IBM* III, 399–400; see fig. 20).

There are examples of slaves being dedicated to a god. Such is the case in the gift of a slave to the mother of the gods (A.D. 179/80): Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Μητρὶ θεῶν αὐτόχθονι | Μαρσιδία Μαμαρὶς εὐξα|μένη ἐχαρισάμην κοράσιν || ὀνόματι Τυχικὴν σὺν τοῖς | ἐπιγεννωμένοις ὑπηρετοῦ|σαν τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐ|χούσης τῆς θεοῦ ἀνύβριστα, | ἔτους αισ΄ Σεβαστοῦ || τοῦ ζκτ΄ [For good fortune. [Dedicated] to the native mother of the gods: I, Marsidia Mamaris, according to my vow, have given a woman, Tychike by name, with any offspring that have been born to her, to [serve] the goddess, and the goddess shall have the power over her that is not to be violated. In the year 211 of Augustus, which is also 327 [of the Macedonian provincial era = A.D. 180]].[21]

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16. The terms ἄγαλμα and ἀνδριάς refer to life-size statues, with ἄγαλμα commonly implying a dedication to a deity, rather than an honorary statue; see Lazzarini, "Epigrafia e statua ritratto." On portable divine statues and the terms βαστάζω (carry, bear) and ἄγαλμα πομπικόν (statue for solemn procession) see L. Robert, *CRAI* (1981): 513–35.

17. See T. Linders in *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium, 1985,* ed. Tullia Linders and Gullog Nordquist, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas 15 (Uppsala: Academia Ubsaliensis, 1987), 115–22 (*SEG* 37.1843).

18. E.g., a bronze discus (*SEG* 37.362).

19. E.g., hymns of Isyllos in Epidauros (*IG* IV²/1, 128); hymns of Aristonoos in Delphi (*FD* III/2, 191); two hymns on the wall of the treasury of the Athenians in Delphi (*FD* III/2, 137–38).

20. E.g., the astronomic inscription in Rhodos described as a "gift of gratitude" (χαριστήριον) (*IG* XII/1, 913); the inscribed chronicle on Paros (*IG* XII/5, 444); cf. Angelos Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften: Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie,* Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 4 (Stuttgart and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1988), 278–79, 282–83.

21. Ph. M. Petsas, M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. Gounaropoulos, and P. Paschidis, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochthone de Leukopetra (Macédoine),* Meletêmata 28 (Athens, 2000), 91, no. 14; cf. *SEG* 24.498A; Robert, *BE* (1977): 268; *SEG* 26.729, 34.656–59.

τοῦ δεῖνος ἀνέθηκεν (θεῷ)). For example, in Athens, a choragus dedicated his prize, a tripod on a base, in the name of the choirs of the tribe that were victorious in the competition (*IG* II² 3042).[23] Similarly, public officials who were honored with crowns for good administration sometimes dedicated them to a god.

10.05 Ex-votos

In the strict sense, ex-votos are dedications made in fulfillment of a vow. A dedicator having made a request in the past promised to deliver the quid pro quo as soon as the request was granted. This fact is often explicitly stated with a formulaic expression, such as καθὼς ὑπέσχετο (as he had promised) and especially εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν, κατ᾽ εὐχήν, δι᾽ εὐχήν, εὐξάμενος καθιέρωσε, ὁ δεῖνα εὐξάμενος, εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν θεῷ, ἐποίησεν εὐχήν, εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν (e.g., Ἀριστοκλέα Κιτιὰς Ἀφροδίτη|ι Οὐρανίαι εὐξαμένη ἀνέθηκεν [Aristoklea of Kitium, in fulfillment of a vow, dedicated [this altar] to Aphrodite Ourania] [*IG* II² 4636]). The term εὐξάμενος, translated as "having made a vow," is, of course, nothing other than the aorist participle of εὔχομαι (I pray). Jewish inscriptions prefer the phrase ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς, while Christians favor εὐχὴ τοῦ δεῖνος.

The verb is often omitted when the term εὐχή follows, as in Καλικλῆς | Δεὶ εὐχήν [Kalikles [dedicated this] to Zeus [in fulfillment of] a vow]. (*IKibyra-Olbasa* III, 89). However, this is not always the case (e.g., Ἐβίκτητος | ἐπύησε|ν (= ἐποίησεν) θεῷ | ὑψίστῳ | εὐχήν [Epictetus made this for the most high god [in fulfillment of] a vow]).[24]

The term *ex-voto* is also applied to dedications offered in thanksgiving, typically indicated by such terms as χαριστήριον or εὐχαριστήρια ([given as] a thank offering). The occasion for this thanksgiving is sometimes made explicit, but more frequently, the dedicant simply states that the god had "listened to" (and answered) his or her prayer, employing the epithet ἐπήκοος (who listens to prayer), as in θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι.[25] A marble relief of a horseman framed within a shrine records a thanksgiving to "Apollo who hears prayers": Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπηκόῳ Μᾶρκος | Σάλουϊος Δουίσκος [Marcus Salvius Douiscus [dedicated this] to Apollo who hears prayers] (*IBM* IV, 1034; see fig. 21). Similarly, a lengthy metrical graffito praising the saving power of Pan begins with the words Πανὶ τόδε εὐάγρῳ καὶ ἐπηκόωι ὃς διέσωισεν Τρωγοδυτῶν με ἐκ γῆς, πολλὰ παθόντα πόνοις δισσοῖς [[I dedicated] this to Pan of the successful hunt, who listens to prayers, who brought me safe from the land of the Trogodytai when I suffered greatly with double pains].[26]

As in the case of the inscription just cited, dedicants sometimes furnish the specific reasons for making the dedication, such as σωθεὶς ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων (having been rescued from great dangers) and κινδυνεύσας καὶ διασωθεὶς ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ (having been endangered and then saved at this spot) (see *IKibyra-Olbasa,* 150). Among the most common of these causes for dedication is protection or rescue from the dangers posed by sea travel, as in Θεοῦ εὐλογία· | Θευόδοτος Δωρίωνος | Ἰουδαῖος σωθεὶς ἐκ πε|λ<άγ>ους [praise be to God; Theodotos, son of Dorion, a Jew who was saved from the sea, [dedicated this]].[27] In the following inscription, dedication is made to Aphrodite, who assisted the suppliant as a midwife: ἐπὶ Ἐπικράτους ἄρχοντος, Μεγίστη | Ἀρχιτίμου Σφητίου θυγάτηρ Μητρὶ | θεῶν εὐαντῇ ἰατρίνῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ | ἀνέθηκεν (during the archonship of Epikrates, Megiste, daughter of Architimos, of the deme of Sphettios, dedicated this to the mother of the gods, Aphrodite, the midwife who comes to help).[28] There are also cases in which the danger was imposed by the god himself: a number of ex-votos from Eumeneia state that they were given under the compulsion of divine chastisement (e.g., Ἀπόλλω|νι Προ|πυλαίῳ | Ἐπιτύν|χανος κολα|ζόμενος | ἀνέθηκεν [to Apollo Propylaios, Epitynchanos, under chastisement, dedicated [this]]).[29]

Perhaps the most frequently attested theme in dedications is that of healing. The gods Asklepios and Hygeia in particular were noted for their ability to cure diseases and other physical complaints. Asklepios was the patron of medical centers in Epidauros, Pergamon, Kos, Delos, and elsewhere.[30] Similarly, the formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας is frequently found on buildings, especially

23. Cf. *IG* V/2, 118, the dedication of a tragic actor in commemoration of his victories in the various dramatic contests (ca. 276–218 B.C.).

24. See T. Drew-Bear, "Local Cults in Graeco-Roman Phrygia," *GRBS* 17 (1976): 247–68, esp. 247–49, no. 1 (engraved on a small altar from Yenice Köy near Akmonia [Phrygia] and dating from the imperial period); cf. Simon Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 40–41.

25. See Otto Weinreich, "ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ," *AM* 37 (1912): 1–68; εὐήκοος is an alternative to ἐπήκοος.

26. A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs: Les inscriptions grecques* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), no. 8 (late III B.C.?); cf. Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.113–14.

27. *OGI* 74; Guarducci, *EG,* 3.205–6; Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.113.

28. *IG* II² 4714 (Piraios, Augustan era); cf. εὐαντήτῳ ἰατρείνῃ εὐχήν on an ex-voto to a helpful midwife (Paul Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les grecs: Thiases, éranes, orgéons* [Paris: Klincksieck, 1873], 199, no. 14).

29. T. Drew-Bear, "Local Cults," 260–61, no. 15 (cf. 262–66, no. 17); Horsley in *NewDocs* 1.32.

30. See the listings for healing narratives in the supplementary bibliography in chap. 7.

of Jewish and Christian provenance. The following inscription was engraved on a marble column in a synagogue in Caesarea Maritima: Προ(σφορὰ) Θεωδώρο<υ> | υἱοῦ Ὀλύμπου | ὑπὲρ σωτερίας | Ματρώνας || θυγατρός [the gift of Theodoros, son of Olympos, for the health of his daughter, Matrona].[31] Gifts of gratitude given in thanksgiving for healing can be made with more explicit expressions, such as ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁράσεως (for the healing of eyesight). Some of these depict the particular human body parts affected by illness or accident.[32] Thanksgivings may employ the term χαριστήριον/ια and recite the nature of the healing. One such inscription includes a relief of a lower left leg and foot offered as an ex-voto in thanksgiving for the healing of the lower leg: Ἀσκλη|πιῷ | καὶ Ὑγείᾳ (=Ὑγίεια) | Τύχη | εὐχαρισ|τήριον [Tyche [dedicated this] to Asklepios and Hygieia as a thank offering [for granting her petition]] (*IBM* II, 365).

Not all depictions of body parts represent physical cures. The representation of human ears on an altar represents either a plea to be heard or gratitude for having been heard.[33] The depiction of human hair, a symbol of vitality, indicates not a cure of baldness but the act of putting oneself under a god's protection.[34] Similarly, the picture of soles of feet sculpted in relief followed by names (in the nominative or genitive) implies not the healing of feet but the dedications of pilgrims.[35]

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31. *IJudDonateurs* 52, no. 67. Cf. Eleazar L. Sukenik, "The Mosaic Inscriptions in the Synagogue at Apamea on the Orontes," *HUCA* 23, no. 2 (1951–52), 541–51, esp. 544, no. 2; *CIJ* 804–11, 964–65, 1438. For a Christian inscription see F.-M. Abel, "Chronique: II. Épigraphie du sud Palestinien. 1. Inscriptions d'el-ʿAoudjeh," *RBibl* 29 (1920): 113–26, esp. 113, no. 1, 114–15, no. 2; 116, no. 3.

32. See F. T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World,* ed. H. S. Versnel, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 63–151, esp. 105–81.

33. See Otto Weinreich, "ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ," *AM* 37 (1912): 1–68, esp. 46–48.

34. E.g., a relief of two plaits of hair is dedicated to Poseidon (*IG* IX/2, 146). Cf. Ludwig Sommer, *Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen* (Münster, 1912); Paulus Schredelseker, *De superstitionibus Graecorum quae ad Crines pertinent* (Heidelberg: R. Noske, 1913).

35. See Hans Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros,* Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 19, no. 3 (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1924), 68ff.; Margherita Guarducci, "Le impronte del *Quo Vadis* e monumenti affini, figurati ed epigrafici," *RendPontAcc* 19 (1942–43): 303–44.

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11

Funerary Inscriptions

Funerary inscriptions (*tituli sepulcrales*) are more common than inscriptions of any other class.[1] The majority of these were engraved on stelae, sarcophagi, tombs, and altars. Since most epitaphs are notoriously difficult to date, they are not arranged chronologically in corpora but usually catalogued alphabetically according to the first letter of the name of the deceased.

Brief epitaphs, usually consisting of a single name, could be inscribed with a sharp point or painted on cinerary urns containing cremated remains or on amphorae (employed as an inexpensive alternative). If the urn was deposited in a wall or columbarium, inscribed plaques were affixed to the wall or beneath each *loculus*. Small *cippi* marking the burial plots of slaves and the poorer classes in Greece might also be inscribed. There are many surviving examples of these in the Kerameikos (Potters' Quarter) on the west side of Athens, outside the city wall, which served as the city's chief cemetery.

In contrast to monumental inscriptions, most funerary inscriptions were produced in the peripheral workshops by artisans who often lacked the same degree of skill and education as the artisans responsible for public inscriptions. It is supposed that they worked from drafts that were either composed or dictated by customers and that, in some cases, they might have composed the draft themselves based on biographical details supplied by customers (see § 0.07). Any of these alternatives might easily result in flawed or inelegant drafts, especially in multilingual and multicultural contexts, such as Asia Minor and Palestine.

The distinction between funerary inscriptions and inscriptions of other

1. See Günther Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957), 54–58; Salomon Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885), 423–33.

classes is often blurred; for example, commemorative inscriptions (*tituli memoriales*) that pay honor to benefactors after their death bear similarities to both funerary and honorary inscriptions. An example is ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Πρεῖσκον Πρείσκου κοσμίως βιώσαντα [the council and assembly have honored with the golden crown Marcus Aurelius Priscus, son of Priscus, who has lived a well-ordered life] (*IG* XII/5, 314; Paros). The motivation for bestowing these posthumous honors may be expressed in such words as ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν (on account of his virtue), σωφρόνως βιώσασαν (having lived prudently), ἄριστα βιώσαντα (having lived best), ζήσαντα πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς (having lived as a model of virtue), or προμοίρως βιώσαντα (having lived, he died an untimely death).

Crowns or wreaths bestowed on the deceased during their lifetime were often depicted on commemorative inscriptions, with or without the names of the groups who gave the crowns or wreaths. For example, an inscription from Smyrna commemorates two men, father and son (both having the name *Demokles*), who had been awarded honorary crowns by the assembly (ὁ δῆμος); representations of these crowns are carved in relief at the top of the stele. Within each crown is inscribed the word ὁ δῆμος, and the names of the two men are engraved below the crowns in the accusative case, as if the inscription were an honorary one:[2]

ὁ δῆμος [in crown]	ὁ δῆμος [in crown]
Δημοκλῆν	Δημοκλῆν
Δημοκλήους	Ἀμφιλόχου

The distinction between funerary inscriptions and dedications can also be difficult to determine, such as when a man dedicates his possessions to a god after his death. In the following epitaph, a soldier named Ares dedicated his weapons and military service to Ares, the god of war, at his retirement and subsequently died: Παυσάμενος στρατιᾶς Ἄρης Ἄρηι παρέδοκεν ὅπλα | καὶ στρατιάν· καταλίψας ταῦτα εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον ἄκοσμον | ἀπελήλυθε, ὅπου οὐδὲν ὑπάρχι, εἰ μὴ μόνον σκοτίη. | κθ′ [his military service completed, Ares dedicated his weapons and his period of service to [the god] Ares

2. Beneath the inscription is a relief of Demokles shaking hands with his seated father and eight lines of verse (*IBM* IV, 1024); cf. such cognate expressions as ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησε τὸν δεῖνα εἰκόνι χαλκέᾳ καὶ στεφάνῳ διηνεκεῖ, ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἔθαψε δημοσίᾳ (the assembly has honored so-and-so with a bronze bust and with an unbroken crown, [and] crowned [his funeral monument] and honored him with funeral rites at public expense).

and, having left these things, has gone to another world without order, where nothing but darkness exists. [Died at an age of] twenty-nine years.][3]

11.01 Formulae Used in Funerary Inscriptions

In its most laconic form, an epitaph will consist of a single name, usually in the nominative case (e.g., Λυκάων [*IG* II² 11979]), though the genitive and dative cases are also attested. The dative case occurs frequently in the areas of Boiotia, Phokis, and Lycia, especially in the formula ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖνι ([epitaph] for so-and-so). Occasionally, the accusative case is used, as if the deceased were being named in an honorary inscription. The use of the accusative case for the dative is common in the region of Phrygia and Central Anatolia (e.g., Τατεις Μουσαίου ἡ μήτηρ καὶ Ἑρμαῖος ὁ ἀδελφός Μουσαῖον ἐποίησαν [Tates, mother of Mousaios, and Hermaios, his brother, made this for Mousaios]).[4] In this inscription, as in many others, the accusative case is employed where one would normally expect the dative, and an image of the deceased is carved on the monument itself. In most instances this should probably be interpreted as a difference in attitude toward the monument itself, meaning "so-and-so set up [this image of] so-and-so" (e.g., *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 80; *IKonya,* nos. 99–102, 104, 130–31, 139–40, 151–52, 171, 173, 188, 189). However, in some inscriptions, the number of images of the deceased does not correspond exactly to the number of persons named in the inscription and in other instances, no image of the deceased accompanies the inscription (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 4). These can be interpreted as variations on the previously mentioned usage of the accusative case. The use of the genitive, as in τοῦ δεῖνος ([grave] of so-and-so), is not common until the third century A.D. This formula can be slightly expanded by adding such terms as θήκη, μνῆμα, μνημόριον, μνημεῖον, ἡρῷον, σῆμα, σορός, ληνός, or στήλη.

There are many regional differences with regard to the naming of graves, tombs, sarcophagi, and related structures.[5] For example, the use of the term

3. *IBM* IV, 1113 (A.D. 160–80); the first line is a hexameter, but the remainder seems to have no metrical scheme.

4. *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 4; cf. nos. 6, 9, 80. See Claude Brixhe, *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ére,* 2d ed. (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1987), 96.

5. E.g., ἀγγεῖον, εἰσώστη, ἐκβάσμωσις, ἐντάφη, ἐντομίς (Thrace), ἐσσόριον, ἡρῷον, θέσις, καμάρα, καμάριον, καύστρα, κοίμησις, κοιμητήριον, λατόμιον (Perinthos), ἐντάφη, θρεπτός, καμάριον, λέων, ληνός (central Anatolia), μάκρα, μνημεῖον, μνημόριον, μνημόσυνον, νάρθηξ, οἰκτήριον, ὀστοθήκη, παραστατικόν, πλάτας, πρόμνημα, πυρία (Teos, Kolophon, Ephesos, Kayster Valley), σκαφή, σορός, μάκρα, στιβάς (west Caria), στοιβᾶς, σωματοθήκη, τάφος, ταφή, τόπος ἀναπαύσεως, σκεῦος, τύμβος, ὑπόμνημα, ὑποσόριον, ὑπώστη, πέλτα is restricted to Phrygia and Lycaonia, where it designates a platform on which the sarcophagus was set; it corresponds to the term ὑπόβασις and perhaps to ὑπόσπειρον.[6] Other substructures mentioned in Phrygian epitaphs include σύγκρουστον, στρῶμα, θέμα, βαθρικόν, and κρηπίς.

The region of Isauria provides one of the most distinctive of all the types of gravestone, the rectangular box-shaped λάρναξ (ὀστοθήκη). A *larnax* is a sarcophagus with a small cavity for the remains of a body. The cover is separate, often in the shape of a crouching lion.[7] Both elements are the subject of a great variety of treatments. The box form lent itself to the representation in relief of the family that purchased it.[8] Lions are frequently found surmounting altars and larnaxes, or forming a separate part of the funerary decoration.[9]

The phrase κοιμητήριον (*coemeterium*) τοῦ δεῖνος ([a single] tomb [literally, "sleeping chamber"] of so-and-so) is especially common in Christian inscriptions of Attica (see § 11.09).[10] There are of course other formulae, such as σῆμα τόδ' ἐστι τοῦ δεῖνος (this is the grave-marker/tomb of so-and-so). Tomb ownership can also be expressed using the term διαφέρων in the formula μνημόριον διαφέρον τοῦ δεῖνος/τῷ δεῖνι (tomb belonging to so-and-so).[11]

The term τόπος (private burial plot) is often combined with a term for tomb or sarcophagus to describe the ownership of the plot of land on which a tomb is constructed (e.g., ἡ σορός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὸ τόπος καὶ τὸ ὑπόγειον Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ἑρμεία [this sarcophagus and the plot of land

χαμοσόριον. See J. Kubińska, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure,* Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences 5 (Warsaw: Édition Scientifique de Pologne, 1968) (cf. *BE* [1969]: 118); G. Petzl, "Ein Zeugnis für ein Grab-Triclinum," *EpigAnat* 25 (1995): 106; Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil,* 119–21, 223; Robert, *BE* (1948): 102, p. 165. See also Robert, *Hellenica,* I, 63; II, 147; X, 173, 176; XIII, 192–94.

6. See W. M. Calder, "Inscriptions d'Iconium," *RPhil* 36 (1912): 48–77, nos. 6, 11, 27, 42, 43.

7. See W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, and C. W. M. Cox, "Asia Minor, 1924," *JRS* 14 (1924): 24–84, esp. 70–71, no. 102; H. S. Cronin, "First Report of a Journey in Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia," *JHS* 22 (1902): 94–125, 339–76, esp. 346, no. 80; Sterrett*WE,* no. 234.

8. See A. M. Ramsay, "Isaurian and East Phrygian Art in the Third and Fourth Centuries after Christ," in *SERP* 5–92; A. M. Ramsay, "Examples of Isaurian Art: The Screen in Isaurian Monuments," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay,* ed. W. M. Buckler and W. M. Calder (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923), 323–38.

9. See Calder, "Inscriptions d'Iconium," nos. 18, 21, 24.

10. See John Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, "Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens," *Hesperia* 16 (1947): 1–54, esp. 6–11; on the evolution of the meaning of *coemeterium* see *SEG* 43.1324.

11. E.g., μημόριον διαφέρον Εὐχρωμείου (*ISard*BR 169); ἡρῷον διαφέρον Ἰωάννῃ (Henri Grégroire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* [Paris: E. Leroux, 1922], 29, no. 98 *quater*); μνῆμα διαφέρον Ἀναστασίῳ (*ISard*BR 173).

around it and the subterranean vault belong to M. Antonius Hermeias]).[12] The phrase τὸν τόπον τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ταφὴν ψηφισαμένης declares that the council has voted a given piece of land (τόπος) for a burial place (εἰς ταφήν); it is comparable to the Latin formula *l(oco) p(ublico) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (used in a funerary context), signifying that public land has been given by a decree of the council.

Another frequently employed formula begins with ἐνθάδε (or ἔνθα, ἐνταῦθα, ἐντοῦθα) and includes such expressions as ἐνθάδε (κατα)κεῖται ὁ δεῖνα (here lies so-and-so) or simply ἐνθάδε ὁ δεῖνα as in the following elegiac couplet: ἐνθάδε γηράσαντ' Ἰταλὸν κατέθαψε δακρύσας οἰκονόμον πιστὸν Χρῆστος ἀποφθίμενον [in this place, Chrestos buried aged Italos, weeping for his faithful steward when he died].[13] This formula, modeled on the Latin *hic jacet,* is typical of Christian inscriptions of the fourth century or later. A common Christian variant is ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ (here lives so-and-so).

The name of the deceased may include the patronymic, ethnic, or demotic (see § 4.17). An epitaph of a woman usually records the father's name or sometimes, if the woman is married, the name of the husband (e.g., Εὐφραντίς, γυνὰ δὲ Διογένευς, χρηστὰ χαῖρε [Euphrantis, wife of Diogenes, farewell good woman]).[14]

Grave inscriptions attest to the deaths not only of humans but also of their favorite animals, especially dogs and horses. A prime example is the epigram from Lesbos for the female dog Parthenope (*IG* XII/2, 459).[15]

In the Hellenistic period, the profession of the deceased was not usually stated, though this practice increased throughout the Roman period.[16] For example, a survey of inscriptions from Sardis includes mention of a lawyer, a teacher, a dealer in swine, and a mounted gladiator (*ISard*BR 148, 150, 159, 162).

Specification of the age of the deceased is also rare in Hellenistic inscriptions. It was a custom in Attica to omit the record of the age of the deceased in

12. *IEph* 2212; cf. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ αὐτὴν τόπος [the sarcophagus and the land on which it stands] (*IHierap*], no. 227); cf. also *IHierap*P, no. 23 (cf. nos. 25, 45).

13. *IBith*Sahin III, 12 (Necropolis of Nikaia); Horsley in *NewDocs* 3.39.

14. *SEG* 14.701 (Caria, Roman period).

15. Cf. the epitaphs of a mouse (*SEG* 37.1207) and a pig (Gerhard Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften als Zeugnisse des privaten und öffentlichen Lebens* [Munich: Heimeran, 1966], 35–36 [*SEG* 25.711]). Cf. Kaibel 329, 332, 625, 626, 627; D. Woysch-Méautis, *La representation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l'époque archaïque à la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.,* Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande 21 (Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 1982) (*SEG* 33.1556).

16. See *MAMA* III for an index list and descriptions of occupations.

a prose epitaph, a custom that came to exercise influence over the epitaphs of resident aliens as well.[17] Epitaphs were more concerned with inserting the deceased into the generations of his or her family, especially through the lineage of the father, than in establishing an absolute chronology. In contrast, funerary epigrams frequently record the age quite precisely. Commenting on this phenomenon, Marcus Tod suggests that the mention of the age added pathos in the case of those who died in childhood[18] or was reserved for those on the threshold of manhood or womanhood.[19] In such contexts, such an adjective as ὀλιγοχρόνιος (short-lived) might be used. Alternatively, the age might be stated to call attention to a remarkably long life span.[20]

The practice of specifying the age in prose epitaphs increased in the Roman period, usually accomplished with the formula ἐτῶν + cardinal number, as in ἐτῶν ιε' (aged fifteen years). A popular variant in Asia Minor is ζήσας/ἔζησεν/βίωσας ἔτη + cardinal number, as in ζήσαντα ἔτη νζ' (who lived fifty-seven years).[21] Sometimes the number of months is also stated, as in ἔτους σν' μη(νὸς) Διού ι' ἀπι(ούσῃ) Φιλέταιρον Λ. Ὀκταβίου Πωλλίωνος ἡ σύνοδος τῶν τεκτόνων ἐτείμησεν ζήσαντα ἔτη κγ' μῆ(νας) θ'. χαῖρε [in the year 250, on the tenth day of the second half of Dios, the association of carpenters honored Philetairos, [a slave] of Lucius Octavius Pollio, who lived twenty-three years, nine months. Farewell!].[22] In the post-Constantinian period, ἐνταῦθα κεῖται ὁ δεῖνα τελευτήσας (or ἐτελεύτησε) ἐτῶν + cardinal number came into common use. Epitaphs of children often give the age very accurately, in terms of not only years and months but also days and even hours.

Other forms of dating are also used. In Kyrene, the year of death is often stated according to the reign of the emperor (see § 6.01). Similarly, in Egypt, not only the year of death but sometimes the date of birth (ἐγεννήθη) is given according to regnal years.

Some stelae display the image of two hands lifted in the air, palms turned up in a gesture of prayer. In its early usage, this image was employed to invoke

17. See James H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 11 (1942): 29–90, esp. 90 (*IG* II² 12595, LL. 3–4).

18. See, e.g., *IG* II² 12629 (six months), 10699A (fifteen months), 12960 (five years).

19. See, e.g., *IG* II² 13132 (sixteen years), 13009A (nineteen years).

20. See Marcus N. Tod, "The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attic," *BSA* 45 (1950): 126–39, esp. 130.

21. See Serap Bakir-Barthel and Helmut Müller, "Inschriften der Umgebung von Saittai (II)," *ZPE* 36 (1979): 163–94, esp. 165–66, no. 25.

22. Bakir-Barthel and Müller, "Inschriften," 167–71, no. 28; cf. ἔτους ϱλβ', μη(νὸς) α' θι' (Robert, *Hellenica,* IX, 28).

the gods, especially Helios, to avenge a violent death. It later became a symbol of the call for divine help against grave vandals and evil spirits.[23] This image is also found on the tombstones of those who died young, especially nameless infants who died before the tenth day, that is, the day on which newborns were named; the epitaphs of these children simply carry the inscription παῖς (πάϊλλος in Boiotia),[24] often abbreviated to Π/ΠΑ, or κόρα/κόριλλα (little girl).

11.02 The Preparation of Epitaphs, Sarcophagi, Tombs, and Funerary Altars

In many regions, the cost of erecting the monument was borne by a relative. The name of this donor is expressed (in the nominative case) with the simple formula ὁ δεῖνα (ἐπὶ/ὑπὲρ) τῷ δεῖνι (so-and-so [had this made] for so-and-so), as in ἔτευξε τύμβον | τοῦτον Ἀρτεμεί|σιος ἀλόχῳ πο|θεινῇ τοὔνομ' | Ἀρτεμεισίᾳ [Artemeisios had this tomb made for his beloved wife named Artemeisia] (*ISard*BR 144). The verb (ἐποίησε, ἔτευξε, etc.) is often understood, as in Ὀσονοα ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Ἀρτεμῇ [Osonoa [had this made] for her father, Artemes].[25] Some epitaphs specify that the task had been undertaken according to instructions of the deceased (καθὼς ὁ δεῖνα ἐνετείλατο [*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 38]).

Such statements may be accompanied by an explicit declaration that the cost was borne at the donor's expense, which may be declared with such formulae as ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων, τοῖς ἑαυτῆς τέλεσιν, ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου, ἰδίαις δαπάναις, ἐξ ἰδίων καμάτων, or ἐξ ἰδίων κόπων. In such places as Rhodes and Kos, a large number of relatives might be involved in paying for the tomb.[26] The entire community might sponsor the construction, as expressed in the formula ὁ δῆμος τῷ δεῖνι κατεσκεύασε[27] τὸ μνημεῖον (or equivalent) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. There are also instances in which the tomb or grave monument was paid for by the professional or religious association to which the deceased belonged (e.g., ἔτους σλβ' μη(νὸς) Αὐδναί|ου γ' Πρεῖμον Μουσαί|ου ἐτείμησεν ἡ σύνο|δος τῆς σκυτικῆς ζήσαν|τα

23. See, e.g., *MAMA* V, 225n.

24. On names derived from παῖλλος (e.g., Πάϊλλος, Παιλλέας, Παιλλίας, Παϊλλει) see *SEG* 37.409.

25. See Christian Naour, "Inscriptions de Lycie," *ZPE* 24 (1977): 265–90, esp. 276–79, no. 6 (Arsada, Lycia).

26. See P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 52–58; Horsley in *NewDocs* 2.48.

27. Or ἐποίησε, ἀνέθηκεν, ἀνέστησε, ᾠκοδόμησε, ἐξήρτισε, ἔθηκε, ἠγόρασε.

ἔτη νζ' [in the year 232 [=A.D. 147/8], on the third day of Audnaios, the association of leather workers honored Primus, son of Mousaios, who lived fifty-seven years]).[28]

In the Greek cities of Asia Minor, it was customary for wealthier citizens to have a tomb chamber made for themselves and their family during their own lifetime. It was customarily a rectangular chamber, sometimes with a small forecourt and arched recesses within, in which were set sarcophagi. In such cases, the word ζῇ/ζῶσιν (he is living/they are living), the participle ζῶν/ζῶσα (while living), or ζῶντες φρονοῦντες (while living and being of sound mind) are analogous to the Latin phrase *v(ivus) f(ecit)* or *v(iva).* This formula was especially popular in the imperial period, perhaps used to prevent the new tomb from becoming a bad omen.[29] Alternatively, this danger might be dispelled by beginning the funerary inscription with the words ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (for good fortune). By the late third century A.D., this formula was sometimes expanded to ὁ δεῖνα ζῶν μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ (so-and-so had this tomb made for himself while living), followed by ὑπὲρ μνήμης κὲ ἀναπαύσεως (for his memory and for his repose).

The intended occupants of such a tomb were usually specified. Typically, a tomb would have room for a man and his wife (γυναικί), his children (τέκνοις), and—in the case of larger tombs—his descendants (ἐκγόνοις), as in the case of the Μελίτωνος καὶ ἐκγόνων [tomb of Meliton and his descendants].[30] Those who could legally be interred therein might include members of the extended family, such as an ἔγγονος (grandson), ἐγγόνη (granddaughter), νύμφη (daughter-in-law), ἀνεψιός (cousin), ἀδελφιδέος (nephew), πάππος (grandfather), μάμμη (grandmother), and πενθερός (father-in-law). There were also household graves for family members that extended beyond kinship groups, including θρεπτοί/αί ("foster sons" and "foster daughters" [see § 4.17]), and freedmen, both of whom could occupy a trusted position within the extended family. The formula τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον κληρονόμοις οὐκ ἀκολουθήσει (this tomb will not be passed on as an inheritance to any heirs) (see *CIG* 3870) is a Latinism corresponding to *hoc monumentum heredes non sequetur.* Funerary altars (βωμοί) frequently accompanied grave sites and were inscribed with epitaphs.[31] Romans used four-sided altars, while the

28. Bakir-Barthel and Müller, "Inschriften," 165–66, no. 25 (*SEG* 29.1183).

29. On ζῇ, ζῶν, ζῶσα, etc. see Robert in *OMS* 6.3 n. 5. For examples see *ISard*BR 150; *IHierap*P, no. 25. Cf. ζῶσιν [they are living] (*ISard*BR 157).

30. *ISard*BR 149; cf. 155.

31. See D. Boschung, *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nikropolen Roms,* Acta Bernensia 10 (Bern: Stampfli, 1987) (*SEG* 37.804); D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits,*

Greek-style altar was circular. The altar itself was erected on a square stone base called a socle. One of the primary functions of funerary altars was to support busts or images of the deceased. Hence, one could loosely translate βωμός as "funerary column." This explains the altar inscription that informs the reader that someone ἀνέστησεν τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τῇ θυγατρὶ Γῇ καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ (=υἱῷ) Μήνιδι [set up the images of his daughter, Ge, and his son, Menis] (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 93; cf. 7). Many of these altars carry bas-reliefs of the deceased instead of, or in addition to, such busts.

11.03 Motive and Expressions of Endearment

From Hellenistic times onward, the motive of the donor(s) of the monument is often expressed with such stock phrases as μνήμης χάριν, μνείας χάριν, or μνήμης ἕνεκα (in memory/as a memorial).[32] The phrase is normally preceded by the dative of the person for whom a tomb is erected, but the genitive is also attested (see, e.g., *SEG* 31.1705). These expressions occur with especially high frequency in the Roman period, these being equivalent to the Latin expression *m(emoriae) c(ausa).*[33]

There are also slightly more extended expressions of motive, such as μνείας ἕνεκεν (in remembrance), μνείας καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα (for the sake of [his/her] memory and goodwill), φιλοστοργίας ἕνεκεν (in loving remembrance), or φιλοστοργίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν (in loving remembrance and goodwill).[34] Many epitaphs under Roman influence consign the deceased to the care of the chthonic gods with the formulae θε(οῖς) κα(ταχθονίοις) (or ΘΚ), δ(ίς) μ(άνιβους), θ(εοῖς) δ(αίμοσι), and, less frequently, θεοῖς

Archaeologica 62 (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1987) (*SEG* 37.803). See Robert, *Hellenica,* VI, 87–88; X, 247–56. See *SEG* 26.121, 826, 1623; 27.47, 303, 716, 827, 859, 862, 870, 901; 30.351; 31.9, 31, 324, 1587 (in ruler cult); 32.2, 244, 263, 265, 268; 33.201, 302–4; 36.759, 979, 993–98, 1472–77; 37.731. See M. P. Nilsson, *Opuscula selecta linguis Anglica, Francogallica, Germanica conscripta,* 3 vols., Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen 80, no. 2 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1951–60), 1:211 n. 124; Ferdinand Robert, *Thymélè: Recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaires dans l'architecture réligieuse de la Grèce* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1939), 260ff.; Dietrich Berges, *Hellenistische Rundaltäre Kleinasiens* (Freiburg: Berges, 1986) (*SEG* 36.1568); A. S. F. Gow, "On the Meaning of the Word ΘΥΜΕΛΗ," *JHS* 32 (1912): 213–38.

32. E.g., *IGalatN* II, nos. 19, 21–23, 29, 32–33; *ISard*BR 153 (μνείας χάριν).

33. E.g., Κλεαγόρα Βότυϊ τῷ υἱῷ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνηείας χάριν· χαῖρε, παροδεῖτα (*SEG* 12.444 [Caria]); Ἰατρικῆς τῆς Ἑρμοῦ μνήμης χάριν (*SEG* 12.328 [Beroia]).

34. See Robert, *Hellenica,* XIII, 38–41. In Asia Minor, the term φιλοστοργία almost always occurs in connection with love directed by or toward a mother or wife; in Egypt, the pattern is less consistent (see Horsley in *NewDocs* 2.103). On Dionysiac motives in epitaphs see *SEG* 43.1291.

ἥρωσιν,[35] corresponding to the Latin formula *d(is) M(anibus)* ([sacred] to the spirits).

Many epitaphs conclude with a wish that all would go well for the deceased, such as χαῖρε (farewell), or with equivalent expressions, such as εὐτύχει/εῖτε (good luck) or εὐψύχει/εῖτε (farewell), accompanied by the name of the deceased, an expression comparable to the English expression "rest in peace." These wishes are sometimes accompanied by the name of the deceased (in the vocative or nominative) or paired with eulogizing terms, as in the formulae χρηστὲ καὶ ἄλυπε χαῖρε (farewell, O good and carefree one), προσφιλὴς χαῖρε (farewell, beloved), εὐσεβὴς χαῖρε (farewell, pious one), or χαῖρε καὶ ὑγίαινε (farewell and be well). The term χρηστέ/χρηστή is a general term used to praise the good qualities shown forth by the deceased in life.[36]

These farewells were sometimes answered on the epitaph by the deceased. Epitaphs that address passersby were especially common on tombs located by the sides of the roads leading out of the city. Typical replies are χαῖρε καὶ σύ (farewell to you also), καὶ σύ, καὶ σύ γε, χαῖρε τίς ποτ' εἶ, χαίρω δὲ καὶ αὐτός, χαῖρε παροδῖτα (farewell, O passerby), and καὶ πᾶσι λέγω χαίρειν παροδίταις (and I say farewell to all you who pass by). Similarly, whenever χαίρετε appears on a tombstone of a single person, it is spoken by the deceased himself (e.g., χαίρετε πάντες [farewell everyone]; χαίρετε παροδεῖται παρὰ Ἑρμίππου τοῦ πεφιλημένου [farewell, passersby, from Hermippos, the well beloved] [*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 41]). Perhaps the fear of being forgotten in death gives rise to this greeting to the living.

The name of the deceased often occurs in combination with a term of praise, especially χρηστέ/χρηστός (good/worthy), as in Ἀφροδισία χρηστή [good Aphrodisia].[37] This adjective can be employed in conjunction with other adjectives, as in χρηστὲ καὶ ἄλυπε (O good and carefree [fellow])[38] and παιδίον καλὸν χρηστὲ ἄμεμπτε χαῖρε (beautiful child, good and blameless, farewell). In the case of public funerary honors, the title πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως/

35. θεοῖς δαίμοσι is occasionally also used by Jews (*CIJ* 678, 1537–38 [*OGI* 74, 73]).

36. See J.-C. Decourt, *RPhil* 67 (1993): 237–50 (*SEG* 43.1330); on χρηστέ/-ή see Robert, *ÉtAnat,* 369–70; cf. πᾶσι πεφιλημένος in Robert, *BE* (1976): 799.

37. *IG* II² 10920 (columella, Athens, I B.C.). The adjective χρηστός is used not with Athenian citizens but only with foreigners. On the use of χρηστέ/-ή to praise the deceased's qualities during life see L. Robert, *ÉtAnat,* 369–70; L. Robert, "Les Inscriptions de Thessalonique (Review: Inscriptiones Graecae, X, pars II, fasc. I)," *RPhil* 48 (1974): 180–246, esp. 224 (*OMS* 5.267–334, esp. 311).

38. E.g., Τ(ίτε) Φλ(άουιε) Ἱερώνυμε χρηστὲ καὶ ἄλυπε χαῖρε, ἐτῶν κβ' (B. Lifschitz, *BIES* 22 [1958]: 62–73, esp. 66–68 [Hebrew]).

τοῦ δήμου (father of the city/people) was often bestowed in later Roman and Byzantine times.[39]

Other terms of endearment are also found, such as προσφιλής (beloved one) and especially γλυκύτατος (sweetest/dearest) (e.g., Ἐλπιδηφόρος καὶ Ὀνήσιμος Ἐλπιδίκην γλυκυτάτην, μνείας χάριν [Elpidephoros and Onesimos [set this up for] sweetest Elpidike, in memory]).[40] The term ἥρως (also, ἡρωΐς, ἡρωΐνη) is used in funerary inscriptions, with reference not only to the heroized dead but also to the deceased generally as the recipient of funerary rites.[41] This term can be combined with other terms of endearment in such expressions as ἥρως χρηστὲ χαῖρε (O good departed one, farewell)[42] or ἀγαθὸς ἥρως.[43] The verb ἔζησε can also be employed in conjunction with epithets of praise, such as πιστός (faithful), ἄμεμπτος (blameless), and ἀπρόσκοπτος (without offense).

11.04 Encouragement and Consolation

In addition to bidding farewell to the deceased, epitaphs sometimes offer some form of encouragement or consolation, such as Θάρσει (be of good courage) and the familiar consolation οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος (no one is immortal). An example is Θάρσει, Ἰοῦστε, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος [be of good courage, Justus, no one is immortal].[44] Expressions of this kind are found on Jewish, Christian, and pagan memorials. There are instances of expanded forms of this consolation, for example, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος εἰ μὴ μόνον ἷς (=εἷς) θεὸς αὐτός, ὁ πάντων

39. See *IKilikia*DF, pp. 215ff.

40. *ISard*BR 156; cf. M. N. Tod, "Laudatory Epithets in Greek Epitaphs," *BSA* 46 (1951): 182–90.

41. Strictly speaking, ἥρως implies a recipient of some cultic acts. The implication is that the spirits of the dead can exert influence for good or ill on the living. In some inscriptions, it might be used more loosely, but in actual practice, this is often difficult to judge. See Emily Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*, BICS Suppl 57 (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1989) (*SEG* 39.319).

42. See, e.g., *MAMA* VI, 180, II; *IGRR* IV, 796. Cf. *BE* (1977): 258, 289, 440, 469, 489 (p. 419); S. Eitrem, "Heros," *RE* 8 (1913): 1111–45, esp. 1138.

43. See Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, 73–74, 76–81.

44. *IBethShe'arim* 97, no. 127, L. 8 (cf. no. 22). Cf. *CIJ* 1005, 1009–10, 1025, 1039, 1050–52; Marcel Simon, "Θάρσει οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος: Étude de vocabulaire religieux," *RHR* 113 (1936): 188–206. In the region of Salboura, Syria, several epitaphs are of the οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος type (see R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, *Le Limes de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe en Haute-Syrie romaine*, Documents aériens et épigraphiques, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 38 [Paris: P. Geuthner: 1945], nos. 2, 4–5): e.g., Εὐθύμι, Ζωσίπατρι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος (no. 5). For reflections on death in Greek inscriptions see K. M. D. Dunbabin, "Sic Erimus Cuncti . . . : The Skeleton in Graeco-Roman Art, *JdI* 101 (1986): 185–255 (*SEG* 36.1576).

γενετής κὲ πᾶσι τὰ πάντα μερίζων [no one can live forever except only the one God himself, who is father of all and gives all things to all].[45]

Some epitaphs express philosophical ideas about the brevity and vanity of life, the most familiar being βλέπε ὁ βίος ταῦτα (look, this is life), sometimes shortened to simply ταῦτα.[46] There are also longer statements expressing the same sentiment in both prose and verse (e.g., ὅσον ἂν πορίσῃ βίον, ὦ φίλε, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν τοῦ βίου ταῦτα [so long as your life may last, O loved one, [pass by] knowing that this is the end of your life] [*IHierap*J, no. 227A]).

Epitaphs may even include literary references, as in the following hexameter verse, which is only intelligible if one knows that Hylas was a beautiful youth whereas Thersites was an ugly old man: εἰδεῖν τίς δύναται, σκῆνος λιπόσαρκον ἀθρήσας, εἴπερ Ὕλας ἢ Θερσείτης ἦν, ὦ παροδεῖτα [looking on a corpse, who can say, passerby, whether it was Hylas or Thersites?] (*IG* XIV, 2131; *IBM* IV, 1114).

11.05 Curses on Tomb Violators

Tomb inscriptions often display a concern for security. Unauthorized corpses were often laid to rest in tombs constructed by others, presumably by those who could not afford to build tombs of their own. Moreover, vandalism and looting (τυμβωρυχία) was a persistent problem.[47] Hence, tomb inscriptions always state the ownership of the tomb, followed by a declaration of who may legally be interred within.

One customary way of protecting graves was to inscribe them with curses on all would-be intruders and vandals.[48] Many tombs conclude with curses drawn from a pool of formula phrases:

45. See A. Petrie, "Epitaphs in Phrygian Greek," in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. M. Ramsay (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 119–34, esp. 129, no. 11; cf. *CIG* 3827R: Παῖσον, τρύφησον, ζῆσον, ἀποθανεῖν σε δεῖ.

46. See L. Robert, "Hellenica: XX. Décrets de Priène," *RPhil* (1944): 5–56, esp. 53–56; L. Robert, *ÉtAnat*, 390 with bibliography; J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1950): 207, no. 204.

47. See A. D. Nock, "Tomb Violations and Pontifical Law," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 2:527–33; Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*. 2 vols. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 2:127–28, 148. Cf. André Parrot, "Malédictions et violations de tombes," *JBL* 60 (1941): 88–95. For Anatolian grave monuments see Kubińska, *Les monuments funéraires*, 9–49; Stylianos P. Dantes, Ἀπειλητικαὶ ἐκφράσεις εἰς τὰς ἑλληνικὰς ἐπιτυμβίους παλαιοχριστιανικὰς ἐπιγραφὰς (Athens, 1983) (cf. *SEG* 36.1575; D. Feissel, *BE* [1987]: 400).

48. The reader should consult Louis Robert's extensive study of funerary imprecations: "Malédictions funéraires grecques," *CRAI* (1978): 241–89 (*OMS* 5.697–746; cf. *SEG* 28.1609); Robert, *Hellenica*, VI, 13–15. Cf. F. d'Oria, "ΕΣΤΩ ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ," in *Atti del XVII Congresso*

τὸν θεόν σοι ἀναγνοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσῃς

(by God, having read [this], do not abuse [this tomb!])[49]

μὴ τράπεζαν ἱλαρὰν θῦτο

([may he who breaks into this tomb] not be able to make a joyful sacrifice)[50]

μετὰ τοῦ γένους ἀπόλοιτο

([may he who breaks into this tomb] perish with his family)[51]

δώσι λόγον θεῷ

([he who breaks into this tomb] shall render an account to god),[52]

ἕξει πάντας τοὺς Θεοὺς κεχολωμένους

([he who breaks into this tomb] shall have to reckon with all the gods who will be provoked to anger)[53]

ἄν τις κολοβώσι ἔνοχος θεοῖς

Internazionale di Papirologia, 3 vols. (Naples: Centro internazionale per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi, 1984), 3.995–1006; J. H. M. Strubbe, *Lampas* 16 (1983): 248–74 (Asia Minor); B. H. McLean, "An Attic Christian Epitaph: The Curse of Judas Iscariot," *OCP* 58 (1993): 241–44; H. Seyrig, "Inscriptions de Chypre," *BCH* 51 (1927): 138–54, esp. 148–51, no. C; W. M. Calder, "Early Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia," *AnatSt* 5 (1955): 25–38, esp. 25–27; *IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 31.

49. See *IPhrygChr* 76–84, nos. 28–29 (cf. Stephen Mitchell, *JThS* 31 [1980]: 201–4; *SEG* 28.1078).

50. Referring perhaps to the preparation or offering of a ἱερὰ τράπεζα; see H. S. Versnel, "'May He Not Be Able to Sacrifice . . .': Concerning a Curious Formula in Greek and Latin Curses," *ZPE* 58 (1985): 247–69; cf. Théophile Homolle, "Inscriptions d'Amorgos: Lames de plomb portant des imprécations," *BCH* 25 (1901): 412–56, esp. 412–30.

51. See G. E. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from the Cibyratis and Caralitis," *BSA* 51 (1956): 136–56, esp. 147, no. 39; *IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 66. Cf. κακῶς τε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος (and may they and their offspring perish terribly); Bean (148, no. 42) comments on the verb σαλεύω (I damage) with respect to tombs.

52. Popular in northwest Phrygia: see, e.g., Ramsay, "Laodiceia Combusta and Sinethandos," *AM* 13 (1888): 233–72, esp. 241, no. 18.

53. Meaning the violator will not be able to justify himself before God.

(if anyone shall damage [this tomb], he shall be answerable to the gods)[54]

The god Mên of the underworld (Μὴν καταχθόνιος)[55] and the other chthonic gods were often charged with tomb oversight and the punishment of trespassers, as is indicated in the formula παραδίδωμι τοῖς καταχθονίοις τὸ ἡρῷον φυλάσσειν (I hand over to the [gods] of the underworld the guarding of this tomb). The so-called ἁμαρτωλός clause, common in Lycia, was employed to curse all who unlawfully inter a corpse, with the words ἁμαρτωλὸς ἔσται θεοῖς πᾶσι καταχθονίοις (let them be accounted sinners by all the gods of the underworld).[56]

The well-known curse ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν (he shall have to reckon with the justice of God) is known as the Eumeneian formula.[57] It is attested on epitaphs in Eumeneia and the Plain of Kirbasan in Phrygia in the third century A.D., with most exemplars dating from A.D. 246–73.[58] An important stylistic variant of the Eumeneian formula employs the verb ἔχω instead of εἰμί: ἔχει/ἕξει/ἕχῃ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν (he shall have to deal with God).[59]

54. See *IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 79. On κολοβώσι see C. Naour, *Tyriaion en Cabalide* (Zutphen, 1980), 63, 74.

55. See *CMRDM* 1.145–47, 149–51 (Iconion), 154 (Lystra); 2.179 (Petra).

56. See, e.g., Naour, "Inscriptions de Lycie," 283–85, no. 11 (Arsada, Roman period). This same type of clause is used in curses against those who do not offer the prescribed sacrifices: "if they do not do sacrifice, let them be accounted sinners against god and the dead" (Horsley in *NewDocs* 2.100). Regarding the use of θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι and θεοὶ οὐράνιοι in Phrygian imprecation formulae see Alfred Heubeck, "Phrygiaka I–III," *ZVS* 100 (1987): 75–76.

57. See Robert, *Hellenica*, XI–XII, 401–4, 414–39; Denis Feissel, "Notes d'épigraphie Chrétienne (IV): XI. Malédictions funéraires en Attique," *BCH* 104 (1980): 459–75, esp. 463; W. M. Calder, "The Eumeneian Formula," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, ed. W. M. Calder, Josef Keil. Publications of the University of Manchester 265 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), 15–26. See *MAMA* I, 161; VI, 223–33, 235; VII, 96. See Robert, *BE* (1972): 547; Thomas Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, 4 vols, Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicum, ius antiquum et papyrologicum 16 (Zutphen: Terra, 1978), 4:106, nos. 44–46, 48–49; W. M. Calder, "Early-Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia," *AnatSt* 5 (1955): 25–38.

58. Elsa P. Gibson ("A Unique Christian Epitaph from the Upper Tembris Valley," *BASP* 12 [1975]: 151–57) published an early IV A.D. example from the Upper Tembris Valley inscribed with a cross. Cf. Calder, "Early-Christian Epitaphs," 36, no. 5.

59. See Robert, *Hellenica*, XI–XII, 401–4; J. H. M. Strubbe, Ἀραὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι: *Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor—a Catalogue*, IK 52 (Bonn: Rudolph Habelt, 1997); J. H. M. Strubbe, "Inscriptions inédites de la région du mont Dindymos en Galatie," *Mnemosyne* 34 (1981): 107–26, esp. 115–16 n. 50; Calder, "Early-Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia," 25–28. See *MAMA* III, 196, 347; VII, xxxxvii, xlii. See *SEG* 31.1691; Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, 4:106–9, nos. 44, 46, 48. See W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, and C. W. M. Cox, "Monuments from Iconium, Lycaonia, and Isauria," *JRS* 14 (1924): 24–84, esp. 37, no.

This variant is attested not only in Eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia but more widely in Pontus, Cilicia, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Athens, and Korinth.[60] The name *God* in this formula is often expanded with such expressions as τὸν θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα (almighty God), τὸν ζῶντα θεόν (living God),[61] and τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ (the great name of God)[62] or substituted by the name of Christ in monogram form (ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν X) or by reference to the Trinity (τὴν τριάδα).[63]

Scholars have disputed as to whether the Eumeneian formula is of Christian or Jewish provenance.[64] A. R. R. Sheppard put forward the view that the Eumeneian formula is essentially Jewish but was taken over from Akmonian Jews by Christians living north of Eumeneia, not by Phrygian Montanists.[65] Louis Robert, M. Waelkens, and A. T. Kraabel have since demonstrated that

19; 85–88, nos. 1, 2, 4–5. See W. M. Calder, "Studies in Early Christian Epigraphy II: A. An Early Crypto-Christian Formula," *JRS* 14 (1924): 85–92; J. G. C. Anderson, "A Summer in Phrygia II: The Phrygo-Lydian Frontier," *JHS* 18 (1898): 81–128, esp. 113, no. 53 bis; J. G. C. Anderson, "Exploration in Galatia Cis Halym: Part II. X. The West Side of Lake Tatta (continued)," *JHS* 19 (1899): 280–318, esp. 302, no. 233. Extant examples prove the survival of the formula into the Byzantine period. See Cyril A. Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, "Some Recently Acquired Byzantine Inscriptions at the Istanbul Archeological Museum," *DOP* 32 (1978): 1–28, esp. 12–13, no. 15 (unknown provenance, ca. VI A.D.; *SEG* 28.1582): [ἔ]χῃ πρὸς τὸν θεόν; K. Bittel and A. M. Schneider, "Archäologische funde aus der Türkei, 1942," *JdI* 58 (1943): 200–56, esp. 252–53: ἔχι πρὸς τὸν θ(εό)ν; Gustave Mendel, "Catalogue des monuments grecs, romains et byzantins du Musée Impérial Ottoman de Brousse," *BCH* 33 (1909): 245–435, esp. 342–48, no. 102.

60. See Robert, *Hellenica,* XI–XII, 401–7 (seventeen examples); L. Robert, "Inscriptions de l'antiquité et du Bas-Empire à Corinthe," *REG* 79 (1966): 733–77, esp. 768. See Robert, *BE* (1964): 177; (1965): 162. Cf. *MAMA* VIII, 255; III, 196, 347.

61. See Ramsay, *CBP,* 2.378, 353, 356, 362, 364 (cf. 355, 374); Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie,* 4:48.

62. E.g., ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ [he will have to reckon with the great name of God] (Robert, *Hellenica,* XI–XII, 392, 398–407; A. R. R. Sheppard, "R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 6," 173; cf. Ramsay, *CBP,* 2.369, 388, 392, 394, 457).

63. See Ramsay, *CBP,* 2.527; W. M. Ramsay, "Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia: A Study in the Early History of the Church," *Expos,* 3d ser., 8 (1888): 241–67, 401–27, esp. 424, no. 24. Cf. also πρὸς τὸν Ἰ(ησοῦν) Χ(ριστόν) (Ramsay, *CBP,* 2.371); πρὸς τὸν Θ(εὸν) καὶ Ἰη(σο)ῦ(ν) Χ(ριστό)ν (*MAMA* VII, 96).

64. See W. M. Ramsay, "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," *JHS* 4 (1883): 370–436, esp. 400; Ramsay, "Early Christian Monuments"; W. M. Ramsay, "Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure," *REG* 2 (1889): 17–37, esp. 23–26; Ramsay, *CBP,* 562–64, nos. 455–57. W. M. Calder ("Philadelphia and Montanism," *BJRU* 7 [1922–23]: 309–54, esp. 309–17; W. M. Calder, "The Eumeneian Formula," 15–26; Calder, "Early-Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia," 25–27; Calder, *MAMA* VII, xlvii) explained Jewish use as an imitation of the Christian formula.

65. Sheppard, "R.E.C.A.M Notes and Studies No. 6: Jews, Christians, and Heretics in Acmonia and Eumeneia," *AnatSt* 29 (1979): 169–80 (cf. *SEG* 29.1400). Cf. Feissel, "Notes d'épigraphie Chrétienne (IV)," 463. Conversely, W. Schepelern (*Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte* [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1929], 86–87) thinks that certain variants of this formula are pagan adaptations of Jewish inscriptions.

this formula was adapted from pagan epigraphy simultaneously by both Jews and Christians in the third century A.D.[66] For this reason, it is often exceedingly difficult to distinguish between Jewish and Christian inscriptions that employ this formula.

11.06 Fines for Tomb Violators

In Thrace, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, epitaphs often include threats of prosecution and heavy fines against the unlawful use of tombs.[67] This can be often expressed by the formula ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδευθῆναι (it is not lawful for anyone else to be interred [in this tomb]),[68] followed by a statement concerning the amount of the fine the transgressor shall pay, stating that if this is not (εἰ δὲ μὴ) obeyed, the offender shall pay a fine of such-and-such. For example, in the region Konya, the customary formula is ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπ(ε)ι(σ)βιάσηται (πτῶμα) ὑποκεισεται/ἀποδώσι τῷ φίσκῳ + cardinal number (and if anyone should inter [an unauthorized] body, he will be liable for *x* drachmae to the fisc [imperial treasury]).

The incurred fine could be paid to any one of a number of groups, according to the wishes of the deceased, whether it was paid to the treasury of the council or assembly of the city, or put into the treasury of the local deity, or paid to the gerousia (council of elders),[69] or, in Lycia and Phrygia, to trade associations. The simple fact that the fines could provide a source of income should they apprehend a tomb violator must have been an incentive for greater vigilance. Longer epitaphs sometimes require that a copy of the inscription (probably written out on wood or papyrus) should be deposited in the

66. Waelkens (in *CongrEpigr* VII, 124–27) gives examples of the pagan use of ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν (early III A.D.) and τὸν θεὸν σοι· μὴ ἀδικήσῃς. Based on close parallels between the Eumeneian formula and indisputably Jewish epitaphs of III A.D. in Nicomedia, Louis Robert (*Hellenica,* XI–XII, 407–39) has argued that there was Jewish influence on the Christian use of the formula in Eumeneia. Cf. A. T. Kraabel, *Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 67, 109–14. M. Waelkens ("Ateliers lapidaires en Phrygie," in *CongrEpigr* VII, 105–28) has argued that some are of pagan provenance. Cf. *SEG* 29.1376 (cf. 1778).

67. See W. Arkwright, "Penalties in Lycian Epitaphs of Hellenistic and Roman Times," *JHS* 31 (1911): 269–75; on fines in Christian epitaphs see *SEG* 39.1785.

68. E.g., *IHierapJ,* nos. 133, 227; *CIJ* 777. Cf. [τ]ὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκ[ένα]σαν Ἑρμῆς καὶ Θοιδότη Ἀπολλοδώρου· μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ ἕτερον τεθῆναι μηδένα, εἰ μή . . . [Hermes and Thoidote [daughter] of Apollodoros set up the memorial. It is not allowed for anyone else to be buried except . . .] (*IBM* IV, 918).

69. E.g., τούτου τοῦ μνημείου ἡ γερουσία κήδεται [the gerousia has charge of this tomb] (*SIG*³ 1244 [Kos, II/III A.D.], 1228 [Ephesos, III A.D.]).

public archives (τὰ ἀρχεῖα), thus ensuring that there was no doubt about the testator's wishes.[70] This precaution assured that, in the event of the removal or defacement of the tomb inscription, a permanent copy in the archives could be consulted.

11.07 Annual Commemorative Rites

The performance of the customary observances (τὰ νομιζόμενα) on the death of a family member was deemed to be one of the most profound obligations of life in ancient Mediterranean culture. In many cases, rites for the deceased continued even after the completion of the official period of mourning.[71] Annual commemorations (ἐνιαύσια) in honor of the dead were customary on the anniversary of the death.

So important was it felt that such rites be observed that a man with no heir might even adopt a son to ensure their observance.[72] These commemorations included the offering of libations, incense,[73] and flowers on the funerary altar of the deceased. A reference to an ἐπιμελητής in an epitaph often specifies the "executor" of the will, especially when it is used in conjunction with such a phrase as κατὰ διαθήκην (in accordance with the will of).

The *rosalia* is a well-known funeral commemorative rite that originated in northern Italy and spread throughout the Greek East with little change.[74] Torches were lit, and flowers—especially roses—were strewn on the grave or tomb. In the ancient mind, flowers represented the transitory nature of life.[75] This ritual was followed by a sacrifice and solemn banquet.[76] A trust was often set up or a plot of land set aside, a portion of the income from which was

70. The Jews in Hierapolis had their own archives in which such documents were deposited (cf. *IHierap*J, no. 133; *CIJ* 775).

71. On the fate of widows in society see L.-M. Günther, *Historia* 42 (1993): 308–25 (*SEG* 43.1331).

72. On fosterage see *MAMA* IX, pp. lxiv–lxvi; cf. Isaeus *On the Estate of Apollodorus* 7.30.

73. See *IHierap*J, no. 227: ὁ πάπος (incense); cf. *SEG* 6.272 (Phrygia).

74. See Robert, *Hellenica,* VIII, 92; L. Robert, "Nonnos et les monnaies d'Akmonia de Phrygia," *JSav* (1975): 153–92, esp. 158; R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, and W. F. Snyder, "The Feriale Duranum," *YCS* 7 (1940): 1–222, esp. 119; Nilsson, *Opuscula selecta,* 1:121; Paul Collart, *Philippes: Ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine,* École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires 5 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937), 58.

75. See Paul Perdrizet, "Inscriptions de Philippes: Les Rosalies," *BCH* 24 (1900): 299–323.

76. See Robert, *Hellenica,* VIII, 92 (cf. 134); *SEG* 31.1679 (Thrace); Richard Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 28, nos. 1–2 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942), 137–41; M. P. Nilsson, "Rosalia," *RE* (1920): 1111–15, esp. 1111; Collart, *Philippes,* 58.

expended on these rites. The rite was sometimes carried out by trade associations serving as burial societies (e.g., ἔδωκεν ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ ἔτος ῥοδίσωσιν τὴν συμβιόν μου Αὐρηλίαν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλωσιν ῥοδίσαι κατὰ ἔτος ἔσται αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ [he gave [this bequest] on condition that they deck the grave of his [literally "my"] wife, Aurelia, with flowers every year; and if they do not deck this tomb with flowers every year, they shall have to reckon with the justice of God]).[77] If the group defaulted on the terms of the trust, the principal often reverted to another group or body.[78]

It was also a widespread custom to crown not only the living but their graves after their death.[79] One of the customary commemorative rites was the annual offering of golden crowns or wreaths woven from branches of myrtle, olive, oak, or flowers (especially roses) to crown the funerary altar and adorn the grave. In Lydia and Phrygia, a trust known as a στεφανωτικόν was sometimes set up for this purpose, the accrued annual interest being used for the purchase of the requisite crown or wreath.[80] This practice is illustrated in the following example from Hierapolis: εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτείσει τοῖς τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν ἐριοπλύτων τοῖς μετεχοῦσιν τῶν ἐπιμελημένων * τ' διὰ τὸ δίδωσθαι αὔτως ἐπὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ υ(ἱ)οῦ αὐτοῦ Τατιανοῦ στεφανωτικὸν μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ γενεθλίῳ αὐτοῦ [and if [this is] not [obeyed], he shall pay a fine of three hundred denarii to the *epimeletai* of the association of fullers, to be used as a gift in honor of the name of her son Tatianus, for a large bequest for the crowning of his sarcophagus on [the anniversary of] his birthday] (*IHierap*P, no. 45). In Malona (Rhodes), the association of the Dionysiastai shared in the purchase of a gold crown and the perpetual proclamation of honors with two other associations, one dedicated to Athena, the other to the gods Zeus Euphranoreion and Athena of Knidos: τὸν δεῖνα τεμαθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Διονυσιαστᾶν (-ᾶν, Doric for -ῶν), Ἀθαναϊαστᾶν

77. Ramsay, *CBP,* 2.562–64, nos. 456–57.

78. In an inscription from Akmonia (A.D. 95), a trust is set up in order that the archons of the city and the secretary might provide twelve denarii worth of roses each year for the tomb of Praxias, followed by a banquet (Bernhard Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike: Ein Beitrag zur antiken Kulturgeschichte,* 2 vols. [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1914], 1:87; vol. 2, no. 202; *SEG* 31.1679).

79. See P. M. Marshall, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 68.

80. An inscription on a funerary *bomos* in Thessalonika bequeaths a vineyard, the income from which was to be given over to a *thiasos* of Dionysiac *mystai* on the condition that they offer crowns of roses on the funerary *bomos* of the deceased (*IG* X/2, 260; Herbert C. Youtie, "A Note on Edson's Macedonica III," *HTS* 42 [1949]: 277–78; Charles Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," *HThR* 41 [1948]: 153–204, esp. 167–68; Collart, *Philippes,* 387, 388 n. 3). Cf. Charles Avezou and Charles Picard, "Inscriptions de Macédoine et de Thrace," *BCH* 37 (1913): 84–154, esp. 38–62; Collart, *Philippes,* 474–85.

Διοσαταβυριαστᾶν Εὐφρανορίων τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίῳ Κνιδίῳ χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεύσεσιν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον [[the deceased] has been honored by the association of the Dionysiasts, the Athanaïasts, [and] the Ataburiasts[81] of Zeus Euphranoreion[82] with Athena of Cnide, with a golden crown and public proclamation for all time] (*IG* XII/1, 937).

11.08 Jewish Epitaphs

In many cases, it is not possible to distinguish Jewish funerary inscriptions[83] from those of gentiles.[84] Inscriptions that are written partly in Hebrew, that are adorned with Jewish symbols—such as a menorah, a shofar (ram's-horn trumpet), a *loulab* (palm branch), or an *etrog* (citron)—or that include an explicit Jewish self-identification (Ἰουδαῖος/Ἰουδαία)[85] can easily be classified as Jewish.[86]

Inscriptions that employ typically Jewish epithets,[87] references to a synagogue (e.g., συναγωγή/προσευχή),[88] titles applied to Jewish functionaries

81. I.e., those who worshiped Zeus on Mount Ataburon, the highest peak in Rhodes.

82. The cult was founded by Euphranorien.

83. See the listings on Jewish epigraphy in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

84. See P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 B.C.–A.D. 700)* (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1991), 41–42 (on positive indicators see *SEG* 41.1839); P. W. van der Horst, "Jewish Funerary Inscriptions: Most Are Greek," *BAR* 18 (1992): 46–57; *IJudEg* (cf. *SEG* 42.1501; 43.1097, 1113); Laurence H. Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin," in *ANRW* II, 20.2 (1986): 671–713, esp. 705 (*SEG* 37.1831).

85. On the use of these terms in Greek and Latin inscriptions see R. S. Kraemer, "On the Meaning of the Term 'Jew' in Graeco-Roman Inscriptions," *HThR* 82 (1989): 35–53 (*SEG* 39.1839).

86. Two of the four plants waved during the Feast of Tabernacles were the *loulab*, taken in the right hand, and the *etrog*, taken in the left. This tradition was well established from Second Temple times. In the catacomb at Monteverde at Beth She'arim, the menorah appears in sixty-two inscriptions, the *etrog* in six, the *loulab* in six, and the shofar in two (*IBethShe'arim* 158–59). On the menorah see W. Wirgin, "The Menorah as Symbol of Judaism," *IEJ* 12 (1962): 140–42; Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions," 702–3.

87. Jewish epithets include φιλόνομος, φιλέντολος, φιλόλαος; epithets highlighting the study of the Torah are νομομάθης, νομοδιδάσκαλος, σοφῶν μαθητής (see P. W. van der Horst, "Das Neue Testament und die jüdischen Grabinschriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit," *BZ* 36 [1992]: 161–78).

88. Irina Levinskaya ("A Jewish or Gentile Prayer House? The Meaning of ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41, no. 1 [1990]: 154–59 [*SEG* 42.1849]) has concluded that the use of προσευχή to mean "house of prayer" (synagogue) is exclusively Jewish. See also *SEG* 41.1841; Martin Hengel, "Proseuchê und Synagôgê: Jüdische Gemeinde, Gotteshaus und Gottesdienst in der Diaspora und in Palästina," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine, (Philadelphia: ASOR, 1987), 27–54.

(e.g., ἀρχισυναγωγός,[89] γερουσιάρχης, Ῥαββί[90]), or typically Jewish phrases and formulae[91] might be Jewish, but this must be argued on a case-by-case basis. The term μημόριον is thought to be particularly indicative of Jewish provenance, though Jews also used many other terms, such as μνημεῖον, θήκη, and μνῆμα.[92]

Jewish inscriptions that do not bear such explicit traits are much more difficult to identify. Persons bearing Jewish or biblical names are often Jewish (see § 4.14), but Christians sometimes also took biblical names, especially in the post-Constantinian period; as Christianity became respectable, Christians began to adopt from Scripture Hebrew and Aramaic names, such as Johannes, Maria, and Thomas. Nonetheless, indices of attested Jewish names are a helpful point of reference in this regard (see § 4.14 n. 96).

11.09 Christian Epitaphs

No identifiably Christian tombstone has been found dating prior to the late second century A.D. Though there is no reason to doubt that many early

89. See Tessa Rajak and David Noy, "*Archisynagogoi:* Office, Title, and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue," *JRS* 83 (1993): 75–93 (*SEG* 43.1297); J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'Empire romain: Leur condition juridique, économique et sociale* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1914), 406 n. 2; Bernadette J. Brooten, *Woman Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues*, Brown Judaic Studies 36 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1982), 15–33; Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Women in the Synagogues of Antiquity," *Conservative Judaism* 34, no. 2 (1980): 23–28. However, the matter is frequently ambiguous; for example, the term is used not only of Jewish leaders but also of leaders of religious associations dedicated to other gods, such as Herakles (*IG* X/2, 288–89; *CIG* 2007F) and Zeus (e.g., *IApamBith* 35; for six examples of the non-Jewish use of *archisynagogoi* see J. M. R. Cormack in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* [Paris: E. de Boccard, 1974], 511–55), and in connection with other types of associations (e.g., Waltzing 3.75–76, no. 208; *IG* XIV, 1890, 2304). Similarly, the term πρεσβύτερος is used of both Jewish and Christian elders; for its use in Jewish inscriptions see *CIJ* I, lxxvi–vii; *CIJ* I, 581, 590, 597, 692; Louis Robert, "Inscriptions grecques de Sidé en Pamphylie," *RPhil* 32 (1958): 15–53, esp. 41–42; Horsley in *NewDocs* 3.138.

90. Also Ῥαββη, Ῥαβι, Ῥιββι, Ῥαβ, Βηρεβι, and Ῥ as an abbreviation: see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Epigraphical Rabbis," *JQR* 72 (1981–82): 1–17.

91. E.g., ἐνθάδε κεῖται, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ/αὐτῆς, θάρσι, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος, εὐλογία πᾶσιν, and ὁ λαός, though these phrases are not exclusively Jewish.

92. Many other terms are also attested: see van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 41–42. In Beth She'arim, the most important Jewish necropolis in Palestine, the terms μνῆμα and μνημεῖον are both used of an entire burial tomb or hall (*IBethShe'arim* 11 [*CIJ* II, 1023], 106; cf. 200); Μνημεῖον can also designate a single *arcosolium* (*IBethShe'arim* 51). Μνημόριον designates a burial tomb/hall (*IBethShe'arim* 61). The term τόπος is used frequently to mean "place of burial" or "grave" (*IBethShe'arim* 12 [*CIJ* II, 1025]; cf. 30 [*CIJ* II, 1040], 135. The term τόπος can refer to an entire chamber: "tomb [τόπος] of Theodosia, also [called] Sarah, from Tyre" (*IBethShe'arim* 154).

Christians did have epitaphs,[93] these lack any signs of Christian profession and so might be termed "crypto-Christian." As a result, many first- and second-generation Christian epitaphs survive in today's museums but cannot be differentiated from the mass of pagan inscriptions.[94]

Christian inscriptions that document the construction of a tomb for specified persons are modeled on pagan epitaphs and can often be dated to an earlier period, usually before A.D. 350. Similarly, inscriptions that specify blood relationships (as was typical in pagan inscriptions) are generally earlier than those that describe the deceased with respect to his/her membership in the Church or in relation to God/Christ or that employ formal Christian titles.

It has been supposed for some time that the earliest identifiably Christian epitaph is the famous metrical epitaph of the bishop Aberkios from Hieropolis, Phrygia (ca. A.D. 200; see § 16.01). It seems likely that this pride of place has been usurped by an inscription that predates the Aberkios inscription by about twenty years (A.D. 179/80). Though the text of the earlier inscription is neutral with respect to Christian profession, its carved relief portrays the deceased holding in his right hand a rounded object (sacramental bread?) marked with a cross, and on his left side, a bunch of grapes is suspended by its stem from a horizontal bar.[95] The horizontal bar and grape stem together form a tau cross, one of the earliest Christian symbols.[96]

Self-dated Christian inscriptions from the Upper Tembris Valley (northern Phrygia) date from A.D. 246–73.[97] The first known instance of the Chi-Rho monogram (typical of the fourth century A.D.) also comes from this same area (*IPhrygChr* 4). Elsa Gibson has published numerous Phrygian inscriptions bearing the formula χρ(ιστιανοὶ) χρ(ιστιανοῖς) (Christians for Christians).[98] This χρ.-χρ. formula only appears in inscriptions from the Upper Tembris Valley. It indicates that the Christians named in the inscription constructed the tomb for their deceased brethren. The suggestion that these monuments might be Montanist in nature was first made by William Ramsay and was taken up subsequently by W. M. Calder and most recently by William Tabbernee.[99] In a related group of Phrygian inscriptions, only the deceased, not the family, is identified as Christian (e.g., χριστιανοί, χριστιανοῖς, χριστιανός, χρειστιανός, χρηστιανός).[100] G. H. R. Horsley argues that it is important to distinguish inscriptions that are only prepared to reveal the Christian profession of the deceased, which he terms "χριστιανοί inscriptions," from those that declare the adherence of the dedicators as well (i.e., χρ.-χρ. inscriptions). He thinks that the χρ.-χρ. inscriptions probably date from the late fourth century A.D. (i.e., post-Constantinian) and have no Montanist connection, while most χριστιανοί inscriptions date from the middle to late part of the third century A.D.[101]

In Attica, Thessaly, and Korinthia, many Christian epitaphs begin with the term κοιμητήριον followed by the names of the deceased (in the genitive case). This same term is also attested in Christian Phrygian inscriptions in the sense of "family grave."[102] The term κοιμητήριον—literally, "sleeping

93. See the listings on Christian epigraphy in this chapter's supplementary bibliography.

94. On the Christianization of the ordinary people of the Greek cities and semi-Greek hinterlands in the post-Constantinian period see *SEG* 39.423, 43.1289.

95. The text reads, [Ἔτους] σξδ΄ μη(νός) Πανήμου [. .] | [Πό]πλις Σιλίκις Ὀλπιανὸς | [ὁ σύ]γτροφος αὐτοῦ κ Εὐτύ|[χης κ] Ζωτικής οἱ γονεῖς αὐ|τοῦ κ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ ἀδελ|φὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐτύχη γλυκυ|[τάτω] μνήμης χάριν. The inscription was found in Çeltikci near Gediz: see W. M. Calder, "Early-Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia," 33–34, no. 2).

96. Cf. four inscriptions from Amorium, two of which display a pair of fish, while each of the remaining two displayed a fish suspended from a horizontal bar, forming a tau (*MAMA* VII, 277, 279, 297–98).

97. See Calder, "Studies in Early Christian Epigraphy II," 73–74, no. 200; Horsley in *NewDocs* 2.171–72, no. 101). Plain crosses occur in Phrygia in the pre-Constantinian gravestones (see Calder, "Philadelphia and Montanism," 10). See M. Sulzberger, "Le symbole de la croix et les monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers chrétiens," *Byzantion* 2 (1925): 337–448; Graydon F. Snyder's work on Christian symbols in the pre-Constantinian period (*Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine* [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985], 128). This symbol is occasionally used by Jews (see *CIJ* 661).

98. *IPhrygChr;* Robert, *BE* (1979): 522. See *SEG* 28.1078 for a tabulation of these inscriptions. Cf. A. Strobel, *Das heilige Land der Montanisten,* Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 37 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1980), 110–15.

99. For a complete treatment of this subject see William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism,* North American Patristic Society, Patristic Monograph Series 16 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997). Cf. *IPhrygChr* 125–44; Strobel, *Das heilige Land der Montanisten,* 104–12, 117. On Montanist clerical leadership and hierarchy see W. Tabbernee, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (1993): 249–80 (*SEG* 43.1303).

100. *IPhrygChr* 1–3, 8, 10–11, 14, 18, 20–24, 27–29, 33–36, 42. On χρηστιανός for χριστιανός and Χρῆστος or Χριστός see *SEG* 43.1264.

101. Horsley in *NewDocs* 3.130–33; cf. Mitchell, *Anatolia,* 2:104. This theory gains strength from Horsley's redating of the only self-dated "Christians for Christians" epitaph. Though Ramsay and Anderson restored the date as [τ]λγ΄ (333 Sullan era = A.D. 248/49), Horsley has argued that the restoration [υ]λγ΄ (i.e., 433 Sullan era = A.D. 348/49) accords equally well with the physical evidence on the stone: [υ]λγ΄ | Χρειστιανοὶ | Χρειστιανο̣[ῖς]. Αὐρ. Ἀμμεία | σὺν τῷ γαμβρ̣[ῷ] | αὐτῶν Ζωτι|κῷ κὲ σὺν τοῖ[ς] | ἐγόνοις (= ἐκγόνοις) αὐτῶ[ν] | Ἀλλεξανδρεία | κὲ Τελεσφόρῳ | κὲ Ἀλλεξάνδρῳ | συνβίῳ (= συμβίῳ) ἐποίη|σαν [in the year [4]33. Christians for Christians. Aurelia Ammeia, with their son-in-law, Zotikos, and with their grandchildren, Alexandreia, Telesphoros, and Alexandros, constructed [this tomb] for her husband] (Horsley in *NewDocs* 3.131).

102. See *MAMA* IV, 353–55; cf. such typical Christian expressions as ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου (*in nomine Domini*).

place"—suggests the notion of future resurrection; that is, it describes the dead in Christ who have "fallen asleep" in the expectation of the resurrection (cf., ἐνθάδε κοιμᾶται Ἀρτεμίδωρα ἐν εἰρήνῃ [here sleeps Artemidora in peace]).[103] This can be contrasted with such a term as ἡρῷον (tomb), which describes a place of interment.[104] The clearest examples of Christian profession come from later inscriptions. For example, the Iota-Chi (=Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) and Chi-Rho (Χριστός) monograms belong to the third and fourth centuries, respectively, and beyond. The titles ἐπίσκοπος (bishop/overseer), χωρεπίσκοπος (country bishop), πρεσβύτερος (elder), and διάκονος (deacon) appear with increasing frequency in later Christian inscriptions, especially in the fourth century and following. Epitaphs from eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia regularly employ the terms ἀρχιερεύς and ἱερεύς (from ca. A.D. 350) to designate ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος respectively.[105] The popular formula "here lies the slave of God" (ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ) followed by the name of the deceased is not attested until the fifth century and later.

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103. Friedrich W. Deichmann, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage,* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), 1.314 no. 766; Snyder, *Ante Pacem,* 128 (late III A.D.); cf. Lampe, s.v. κοιμάομαι (cf. 1 Cor. 15:18, 20).

104. See J. S. Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, "Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens," *Hesperia* 16 (1947): 1–54, esp. 6.

105. See Mitchell, *Anatolia,* 2:48; W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), 355, 363–68, 387–89; *MAMA* I and VII, indices.

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12

Manumission Inscriptions

Slaves were bought and sold in antiquity as commodities like any other goods. Many slaves were once prisoners of war, though there were other sources, such as victims of kidnapping by pirates and brigands.[1] Men sometimes sold themselves into slavery to pay off personal debts. Children were often born into slavery, becoming domestically raised slaves (θρέματα),[2] or were sometimes sold into slavery by their parents. Others were abandoned as infants and became the property of those who raised them.

In the Roman world, slaves who had little acquaintance with Greco-Roman culture were consigned to manual work, the most barbarian among them being sent to work in the mines, in industry, or on one of the many large landed estates of the Romans. Slaves of this kind were rarely manumitted. In contrast, hellenized slaves tended to be placed in households and even given positions of importance, such as teacher, nurse (τροφός), administrator (οἰκονόμος), or business manager (πραγματευτής). Such slaves had a much greater chance of attaining freedom.[3] Their epitaphs indicate that they were

1. In Roman society, the supply of slaves was at its height during the expansionist military campaigns of II–I B.C. Though the wars of conquest gradually declined in the imperial period, the supply of slaves was maintained at a high level, though somewhat less than in the previous two centuries; at the same time, the number of manumissions increased. In contrast, the Greeks had few expansionist wars and consequently did not have as many slaves as did the Romans in the west. See Marijana Ričl, *Istorički Glasnik* (1986), 37–49.

2. I.e., their mothers were slaves, and they became the property of their mothers' masters. See L. Robert, *BE* (1939): 35; A. Cameron, "θρεπτὸς and Related Terms in Inscriptions of Asia Minor," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, ed. W. M. Calder, Josef Keil. Publications of the University of Manchester 265 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), 27–62. Cf. supra chap. 4, n. 145.

3. See Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 10.

treated humanely by their masters and were attributed the same qualities and values as freemen.[4] In contrast, the vast majority of urban and rural slaves did not receive a headstone, nor were they accorded the same humane treatment. According to H. W. Pleket, most masters despised or were indifferent to slaves as a social group and only acted in a paternalistic manner toward them to boost productivity.[5]

In the Hellenistic world, most domestic slaves who performed their duties meritoriously could reasonably expect to win or purchase their freedom after ten to twenty years of service (see § 12.04).[6] Manumission served the owner's self-interest in a number of ways. First, slaves who anticipated this reward tended to work more efficiently and contentedly.[7] Second, the release of an industrious slave in a large household became an incentive to other slaves, helping to maintain high morale.[8] Third, by allowing slaves to purchase their own freedom, masters received the necessary funds for the acquisition of new, usually younger slaves.[9] Fourth, manumission was a convenient means of discharging the economic burden of slaves who had grown elderly or infirm. Lastly, manumission sometimes opened up new opportunities for masters to exploit to their own economic advantage the new freedom of their slaves by setting them up in a profit-producing business.

12.01 Manumission in the Hellenistic World

Manumission was one of the most important social and legal institutions in Greece. In contrast to the practice of formal manumission in Rome, Greek manumission did not confer civil rights. Freedmen were at the same level of society as resident aliens (μέτοικοι). They had the right to reside in the city, the right of protection for themselves and their property, and the right to

4. Hermann Raffeiner (*Sklaven und Freigelassene: Ein soziologische Studie auf der Grundlage des griechischen Grabepigramms,* Philologie und Epigraphik 2 and Commentationes Aenipontanae 23 [Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1977]) has collected fifty-six metrical epitaphs for slaves and freedmen.

5. Pleket ("Review: H. Raffeiner, *Sklaven,*" *CR* 29 [1979]: 175–76) describes this behavior as "cynical" or "selfish" paternalism.

6. See S. Scott Bartchy, ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: *First Century Slavery and the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7:21,* SBLDS 11 (Missoula: Scholars, 1973), 83 n. 308.

7. A. M. Duff (*Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1928], 13) remarks, "efficient service was best secured by holding out liberty to them [slaves] as the final reward."

8. See Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen,* 18.

9. K. Hopkins (*Conquerors and Slaves* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978], 133–71) notes that one of the functions of manumission "was that it enabled masters to recapitalise the value of older slaves and to replace them with younger ones."

engage in trade and business without intervention. However, they did not have any political rights, much less legal equality with Greek citizens.

There were two principal kinds of manumission in the Hellenistic world, informal and formal. Informal manumission is comparable to the Roman *manumissio inter amicos.* In this case, a master simply declared that he had emancipated a particular slave (ἀφίησι/ἀφῆκε ἐλεύθερον, ἠλευθέρωσεν). It was important to have this declaration made publicly to ensure that there were legal witnesses.[10] To this end, such manumissions were publicly proclaimed by the herald (διὰ κήρυκος), either in a law court (ἐν δικαστηρίῳ), or before an assembly in a theater (ἐν θεάτρῳ), or near an altar (ἐπὶ βωμόν).[11]

Cities, as well as private citizens, owned and manumitted slaves by informal manumission. For example, an inscription from the civil government of Larissa (Thessaly) records the civil manumissions of slaves over a six-month period (I B.C.).[12] In the repeating formula, each slave declares himself or herself to have been freed from his or her respective master, followed by the price of publication (in staters), as in the following examples.[13]

[Ἑρ]μ̣ιόνη Σίμμου, ἡ καλουμένη καὶ Σῶσις, | [ἡ φ]αμένη ἀπηλευθερῶσθαι ἀπὸ | Σίμμου τοῦ | Δ[ι]φίλου στατῆρας ᵛ ιε΄ ˙ᵛ | Κάλλιππος Ἀμω|[μ]ήτου ὁ φάμενος ἀπηλευθερῶσθαι | ἀπὸ Ἀ|[μ]ωμήτου τοῦ Φιλοξενίδου καὶ Θεανοῦ[ς] || [τῆ]ς Νικοπόλιδος στατῆρας ᵛ ιε΄˙

[Hermione [slave] of Simmos, also called Sosis, has declared herself to have been freed from [her master] Simmos, son of Diphilos, for fifteen staters. Kallippos [slave] of Amometos has declared himself to have been freed from [his master] Amometos, son of Philoxenides, and from Theano, daughter of Nikopolis, for fifteen staters.]

10. See Herbert Rädle, *Untersuchungen zum griechsichen Freilassungswesen* (Munich, 1969), 168.

11. See Ludwig Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), 376.

12. See K. I. Gallis, "ΝΕΑ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΕΥΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΛΑΡΙΣΑ," *AAA* 13 (1980): 246–62, with an English summary, "New Inscriptions from Larissa," at 261–62; cf. G.-J.-M.-J. Te Riele, "Nouveaux affranchissements à Larissa," *ZPE* 49 (1982): 161–76; *SEG* 31.135–38; Horsley in *NewDocs* 6.76–78. Manumissions were effected according to the legislation of the Thessalian federation: see Bruno Helly, "Actes d'affranchissement thessaliens," *BCH* 99 (1975): 119–44; "Lois sur les affranchissements dans les inscriptions thessaliennes," *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 143–56.

13. *ESAR* 4.330. The Thessalian league used the stater as its standard currency, with 15 staters equivalent to 22.5 denarii.

There were also many types of formal manumission, including manumission by last will and testament, manumission by dedication to a god, manumission by fictive sale to a third party, and sacral manumission.

12.02 Manumission by Last Will and Testament

Some masters made provision in their wills for the manumission of a slave following their own death, a practice analogous to Roman *manumissio testamento*. In some cases, the validity of such legal provisions required the consent of the heirs.[14] Manumission by such means was often conditional on the slave demonstrating exemplary behavior in the intervening period and perhaps upon the slave agreeing to arrange for his or her master's funeral and annual commemorative rites. The slave may also have been required to pay a specified sum to the heir.

12.03 Manumission by Dedication to a God

Formal manumission could take on a sacral character when the release took place in the presence of a god (ἐναντία/ἐνώπιον τοῦ δεῖνος θεοῦ), in other words, in the god's sanctuary. This might take the form of a dedication (ἀνατίθησι/ἀνέθηκεν) of a slave to a deity.[15] For example, slaves were manumitted at Susa (Susina) by dedicating them to the oriental goddess Nanaia.[16]

In some cases, the slave actually became a sacred slave (ἱερόδουλος) as a result of this dedication. However, in most cases, the dedication was simply a way of stating that the master no longer had any claim on the slave, often explicitly expressed by the phrase "for freedom" (ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι).[17] Through this act of dedication, the god not only witnessed the transaction but served as its guarantor: any violation of the slave's new freedom was a violation of the rights of the god himself and constituted an act of sacrilege.

14. See Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, 372–73.

15. Cf. ἀπηλευθέρωσεν ὑπὸ τοὺς θεούς (e.g., *IG* IX/1² 82C); manumission by consecration to a god/goddess: in Edessa, *SEG* 28.543; in Leukopetra, *SEG* 28.545, 33.532, 42.609–14. For Aegeae see Miltos B. Hatzopoulos, "Artémis Digaia Blaganitis en Macédoine," *BCH* 111 (1987): 399–412, esp. 399–401 (*SEG* 37.540); *SEG* 31.634.

16. See *SEG* 7.15–26 (II B.C.); Louis Robert, "Sur les affranchissements de Suse," *RPhil* 62 (1936): 137–52. Cf. supra § 10.04, n. 21, on the gift of a slave to the mother of the gods (A.D. 179/180) (Leukopetra, Macedonia). Cf. Robert, *Hellenica*, I, 70–77; VII, 27–29.

17. E.g., ἀνέθηκαν Καλλικράτης Καλλινόου, Πραξὼ Κλεομένεος Ἐριναῖοι σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὧι ὄνομα Ἀντίοχος τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίωι ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι (*GDI* II/2, 2172); cf. ἀνέθηκε Ἀγησιβούλα Φυσκίς, συνευδοκεόντων τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτᾶς Λύκωνος καὶ τᾶς ματρὸς Ἁρμοξένας, τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίωι σῶμα γυναικεῖον ἃι ὄνομα Μνασώ, ὥστε ἱερὰν εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον καὶ ἐλευθέραν Μνασώ (*GDI* II/2, 2097).

12.04 Manumission by Fictive Sale to a Third Party

Many manumissions were based on the exchange of money, that is, a "ransom,"[18] between the slave and the master. The money was provided by the slave from the slave's own savings.[19] However, since slaves did not have the legal right to enter into contracts,[20] this payment had to be transacted through an intermediary who was entrusted by the slave with the required ransom. This intermediary would then purchase the slave from the master.[21] This was a fictive sale, since the slave actually became free—not the property of the intermediary—as a consequence of the sale. This "sale on the condition of freedom" is expressed by the formula ὁ δεῖνα (the master) ἀπέδοτο τῷ δεῖνι (an intermediary) ἐπ ἐλευθερίαι. Generally speaking, the ransom was equivalent to the price the slave would fetch on the open market.[22]

18. On λύτρον/λύτρα in manumission records see Anne Bielman, "Λύτρα, prisonniers et affranchis," *MH* 46 (1989): 25–41 (*SEG* 39.1863).

19. Many slaves were given pocket money (in Latin, *peculium*) that they might spend or save toward the purchase of their freedom. Technically speaking, this money was the property of the master, since a slave did not have the legal right to own property. However, this right could be granted at the discretion of the master. Moreover, Roman slaves were often set up in business by their masters such that both benefited financially; in such circumstances, a slave might retain a significant portion of the income or garner perquisites or bribes. Slaves owned by public bodies also could amass a large *peculium* over a relatively short period of time. However, slaves in the Hellenistic world rarely had the same opportunity to acquire large sums of money. See Wm. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 122; Rafa Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (332 B.C.–A.D. 640)*, rev. ed. (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), 87–89. Cf. W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 187–238.

20. See Rädle, *Untersuchungen*, 65; R. Dareste, B. Hausoullier, and Th. Reinach, *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques: Textes, traduction, commentaire* (Paris: Leroux, 1891–1904), 2:233–318.

21. In Egypt, bankers often acted as intermediaries (see Rädle, *Untersuchungen*, 66). In a remarkable manumission from Beroia (Macedonia, 239–29 B.C.), several slaves act as independent partners in negotiating and transacting the price of their manumission with their master without the involvement of an intermediary (*SEG* 12.314; cf. J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1951]: 171–73).

22. See K. Hopkins and P. J. Roscoe, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 158–60; Duff, *Freedmen*, 17.

12.05 Sacral Manumission

A variation on the type of manumission involving fictive sale is the sacral manumission practiced by the priests of Apollo in Delphi and elsewhere. More than one thousand Delphic manumission inscriptions have survived dating from 200 B.C. to A.D. 74. These inscriptions are engraved on the polygonal stones in the retaining wall along the road leading up to the temple of Apollo.[23]

In this case, the slave transacted his or her manumission not through a human intermediary but through a divine one, namely, Apollo, who contracted the sale of the slave through the mediation of his priests.[24] As in the previous case, the money was provided by the slave. On completion of the sale, the freedman became the property of the god in a manner of speaking, though he was in fact free.[25] The fictive character of this sale is made explicit by the formula καθὼς ἐπίστευσε ὁ δεῖνα (the slave) τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὠνάν (just as the slave entrusts the god with the purchase price).[26]

Sacral manumission provided a safeguard to the liberty of the manumitted slave by giving it a public forum and by investing the transaction with a sacred security, since the slave in effect became consecrated (ἱερός) as a result of the sale to Apollo. Moreover, unlike a human intermediary who might attempt to violate the agreement and assert his rights of ownership following the sale, there was no chance of Apollo exploiting the situation.

23. Most of these texts are available in *GDI* 1684–2342; G. Colin, "Notes de chronologie delphique," *BCH* 22 (1898): 1–200, esp. 9–140; *FD* III/1–3, 6; D. Mulliez, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 3 (1992): 31–44; Michel 1397–1417. For a full discussion of the inscriptions see G. Daux, *Delphes au IIème et Ier siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Étolie jusqu' à la paix romaine, 191–31 av. J. C.*, BEFAR 140 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1936), 46–209; *SEG* 33.424–40, 42.442. K. Hopkins (in *Conquerors and Slaves*, 1:133–71 [*SEG* 29.1744 bis]) divides these inscriptions into fifty-year periods from 201 through I B.C. and analyzes the relationship between the date, sex, age (adult, child), birth status (home-born, alien-born), type of manumission (conditional, unconditional), and purchase price.

24. F. Sokolowski ("The Real Meaning of Sacral Manumission," *HThR* 47 [1954]: 173–81, esp. 178) traced the origin of Delphic manumission to the function of sanctuaries as asylums for runaway slaves and the necessity that sacral officials decide on the fate of such slaves; Franz Bömer (*Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, 5 vols. [Wiesbaden and Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1960–90], 2:10–11; cf. Rädle, *Untersuchungen*, 5–6) has since refuted Sokolowski's thesis.

25. See Bömer, *Untersuchungen*, 1:32.

26. Cf. sacral manumission inscriptions from the temple of Artemis Eileithyia in Chaeronea (Boeotia) (late III–early II B.C.) (Paul Roesch and John M. Fossey, "Neuf actes d'affranchissement de Chéronée," *ZPE* 29 [1978]: 123–37; J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1978]: 226; *SEG* 28.444–52).

The Delphic manumission records are very formulaic.[27] They begin with the date, citing the name of the eponymous archon of Delphi and the month (ἄρχοντος τοῦ δεῖνος, μηνὸς τοῦ δεῖνος).[28] The names of town councillors in office at the time, the secretary, or the treasurer might also be added.[29] If the slave's master was not from Delphi, the inscription was also dated according to the eponymous official of the master's hometown. The text continues with the verb ἀπέδοτο/ἀπέδοντο introduced by ἐπὶ τοῖσδε (according to the following conditions), followed by the name of the master (in the nominative case),[30] a reference to the god (τῶι θεῶι, τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίωι), and an identification of the slave in terms of his or her sex, age, name, and ethnic background.[31]

Next follows the price (τιμή) of the slave. The average price of a manumission between the years 80 and 30 B.C. was about four silver minas (four hundred drachmae).[32] The formula employed in this section can be illustrated as follows: ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο ὁ δεῖνα (the master) τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ᾧ ὄνομα ὁ δεῖνος (the slave), τὸ γένος (ethnic) τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων (so-and-so gave up to Pythian Apollo a male slave by the name of so-and-so by race for the price of four minas).[33] Following the price is a

27. See Günther Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957), 83–88; Wilhelm Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 3d ed., HbA 1.5. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1914), 83–88. Cf. Bömer, *Untersuchungen*, 2:101–6, 134–37, 140; *IGJurid* II, 253. The question of the function of manumission inscriptions is still a matter of debate. A. Kränzlein ("Bemerkungen zu Form und Inhalt der delphischen Freilassungen," *RIDA* 27 [1980]: 81–91) rejects the suggestion that their function was to legalize manumission or to announce manumission.

28. "When so-and-so was archon in the month of . . ." (cf. § 6.01).

29. E.g., βουλευόντων τὰν πρώταν ἑξάμηνον τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦ δεῖνος, γραμματεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνος (Michel 1414; cf. 1415–17); ταμιεύοντος τὰν πρώταν ἑξάμηνον τοῦ δεῖνος (Michel 1422).

30. Sometimes two owners are listed, usually a married couple. In a famous manumission inscription (200/199 B.C.) published by Adolf Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*, rev. ed., trans. L. R. M. Strachan [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927], 323; cf. 152, 166, 331, 335), it is not the vendor who is mentioned in the nominative case but the purchaser, Apollo, who buys a slave's freedom: "Pythian Apollo bought [ἐπρίατο] from Sosibios of Amphissa, on the condition of freedom [ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ] a woman by the name of Nicaia, of Roman descent, for the price of 3½ silver minas."

31. Using the formulae σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὧι ὄνομα ὁ δεῖνος (or σῶμα γυναικεῖον [κοράσιον] ἃι ὄνομα ἡ δεῖνος), τὸ γένος + ethnic (e.g., τὸ γένος Κύπριον, τὸ γένος Σύραν, τὸ γένος Γαλάταν [Michel 1408–9]), or τὸ γένος οἰκογενές (born in the house) (Michel 1415) or the terms σωκοράσιον, παιδάριον, κορίδιον, and ἐνδογενής (cf. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 86).

32. See *ESAR* 1.385.

33. See, e.g., Jean-François Bommelaer, "Quatre notes delphiques," *BCH* 105 (1981): 461–81, esp. 461–63; cf. Horsley in *NewDocs* 6.72–73 (I B.C.).

statement confirming that the master had received the ransom in full and naming the slave and the god as his intermediary in the sale: καὶ τὰν τιμὰν (ἀπ)ἔχει πᾶσαν καθὼς ἐπίστευσε ὁ δεῖνα (the slave) τὴν ὠνὴν τῷ θεῷ (and he has the entire price, just as so-and-so [the slave] entrusted the sale to the god).

Next follows a statement concerning the slave's new legal status:[34] ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον (on the condition that [the slave] be free and not liable to be seized by anyone for the duration of his life).

The guarantor(s) (βεβαιωτήρ/βεβαιωτῆρες) of the purchase are then named. In Lokris and Aitolia, the guarantor is known as the προαποδότης.[35] When the master was not from Delphi, there were normally two guarantors, the first was a native of Delphi, and the second was from the hometown of the master. The guarantor was liable for the freedom of the slave. In other words, he had an obligation to protect the slave against anyone attempting to take away the slave's freedom. The formula is εἰ δέ τις (ἐφ)άπτοιτο τοῦ δεῖνος (the slave) ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῶι, βέβαιον παρεχόντω τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὠνὰν ὅ τε ἀποδόμενος καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ (guarantor, so-and-so; if anyone should seize so-and-so [the slave] with a view to enslavement, let the seller [i.e., ex-master] and the guarantor confirm the contract of sale to the god) (e.g., Michel 1408).

Normally, an inscription will cite the penalties against anyone who violates the agreement with the formula πράκτιμοι ἐόντων (they are to be liable to a financial penalty). Further information may follow including a formal waiver by relatives of the master (usually the primary heirs) who had a financial interest in the contract.[36] At this point may follow the instruction ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντων συλέοντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον ὄντα ἀζάμιοι ἐόντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας (likewise all who are present [when anyone lays hands on the ex-slave] are entitled, if they rescue him on the grounds that he is a freedman, to face no penalty and are not liable to any lawsuit or punishment).

Witnesses (μάρτυρες) in varying number are listed, beginning with the two priests of Apollo (οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος), sometimes followed by the ἄρχοντες and by private citizens (ἰδιῶται), including members of the slave's hometown, if he was not a resident of Delphi.

34. Introduced by ἐφ' ὅτῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ, or ἐφ' ᾧτε.

35. See W. J. Woodhouse, "Aetolian Inscriptions," *JHS* 13 (1892): 338–55, esp. 343.

36. Terms used include συνευδοκεῖν, συνευαρεστεῖν, and συνεπαινεῖν: e.g., συνευδοκεόντων καὶ υἱῶν (*GDI* II/1, 1816).

The original document, written on papyrus or a wooden tablet (πινάκιον, πυξίδιον), was deposited in the temple archives, and copies were given to a citizen of Delphi or to a citizen from the slave's hometown, his name being cited on the document (ἃ ὠνὰ παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα). A copy of this document was engraved on the polygonal wall of the sanctuary.

12.06 Conditional and Unconditional Manumission

The granting of full manumission was often a two-stage process. Many slaves were permitted to purchase their freedom on the condition that they remained bound to their master by a special contract with a condition (παραμονή) attached to it, whereby they remained under obligation to work for the master for a prescribed period of time.[37] Though the master retained the right to punish the slave, he could not sell the slave, since the slave was no longer his property (κύριος ἔστω κολάζων ὥι κα θέλῃι τρόπωι πλὰν μὴ πωλησάτω).

In most cases, this contract remained in effect until the death of the master, as is indicated in the formula known as the *paramone* clause: παραμεινάτω δὲ ὁ δεῖνα (slave) παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα (master) ἕως κα ζώῃι ὁ δεῖνα, ποιῶν τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον πᾶν τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνενκλήτως (so-and-so [the slave] shall remain with so-and-so [the master] as long as so-and-so [the master] shall live, and he or she shall perform every task blamelessly) (e.g., *GDI* II/1, 1854). Other conditions could also be connected with the *paramone* clause, such as responsibility for arranging the master's funeral and annual commemorative rites.[38]

37. For problems surrounding the exact definition of *paramone* see M. I. Finley, "The Servile Statuses of Ancient Greece," *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité,* 3d ser., 7 (1960): 165–89; Alan E. Samuel, "The Role of *Paramone* Clauses in Ancient Documents," *JJurP* 15 (1965): 221–311, esp. 294–95; W. L. Westermann, "The *Paramone* as General Service Contract," *JJurP* 2 (1948): 9–50. On the difference between παραμονή and the Roman *operae libertorum* in manumission inscriptions see W. Waldstein in *Festschrift für Arnold Kränzlein: Beiträge zur antiken Rechtsgeschichte* (Graz: Leykam, 1986), 143–47. See, e.g., *GDI* II/1 1723. Cf. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen,* 16; *SEG* 28.1619, 36.1539. Conditional manumissions increased in I B.C. in Delphi at the same time as unconditional or "full" manumissions were decreasing. Unconditional manumissions had been the norm in II B.C. The price paid for conditional manumission remained relatively constant in I B.C., while the price for unconditional manumission increased during the same period. These facts suggest that there was a shortage of slaves in and around Delphi at this time.

38. For example, in one such inscription (Steiris, Phokis), a master makes provision in his will that two of his slaves—a woman and her son—are to be freed on two conditions: that they continue in his service until both he and his wife die and that they attend to the obligations of burial and commemorative rites (*IG* IX/1² 42, LL. 5–13; Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.103–4).

The premature release (ἀπόλυσις) from this *paramone* clause was possible, either at the discretion of the master or by the payment of a second ransom, the amount of which was sometimes agreed on in the original manumission contract. If this amount had not been specified in the original contract, a second contract that superseded the previous agreement could be drawn up (see, e.g., *GDI* II/2, 2143). It incorporated the formula ὃ δεῖνα ἀπέλυσε τᾶς παραμονᾶς τὸν δεῖνα, with the addition of the clause λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (the slave) μνᾶς + numeral when a second ransom was required.[39]

In the following example, a second contract is drawn up to cancel the requirement of a first contract which had stipulated that the slave should remain with his master until he dies: ἁ δὲ προτερασία ὠνὰ ἁ γενομένα Σώσου τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Θρ[α]συκλέος καὶ τὰ ἐν τᾶι ὠνᾶι ποτιγεγραμμένα ὥστε παραμεῖναι Σῶσον παρὰ Τέλωνα καὶ Κλητὼ ἃς κα ζώντι ἀτελὴς καὶ ἀρμένα ἔστω [the previous sale of Sosos to Apollo, which took place in the archonship of Thrasykles at Delphi, and the provisions of the sale, namely, that Sosos should remain with Telon and Kleto for as long as they live, shall be null and void].[40]

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39. See Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik,* 87; e.g., *FD* III/3, nos. 43, 354.

40. *GDI* II/2 2143 (Delphi). A manumission inscription from Chersonesos in the Crimea (A.D. 81) places a condition on the manumission, requiring the slave to become a faithful member of the local Jewish synagogue (*IBosp* 70 [*CIJ* I, 683]; cf. *IBosp* 73 [*CIJ* I, 684]); cf. Jewish (or Judaizing) manumission texts from Gorgippia incorporating oaths by the pagan deities Zeus, Ge, and Helios (Nicole Belayche, in *Le serment,* vol. 1, *Signes et Fonctions,* ed. Raymond Verdier (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), 159–68 (*SEG* 42.703).

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Part 3

Selected Topics

13

Magistrates, Other Functionaries, and the Government of the Hellenistic City

Inscriptions recording decrees and other state documents prove difficult to read if the epigraphist is not familiar with the nature of the government of the Hellenistic city. This chapter provides an overview of the organization of government and surveys the names and functions of its chief committees, boards, and officials.

Prior to the second century B.C., the two poles of government in the ancient world were oligarchy and democracy, with every kind of gradation between them. In the Hellenistic period, oligarchies and tyrannies tended to evolve into more democratic styles of government. For example, following his victory over the Persians, Alexander liberated the cities of Asia Minor and granted them self-governing status on the condition that all tyrants and oligarchies be replaced with democratic governments. Even island states, such as Chios, Lesbos, and Kos, which had not lost their independent status under the Persians, were commanded to adopt democratic governments.

Not only did individual cities and villages adopt democratic institutions, but in Greece, groups of cities also organized themselves into larger democratic alliances known as leagues (κοινά, συμμαχίαι),[1] many of which had their own representative assemblies and councils. From the time of the Persian war onward, such leagues were continually being dissolved and reformed. In 146 B.C., all anti-Roman leagues were disbanded by the Romans, some

1. Panhellenic League, Amphictyonic League, Aegean League of Islands, Achaean League.

being restored shortly thereafter, while loyal leagues seem to have been left undisturbed.[2]

13.01 The Assembly

The basis of Greek democracy was the principle that the people had the right to participate in government by electing those who would govern them, by participating as individuals in governing, and by serving on the boards and in the offices of government. The two primary bodies of the democratic city-state were the assembly (ἐκκλησία) and the council (βουλή), with ultimate authority being vested in the assembly.

The assembly represented the people (δῆμος) and constituted the fundamental body of democratic government.[3] Its membership consisted of the full citizen body, that is, all adult male citizens. Women and noncitizens who were permanent residents—regardless of their wealth—were excluded from its membership.[4]

The powers of the assembly were far reaching: it dealt with political, administrative, legislative, financial, and, in certain cases, judicial matters. It also elected and dismissed magistrates (i.e., those not chosen by lot).[5] However, the assembly did not have the power to contravene the established laws (νόμοι) of the state. Each regular meeting of the assembly seems to have been known as a κυρία ἐκκλησία.[6] In addition to regular meetings, extraordinary meetings might also be called.

2. See J. A. O. Larsen, "Roman Greece," in *ESAR* 4.261–498, esp. 309.

3. The Doric equivalent was termed ἁλία, ἀπέλλα (e.g., in Sparta), or ἁλιαία (see William A. MacDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks,* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology 34 [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943], 2). On political institutions of Roman Sparta, and for a discussion of συναρχία and γέροντες, see Nigel Kennell, "*IG* V 1, 16 and the Gerousia of Roman Sparta," *Hesperia* 61 (1992): 193–202. The term σύνοδος is a general term for a meeting of officials (see J. A. O. Larson, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman Society* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955], 77–78).

4. In an oligarchy, membership might be limited to those who attained a certain standard of wealth or a particular birth qualification. On the assembly see Heinrich Swoboda, *Lehrbuch der griechichen Staatsaltertümer,* rev. ed., vol. 3 (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1913), 114–15; Georg von Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 3d ed., 2 vols., HbA 4.1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1963–72), 1:442–43.

5. A vote was taken on the conduct of each of its magistrates (ἐπιχειροτονία); in the event of an unfavorable vote (ἀποχειροτονία), the magistrate in question was suspended and put on trial.

6. There is disagreement among scholars about whether the assembly in Athens (after 360 B.C.) met three times per month or four times in each prytany. There is also disagreement as to whether the meeting of the assembly was determined by the festival calendar (Harris) or the prytany calendar (Hansen). Cf. E. M. Harris, "How Often Did the Athenian Assembly Meet? Some New Evidence," *AJP* 112 (1991): 325–41; E. M. Harris, "How Often Did the Athenian Assembly Meet?" *CQ* 36 (1986): 363–77; M. H. Hansen, "Was the Athenian *Ekklesia* Convened according to the Festival Calendar or the Bouleutic Calendar?" *AJP* 114 (1993): 99–113 (*SEG* 36.303, 37.230, 42.227); M. H. Hansen, "When Did the Athenian *Ecclesia* Meet?" *GRBS* 23 (1982): 331–50.

Many villages (δῆμος, κώμη, κατοικία) modeled their organization on the democratic government of cities by setting up an assembly and by giving to officials the same titles as their counterparts in the cities.[7] Though villages had no political sovereignty, they did have limited powers to legislate on some social, religious, and administrative matters.

13.02 The Council

The council (βουλή) was subordinate to the assembly, though the assembly delegated to the council extensive deliberative, executive, and administrative powers.[8] The council was charged with supervising the magisterial boards, state finances, religious festivals, and maintenance of public buildings and with executing measures passed by the assembly. Moreover, no preliminary resolution could be discussed or put to a vote in the assembly until it had been considered in the council (see § 7.01).

The best known of all the councils was the Athenian council established by Kleisthenes in 508/7 B.C. This council met daily in the council chamber (βουλευτήριον) except on days that were festal or considered to be unlucky. It originally consisted of five hundred councillors (βουλευταί), fifty from

7. See Frank Abbott and Allan Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926), 21–25.

8. See H. Müller, "Bemerkungen zu Funktion und Bedeutung des Rats in den hellenistischen Städten," in Michael Wörrle, Paul Zanker, eds., *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (Munich: Beck, 1995), 41–54; Swoboda, *Lehrbuch,* 127–37; P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972); Daniel J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla,* Hesperia Suppl 12 (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1967), 62–91; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1:456–81; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 162–65, 168, 170, 176, 181, 183, 241, 336 n. 19, 337 n. 20, 338 n. 29, 340 n. 41, 343 n. 64). On the function and composition of the Delphian council see F. Salviat in *Hommages à Lucien Lerat,* ed. Hélène Walter, 2 vols., Annales litteraires de l'Université de Besancon 294; Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne, 55 (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1984), 743–49 (*SEG* 34.373). The Spartan Council, termed the *gerousia* or *synarchia,* consisted of twenty-four councillors, who were appointed for life, together with Sparta's two dynastic kings (cf. A. S. Bradford, "The Synarchia of Roman Sparta," *Chiron* 10 [1980]: 413–25). The Boeotian confederacy was governed by four βουλαί that acted collectively. On the terms βουλή, συγκλητός, γερουσία, and συνέδριον as applied to Roman institutions see Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis,* American Studies in Papyrology 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 121–24.

each of ten tribes (φυλαί).[9] The expansion of the number of tribes to twelve in 307/6 B.C. increased the council's membership to six hundred.

Councillors were elected normally by popular vote but sometimes by lot (e.g., at Erythrai). Most held office for one year, some for periods of six months (in Rhodes and Stratonikeia) or less.[10] In Athens, the councillors took office at the same time as the chief archon, that is, on the first day of Hekatombaion (see § 6.01).[11]

The Athenian council was too large a body to deal with the day-to-day administration of state. Hence, it was subdivided into executive committees, each committee being known as the πρυτάνεις (*prytaneis*). Each tribe was represented by its own prytaneis, its membership being exclusively selected from its own tribe. The year was divided into a corresponding number of equal periods, each period being known as one prytany (πρυτανεία), with each body of prytaneis taking turn as the executive committee of council for the period of one prytany.[12] For example, when there were only ten tribes in Athens, the first four groups of prytaneis served for 36 days each, and the remaining six served for 35 days each, making a total of 354 days.

The sequence of prytanies for a given year was always determined by lot (not by the official tribal order), this being termed a *sortition cycle.* This arrangement varied over the centuries as new tribes were added and existing tribes abolished. In any case, this process ensured that each tribe had an equal share in the government of state. The primary responsibility of the prytaneis was to prepare a written agenda (πρόγραμμα/προγραφή) for the assembly and to convene the council and the assembly.

Athens was not the only city to divide its council into monthly executive committees. As the following list demonstrates, these executive committees were known by a variety of names:[13]

9. Kleisthenes is well known for having enrolled the citizens of Athens in demes (δῆμοι), or townships, which were grouped into τριττύες (sg. τριττύς). The τριττύες were organized into ten new tribes (φυλαί), with each tribe being composed of three τριττύες. Tribes and demes had their own officers and were self-administered. The head of each tribe was called the ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς φυλῆς and was elected annually.

10. See Rhodes, *Athenian Boule,* 1–30; Geagan, *Athenian Constitution,* 62–91; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1:456ff.

11. The phrase ἄρχοντα γενόμενον might be used to describe an ex-archon (see John S. Traill, "The Athenian Archon Pleistainos," *ZPE* 103 [1994]: 109–114, esp. 111 [pl. XIII]).

12. For the prytany in the cities of Egypt in the imperial period see P. Schubert, "Observations sur la prytanie en Egypte romaine," *ZPE* 79 (1989): 235–41 (*SEG* 8.797, 39.1676).

13. See Jones, *Greek City,* 165–66, 337 n. 21; David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ,* 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 2:834–35 n. 18.

αἰσυμνῆται	Chalcedon, Megara
ἐπιμηνιεύοντες	Mylasa
ἐπιμήνιοι	Ilium, Kius, Kolophon, Nesos, Lampsakos, Smyrna
κατάλογοι	Epidauros
πρόβουλοι	Delphi, Karystos, Termessos
πρόεδροι	Ephesos, Magnesia ad Maeandrum
προστάται	Kalymnos
πρυτάνεις	Aigiale, Astypalaia, Athens, Kyzicos, Halikarnassos, Miletos, Phokaia, Samos

The title of the president of the executive committee also varied from city to city (e.g., ἀρχιπρόβουλος,[14] βούλαρχος,[15] ἐπιστάτης[16]). In Athens, the president of the prytaneis was known as the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων. He was chosen by lot from the members of the prytaneis at the beginning of each daily meeting.[17] This president held office for the whole day in the *prytaneion* or *tholos,*[18] together with one-third of the prytaneis (chosen by him).

In Athens, prior to the fourth century B.C., it was also the responsibility of the president of the prytaneis to chair the meetings of the council and the assembly. However, in the fourth century B.C., this responsibility was reassigned to newly created officials, the "presiding officers" (πρόεδροι), who had their own president (ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων). Before each meeting of the council and the assembly, the president of the prytaneis would choose by lot one member from each of the nonprytanizing tribes to serve as presiding officers (πρόεδροι), one of whom served as their president.[19] It was this president's task to chair the meetings of the council and the assembly. The remaining presiding officers were responsible for bringing

14. Karystos, Termessos, Sagallassos. In Termessos, he served as both council president and eponymous magistrate (see Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:264, 2:1506 n. 32).

15. Akmonia, Aizani, Aphrodisias, Colossai, Ephesos, Erythrai, Eumeneia, Hierapolis, Hierocaesareia, Hypaipa, Mastaura, Miletos, Mitylene, Nysa, Philadelphia, Priene, Smyrna, Thyateira, Tralles. See Heinrich Swoboda, *Die griechischen Volksbeschlüsse: Epigraphische Untersuchungen* (Hildesheim: H. A. Gerstenberg, 1890), 198–99; Victor Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin du Haut-Empire* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1904), 202; Jones, *Greek City,* 179, 341; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:642, 2:1506 n. 32.

16. Athens, Magnesia-on-Maeander. See Jones, *Greek City,* 165; cf. Pierre Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Egypt romaine* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1911), 259 (reprint, BEFAR, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1968). On the ἐπιστάται of the Antigonids see *SEG* 40.1662.

17. See Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1.476–77; Jones, *Greek City,* 165–66.

18. θόλος: a circular building adjacent to the council chamber on the southwest corner of the agora (Rhodes, *Athenian Boule,* 16).

19. See Rhodes, *Athenian Boule,* 25–28; Jones, *Greek City,* 165 (Magnesia).

forward the business of the council and the assembly, maintaining order, and counting votes.

In Athens, one secretary was assigned to the council (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς), and another to the assembly (γραμματεὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας).[20] There was also a secretary of the prytany (γραμματεὺς τῆς πρυτανείας).[21] These secretaries were administrative experts in the day-to-day running of the government. They recorded the minutes of the meetings and published decrees, treatises, and other state documents (see § 0.07, 8.01). The name of the recording secretary was often employed as a means of identifying and dating these documents (see § 6.01).

On account of the specialized knowledge that their offices required, secretaries tended to hold office for extended periods of time and become influential in state affairs. In Athens, the secretary was always accompanied by an undersecretary, though the latter office is not named in inscriptions. In imperial times, the secretary was often charged with matters of civic administration; he also worked with magistrates in drafting resolutions and presenting them to the assembly and was responsible for setting up public honorific inscriptions.

Treasurers (ταμίαι) were also appointed to the assembly and council.[22] In some cities, they served as single officers, while in others, they functioned jointly on a board of finance. The position of treasurer probably had to do less with the recording of figures and more with auditing the accounts; they also made payments as directed by the council and the assembly. In such cities as Ephesos, Kolophon, Nikaia, and Magnesia on the Maeander, an appointed financial manager, or controller (οἰκονόμος), was vested with authority to oversee the expenditure of public funds.[23]

The power of the assembly became progressively nominal in the Roman period as the authority of the council increased. Rome promoted oligarchic and timocratic government in the Greek states, at the expense of the demo-

20. See Otto Schulthess, Γραμματεῖς, *RE* 7 (1912): 1707–80, esp. 1763–64; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1:478–79.

21. See S. Alessandri, *ASNP* 12 (1982): 7–10 (*SEG* 32.346).

22. For ταμίαι and other financial officials see Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1:483–84; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 850 n. 34; Jones, *Greek City,* 175, 241, 354 n. 57. Cf. the ἱεροταμίας, the sacred treasurer elected to manage temple revenue (see Jones, *Greek City,* 228).

23. See P. Spahn, "Die Anfänge der antiken Ökonomik," *Chiron* 14 (1984): 304–6; C. Ampolo, *Oikonomia: Tre osservazioni sui rapporti tra la finanza e l'economia greca,* Archeologia e Storia Antica, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli, Annali del seminario di studi sul mondo classico 1 (1979), 119–30 (*SEG* 29.1796; cf. 24.496); Peter Landvogt, *Epigraphische Unteruschungen über den* Οἰκονόμος*: Ein Beitrag zum hellenistischen Beamtenwesen* (Strasbourg: M. Dumont Schauberg, 1908), 16, 23–24; Jones, *Greek City,* 241; Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.160–61, no. 69.

cratic ideal of a sovereign assembly.[24] The council came to have virtual control over the election of all magistrates, since the council determined the slate of candidates. Consequently, from the first century A.D., membership of the council became increasingly oligarchic, self-perpetuating, and timocratic, often being limited to those who had served as magistrates.[25] The assembly became little more than a confirmatory body for the resolutions of the council and chief magistrates.[26]

13.03 Eponymous Magistrates

The highest officeholder in a city, in rank though not in power, was the eponymous magistrate, who was elected annually. The title of this office varied from city to city (see § 6.01).[27] Public documents and decrees were dated by his name. In democratic constitutions, this magistrate had few actual powers. His responsibilities seem to have been threefold: (1) to offer certain state sacrifices; (2) to walk at the head of civic processions; (3) to entertain on a lavish scale throughout the year.[28] Given the expense attached to this office, only the wealthiest of citizens could afford to hold it. In times of financial stringency, the city deity was often made the eponymous magistrate and the expenses were paid out of the temple treasury.[29]

24. Anthony Marco ("The Cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Imperium," in *ANRW* II, 7.2 [1980]: 658–98, esp. 662) remarks: "The traditional Greek Council (βουλή) was a committee of the Assembly (ἐκκλησία) endowed with probouleutic function and a membership that changed regularly and often. Therefore, it was free of honor, irresponsible, incongruous and ever likely to be an instrument of change. Naturally the Romans found such an institution difficult to countenance in so far as it necessarily lacked *auctoritas,* it was inconsistent with the Roman ideals of *gravitas* and *dignitas,* and, more practically, incompatible with aristocratic tenancy of local government. And so the Romans systematically modified the Greek Council wherever it had survived the Hellenistic Age in untrammelled condition by introducing property qualifications for membership and by tending to grant that membership life-tenure. In this way the Greek Council won honor and the local aristocracies were assured predominance."

25. See Joseph Declareuil, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire des institutions municipales au temps de l'Empire romain* (Paris: L. Larose and L. Tenin, 1911), 269–74.

26. See Wilhelm Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig: Dunker and Humblot, 1900), 247–52; Jakob A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 120; C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 4, 95–99.

27. There were also regional heads of federations of cities, such as the head of the federation of Lycian cities known as the λυκιάρχης; cf. βιθυνιάρχης, κιλιάρχης, παμφυλιάρχης, ποντάρχης; on μακεδονιάρχης see *SEG* 34.601.

28. See Jones, *Greek City,* 163.

29. See Gebhard, "Stephanephoros," *RE* 3A (1929): 2349; Robert, *Hellenica,* II, 51–52; Gebhard, "Stephanephoros," *RE* 3 (1929): 2347–50; Jones, *Greek City,* 167–68, 234–35. When

13.04 Magistracies and Magisterial Boards

In Greek cities, all public responsibilities were classified under one of two categories, either magistracies (ἀρχαί) or liturgies (λειτουργίαι; see § 13.9). Some magistrates (e.g., clerk of the market) served individually, while others served on boards. Magistracies that provided a source of income to the incumbent (e.g., civic priesthoods) were customarily sold or leased to derive additional revenue for the city.[30] However, these were a minority.

In the Roman period, when many magistrates were expected to expend large sums of their own money for such purposes as banquets, prizes for the games, and stabilizing grain prices, the principal criterion for eligibility was not so much administrative competence as personal wealth. Hence, magistracies once again came to be dominated by the aristocracy under the Roman imperium.

In many cities, the council delegated most of its administrative and financial responsibilities to various magisterial boards.[31] Typically, they were responsible for the administration of the city, for drawing up resolutions for the assembly, and sometimes for the management of public finances (e.g., at Keramos). In Athens, most magistrates were appointed to boards of ten members each, with one magistrate being chosen from each tribe.

Magistrates were elected to boards by the assembly from a slate of nominees drawn up by the council. Each member would take his turn in rotation acting as chairman (πρύτανις) of the board. Normally, magistrates were appointed to a board for a term of one year, though terms of four to six months are known in some cities,[32] with reappointment to the same board being forbidden. Other officers, such as ταμίαι (treasurers), γραμματεῖς (secretaries), and κήρυκες (heralds) were also attached to most boards.

In each city, one magisterial board was ranked first in importance above all other boards. In Athens, members of this executive board were known as

no citizen volunteered to carry the financial burden of the eponymous office of *stephanephoros* in Miletos, 'Απόλλων Διός was named *stephanephoros.*

30. On the leasing of priesthoods see F. Sokolowski, "Partnership in the Lease of Cults in Greek Antiquity," *HThS* 50 (1957): 133–44.

31. On monetary magistrates from IV to III B.C. see O. Masson, "Quelques noms de magistrats monétaires grecs: V. Les monétaires de Kymé d'Eolide," *RN* 28 (1986): 51–64, with alphabetic catalogue (56–63); Robert, *Hellenica,* III, 38–39.

32. Six-month term: Rhodes, Knidus, Stratonikeia, Tarsos, Tenos; four-month term: Erythrai, Chalcedon (Jones, *Greek City,* 335 n. 14). Cf. Isidore Lévy, "Études sur la vie municipale de l'Asie Mineure sous les Antonins: Seconde série, Les offices publics," *REG* 12 (1899): 255–89.

archons (ἄρχοντες). The name of the principal magisterial board varied from city to city, as the following list illustrates:

ἄρχοντες	Athens (see § 13.05), Aphrodisias[33]
δημιουργοί	Aigina, Salamis, most of the Peloponnesos[34]
ἔφοροι	Lakonia
κόσμοι	Crete[35]
πολιτάρχαι	Thessalonika, Beroia[36]
προστάται	Cos[37]
πρυτάνεις	Amorgos, Astypalaia, Knidos, Nisyros, Rhodes, Samos, cities of the Peloponnesos, Pamphylia, and Cilicia
στρατηγοί	Bargylia, Kalymnos, Chios, Gambreium, Herakleia ad Latmum, Hierapolis, Iasos, Magnesia on the Maeander (by mid-III B.C.), Miletos (αἰσυμνῆται τῶν μολπῶν in early times), Minoa on Amorgos (in the Roman period), Leros, Mylasa, Myndos, Nysa (in the Roman period), Phokaia, Priene, Sardis, Smyrna, Stratonikeia, and generally throughout the Greek cities of Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, and Thessaly
ταγοί	Thessaly
τιμοῦχοι	Sinope[38]

13.05 Archons

First in importance among the administrative boards in Athens was the board of archons (ἄρχοντες), whose responsibilities were principally judicial and

33. The Aphrodisian formula for the production of a proposal for a decree in I B.C.–I A.D. and probably in II A.D. is γνώμη ἀρχόντων καὶ (*grammateus*) καὶ (*strategos*) ἐπὶ χώρας, with many variations; however, it is clear that the *strategoi* are not the chief board of magistrates. I am grateful to J. M. Reynolds for this observation.

34. With the exception of Sparta, Tegea, Orchomenus, Mantinea, and Elis. In cities of the Achaean league, the *demiourgoi* directed civil matters, while the *strategoi* were responsible for military matters.

35. See Johann Oehler, "Kosmoi," *RE* 11 (1922): 1495–98, esp. 1495.

36. In Macedonia, a single supreme board called πολιτάρχαι dealt with civic and military matters.

37. See Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2:842–43 n. 28; Jones, *Greek City,* 166; cf. Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.242–44, no. 122.

38. See Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2:842 n. 27.

religious. This board consisted of three principal archons[39] and six junior archons known as lawgivers (θεσμοθέται).[40] Together, including a secretary, they formed a board of ten persons.[41] The chief archon (ὁ ἄρχων) was elected from this group as the eponymous archon of the city. He ranked as the highest state official and formal head of state.

Though archons are also attested in other cities (e.g., Delos, Thasos),[42] it should be added that the term *archons* is also employed generically in inscriptions to refer to governing boards of *strategoi* and *prytaneis,* for this term was used as a conventional term of address for city magistrates in letters addressed to cities by emperors and other Roman officials.[43]

13.06 Strategoi

Most cities had a board of *strategoi,* though it was not always the principal governing board. In those cities that had a στεφανήφορος as eponymous

39. Ὁ ἄρχων (the chief archon) was the president of the board and the eponymous magistrate of state; the ἄρχων βασιλεύς was the religious head of state and was responsible for the Eleusinian mysteries, the Lenaea, and the torch race; the ἄρχων πολέμαρχος was in charge of state sacrifices to the gods of war and public funerals for those who fell in war, and he presided at lawsuits in which μέτοικοι (resident aliens) were involved. At the end of their terms, they became members of the council of the Areopagus.

40. They oversaw the law courts, revised the laws, presided at many trials, and collectively appointed the magistrates by lot.

41. Since the number of tribes in any given year always exceeded the number of archons (nine), one to four tribes (depending on the year) always went unrepresented in the board of archons. The selection of archons was determined by lot in such a way that there was no duplication of tribes (i.e., by a sortition cycle). The classic book on this subject is W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age,* Harvard Historical Monographs 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932); see esp. 50–54. Except in wartime, no archon is known to have served as archon twice or to have held another one of the nine offices (see S. V. Tracy, "Notes and Discussions: TO MH ΔΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΝ," *CP* 86 [1991]: 201–4).

42. See, e.g., Jean Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* (Paris, 1954), nos. 28–33; cf. 236–38 (cf. *SEG* 34.874).

43. The attested duties of the *strategoi* include the collection of money (as demanded by foreigners [e.g., Erythrae], for a θεωρός [Knidos], or for inscribing statutes and honorary decrees [Halicarnassus, Priene, Erythrae]). Some had management of the sacred funds of Asklepios (e.g., Lampsakos) or the control (with other officials) over public funds (Temnos). They might have responsibility for announcing the bestowal of honors and commissioning statues and providing wreaths for benefactors (Priene, Methymna, Samos, Chalcedon). They also participated in public funerals (Priene), sacrifices (Ilium), and ceremonies (Magnesia). They negotiated with people seeking citizenship (Smyrna), made contracts with builders for the construction of public buildings (Kyzicos), and conducted some trials (Knidus). See Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2:845–46 n. 29. For Erythrai see *SEG*^{3} 410, 442; for Kyzicos, *IGRR* IV, 134; for Ephesos, *SEG*^{3} 363. In Kyme, a *strategos* was the presiding officer at the assembly (see Démosthènes Baltazzi, "Inscriptions de l'Eolide," *BCH* 12 [1888]: 358–76, esp. 360, no. 4; 362–63, no. 6). For Athens, see M. H. Hansen, "*Rhetores* and *Strategoi* in Fourth-Century Athens," *GRBS* 24 (1983): 151–80 (cf. *SEG* 33.253).

magistrate, the executive board was usually the strategoi.[44] New cities in Asia often preferred to appoint a five- (rather than ten-) member board of strategoi as the executive board.

The term στρατηγός was originally a military title meaning general or commander.[45] As time passed, the strategoi in Athens, Asia Minor, and elsewhere became increasingly concerned with civil matters, such that their responsibilities were virtually identical with those of the civil board of prytaneis in other cities. In most cities, the strategoi fulfilled a wide variety of municipal functions, with no military responsibilities, except perhaps in time of war.[46] For example, Rhodes—which had no army (except for a few mercenaries)—still had a board of strategoi.[47]

13.07 Prytaneis

In cities with a *demiourgos* as eponymous magistrate (see § 6.01), the executive board was often the *prytaneis*—not to be confused with the executive

44. In Rhodes, its functions were unclear, since the prytaneis had charge of directing civic policy (see Hendrik E. van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* [Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1900], 253; Jones, *Greek City,* 164–65). Richard M. Berthold (*Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984], 46 n. 29) argues that στραταγὸς ἐκ πάντων does not mean "general over all" but probably refers to a special form of election that drew on all citizens rather than selection by division (e.g., tribe).

45. For ἄρχων and στρατηγός used synonymously see Lévy, "Études," 268; πρῶτος ἄρχων = πρῶτος στρατηγός (see Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2:1509 n. 37).

46. See Jones, *Greek City,* 46–47. This arrangement began in Miletus and Priene and soon spread to the Ionian colonies, including Smyrna, and then to Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia. Their term of service varied, usually consisting one year, but sometimes as short as four months (e.g., Erythrae and Chalcedon) (see Jones, *Greek City,* 162). In Pergamon, they were appointed by the king. On the strategoi of the Thessalian League see Herwig Kramolisch, *Demetrias II: Die Strategen des thessalischen Bundes vom Jahr 196 v. Chr. bis zum Ausgang der römischen Republik,* ed. V. Milojcic and D. Theocharis, Die Deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien Beiträge zur ur- und fruhgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes 12 (Bonn: Habelt, 1978) (*SEG* 28.505).

47. Cf. the role of strategoi in Athens, for example, where they were originally elected officials who served on a board of ten στρατηγοί and were charged with the military command of the ten tribal regiments. They oversaw military and naval administration and could be called on to organize an army, to raise the resources to equip and fund an army, and to oversee the provisioning of the city in time of war (see Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:60, 2:844 n. 29). In the cities of the Achaean League, there were two boards: the strategoi oversaw the armed forces, while the δημιουργοί (not to be confused with the eponymous magistrate of the same name) dealt with civic administration. The balance of power between these two boards varied from city to city (see Jones, *Greek City,* 163); the commander in chief of the strategoi was sometimes known as the πρῶτος στρατηγός or στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα (e.g., Smyrna); under the influence of the Romans, the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα often took on the powers of the entire board of generals (see Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2:1510 n. 39).

committee of the Athenian council known by the same name. An *archiprytanis* served as its chairman. It functioned much as the strategoi functioned in their nonmilitary capacity in other cities.[48] In Rhodes, the prytaneis fulfilled a double function as both the executive board of civil magistrates and as the *proedroi* for the council and assembly. In cities that had boards of both prytaneis and strategoi (e.g., Erythrai), it can be assumed that the division of responsibility was civil and military, respectively.

13.08 Other Magisterial Boards, Offices, and Titles

A number of the remaining civic magisterial boards are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Boards of sacred overseers (ἱεροποιοί) or curators of temple fabric (νεωποιοί),[49] usually consisting of ten members each, were in charge of the care of temple buildings, the overseeing of the engraving of public documents on the walls of temples, the oversight of the temple accounts, and the administration of all aspects of the sacred rites and festivals that were not the responsibility of the priests.[50] In Athens, for example, boards of sacred overseers regulated the Eleusinian mysteries, the Hephaistia, and the sacrifices to Dionysos and to other gods.[51] During the imperial period, their responsibilities widened to include civic functions. On Delos, these officials were second in importance only to the eponymous magistrate.

A board of public grain buyers (σιτῶναι) was responsible for the purchase and supply of grain to the city at a reasonable price.[52] Sometimes, a public fund (σιτωνικὸν χρήμα) was provided for this purpose, but this fund was often inadequate, forcing the grain buyers themselves to make up the shortfall from their own personal resources. Similarly, a board of public oil buyers

48. Smyrna, Stratonikeia, Myra, Seleucia (Cilicia), Kastabala-Hieropolis, Komana (Cappadocia). In Miletos and Priene, it was headed by an ἀρχιπρύτανις; at Miletos, by five συνάρχοντες (see Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:643).

49. These "temple curators," or "temple builders" (νεωποιοί), should be distinguished from the νεωκόρος, normally translated as "temple warden."

50. The Curators were also called ναοποιοί, νεοποῖαι, or ναποῖαι. See Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1:502; Otto Schulthess, Νεωποιοί *RE* 16 (1935): 2433–39; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:60, 2:847–48 n. 31; Adrian N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 90–91; Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.127–29, no. 28; Jones, *Greek City,* 228.

51. See Rhodes, *Athenian Boule,* 127–31.

52. See L. Migeotte in *Hommage à la mémoire de Ernest Pascal,* Cahiers des Études Anciennes 24 (1990): 291–300 (cf. *SEG* 37.1769, 38.1948, 39.1775, 40.1646); *IG* II² 792; M. J. Osborne, "The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C." *ZPE* 78 (1989): 221–22 (*SEG* 39.120, 1775); *SEG* 37.1406, 1769; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:646, 2:1512–13 n. 42; Jones, *Greek City,* 217–18, 247, 361 n. 8.

(ἐλαιῶναι) was charged with the purchase and provision of reasonably priced oil both for domestic use and for the gymnasia and baths.[53] Special funds were also set up for this in some cities (e.g., Aphrodisias, Prusias ad Hypium).[54]

In addition to the magisterial boards, there were single officers appointed to specific tasks. Some of these magistracies were held for the lifetime (διὰ βίου) of the individual, as in the case of hereditary offices (διὰ γένους), such as the presidency of the games (ἀγωνοθέται), and civic priesthoods.[55] Some magistracies were honorary in nature, being conferred in gratitude for financial donations. For example, the so-called perpetual (αἰώνιοι) magistracies were bestowed on individuals who had provided an endowment for the office in question.

The controller of the market (ἀγορανόμος) was charged with the supervision of the commerce in the agora, checking the accuracy of the weights and balances, and generally assuring that commodities were sold at a fair price. In times of shortage, he was expected to stabilize prices out of his own funds.[56] He was also responsible for the maintenance of the agora buildings and for the collection of shop and stall rentals.[57]

The office of city warden (ἀστυνόμος) is attested in various cities. This official was responsible for keeping the buildings, roads, and drains in good repair.[58] He also had the power to fine persons who did not maintain their property.[59] The warden of the peace (εἰρηνάρχης/ος) was a high-ranking official who was charged with maintaining public discipline and morals.[60] He had the authority to arrest and interrogate bandits and send them to trial. He

53. For a comprehensive study of baths, including terminology, see Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992) (*SEG* 42.1757); see, among other terms, ἀλειπτήριον, ἀποδυτήριον, ἐφήβειον, λουτρών, and σφαιριστήριον.

54. See Robert, *ÉtAnat,* 314ff. (Aphrodisias); *IGRR* III, 60, 68 (Prusias ad Hypium). Cf. *SEG* 42.478, a list of contributors to the oil for a gymnasium (Elatea, Phokis, 160 B.C.).

55. See Jones, *Greek City,* 175, 339 n. 37.

56. See Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2.1512 n. 41; E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 451 (*OGI* 484, L. 17).

57. See J. Oehler, "Agoranomoi," *RE* 1 (1894): 883–85; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1:491–92; Jones, *Greek City,* 188, 215–16, 230 (Andania), 339 n. 37, 349 n. 10, 361 n. 88.

58. Similar to a city building inspector; he might have been also responsible for the water supply and drainage (see Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:646, 2:1513 n. 43; Jones, *Greek City,* 213–15).

59. See J. H. Oliver, "The Date of the Pergamene Astynomic Law," *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 88–92.

60. See Schulthess, Εἰρηνάρχαι, *RE* Suppl. 3 (1918): 419; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:646, 2:1514 n. 46; Jones, *Greek City,* 212–13, 360 n. 80.

was served by constables or mounted police (διωγμεῖται).[61] The *paraphylax* (παραφύλαξ/κες) was a police official in charge of the rural territory and was particularly involved in the control of highway robbery.[62]

Women of means are known to have held some magistracies. In the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, women of local ruling elites played a prominent role in public life. They acted as benefactors and undertook civic offices and liturgies.[63] Some sacred offices seem to have been held exclusively by women, such as the bearer of the shroud of the image of Artemis (σπειροφόρος) and the bearer of the ornaments (κοσμοφόρος) in the Ephesian cult of Artemis.[64]

13.09 Liturgies

In addition to services rendered by various magistrates, there were services called liturgies (λειτουργίαι), which were performed by wealthy citizens as acts of public duty.[65] The precise nature of these liturgies varied from city to city. They customarily involved defraying the costs associated with various

61. See L. Robert, "Études Épigraphiques: Première Série," *BCH* 52 (1928): 407–25, esp. 409; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1:647, 2:1514 n. 46; Jones, *Greek City*, 212.

62. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1:647, 2:1515 n. 47; Jones, *Greek City*, 212. Cf. the municipal police in Hierapolis (see Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 27).

63. On women as officeholders in Asia Minor see Riet van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, DMAHA 15 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1996); F. Kirbihler, "Les femmes magistrats et liturges en Asie Mineure (II^e av. J.-C.–III^e s. ap. J.-C.)," *Ktèma* 19 (1994) [1997] 51–75; Ramsay MacMullen, "Women in Public in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 29 (1980): 208–18. On women in public life see R. A. Kearsley in *NewDocs* 6.24–27 (cf. *SEG* 42.1856). On women and religion see Ross S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) (cf. *SEG* 42.1827). Cf. Pierre Paris, *Quatenus feminae res publicas in Asia Minore Romanis imperantibus, attigerint* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1891), 68–69; Mika Kajava, "The Roman Coloniae of the Near East: A Study of Cultural Relations," in *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History*, ed. Heikki Solin and Mika Kajava, CHL 91 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1990), 59–124; Katariina Mustakallio, "Some Aspects of the Story of Coriolanus and the Women Behind the Cult of Fortuna Muliebris," in *Roman Eastern Policy*, 125–31; Chapot, *Province romaine*, 161–62. O. Braunstein (*Die politische Wirksamkeit der griechischen Frau: Eine Nachwirkung vorgreichischen Mutterrechtes* [Leipzig: A. Hoffmann, 1911], 47–48) adds to the lists of Paris. For women serving as *stephanephoroi* at Sardis, Priene, and Miletus (A.D. 31/2) see *ISard*BR 106a, 110, 111; *IPriene* 208; *IMilet* 13 n. 128, L. 17; for their service as δαμιοργίσωσα at Aspendos, *GDI* I, 1260, 1261 (II B.C.). Cf. Magie, *Roman Rule*, 2:1518 n. 50.

64. See Hans Schwabl, "Ephesiaka: Zu Artemidor I 8 und IV 4," in *Religio Graeco-Romana: Festschrift für Walter Pötscher*, ed. Joachim Dalfen, Gerhard Petersmann, and Franz F. Schwarz, Grazer Beiträge Suppl. V (Graz: Horn, 1993), 134–43 (cf. *SEG* 43.744).

65. See Jones, *Greek City*, 166–67, 175–76, 182, 339 n. 38, 347 n. 99.

civic programs, such as the hiring and training of choruses for festivals, the funding of musical and athletic contests, and maintaining the civic gymnasia. Resident Roman citizens in Greek cities were probably exempt from both liturgies and magistracies.[66]

Perhaps the most important of all the liturgies was that of *gymnasiarch* (γυμνασίαρχος), since the gymnasia were the principal centers for athletic and intellectual training, not to mention socializing.[67] The gymnasiarch was expected to bear at his own expense the considerable costs of maintaining a gymnasium and its equipment, including the cost of wood for the heating of the baths and the heavy expense of furnishing oil. (Oil was required in large quantities, being used both as a cleanser and a lubricant during and after exercise and for lighting the rooms after dark.) Though there was sometimes public funding for oil, it was apparently never adequate. Such was the financial burden of this and other magistracies that only the wealthy could afford to be appointed over the centuries. As private fortunes dwindled, appointments were increasingly viewed as a burden to be avoided rather than an honor to be sought.[68]

13.10 Societies

The gymnasia served as the meeting place for two important societies, the young men's association (νέοι) and the elders' association (γερουσία). As the name of the former suggests, it was an association of young men who had completed training as ephebes (ἔφηβοι) and desired to continue their fellowship in the gymnasium. Though this group was athletic in origin, it also had a strong social dimension, functioning very much like a club.[69] An elder's

66. See Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 77.

67. See Jones, *Greek City*, 221–24 (cf. 167, 184, 188); Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, 2:929–30; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 2:1521 n. 55.

68. See Marc Kleijwegt, "'Vountary, But under Pressure': Voluntarity and Constraint in Greek Municipal Politics," *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994): 64–78; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1:640–41.

69. Fifty-five groups of νέοι are known to have existed in Asia Minor alone. They were sometimes organized as a σύνοδος (Smyrna, Pergamon, Nicaia) or a συνέδριον (Synnada, Laodikeia, Hierapolis). See Mark Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth: The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society*, DMAHA 8 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1991) (*SEG* 41.1882); Clarence A. Forbes, Νέοι: *A Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations*, Philological Monographs 2 (Middletown, CT: American Philological Association, 1933), 6–7, 38–39; Jones, *Greek City*, 225, 245; Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909], 611–62; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 2:854 n. 37). The νεανίσκοι that were organized in some cities of Asia Minor were a different group (see Forbes, Νέοι, 61–62; Franz Poland, "Neoi," *RE* 16 [1935]: 2401–9).

association (γερουσία), which took different forms from place to place, is attested in almost every Greek city of the Roman period. It was the most exclusive aristocratic club of the city. This organization usually had its own gymnasium and officers, including president, secretary, and treasurer. Because its membership was often drawn from ex-magistrates and councillors, it was highly regarded and had significant influence in public life, often acting concurrently with the council and the assembly in bestowing honors.[70]

13.11 Greek Magistracies, Titles, and Offices

The tremendous diversity of titles and offices named in inscriptions can be quite perplexing. Allan Johnson writes: "an extraordinary variety of titles may be found in the magistracies of the Greek cities, and no uniformity was attained or desired by the imperial government. Many of the offices, however, were modified under Roman rule."[71] There are numerous instances in which Greek has adopted loanwords from Latin titles.[72] It must suffice here to list some of the Greek magistracies and titles most frequently attested in Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions. The following list includes titles of different kinds: of elected and appointed magistrates (e.g., *kosmos, strategos*), of professionals employed by a community (e.g., *archiatros, grammatodidaskalos, keryx*), of persons who undertook various liturgies (e.g., *lampadarches*), and of persons in the service of emperors (e.g., *pragmateutes*).[73]

70. See J. A. van Rossum, *De Gerousia in de Griekse steden van het Romeinse Rijk* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), with an English summary at 238–41 (*SEG* 38.1975); Poland, *Geschichte,* 98–101, 577–81; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2:855–59 n. 38. Cf. J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia,* Hesperia Suppl 6 (Princeton: American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 1941); "Gerusiae and Augustales," *Historia* 7 (1958): 472–96. On social and political dimensions see J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1959): 65.

71. Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration,* 77–78. Cf. the indices by Cagnat in *IGRR;* Wilhelm Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im Römischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1900), 539–44; Friedemann Quass, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens: Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993).

72. Hugh Mason has discussed and catalogued many aspects of this phenomenon (*Greek Terms,* 3–16, 101–71); David Magie's *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905) continues to be very useful.

73. The preposition ἐπί is often found in official titles to denote a sphere of authority; cf. ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος (Acts 12:20). See William P. Hatch, "Some Illustrations of New Testament Usage from Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor," *JBL* 27 (1908): 134–46, esp. 140–41. Cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπί, A, iii, 1; Gustav A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien: Beitrage, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1895/1977), 174–75 (with English translation at 306–7).

Titles of Greek Officials

ἀγορανόμος	controller of the market (see § 13.08), public notary (Egypt)
ἀγωνοθέτης	president of the games
αἰσυμνήτης	judge at the games[74]
ἀπόλογος	auditor[75]
ἀρχέφηβος	chief ephebe; cf. ἐφήβαρχος
ἀρχιέρεια	high priestess[76]
ἀρχιερεύς	high/chief priest; ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας[77] = ἀσιάρχης
ἀρχιερωσύνη	high priesthood
ἀρχιπρόβουλος	president of an executive committee of the council, eponymous magistrate (Termessos, Sagalassos)
ἄρχων, -οντες	magistrate, sometimes eponymous (see § 6.01, 13.05); in plural, board of civil magistrates (see § 13.04)
ἀσιάρχης	Asiarch (see § 14.08) (= ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας)
ἀστυνόμος	magistrate in charge of police, streets, and public buildings (see § 13.08)
βασιλεύς	title of hereditary kings of the Hellenistic monarchy,[78] prince, second of the nine archons in Athens, magistrate, eponymous magistrate in some cities (see § 6.01)
βασίλισσα	queen,[79] wife of the archon basileus (Athens)

74. See Jones, *Greek City,* 166.

75. Thasos, Halai. This title has the same meaning as λογιστής (i.e., *curator rei publicae*), but its use is confined to the Hellenistic period (see Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* 1: 473 n. 1).

76. See P. Herz, "Asiarchen und Archiereiai: Zum Provinziakult der Provinz Asia," *Tyche* 7 (1992): 93–115, esp. 103–5; *SEG* 36.1518, 42.1067, 42.1856.

77. See *SEG* 42.1031.

78. See L. Mooren, in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World: Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 24–26 May 1982,* ed. E. van't Dack, P. van Dessel, and W. van Gucht, Studia Hellenistica 27 (Louvain: Orientaliste, 1983), 207–40, esp. 214–18.

79. See E. Carney, in *Women's History and Ancient History,* ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 154–72.

βούλαρχος	president of an executive committee of the council
γραμματεύς	secretary (see § 13.02), royal scribe, head of the record-keeping department for the nome in the Ptolemaic administration
γυμνασίαρχος/ης	gymnasiarch, superintendent of athletic training (see § 13.09) (= παιδονόμος)
γυναικονόμος	supervisor of women at the gymnasium
δήμαρχος	chief official of a demos (Athens)
δημιουργός	skilled workman, magistrate, eponymous magistrate in some cities (see § 6.01, 13.03); in plural, board of civil magistrates (see § 13.04)
διάκονος	attendant/official in temple or religious association,[80] especially in a Christian church
διωγμείτης	constable, mounted policeman (see § 13.08)[81]
εἰρηνάρχης/ος	warden of the peace, head of municipal police (see § 13.08)
ἔκδικος	public advocate/prosecutor[82]
ἐλαιοπάροχος	dispenser of oil at the gymnasium[83]
ἐμποριάρχης	supervisor of trade
ἐξεταστaί	board of public auditors[84]
ἐπιμελητής	curator of the market/gymnasium/prytaneion, financial officer (Athens), eponymous official (Delos, Thyatira),[85] chief of tribe, special commissioner (see § 0.14)[86]

80. On διάκονοι in the cult of Ares and Zeus see *SEG* 43.844.

81. See *SEG* 33.1591.

82. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1:648–49, 2:1517–18 (cf. 1298); I. Lévy, "Études sur la vie municipale de l'Asie Mineure (2e série)," *REG* 12 (1899): 255–89, esp. 275–78; Chapot, *Province romaine*, 270–71; *OGI* 478 n. 40.

83. See Jones, *Greek City*, 221.

84. See S. Celato in *CongrEpigr* VIII, 123–25 (cf. *SEG* 41.1772); E. Szanto, 'Εξεταστaί, *RE* 6 (1909): 1679–80; Swoboda, *Lehrbuch*, 153 n. 8; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, 1:472–73; Jones, *Greek City*, 242.

85. During the second period of Athenian rule (166–88 B.C.).

86. Commissioner who erected public buildings (Jones, *Greek City*, 237); also curator of sacred matters (shrine/μυστηρίων), curator of market and inspector of weights and measures, curator of gymnasium, curator of harbor, financial officer (Athens/Egypt), magistrate (Epidauros), head of a tribe.

ἐπίσκοπος	Christian bishop,[87] overseers of a voluntary association
ἐπιστάτης	president of executive committee of the council, superintendent/administrator in charge of a temple, special commissioner, overseer[88] (see § 13.02, 0.14)
ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων	president of the presiding officers (see § 13.02)
ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων	president of the *prytaneis* (see § 13.02)
ἐργεπιστάτης	superintendent of work on public buildings[89]
εὐθηνιάρχης	commissioner of the grain supply[90]
ἐφήβαρχος/ἀρχέφηβος	chief ephebe[91]
ἔφοροι	board of civil magistrates (see § 13.04)
ζακόρος	temple warden
ἡγεμών	commander, eponymous magistrate (Chalcis, Euboia)[92]
ἱεραπόλος	chief priest
ἱερεύς/ἱέρεια	priest,[93] eponymous magistrate in some cities (see § 6.01), priestess
ἱεροθύτης	sacrificing priest, eponymous magistrate (Agrigentum)
ἱεροποιός	overseer of temples and sacred rites, eponymous magistrate (Erythrai) (see § 13.08)
ἱεροφάντης	hierophant, revealer of the secrets

87. See D. Feissel in *CongrEpigr* XI, 801–28 (cf. *SEG* 39.1837).

88. In Macedonia, "overseer," the king's representative in the cities (see *SEG* 37.537, 39.560; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *BE* [1991]: 375).

89. See Jones, *Greek City*, 237.

90. See Jones, *Greek City*, 217.

91. See Jones, *Greek City*, 223.

92. See Jones, *Greek City*, 174, 339 n. 36.

93. On the relationship between magistrates and priests when performing together in sacred civic ceremonies see *SEG* 42.1767. on epigraphic evidence of priesthoods of the eastern dynastic aristocracies (I B.C.–imperial period) see R. D. Sullivan in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens (Festschrift F. K. Dörner)*, ed. S. Şahin, E. Schwertheim, and J. Wagner, 2 vols., EPRO 66 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 2:914–39; R. D. Sullivan in *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara-Izmire, 23–30 Sept. 1973*, ed. Ekrem Akurgal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978), 295–303 (*SEG* 28.1652).

ἱππάρχης	commander of the cavalry,[94] eponymous magistrate in some cities (Kyzikos, Thyatira)
κοσμητής	director of ephebes[95]
κόσμος, -οι	chief magistrate (Crete); in plural, board of civil magistrates (see § 13.04)
λογιστής, -αί	auditor; in plural, board of auditors (Athens)[96]
μισθωτής	farmer general on an estate, tenant farmer
μόναρχος	monarch, eponymous magistrate (Kos)
νεωκόρος	temple warden
νεωποιός	curator of temple fabric (see § 13.08)
νομογράφος	drafter of laws[97]
νομοδείκτης	legal adviser
νομοφύλαξ	guardian of the law
οἰκονόμος	financial manager/controller of the city (see § 13.02), private financial manager of private or imperial estate, steward[98]
παιδονόμος	superintendent of the education of youth
παιδοτρίβης	physical trainer, gymnastic master[99]
παλαιστροφύλαξ	superintendent of a wrestling school[100]
πανηγυράρχης	president of the festivals
παραφύλαξ/κες	guard, magistrate in charge of frontier guards (see § 13.08)[101]
πατρονόμος	member of council, eponymous magistrate (Sparta)
περιπολάρχης	commander of military patrol[102]

94. On the Athenian cavalry see Glen R. Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988) (*SEG* 38.276).

95. See Jones, *Greek City,* 223. Cf. οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶν παρθένων, magistrates in charge of female education (see Jones, *Greek City,* 222).

96. See Jones, *Greek City,* 242.

97. See Jones, *Greek City,* 239.

98. See Robert, *ÉtAnat,* 241 n. 2; Robert, *Hellenica,* X, 83 n. 3.

99. Jones, *Greek City,* 222.

100. Jones, *Greek City,* 221.

101. Assistant to εἰρήναρχος (see *SEG* 33.1591).

102. Also περιπόλοι. See P. Cabanes, "Recherches épigraphiques en Albanie: Péripolarques et peripoloi en Grèce du Nord-Ouest et en Illyrie à la periode hellénistique," *CRAI* (1991): 197–221; Robert, *Hellenica,* X, 283–91 (Epeiros), 291–92 (Athens); Robert, *ÉtAnat,* 108–10; *SEG* 41.1747.

πολιτάρχης	civic magistrate,[103] eponymous magistrate (Charadros); in plural, board of magistrates (Chios,[104] Thessalonika, Beroia)
πολιτογράφος	registrar[105]
πραγματευτής	financial manager of private and imperial estates[106]
πρεσβευτής	ambassador[107]
πρεσβύτερος	elder of a Christian church (presbyter), elder of a Jewish synagogue
πρόβουλοι	board of civil magistrates (Delphi,[108] Karystos, Termessos) (see § 13.04)
πρόεδροι	presiding officers (see § 13.02)
πρόοικος	major-domo, village overseer[109]
προστάτης	ruler, president, presiding officer; in plural, board of magistrates, executive committee
πρύτανις	chairman of a civic board (see § 13.04), eponymous magistrate in some cities (see § 6.01); in plural, board of civil magistrates (see § 13.04, 13.07)
πρωτόλογος ἄρχων	chief magistrate (Aphrodisias, Ikonion)
σιτώνης	public buyer of grain (see § 13.08)
στεφανήφορος	magistrate who had the right to wear a crown in certain cities,[110] eponymous

103. See P. Cabanes, *Historia* 37 (1988): 480–87 (cf. *SEG* 38.462); G. H. R. Horsley, "The Politarchs," in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting,* vol. 2, *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting,* ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994), 419–31; Horsley in *NewDocs* 2.34.

104. In Chios, military matters were entrusted to a board of πολέμαρχοι in the Hellenistic period.

105. See Jones, *Greek City,* 239.

106. See Robert, *Hellenica,* XIII, 105–6.

107. See G. A. Souris, "Notes and Corrections to Imperial Letters, I," *Hellenika* 40 (1989): 50–61, esp. 58–60 (*SEG* 39.1865).

108. See Jacques Tréheux, "Sur les *probouloi* en Grèce," *BCH* 113 (1989): 241–47 (cf. *SEG* 30.490, 39.1825).

109. See Robert, *Hellenica,* XIII, 105–6; *MAMA* VIII, 385; *SEG* 2.690, 747; *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 147.

110. For *stephanephoroi* in Athens see *SEG* 28.491, 1625; 30.1832.

	magistrate in some cities (see § 6.01, 13.03)
στρατηγός	commander, governor, magistrate, eponymous magistrate in some cities (see § 6.01)
σύνδικος	public advocate in law courts[111]
συνέδρος	member of the council (συνέδριον)
ταγοῖ	board of civil magistrates (Thessaly)
ταμίας	treasurer (see § 13.02)
τιμοῦχοι	board of civil magistrates (Sinope)
ὑπογυμνασίαρχος	subdirector of the gymnasium

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111. See Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:648.

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14

Roman Administration and Functionaries

The administration of the Roman government was based on the maintenance of distinct classes, both in Rome, Italy, and in the *provinciae* (ἐπαρχεῖαι/-οι). The higher level of public servants were recruited from the class lists of the senatorial (τὸ βουλευτικόν) and equestrian (τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα) orders. For each, there was a well-defined promotion ladder (cursus honorum). In both cases, leadership positions in the army were integrated into the Roman administration, thereby providing a training ground for future public officials.

14.01 The Senatorial Cursus Honorum

Under the empire, a young member of the senatorial class began his career at the age of eighteen to twenty, as a *vigintivir* in one of the minor administrative positions, held for only one year.[1] These positions were collectively known as the *vigintiviratus* (or *XXviratus*). From this office, a young man would enter the army as a *tribunus legionis* in one of the provinces, for a period of one to two years. Six tribunes were assigned to each legion. These posts were administrative in nature, with field or combat duties being delegated to the centurions.

Following military service, the man would return to public administration, working his way up through the offices, beginning with the quaestorship at the age of twenty-five, at which time he gained formal membership in the Senate. In the time of the Principate, all except patricians were then required

1. *Decemvir stlitibus iudicandis, quattuorvir viarum curandarum, triumvir capitalis, triumvir monetalis.*

to become *aedilis* or *tribunus plebis* after their quaestorship, before reaching the praetorship. Aediles were administrators charged with building maintenance, keeping the streets clean, policing the city, and superintending the markets and games. The tribunes of the plebs, being ten in number at a given time, were the official representatives of the plebeian class.

Next in the sequence was the praetorship, open to men thirty years of age and older. Julius Caesar increased the number from two to ten, then fourteen, then sixteen. In the empire, the duties of the praetors involved trying legal cases and conducting legal business. The praetorship was a prerequisite for the position of proconsul (governor) in a senatorial province. A man having held the office of praetor was also eligible for appointment by the emperor as a legionary commander (*legatus legionis*/πρεσβευτής, ἄγων, μυρίαρχος, στρατάρχης, ταξίαρχος) or governor of an imperial province (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*/πρεσβευτής, πρεσβευτὴς Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστράτηγος, πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σεβαστοῦ).

A senator was eligible to become a consul at about the age of forty to forty-three. Under the empire, the consuls had few significant duties: these included the final judging of certain criminal trials and the prestigious task of presiding over the games and festivals in Rome. Around A.D. 197, when the number of praetors was set at six, it was required that all consuls be ex-praetors.

The basic senatorial cursus honorum can be summarized as follows:[2]

1. *vigintivir* (εἴκοσι [καλούμενοι ἄνδρες], κ' ἀρχή)
2. *tribunus legionis* (χιλίαρχος, ταξίαρχος)
3. quaestor (κουαίστωρ, ταμίας)
4. either *aedilis* (ἀγορανόμος, ἀστυνόμος, αἰδίλης, ὑπηρέτης) or *tribunus plebis* (δήμαρχος, προστάτης, τριβοῦνος, φύλαρχος)
5. praetor (στρατηγός, στρατηγὸς ἐξαπέλεκυς, πραίτωρ)
6. consul (ὕπατος, στρατηγὸς ὕπατος, ὕπατος, κωνσοῦλ)

Notable senators might conclude their careers with a second consulship and the prefecture of the capital (*praefectus urbi*/ἔπαρχος Ῥώμης). Under Augustus, the urban prefects had the responsibility of governing Rome, maintaining civil order, and deciding legal cases that fell within the jurisdiction of the city. The censorship traditionally went to ex-consuls. Censors were

2. Cf. John E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, 2d ed., rev. S. G. Campbell (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis N. V. Publishers, 1969), 222–25 (reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1974).

charged with keeping the citizen lists, maintaining the roles of members of the Senate, and conducting any needed census.

Some priesthoods were open only to the senatorial order. The largest and the most important of the priestly colleges in Rome was the *pontifices,* which, under Caesar, was open to both patricians and plebeians. The president of this college was known as the *pontifex maximus* (ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, ἀρχιερεὺς ποντιφίκων).

14.02 Equestrian Careers

In the imperial period, those of free birth who qualified financially and by reputation were admitted to the order of the *equites.* The *ordo equester* had an estimated twenty thousand members, far more than the membership of the *ordo senatorius,* the latter being fixed at six hundred by Augustus. Géza Alföldy writes:

> the equestrian order was not hereditary [unlike the senatorial order], in formal terms at least. Admission followed the elevation of the individual not the family: the equestrian order was thus not an aristocracy of birth but an aristocracy of individuals ('Personenadel'). Yet it often happened in practice that the son of an *eques* was also admitted to the equestrian order: hence the phrase "equestrian families."[3]

The majority of *equites* did not enter public service, since the number of posts available were far less than the pool of potential candidates. For example, in the mid–second century, there were only about 550 equestrian military positions and one hundred procuratorial positions.[4] Those *equites* who did enter public service began their career in a military post as a commander of a body of five hundred infantry (*praefectus cohortis*/ἔπαρχος σπείρης, ἔπαρχος χώρτης). Following this, they served either as staff officers in one of the legions or as commanders of bodies of one thousand infantry (*tribunus legionis, tribunus cohortis*). Finally, they were appointed as commanders of bodies of five hundred cavalry (*praefectus alae*/ἔπαρχος ἄλης/ἴλης/εἴλης). In the second century A.D. and following, the appointment as *praefectus alae* might be followed by the command of a body of one thousand

3. Géza Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome,* trans. David Braund and Frank Pollock (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 120.

4. See Alföldy, *Social History,* 123–26.

cavalry (*tribunus militum*/ταξίαρχος).[5] From here, notable equites could move on to high economic and financial positions or to the governorship of one of the smaller provinces (*procurator Augusti*).[6]

In the time of Septimius Severus were added the offices of the centurionate, the *praefectus legionis* (ἔπαρχος λεγιῶνος, ἔπαρχος τάγματος), and, beyond that, the position of financial procurator (ἐπίτροπος). The procurator, selected from among the eminent members of the equestrian order, functioned as a private agent of the emperor in the imperial provinces. In the public provinces, proconsuls and quaestors were responsible for supervising direct taxation; their role was occasionally extended to include other responsibilities in public administration, such as the resolution of boundary disputes and adjudicating responsibility for imperial services among the villages.[7] The most eminent *equites* might become *praefecti.* The *praefecti* were powerful officials who held rank in the following ascending order:

1. *praefectus classis* (ἔπαρχος κλάσσης, ἔπαρχος στόλου)
2. *praefectus vigilum* (ἔπαρχος ὁ νυκτοφυλακῶν, ἔπαρχος οὐιγούλων)[8]
3. *praefectus annonae* (ἔπαρχος ἀγορᾶς, ἔπαρχος εὐθηνίας, ἔπαρχος ὁ σῖτον ἐπισκοπῶν)[9]
4. *praefectus Aegypti* (ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου)[10] and, subsequently in the minor provinces, *praefectus provinciae* (later *procuratores*)
5. *praefectus praetorio* (ἔπαρχος τῆς αὐλῆς, ἔπαρχος τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔπαρχος πραιτωρίου/στρατευμάτων/στρατοπέδων).

5. From early II A.D., the *praefectura* could be substituted with one of the tribunates of the army or one of the tribunates in the city (e.g., *tribunus cohortis vigilum, tr. urbanae, tr. praetoriae*).

6. An inscription honoring one such man (A.D. 260–82) reads, Αὐ[ρ(ήλιον) M]αρῶνα ἐπίτρ(οπον) | τοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) διέποντα | τὰ [μέ]ρη τῆς ἡγεμον(ίας) [= *agens vices praesidis*], | NO[. . .] Ἀλέξανδρος | [ἑκατόντ]αρχος [? *centurio*] τὸν φίλον [[in honour of] Aurelius Maro, *procurator Augusti* [of Syria Palaestina], vice agens praesidis, . . . Alexander, the centurion, to his friend [dedicated this]]; see M. Christol, "À propos d'inscriptions de Césarée de Palestine: Compléments aux fastes de Syrie Palestine," *ZPE* 22 (1976): 169–76, esp. 174. On ἐπίτροπος Σεβ(αστοῦ) see H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain,* Vols. 1–4, BAH 57 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1960–61), 1312; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs equestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1950); Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis,* American Studies in Papyrology 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 142–43.

7. G. B. Burton, "Provincial Procurators and the Public Provinces," *Chiron* 23 (1993): 13–28. Beginning with Hadrian, there were four classes of *procuratores,* named according to their salary level: namely, *sexagenarii* (σεξαγηνάριοι), *centenarii* (κεντηνάριοι), *ducenarii* (δουκηνάριοι), and *trecenarii* (τρεκηνάριοι).

8. Commander of the fire service of the city of Rome.

9. Highest official in charge of the grain supply of Rome.

10. Viceroy of Egypt.

14.03 Offices Open to Persons below Senatorial and Equestrian Rank

There were many positions available to social elites below senatorial and equestrian rank. In each city, social elites were organized into an order with the title *ordo decurionum.* It was an autonomous civil council or curia, usually numbering about one hundred *decuriones,* set apart as an order from the plebs of the city. This order comprised the members of the council and the civic magistrates.

Admission to the *decuriones* (δεκουρίοι, βουλευταί, δεκάδαρχος/ης) was granted to wealthy citizens aged twenty-five to thirty who had gained membership to the council (*decurionatus*) by having served as a civic magistrate or, from the second century onward, without any public office at all. A *decurio* was eligible to become an *aedilis* (vice head of the community) or one of the two *duumviri,* the colonial equivalents of consuls, for terms of one year each.[11] The *duumviri* had oversight of the functions of the local council and ensured that Roman law and order were maintained. An outgoing duumvir could repeat his headship, become a quaestor (a sort of deputy to the duumvir) or be appointed to one of the municipal priesthoods.

14.04 The Roman Army

The Roman army was divisible into three parts: first, the troops stationed near Rome, including the *cohortes praetoriae* (Praetorian Guard);[12] second, the *auxilia,* or local militia; third, the largest part of the army, which consisted of the twenty-eight or more legions, amounting to half of the armed forces.

Each *legio* (λεγιών/εών) consisted of about five thousand foot soldiers and 120 cavalry. A legion was divided into ten *cohortes* (κοόρται/σπεῖραι), or battalions, of six hundred troops each. A *cohors* was in turn divided into six *centuriae* (ἑκατονταρχία/κεντυρία), or companies, of one hundred men. Each legion was commanded by a senatorial *legatus legionis* (ἡγεμών/στρατηγός),[13] that is, a military commander, under whom served six military tribunes, and sixty centurions; the first tribune was of senatorial rank, while

11. In many cities, the titles *quattuorvir aedilicia potestate* and *quattuorvir iure dicundo* are used.

12. Established by Augustus in 27 B.C., the Praetorian Guard consisted of a core of nine *cohortes* of select soldiers. Each *cohors* consisted of five hundred soldiers. They served as both the imperial bodyguard and a military academy; they were led by two *praefecti praetorio.*

13. Except in Egypt, where an equestrian *praefectus* was appointed.

the remaining tribunes (as well as the commanders of the auxiliary troops) were drawn from the equestrian order. The *legatus* was answerable both to Rome and to the governor of the province in which he was stationed.

Roman legions were stationed in the provinces of military importance to ensure the security of the empire. In the time of Augustus, there were twenty-eight legions numbering around 140,000 men, and there were about the same number in auxiliaries (i.e., local militias), producing a total of approximately 280,000 for the entire army.[14] They were supervised by Augustus himself, acting as commander in chief, with the exception of the legions in Illyricum, Macedonia, and Africa, which were under control of independent proconsuls.

Men of senatorial and equestrian class served in the military for limited periods of time, but the *centuriones* (ἑκατοντάρχαι/κεντυρίωνες/λοχαγοί) were professional soldiers, drawn from the commoners, who had risen up through the ranks and often served lifetime appointments. The centurions were the principal leaders in battle, with the chief centurion serving on the staff of the *legatus legionis.* The second centurion in rank headed the administrative staff. The rank and file soldiery consisted of conscripts and volunteers who, under Augustus, regularly served for twenty-five or twenty-six years.[15] Upon their honorable discharge, they were awarded grants of land, monetary grants, and various privileges (see § 17.04.3–4).

14.05 Roman Rule in the Provinces

By the conclusion of the First Punic War (241 B.C.), the western Mediterranean had been divided between the Roman and Carthaginian sections. At this time, Rome began to establish *provinciae* for administrative purposes and as a vehicle for the exploitation of the newly subjugated territories. Each province, both an area of operation and a geographically defined region, was the basic unit of administration. In the years that followed, several new Roman provinces were added by conquest (e.g., Spain, Gaul, Britain).

The settlement and division of the provinces was first established in 27 B.C. At this time, it was decided that the large provinces, namely, Spain, Gaul, and Syria (and later Egypt), were to be administered by Augustus through appointed governors. The remaining provinces, the so-called public

14. On legions and their movements see H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (1928; reprint, with corrections, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1958); Peter Connolly, *Rome at War* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981); G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969).

15. See P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 188–214.

or senatorial provinces, were governed by proconsuls (ἀνθύπατος, στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος).[16] In 23 B.C., Augustus accepted *imperium maius* as part of his settlement with the Senate over the division of the Roman Empire, giving him greater power than these provincial proconsuls, so that he now had authority to intervene outside of his own provinces.

The relationship between the cities and the empire is one of the principal subjects of the Hellenistic period. One can document the shifting of power in each city between the king, native dynasties, elected local authorities, and the emperor through his governors. In most cases, native dynasties were permitted to remain in possession of their territories, except when such dynasties died out or were deposed (e.g., in Cappadocia) or when security was threatened. In such cases, these territories were annexed as new provinces. For example, when Amyntas died in 25 B.C., the vast territories of western and eastern Galatia were annexed by Rome as a province and given the name *Galatia.* Similarly, when Augustus deposed Archelaus, the tetrarch of Judaea and Samaria, in A.D. 6, these districts were combined into a single imperial province known as Judaea, governed by a *praefectus* (ἡγεμών) from Caesarea Maritima.

The provinces were ruled by governors known variously as *legati Augusti pro praetore* (ἡγεμόνες), proconsuls (ἀνθύπατοι), and procurators (ἐπίτροποι). These *legati* and proconsuls were chosen from the senatorial order, while the procurators were selected from the equestrian order. Imperial *legati* were appointed by the emperor to govern the principal imperial provinces. Each served in his appointed province until he was replaced (usually a term of about three years from the late first century A.D. onward). A *legatus* was assigned five lictors (ῥαβδοῦχοι), regardless of whether he was an ex-praetor or ex-consul, and a procurator.

Proconsuls (ἀνθύπατοι) governed the public provinces. They were chosen by lot from senators with appropriate seniority and were appointed by the Senate for terms of one year.[17] The number of lictors that were assigned depended on their rank as ex-praetor or ex-consul.[18]

The emperor also appointed equestrian officers as governors of the minor

16. These provinces were Africa, Macedonia-Achaia, Asia, Bithynia, Crete and Kyrene (combined into a single province), Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Baetica (southern Spain), and Illyricum. See F. Millar, "The Emperor, the Senate, and the Provinces," *JRS* 56 (1966): 156–66, revised as "Senatorial Provinces: An Institutionalised Ghost," *AncW* 20 (1989): 93ff.

17. See Graham Burton, "Government and the Provinces," in *The Roman World,* ed. John Wacher, 2 vols. (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 1:423–39.

18. See Burton, "Government and the Provinces," 1:425.

provinces (e.g., Thrace, Judaea after A.D. 44); these provinces had no troops garrisoned in them. In most cases, these equestrian governors were termed (presidial) procurators (ἐπίτροποι). In some cases, they were under the authority of a larger neighboring province: for example, after the death of Herod Agrippa in A.D. 44, a *procurator Iudaeae* was appointed who was put under the authority of the *legatus Augusti* of Syria. The presidial procurators should not be confused with the "fiscal" procurators who were appointed to oversee the imperial estates of the public provinces.

Equestrian governors were also appointed to Egypt and Mesopotamia (following its annexation as a province in A.D. 195). They were known as *praefecti* (ἔπαρχοι, πραίφεκτοι). *Praefecti* also ruled provincial territories; for example, after the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.), the area ruled by Archelaus (Judaea, Samaria, Idumaea) was made a provincial territory governed by a *praefectus.*[19] Hence a Latin dedicatory inscription from Caesarea correctly identifies Pontius Pilate as the *[pra]efectus Iuda[ea]e,* not procurator.[20] Like all *praefecti,* he was appointed by the emperor and remained in office until dismissed. Governors were assisted by a small, mostly nonprofessional staff. Many of these promagistrates were known as praetors (ἐξαπέλεκυς, πραίτωρ), each assisted by a quaestor (κουαιστώριος, ταμίας), who managed the imperial finances of the province.

In each province, jurisdiction was divided between the governor and the local authorities.[21] The governor was responsible for the collection of taxes, the security of the province, and the enforcement of law in the higher courts.[22] He also had discretionary power to intervene in civic affairs when necessity required. This happened most frequently in matters of financial management, particularly in cases of misappropriation of funds and weakness in the tax base. Moreover, local city magistrates were often inclined to initiate new monumental projects, such as temples and theaters (to win honor), without reserving sufficient funds to maintain and repair infrastructure (e.g.,

19. Not to be confused with the *praefectus urbi* (ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως) who had command of the police force in cities.

20. See *AEpigr* (1963): 104; (1964): 187; (1981): 850; cf. Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.–A.D. 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 44–45.

21. See A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 121–23, 134; G. P. Burton, "Proconsuls, Assizes, and the Administration of Justice under the Empire," *JRS* 65 (1975): 92–105.

22. The governor's court dealt with capital cases, meeting in each *conventus* (διοίκησις), or "division," of the province, in the principal city of each *conventus* (cf. Robert, *Hellenica,* VII, 224–34). The lower courts and the remainder of the administration were in the hands of the local authorities.

roads and sewers), resulting in both urban decay and the perpetual threat of bankruptcy of the civic treasury. Such events could result in the appointment of special financial commissioners (*curatores*) to individual cities for limited terms to oversee the public finances of individual cities. Such appointments were usually made upon the request from local communities.[23]

In actual practice, governors tended to devolve many of their responsibilities on the local authorities, such as the collection of taxes and the execution of justice. Local authorities also had wide-ranging control over internal administrative affairs, such as the control of grain and food supplies and prices; public baths and gymnasia; maintenance and repair of streets, sewers, and public buildings; and the holding of games and festivals.

14.06 Provincial Finances

In the republican period, the quaestors and procurators were responsible for the collection of taxes on a local level, sometimes with the help of *publicani.* Augustus handed the responsibility of the collection of imperial taxes over to the city councils, who appointed *decaproti* (δεκάπρωτοι) for this purpose. The *decaprotia* was technically classified as a liturgy.[24]

On account of the tendency of civic officials to misappropriate funds, Trajan introduced the practice of appointing *correctores* (ἐπανορθωταί) to supervise the finances of the cities.[25] Trajan is also the first emperor known to have appointed a *curator rei publicae/civitatis* (λογιστής), who would examine the economic condition of a particular city and initiate any changes and reorganizations deemed necessary. This curator was directly answerable to the governor of the province, with the term of his appointment usually lasting several years.[26]

23. See G. P. Burton, "*The Curator Rei Publicae:* Towards a Reappraisal," *Chiron* 9 (1979): 465–88.

24. See Brandis, "*decaprotia,*" *RE* 4 (1901): 2417; Jones, *Greek City,* 39; David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ,* 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 2: 1516 n. 48.

25. *Correctores* were often appointed after an irresponsible building project had commenced. See Wilhelm Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im Römischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1900), 482–84; von Premerstein, "Corrector," *RE* 4 (1901): 646.

26. See W. Liebenam, "Curator rei publicae," *Philologus* 56 (1897): 290ff.; Kornemann, "Curatores," *RE* 4 (1901): 1806. Cf. the lists of cities to which *curatores rei publicae* are known to have been sent in M. N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions from Macedonia," *JHS* 42 (1922): 173ff., supplemented by Magie, *Roman Rule,* 2: 1455 n. 13.

14.07 The Colonies, Roman Cities, and Free Cities

By the second century B.C., colonies were being founded outside Italy.[27] Colonies were created by transplanting Roman citizens, whereas *municipia* were created by giving the free citizens of an existing polis Roman citizenship and full Latin rights. In both cases, the citizenry had the same rights and privileges as Latins and Italians of Rome and the Italian peninsula and were subject to the same laws.

At first, colonies were civilian foundations intended to bring relief to an already overcrowded Italy by providing land for commoners. Such colonies were often set up with little regard for their strategic location, much less the rights of the local property owners.[28]

In the imperial period, colonies were also established for veterans. Time-expired soldiers were given citizenship and often settled in newly founded colonies abroad as a way of providing them with land. Though these colonies undoubtedly had economic and military significance to Rome with respect to stimulating trade in Roman goods and serving as lines of defense, their primary purpose was the settlement of veterans.[29] Colonies were founded in the west (Gaul, Germany, Britain) and in the east, first in Greece (Korinth), then in Macedonia (Philippi) and Crete, and finally in Asia Minor.[30]

The colonies and their surrounding territories were considered—at least notionally—to be part of Rome and therefore were under *ius Italicum.* Many had Roman-style constitutions and were governed by their own magistrates, not by an imperial governor. Each colony was divided into *vici* (wards). In the east, Roman names were employed for most of the colonial magistracies (e.g., *duumvir, aedilis, quaestor*), with Greek names being reserved for some traditional appointments, such as γραμματεύς.[31] The highest magistracy in the colony was that of duumvir. Each year two *duumviri* were elected to stand at the head of the colony. Next to the *duumviri* in terms of authority were two

27. Variously called ἀποικία, κολωνία, ἐποικία, κατοικία, κληρουχία, συνοικία.

28. See Barbara M. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 1–3.

29. See Kornemann, "Coloniae," *RE* 4 (1901): 535; *ESAR* 4.702ff.; Jones, *Greek City,* 61ff.; G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 62ff.

30. See Fergus Millar, "The Roman Coloniae of the Near East: A Study of Cultural Relations," in *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History: Proceedings of a Colloquium at Tvärminne, 2–3 October 1987,* ed. Heikki Solin and Mika Kajava, CHL 91 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1990), 7–58 (*SEG* 40.1698).

31. See Levick, *Roman Colonies,* 68–91.

aediles, who are sometimes referred to together with the *duumviri* as the *quattuorviri.* The aediles were responsible for the maintenance of the public places and buildings, the provision of grain, and the holding of games.

Relations between Roman colonies and nearby communities may or may not have been close. Arrangements varied from rigorous separation to close integration. In the latter case, the status of Roman citizenship was sometimes extended to local Greek natives; in such colonies, Latin terminology and Roman institutions were gradually replaced by Greek terms and institutions.

The administration of Roman colonies was dominated by the landowning aristocracy and exercised through the *decuriones.* As a group (normally consisting of approximately one hundred citizens), they constituted the city council (curia). They had control of the election of administrators and authorized the civic laws. They were also responsible for collecting imperial taxes and were personally liable in the case of default.

Alongside Roman cities were Greek free cities. In the time of the late Republic, there had been strong connections between Rome and the wealthy aristocracies of some of the more important Greek cities of the provinces. Some of these, such as Rhodes and Tarsos, were designated as free allied cities. They were under the direct control of the emperor, not the local provincial government. These cities were largely self-governing, including the management of their own finances. They had the right to levy their own taxes and were granted immunity from imperial taxation. They also had the right to modify their own constitution by their own legislation. The number of free cities was relatively small, since emperors were reluctant to make these privileges more available.[32]

14.08 The Cult of the Emperor

One of the outcomes of the assassination of Julius Caesar was his deification. Caesar was adopted as one of the state gods, with an altar and later a temple being erected for him.[33] This act constituted the beginning of the cult of the

32. See Jones, *Greek City,* 117, 131–33; *ESAR* 4.706–8 (with list).

33. See Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 264–410. For a discussion of the terms Καισάρειον, Σεβαστεῖον, Αὐγουστεῖον, τέμενος, ναός, ἱερόν, and ἡρῷον in connection with the emperor cult see Heidi Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti: Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaiser,* Archaeologica 39 (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1985), 5–11 (*SEG* 35.1812). Cf. Maria D. Campanile, *I sacerdoti del Koinon d'Asia (I sec. a.C.–III sec. d.C.),* Studi ellenistici 7 (Pisa: Giardini editori, 1994); J. R. Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept in Rome,* PAAR 26 (Rome: American Academy, 1977); Alastair Small, *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity,* JRA

emperor that eventually spread throughout the empire. It can be viewed as both an outgrowth of the Roman concept of the extraordinary individual who manifested transcendent powers and, in the eastern empire, as a continuation of the Hellenistic royal cult, which viewed the ruler as an epiphany of a god. The emperor cult soon became an established religion, on par with the cults of the older state gods.

Julius Caesar's deification prompted Marc Antony to identify himself with Dionysos and also demand divine worship. Similarly, gratitude felt toward Augustus gave rise to his worship not only after his death but during his own lifetime. However, Augustus stopped short of proclaiming himself a god, preferring the address "son of deified [*divi filius*] Caesar."[34] It was not until his death that the Senate declared Augustus to be a god, and new temples (Σεβαστεῖα, Αὐγουστεῖα) were constructed for his cult. The cult of *divus Augustus* eventually overshadowed the cult of Roma and Augustus in both Rome and in the provincial capitals, eventually replacing it.

Augustus established provincial *concilia,* which were parliaments of deputies, elected by the key cities of each province. These deputies met yearly in the chief cities of various provinces to choose a high priest of the emperor cult and to oversee the festival in honor of Roma and Augustus. In Asia, this high priest, appointed for a term of one year, was known both as the high priest of Asia (ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας) and as *asiarch* (ἀσιάρχης). These two titles represent two aspects of the same office, the first being a religious or cultic term, while the second is political in orientation, stressing the bearer's role as president of the provincial assembly.[35]

Suppl 17 (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1996); S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) (*SEG* 34.1729); L. Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, CT: American Philological Association, 1931); F. Walbank, "Konige als Götter: Überlegungen zum Herrscherkult von Alexander bis Augustus," *Chiron* 17 (1987): 365–82 (*SEG* 37.1840); Antonie Wlosok, *Römischer Kaiserkult,* Wege der Forschung 372 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978).

34. Cf. supra § 5.13.3; S. R. F. Price, "Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult," *JHS* 104 (1984): 79–95.

35. See P. Herz, "Asiarchen und Archiereiai: Zum Provinzialkult der Provinz Asia," *Tyche* 7 (1992): 93–115. Similarly, in her epigraphical and prosographical study, Margarete Rossner ("Asiarchen und Archiereis," *StClas* 16 [1974]: 101–42, esp. 118–19) concludes that the terms designate the same function. Rosalinde Kearsley has erroneously asserted a distinction of function between the *asiarch* and *archiereus,* arguing that the *asiarch* was active as a priest in urban temples, not in league temples: see R. A. Kearsley, "Asiarchs, Archiereis, and the Archiereiai of Asia," *GRBS* 27 (1986): 183–92 (cf. *SEG* 36.1518); "A Leading Family of Cibyra and Some Asiarchs of the First Century," *AnatSt* 38 (1988): 43–51; "Asiarchs—Titulature and Function: A Reappraisal," *StClas* 26 [1988]: 57–65. Cf. *SEG* 38.1973; *AEpigr* (1990): 973; G. H. R. Horsley,

Notwithstanding attempts to discourage a cult of a living emperor, altars and temples were also set up to Tiberius in the east. During his lifetime, he was hailed as "God," "the greatest of gods," and the "benefactor and savior of the whole universe."[36] Caligula did not, as some have suggested, impose his worship throughout the empire; however, there was a cult of Caligula in Miletos and in the province of Asia, as there may also have been in Rome.[37] Neither Claudius nor Nero were worshiped as gods during their lifetime; but after the death of Claudius, Nero had the Senate institute the rather short-lived cult of *divus Claudius* in Rome. From Vespasian onward, it was customary to deify only deceased emperors, with the notable exception of Domitian, who demanded to be addressed as "lord and god."[38]

The League of Asia (κοινὸν Ἀσίας), founded in the first century B.C.,[39] was granted supervision of the cult of Augustus and Roma, with Pergamon, Smyrna, and Miletos each (temporarily) being granted the title νεωκόρος (temple warden).[40] Among other things, the temple warden was responsible for the maintenance of the imperial cult, including the annual festival and hymn in honor of the emperor's birthday. Under Domitian, an intercity rivalry arose between Pergamon, Smyrna, and Ephesos over titulature, with the result that Ephesos was also granted the title νεωκόρος of the imperial

"The Asiarchs," in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting,* Vol. 2, *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting,* ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994), 363–76; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:449–50, 2:1298–1301, 2:1526; Horsley in *NewDocs* 4.46–56, no. 14 (cf. 1.82; 3.53; 4.19, 71, 128, 242; 5.145).

36. See Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 221; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:502, 2:1473.

37. See Robert, *Hellenica,* VII, 206–38. For Rome see Anthony A. Barrett, *Caligula: The Corruption of Power* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 145–53, esp. 152–53.

38. On the cult of the Flavian imperial family, especially Domitian, see S. J. Friesen, *Twice neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden: E. J Brill, 1993) (*SEG* 43.764).

39. In the classical period, the term κοινόν was employed regularly to refer to a "league" or "federation" of Greek city-states (e.g., Panhellenic League, Aegean League of Islands, Achaian League). On Asiatic κοινά see Juergen Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit,* Vestigia 6 (Munich: J. C. Beck, 1965), 30–83; Magie, *Roman Rule,* 1:447ff. and nn. 55–56. On the emperor cult in Asia Minor see I. S. Sventitskaya, "Polis and Empire: The Imperial Cult in the Cities of Asia Minor in the First and Second Centuries" (in Russian), *VDI* 4 (1981): 33–51; in Aphrodisias, J. M. Reynolds, "The Origins and Beginning of the Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias," *PCPS* 206 (1980): 70–84 (*SEG* 30.1244).

40. See Michael Dräger, *Die Städte der Provinz Asia der Flavierzeit zur kleinasiatischen Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte,* Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 576 (Frankfurt: Lang, 1993), 21–105, 107–200 (*SEG* 43.1220). The title νεωκόρος (temple warden) was previously used by Ephesos under Nero as an unofficial local title in connection with the temple of Artemis.

cult, accompanied by the construction of temples for Domitian, for the Sebastoi (*divi Augusti,* and perhaps for Domitia and Iulia), and for Zeus Olympios. As a result of the ongoing competition between Greek cities of Asia, the title νεωκόρος was even adopted in the second century A.D. by cities that had no imperial temple (e.g., Sardis, Kyzikos, Philadelphia, Laodikeia on the Lykos, Tralles).

14.09 Greek Terms for Roman Officials and Offices

The many Roman officials and offices named in Greek inscriptions can be quite perplexing to the beginner. There are numerous instances in which Greek has adopted loanwords from Latin titles. Here follows a list of the Greek and Latin terms for some of the more frequently attested Roman officials.[41]

Greek and Latin Terms for Roman Officials and Offices

ἀγορανόμος	*aedilis*
αἰδίλης	*aedilis*
αἰσυμνήτης	*dictator*
ἀνθύπατος	*proconsul*
ἀντάρχων	*promagistratus,* also *praefectus iure dicundo*
ἀντιστράτηγος	*propraetor,* also *praefectus iure dicundo*
ἀντιταμίας	*proquaestor;* ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος: *proquaestor propraetore*
ἀρχιερεύς	*pontifex* (high priest, pontiff); ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας (= ἀσιάρχης)
ἀρχιερεύς μέγιστος/ποντιφίκων	*pontifex maximus* (chief pontiff); ἀρχιερεύς is replaced by ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος in most formal documents by the time of the Flavians

41. Cf. Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis,* American Studies in Papyrology 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974); David Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905), 42–154 (reprinted, Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1973).

ἀρχιερωσύνη	office of *pontifex maximus*
ἀρχιτέκτων	*faber*
ἄρχων	*princeps, praefectus, praeses provinciae* (used esp. in III A.D.)
ἀσιάρχης	*Asiarch* (= ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας)
ἀστυνόμος	*aedilis*
αὔγουρ	*augur*
αὐτοκράτωρ	*imperator* (= *princeps*), *dictator*
β′-ἀνδρικός	*IIvir, duumvir*
βουλευτής	*decurio*
γ′-ἄνδρος	*IIIvir, triumvir, triumvir capitalis, triumvir monetalis*
δ'-ἄνδρες	*IVviri, quat(t)uorviri, viarum curandarum*
δεκάδαρχος/ης	*decurio*
δεκάπρωτοι	*decaproti*
δεκέμουιρος	*Xvir, decemvir*
δεκουρίων	*decurio*
δεσπότης	*dominus*
δημαρχία	*tribunatus plebis*
δήμαρχος	*tribunus plebis*
δικαιοδότης	*iuridicus*
δικτάτωρ	*dictator*
δουκηνάριος	*ducenarius*
δοῦξ	*dux*
δύανδρες πενταετηρικοί	*duumviri quinquennales*
δυανδρικός	*duumvir* of a colony
εἴκοσι (καλούμενοι ἄνδρες)	*XXviri, vigintiviri* (cf. κ′-ἀρχή)
ε′-καὶ-ι′ἄνδρος	*XVvir, quindecimviri sacris faciundis, quindecimviri sacrorum*
ἑκατοντάρχης	*centurio*
ἔκδικος	*defensor civitatis*[42]
ἐκουέστρης	*equester*
ἐξηγητής	*haruspex*
ἐπανορθωτής	*corrector*
ἔπαρχος	*praefectus*;[43] ἔπ. ἀγορᾶς/εὐθηνίας/ὁ σῖτον ἐπισκοπῶν: *praef. annonae*; ἔπ. Αἰγύπτου: *praef. Aegypti*;[44] ἔπ. αἰραρίου/ταμιείου: *praetor aerarii*; ἔπ. ἄλης: *praef. alae*; ἐπ. ἀρχιτεκτόνων/τεκτόνων/τεχνιτῶν/χειροτεχνῶν: *praef. fabrum*; ἔπ. τῆς αὐλῆς/τῶν δορυφόρων/πραιτωρίου/στρατευμάτων/στρατοπέδων: *praef. praetorio*: ἔπ. κλάσσης/στόλου: *praef. classis*; ἔπ. λεγιῶνος/τάγματος: *praef. legionis*; ἔπ. ὁ νυκτοφυλακῶν, ἔπ. οὐιγούλων: *praef. vigilum*; ἔπ. σπείρης/χώρτης: *praef. cohortis*; ἔπ. τῆς πόλεως, *praef. urbis*
ἐπιμελητής	*curator, curator rei publicae, curator militum, IIIvir, triumviri rei publicae constituendae*; ἐπ. ὁδῶν: *curator viarum*
ἐπίτροπος	*procurator provinciae Caesaris, procurator Augusti in provincia publica, procurator praediorum* or *aliarum curarum extraordinariarum Augusti, praeses provinciae, procurator praesidialis*
ἔφορος	*princeps, praeses* (title of provincial governors used from III A.D.)
ἡγεμών	*princeps, imperator*,[45] *dux, praefectus, praeses provinciae*,[46]

42. Also used as a title: eg., ἐκδ(ίκῳ) τῆς αὐτῆς περιφανοῦς μητροπ(όλεως) [defender of the renowned metropolis] (*CIG* 3467, L. 8; cf. *SEG* 37.1856).

43. See Mason, *Greek Terms*, 138–40, esp. 138.

44. See Guidi Bastianini in *Atti XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, 3 vols. (Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo studia dei papiri Ercolanesi, 1984), 1335–40; Paul Bureth, "Le préfet d'Egypte (30 av. J.C.–297 ap. J.C.): État présent de la documentation en 1973)," *ANRW* II, 10.1 (1988): 472–502, with additions by G. Bastianini at 503–17 (*SEG* 38.1675).

45. Used as a term for emperor, but gave way to αὐτοκράτωρ before A.D. 100 (Mason, *Greek Terms*, 12, 144–45).

46. Used of governors of all the provinces, not only the small provinces (cf. ἀνθύπατος: see M. Christol, "Consuls ordinaires de la seconde moitié du troisième siècle," *MEFRA* 97 [1985]: 431–58, esp. 447–49).

	legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae, legatus legionis, praefectus, magistratus urbani
ἡγούμενος, ἡγεμονεύων	*praeses provinciae*
ι΄-ἄνδρες	*Xviri, decemviri*
ιε΄-ἄνδρες	*XVviri, quindecimviri sacris faciundis, quindecimviri sacrorum*
ἱερεύς	*sacerdos*
ἱεροποιός	*(II/X/XV viri) sacris faciundis*
ἱεροφάντης	*pontifex* (Rome)
ἰμπεράτωρ	*imperator*
ἱππάρχης	*magister equitum, praefectus equitum*
κ΄-ἀρχή	*XXviri, vigintiviri*
κεντηνάριος	*centenarius*
κεντυρίων	*centurio*
κηδεμών	*curator*
κόμης	*comes*
κουαίστωρ	*quaestor*
κουαττόρουιρ	*IVvir, quat(t)uorviri, viarum curandarum*
κουράτωρ	*curator*
κυινδεκίμουιρ	*XVvir, quindecimviri sacris faciundis, quindecimviri sacrorum*
κωνσοῦλ	*consul*
λίκτωρ	*lictor*
λογιστής, λογιστεύων	*curator*
λοχαγός	*centurio*
μαγιστριανός	*magister* (manager of slaves, freedman who gathered revenue from taxpayers, master, teacher, leader)
μάγιστρος	*magister* (cf. μαγιστριανός)
μισθωτής	*conductor* (estate manager)
νομογράφος	*Xvir legibus scribundis, decemviri legibus scribundis*
οἰκονόμος	*actor, dispensator, vilicus, aedilis coloniae*
οὐετερανός/οὐετρανός	*veteranus*

οὐιόκουρος	*IVvir, quat(t)uorviri, IVvir viarum curandarum*
παλαιστρατιώτης	*veteranus*
πατήρ πατρίδος	*pater patriae*
πολέμαρχος	*dux exercitus*
πολιτογράφος	*censor*
πραγματευταί	*actores*
πραίτωρ	*praetor*
πραίφεκτος	*praefectus*
πρεσβευτής	*legatus;* πρεσβευτὴς Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστράτηγος, πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σεβαστοῦ: *legatus Augusti pro praetore*
πρίνκεψ	*princeps*
πρίνκιπος	*princeps/imperator, princeps militum*
προστάτης	*magistratus, tribunus plebis, patronus, tutor, princeps, praeses provinciae, praefectus*
πρύτανις	*princeps*
ῥαβδοῦχος	*lictor*
σεξαγηνάριος	*sexagenarius*
στρατηγός	*praetor* (or στρατηγὸς ἑξαπέλεκυς); στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος: *proconsul;* στρατηγὸς κατὰ πόλιν: *praetor urbanus;* in the plural, *praeses provinciae, legatus legionis*[47]
συγκλητικός	*senator*
σύγκλητος	*senatus*
ταμίας	*quaestor*
ταξίαρχος	*tribunus militum*
τ(ε)ιμητής	*censor*

47. In the second century B.C., στρατηγός is frequently qualified in such formulae as στατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ (commander with plenipotentiary power), στρατηγὸς ἑξαπέλεκυς, and στραγηγὸς ὕπατος (supreme commander); the term is also used to describe a provincial governor (proconsul) down to the period of Augustus. In early II A.D., the term is replaced largely by ἡγεμών. Στρατηγός should be translated "praetor" only when used as a formal title or a heading of a letter (Mason, *Greek Terms,* 158–60).

τρεκινάριος	*trecenarius*
τριβοῦνος	*tribunus plebis, tribunus militum*
ὕπατος	*consul, praeses*
ὑπηρέτης	*lictor, aedilis, apparitor*
φρουμεντάριος	*frumentarius*
φύλαρχος	*tribunus plebis*
χιλίαρχος	*tribunus militum*

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15

Orthography

Even a cursory reading of Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions will reveal that their orthography often diverges from that of classical literature. Therefore, the reading and restoration of inscriptions requires that the epigraphist also be familiar with the Greek language in the later stages of its development.

Orthographical variations are no longer measured against the standard of classical orthography and treated as errors but are viewed as later stages in the overall development of the language.[1] However, since the classical forms continue to be used as a convenient point of reference, it is necessary to be able to convert Koine Greek forms into their corresponding classical forms before consulting traditional lexica.

15.01 Language: The Development of Koine Greek

Beginning with the reign of Philip II of Macedon, the Attic-Ionic dialect group grew in status to become the Panhellenic Greek of the emergent Macedonian empire. This so-called Macedonian Koine became the language of government, administration, and well-educated persons. Thereafter, as Rome acquired territories in Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine,[2] and Egypt, the cities of these territories likewise adopted the Koine.

1. See Claude Brixhe, "Morphonologie ou morphographémie? À propos de quelques variations graphiques en grec ancien," *BSL* 84, no. 1 (1989): 21–54 (*SEG* 39.1799). Cf. Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, *Le Carie: Histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques*, vol. 2, *Le Plateau de Tabai et ses environs* (Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1954), 12–13; Wilhelm Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1902–7), 1:268–74; Salomon Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885), 325–30.

2. On the use of Greek in Palestine in I A.D. see *SEG* 43.1046.

The ancient Doric dialect resisted the incursion of the Koine more effectively than any other dialect. It survived in the Peloponnesos, Crete,[3] Kyrene,[4] and Rhodes and finally developed into a corrupted Doric known as Doric Koine, which persisted in isolated areas until the first to second centuries A.D.[5]

A full treatment of local dialectical variations and the Koine is obviously beyond the scope of this chapter.[6] For this, the reader should consult the regional and Koine grammars cited in this chapter's supplementary bibliography. However, a preliminary discussion of some of the general characteristics of Koine Greek is merited.

15.02 Diphthongs in -ι

In inscriptions of the classical period and beyond, the iota of the so-called improper diphthongs was never written subscript (ῃ, ᾳ, ῳ). When written at all, it was written adscript, that is, after the thematic vowel (-ηι, -αι, -ωι).[7] Throughout the Hellenistic period, these diphthongs were gradually monophthongized in popular speech and consequently came to be written simply as -η, -α, and -ω, without an iota adscript, because there was no longer any qualitative distinction in terms of pronunciation between these vowels and their corresponding simple vowels.[8]

3. On the Cretan dialect of the Koine see *SEG* 43.601; Y. Duhoux, "Les éléments grecs non-Doriens du Crétois et la situation dialectale grecque au II[e] millénaire," *Cretan Studies* 1 (1988): 57–72 (*SEG* 38.889).

4. See C. Dobias-Lalou, "Noyau grec et éléments indigènes dans le dialecte cyrénéen," *QAL* 12 (1987): 85–91 (cf. *SEG* 37.1658); *SEG* 43.1181–82; Francesca Lonati, *Grammatica delle iscrizioni cirenaiche*, Pubblicazioni della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Milano 128. (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1990) (*SEG* 40.1592; cf. M. Peters, "Review of F. Lonati, *Grammatica* [1990]," in *Die Sprache* 34 [1988–90] [1991]: 690f–690h, esp. 690g).

5. Its characteristic features include the retention of the primitive long α for long [*a*], instead of η as in Attic and Ionic; preservation of the original -ντι third-person plural primary ending (e.g., -οντι, -εντι, -ωντι) instead of -σι (e.g., -ουσι, -εισι, -ωσι); the third-person plural imperative ending in -ντων (active) and -σθων (middle/passive); and -μι verbs with the infinitive ending in -μεν instead of -ναι. See A. Lopez Eire and J. Mendez Dosuna, "El problema de los dialectos doricos y nordoccidentales," *RivLF* 48 (1980): 15–30 (*SEG* 30.1829); M. Slavova, "Die Sprache der Inschriften und die gesellschaftliche Struktur der megarischen Apoikien," *Index* 20 (1992): 169–71 (*SEG* 42.1772; cf. 41.1778); T. Molinos Tejada, "La particule modale KA dans la littérature dorienne," *REG* 105 (1992): 328–48 (*SEG* 42.1992; cf. 41.1779).

6. On the relationship of Koine to Greek dialects, including Attic, see Claude Brixhe, *La koiné grecque antique*, vol. 1, *Une langue introuvable?* Travaux et memoires: Études anciennes 10; Collections études anciennes 14 (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993).

7. See, e.g., *MAMA* IX, 26, 47, 61, 90, 2114.

8. See Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1, *Phonology*, TDSA LV (Milan: Isituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1976), 183–86.

In Athens, the iota in αι, ηι, and ωι was no longer being sounded by the end of the first century B.C.[9] However, it continued to be retained orthographically long after it ceased to be heard, because it was the specific mark of the dative.

The spelling of final -αι, ηι, and -ωι remained unstandardized throughout the Roman period at least into the third century A.D.[10] Some inscriptions self-consciously employed the iota adscript,[11] a tendency that could even lead to misuse.[12] However, one more often observes the complete avoidance of the iota adscipt (e.g., *IG* II² 1072 [A.D. 116/17], 1100 [ca. 124]), 112 [ca. 131/32]).

Leslie Threatte cites the interesting example of a group of dedications to the emperor Hadrian made in A.D. 132 of which forty-one employ the adscript, twenty-five omit the adscript, and thirteen have a mixture of spelling, with and without the adscript.[13] Elsewhere, the practice differed from place to place. For example, the iota adscript began to disappear in Lesbos as early as the fourth century B.C., whereas it was never used in Dura Europos. As a result of the monophthongization of long diphthongs in -ι, the Latin language, which previously transcribed -ωι as *oe* (e.g., *comoedia*), began to transcribe -ωι simply as *o* (e.g., *melodia*).

The iota adscript persisted in some legal documents, such as the Delphic manumission contracts, and in such stock phrases as ἀγαθῆι τύχηι, the latter continuing through to the third century A.D. This must not be confused with the phenomenon of the intruded iota, that is, iota erroneously intruding into words ending in simple vowels (e.g., ἡ βουλήι).[14] Despite the near complete disappearance of the iota of improper diphthongs, most modern editors continue to add iota subscripts to a text in conformity to the classical form.

15.03 Diphthongs in -υ

The diphthong αυ was frequently written as α from the classical period onward. This is especially common in the case of the intensive and personal forms of αὐτός (e.g., ἀτός, ἀτοῦ, ἀτῶ/ἀτô, ἀτόν; pl. ἀτῶν; fem. ἀτή, ἀτῆς). Cognate examples of this kind include ἅτῆς (for αὑτῆς) and ἑατῷ (for

9. See Threatte, *Grammar*, 1.359–64, § 22.021–022.

10. Cf. continued use of adscript in *IG* II² 1078 (ca. A.D. 220).

11. E.g., *IG* II² 1099 (A.D. 121). Cf. *IBM* II 365 (A.D. 33/34, Caunus); *IAphrodArchive* I, no. 6.

12. Cf. the misspelling of ἄνωι, etc., in a letter of Marcus Aurelius (ca. A.D. 175) in *Hesperia Suppl* 13 (1970): 3ff.

13. E.g., *IG* II² 3324–80; *Hesperia* 32 (1963): 61ff. (*SEG* 21.705–32).

14. *MAMA* IX 18. The intruded iota is rare in Attic inscriptions (see Threatte, *Grammar*, 210–11, § 10.03).

ἑαυτῷ).[15] Αυ is sometimes interchanged with αι (e.g., αἰτάν for αὐτάν) and sporadically with ω (Ὦλος for Αὖλος).[16]

The same phenomenon can be observed with ευ, which is also interchanged with ε (e.g., χηρέουσα for χηρεύουσα). Words that are vulnerable to αυ and ευ reducing to α and ε, respectively, also display opposite action, with αυ and ευ expanding to αου/αυου and εου/ευου (e.g., αοὐτοῦ/αυοὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ, ταοῦτα/ταυοῦτα for ταῦτα, ὑπογραφεούς for ὑπογραφεύς).

The ου is often interchanged with ο/ω (e.g., ἀσκός for ἀσκούς).[17] This is sometimes the result of the confusion of the genitive and dative of the second declension[18] or the confusion of the indicative and subjunctive in verbs.

15.04 The Convergence of Diphthongs in -ι with Simple Vowels

The process known as itacism, that is, the pronouncing of vowels like [i], gradually resulted in the Hellenistic period in the convergence of the diphthongs ει, αι, οι, and υι with the simple vowels ι, ε, υ, and υ, respectively, with a corresponding loss of qualitative distinction between them.[19] As a result, one observes the following interchanges: ει ↔ ι,[20] αι ↔ ε (sometimes α),[21] οι ↔ υ (sometimes ο),[22] and υι ↔ υ.[23]

15. See, e.g., *IG* II² 1042C, L. 6 (A.D. 60); 1048, L. 5 (A.D. 30); 3442; 3504; 4163; 4122. Cf. also ἐπισκεάξειν (*CIG* 1838 [Corcyrae]); ἀναπάει (*IKyme*, no. 19).

16. See, e.g., LBW 352i. On ω for αυ see *IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 17; *SEG* 32.1025. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, 234.

17. See, e.g., *IDuraRep* IV, no. 264; cf. no. 219.

18. On the disappearance of the dative in later Greek Christian funerary formulae (e.g., Ζωὴν τοῦ κόσμου χαρισάμενος, ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίου/ἐν Χρίστου/ἐν βίου τούτου) see B. Boyaval, 'Αναγέννησις 1 (1981): 201–3 (*SEG* 31.1652); Boyaval also deals with the confusion of εἰς + accusative and ἐν + dative, hyperpurism in favor of the dative (e.g., ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ δεῖνι), and use of the incorrect case after εἰς and ἐν.

19. See Gignac, *Grammar*, 202.

20. ει → ι: ἰς for εἰς (*MAMA* X, 275), λιτουργεῖς for λειτουργεῖς (*MAMA* IX, 556), πίστις for πίστεις (*IDuraRep* IV, nos. 270, 273); ι → ει: γυμνασειαρχήσας for γυμνασιαρχήσας (*IG* II² 3009), εἰδίων for ἰδίων (*IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 129), κρειθή for κριθή (*IDuraRep* IV, no. 200, L. 3; no. 209, L. 2). See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and rev. R. W. Funk (Chicago, 1961), 13, § 23.

21. αι → ε: παροδείτε for παροδείται (*IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 128), κέ for καί (*MAMA* X, 217), πεδίων for παιδίων (*MAMA* IX, 92). See Gignac, *Grammar*, 192; Blass and Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, 14, § 25.

22. οι → υ: κυνόν for κοινόν (*IMagnMai* 25B.7), ὑκειότατα for οἰκειότατα (*IMagnMai* 25B.6), λυπά for λοιπά (*CIG* 2824, L. 6), τῦς for τοῖς (*IKibyra-Olbasa*, no. 62); νε[ω]πυῶν, πεπύημαι (*CIG* 2826, LL. 17, 23); ἀνῦξαι, ἀνύξι (*CIG* 1933). See Claude Brixhe, *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ére*, 2d ed. (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1987), 47.

23. υι → υ: ὑός (*MAMA* IX, 140).

15.05 The Convergence of Simple Vowels

Itacism also resulted in the convergence of the simple vowels η, ε, and ι on the value [i]. Consequently, the following interchanges are very common: η ↔ ι,[24] η ↔ ε[25] (η ↔ ει before vowels),[26] and ε ↔ ι[27] (ε ↔ ει).[28] The interchanges of υ ↔ ι (and sometimes ε)[29] and ω ↔ ο,[30] already present in the Hellenistic period, became more frequent in the Roman period.

15.06 Stops, Fricatives, and Aspirates

The consonants known as "stops" (or "mutes") are those that are produced by the closing of the orinasal passages so as to check the breath. The stops of classical Greek can be divided into three orders as follows: voiced (β, δ, γ), smooth (π, τ, κ) and aspirated (or "rough") (φ, θ, χ).[31] The production of voiced consonants requires the vibration of the vocal cords. In contrast, the smooth and aspirated consonants are voiceless.

In Koine Greek, β, δ, and γ shifted from voiced stops to voiced fricatives. In other words, rather than the breath being checked by the closure of the orinasal passage, the passage was simply narrowed. Thus, by the first century A.D., the voiced labial stop β (*b*at) had become the voiced labial fricative *w* (*w*ood). This resulted in the interchanges of αυ ↔ αβ and ευ ↔ εβ. For the same reason, β becomes the transliteration equivalent of the Latin letter *v* (see § 5.11).

The velar stop γ (*g*et) also shifted to the velar fricative [j] (*y*et) in certain

24. η → ι: ἀνέθικεν for ἀνέθηκεν (*CIG* 6672, Rome); ηι → ι: φέρι (*IDuraRep* IV, no. 256, L. 3), η → ι: μινί for μηνί (*MAMA* IX, 560); Κυντήλιος for Κυντίλιος (Quintilius) (*CIG* 2588). See Blass and Debrunner, *Greek Grammar,* 14, § 24.

25. ε → η: ἠαυτοῦ for ἑαυτοῦ (*MAMA* X, 43); cf. αι → η: κή for καί (*MAMA* IX, 554), νήων for ναίων (*MAMA* X, 330).

26. η → ει: μνείας for μνήας (*MAMA* X, 370); ει → η: χρήας, πλήονας, ἐπιτάδηον, ἀσαμήωτον (*CIG* 2060), Μηνογένηαν for Μηνογένειαν (*MAMA* X, 250).

27. ε → ι: ἐνδικτ(ιών) for ἰνδικτ(ιών) (*MAMA* X, 65), θιαρός for θεαρός (*IMagnMai* 44).

28. ει → ε: ἐς for εἰς (*LSAM* 30A).

29. βυβλία (*IG* II² 1029, L. 25), βυβλιοθήκη (*IG* II² 1043, III, L. 50). Cf. *IG* II² 1042D, L. 1; 5211. On υ for ε (e.g., ἀνυψιός for ἀνεψιός) see *IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 100; cf. Gignac, *Grammar,* 274. See also J. Martha, "Comptes des hiéropes du temple d'Apollon Délien," *BCH* 2 (1878): 570–86, esp. 580 (Delos); Th. Homolle, "Comptes des hiéropes du temple d'Apollon Délien," *BCH* 6 (1882): 1–167, esp. 114 (Delos).

30. ω → ο: ἥρος for ἥρως (LBW 917), Ἀρχένεος for Ἀρχένεως (*MAMA* X, 290).

31. These nine consonants can also be grouped into three classes: labial (β, π, φ), dental (δ, τ, θ), and velar (γ, κ, χ).

words. This resulted in the omissions of either γ or ι when found in combination (e.g., ὑιής/ὑγής for ὑγιής). Likewise, in the first century A.D., the dental stop δ before prevocalic ι (=[j]) became a dental fricative [δ] (*th*is), rather than being pronounced as a stop (*d*og). From the third century A.D. onward, δ was pronounced [δ] before every ι and its orthographic equivalents. As a result, prevocalic ι is sometimes omitted following fricative δ (e.g., δά for διά). By the same token, the interchanges δ ↔ ζ and δ ↔ θ sometimes occur (e.g., Σαράπιζι for Σαράπιδι, οὐθέν, for οὐδέν).[32]

As a result of the general transformation of voiced stops into voiced fricatives, their "voiced" character diminished, and they began to approach the value of their voiceless counterparts (δ → τ, γ → κ, β → π). Consequently, δ sometimes interchanged with τ (e.g., τημοσίων for δημοσίων) and γ with κ (e.g., ὁμολοκῶ for ὁμολογῶ), while β interchanged with π less frequently.[33]

Likewise, the aspirated stops φ, θ, and χ gradually lost their aspiration and became unaspirated fricatives: φ [p^h] → [f] (*f*un); θ [t^h] → [θ] (*th*ink); χ [k^h] → [χ] (Scottish "lo*ch*"). Thus, in the first century A.D., φ became the transliteration equivalent for the Latin *f* (see § 5.11). As a result of deaspiration, the aspirates φ, θ, and χ interchanged with their corresponding smooth stops (φ ↔ π, θ ↔ τ, χ ↔ κ)[34] but rarely with the fricatives (β, δ, γ).[35] The substitution of θ for τ after σ was especially common.[36]

Whereas in classical Greek, final π, τ, and κ change to their aspirated forms φ, θ, and χ before a word that etymologically begins with a rough breathing [h],[37] this change frequently does not occur in the Koine, because of its psilotic nature (e.g., ἐπ' ἱερέως for ἐφ' ἱερέως [*ISard*BR 116]; see § 15.12). The same is true for π, τ, and κ in composition (e.g., ἀπεισύχασα for ἀφησύχασα, ἀντίστασθι for ἀνθίστασθι, καταοράω for καθοράω). Conversely, there are

32. See *SEG* 31.1653.

33. See Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.434–39, § 35.01–04.

34. E.g., κ ↔ χ: ἔκθρας for ἔχθρας (*IMagnMai* 105.17). On χ for θ see *SEG* 31.1654. Cf. Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.499–55, § 38.01–12. In the opposite direction, the hardening of aspirates such that χ > κ, θ > τ, and φ > π is a well-known Phrygian variation: e.g., φίλθατος for φίλτατος (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 128), Ἐπαπρᾶς for Ἐπαφρᾶς (*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 59). See Brixhe, *Essai sur le grec anatolien,* 110–13.

35. See Gignac, *Grammar,* 63–68. On the substitution of β for φ (e.g., βίλος), δ for θ (e.g., δρεπτός), and γ for χ (e.g., Μάγας) in Macedonian inscriptions see A. Panagiotou in *Ancient Macedonia,* vol. 4 (Thessaloníki, 1986), 413–29; cf. F. Papazoğlou, "Les stèles éphébiques de Stuberra," *Chiron* 18 (1988): 233–70, esp. 250.

36. See Carl H. Kraeling, *The Christian Building.* The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII, Part II, ed. C. Bradford Welles (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1967), 96, no. 18.

37. E.g., μετ' → μεθ', ἐπ' → ἐφ', κατ' → καθ', ἀπ' → ἀφ', οὐκ → οὐχ, ὑπ' → ὑφ'.

also instances of false aspiration of π, τ, and κ, both when final (καθ' ἔτος) and in composition (ἐφαύριον).[38]

15.07 Assimilation of Medial and Final ν

The letter ν is the only letter in classical Greek that is subject to regular assimilation when final.[39] However, contrary to the classical rules of euphony governing the assimilation of ν, a final ν in Koine Greek frequently remains unassimilated.

Similarly, ν in composition may either undergo assimilation or remain unassimilated; for example, ν before liquids (λ, ρ) may undergo complete assimilation (i.e., λλ, ρρ) or remain unchanged (e.g., ἐνλογεῖν). In the Roman period, ν in composition tends to assimilate more frequently than final ν.[40] It is necessary to recognize the presence of an unassimilated ν and determine the corresponding assimilated form before consulting traditional lexica.

15.08 Omission and Addition of Nasals

In Koine Greek, the final ν of words is sometimes omitted.[41] Conversely, in words with no final ν, ν is sometimes added.[42] The medial nasals (μ, ν) are often omitted or sometimes inserted, especially before stops.[43]

15.09 Use of Movable ν

Classical Greek avoided hiatus (i.e., the awkward transition between two vowels, one ending a word and the second beginning the next word) by the use of paragogic ν (also known as "euphonic" or "ephelkystic" ν) at the end of words preceding words beginning with a vowel. In Koine Greek, one frequently finds the reverse of this: paragogic ν is lacking at the end of words followed by vowels and is added to words followed by consonants.

38. See Gignac, *Grammar,* 133–38.

39. When final ν and "ν in composition" are assimilated, the following pattern is observable: preceding μ and labials (π, β, φ, and ψ), ν undergoes partial assimilation, becoming μ (ἔδωσέμ μοι, ἐμμένω, συμμύσται, ἐμφαίνω, τὸμ βέλτιστον, ἐμ πίστει); before velars (κ, γ, χ, and ξ), ν becomes γ-nasal (e.g., τὴν στήλην καὶ . . . τῶν ἱερῶγ χρημάτων [*IPriene* 17.48–49]; cf. ἐγκαλέω, τὸγ κράτιστον, ἐγ γένι), and it sometimes does so before dentals (ἐγ δὲ [*LSAM* 30A]); ν may also become μ improperly before a consonant or vowel *in pausa* (see Gignac, *Grammar,* 165–67; cf. Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar,* rev. Gordon M. Messing [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966], 27, § 91–96).

40. See Gignac, *Grammar,* 168–71.

41. E.g., τὴ (for τὴν) τιμήν, τὴ θύρα (for τὴν θύραν), σὺ (for σὺν) τοῖς, ἐὰ (for ἐὰν) λάβητε, ἐ (for ἐν) μηνί, σὺ (for σὺν) σπέρμασι, ἀπὸ τῶ (for τῶν) ὑπαρχόντων (see Gignac, *Grammar,* 111—12).

42. E.g., εἰσαείν (for εἰσαεί) σοι, εὐδοκεῖν (for εὐδοκεῖ) ἡ γυνή.

43. E.g., λύσατι for λύσαντι, πάτων for πάντων, πέπτω for πέμπτω (see Gignac, *Grammar,* 111–19).

15.10 Assimilation of the Preposition ἐκ

Normally, the preposition ἐκ precedes words beginning with a consonant, while ἐξ precedes words beginning with vowels. During the Roman period, ἐκ is frequently assimilated to ἐγ before consonants, both in word junction and in composition.[44]

15.11 Liquids, Sibilants, and Single and Double Consonants

The following changes are observable with respect to liquids, zeta, single and double consonants, and final sigma.[45] The liquid consonants (λ, ρ) are frequently assimilated to each other (e.g., πλήλους for πλήρους) or omitted before or after a consonant (e.g., ἀδεφός for ἀδελφός). The duplication of a liquid is also common (e.g., Τρωίλλος for Τρωίλος [*IKibyra-Olbasa,* no. 9, 9]).[46] Conversely, ρ is sometimes inserted before or after a consonant. The double consonant ζ gradually reduced to a simple sibilant [z], resulting in the occasional interchange of ζ and σ.[47] Single and double consonants cease to be distinguished in speech, resulting in the interchanges of ξ ↔ κσ and ψ ↔ πσ.[48] Single consonants are frequently doubled,[49] and contiguous identical consonants are frequently reduced to a single letter.[50] Final σ is often omitted

44. E.g., before γ: ἐγ γειτόνων; before δ: ἐγ δὲ (*LSAM* 30A), ἔγδικος (*MAMA* X, 60); before β: ἐγ βορρᾶ, ἐγβιβάσει; before λ: ἐγ λόγου, ἐγλιπεῖν; before μ: ἐγ μέν, ἐγμετρητῶν, ἐγμαρτυρῆσαι for ἐκμαρτυρέω (*LSAM* 30B); before ν: ἐγ νότου. See Gignac, *Grammar,* 173–76; Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.559–86, § 48.021–0217).

45. See Gignac, *Grammar,* 102–10, 120–32, 154–65.

46. On omission of liquid consonants see K. A. Garbrah, "Notes on Inscriptions from Chios," *ZPE* 70 (1987): 152–55; cf. Threatte, *Grammar,* 1.478–83, § 40.013–03; on reduplication of liquids see Brixhe, *Essai sur le grec anatolien,* 32–33.

47. Σωπύρου for Ζωπύρου (*CIG* 1095), Ζμυρνα for Σμύρνα (*CIG* 1003, 1590), ψήφιζμα (*IG* II² 1029, L. 16).

48. See Gignac, *Grammar,* 139–42.

49. E.g., πάλλιν for πάλιν (*IDuraRep* IV, no. 219, L. 12), στάλλαν for στάλαν (*MAMA* X, 12), τέκκνα for τέκνα (*MAMA* X, 190), ἐκκ for ἐκ (*MAMA* X, 167). On doubling of sigma see Garbrah, "Notes on Inscriptions from Chios."

50. E.g., μάμῃ for μάμμῃ (*MAMA* X, 392, 344), ἐγενήθη for ἐγεννήθη (*IDuraRep* IV, nos. 232, 236, 238).

(or sometimes added), regardless of whether the following word begins with a consonant (e.g., εἰ [= εἰς] δημόσιον).

15.12 Psilosis

Prior to the formal adoption of the Ionic alphabet in 403/2 B.C. (though the change started sometime earlier and was not complete until some years afterward), Attica and most non-Asiatic Greek cities employed the symbol H to indicate a rough breathing. They used the symbol E for both long and short *e*. When the H symbol is used to signify a rough breathing in Old Attic inscriptions, it is transliterated with the sign *h*.[51]

Asiatic Greek had no need of a symbol to denote rough breathing, because the dialect was psilotic (i.e., it had no sound corresponding to a rough breathing). This resulted in such forms as κατάπερ (for καθάπερ). The absence of a rough breathing freed the symbol H for a new application. The Ionic alphabet used H to signify long *e*. With the spread of the Ionian alphabet in the third century B.C., H was no longer used to signify a rough breathing, and initial aspiration gradually died out all over the Greek world, except in a limited number of word combinations (e.g., οὐδ' εἷς, μηδ' εἷς). Despite the near complete disappearance of aspiration, modern editors continue to add the symbol for rough breathing to texts in conformity to the classical form.

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51. The aspirate was sometimes indicated by two points over the vowel: e.g., ϒΓΕΙΑ = Ὑγείᾳ (*IBM* II.365, L. 4 [Melos]).

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16

Epigrams

No discussion of inscriptions would be complete without mention of metrical inscriptions known as epigrams. Greek epigrams in general were noted for their terseness and aptness, often ending with a shrewd observation or a witty turn of phrase. Funerary epigrams, however, tended to become increasingly formulaic and colorless and of greater and greater length. Many of these promise life beyond the grave. So-called gnomic epigrams take the form of a monologue by the deceased or a dialogue between the deceased and the passerby, in some cases making a request that the passerby deliver the news of the death to relatives in the homeland of the deceased.[1] Though the majority of epigrams are funerary in nature, they are not all so: there are also dedicatory epigrams, votive epigrams, honorary and building epigrams, and rarer types (e.g., *hymni, oracula, dirae*).[2]

16.01 The Nature of Greek Meter

Greek epigrams, like all Greek poetry, did not rhyme, nor did they have a regular tempo or dynamic rhythm; nor, for that matter, was stress of primary importance in defining the structure of Greek verse.[3] Such differences

1. Funerary inscriptions that record two epigrams on the same stone, separated by the word ἄλλο, are termed *competition poems.* Such compositions were actually composed by the same poet and are a product of the Greek affinity for variation (see Robert, *Hellenica,* IV, 81–82).

2. Honorary: *SEG* 26.1475; Robert, *Hellenica,* VII, 197–99. Building: *SEG* 31.1637, 42.931. Votive and dedicatory: *SEG* 26.1375, 28.737, 37.280; Robert, *Hellenica,* XI–XII, 267–76. Agonistic: *SEG* 26.1379, 29.951, 33.716, 37.712. Choregic: *SEG* 36.242.

3. See D. S. Raven, *Greek Metre: An Introduction* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), 21–22; see Raven's critique of the alternative conclusion, namely, that Greek poetry did have tempo, a view that held currency in the nineteenth century.

between Greek and English poetry pose a significant obstacle to our appreciation of the aesthetics of Greek epigrams.[4]

This deficiency in our understanding of Greek meter raises the related problem concerning the pronunciation of Greek epigrams. The long-standing convention in English and German scholarship has been to place stress on the *longa* and to pronounce without stress the *brevia* and *ancipitia*.[5] I confine this chapter to the formal characteristic of Greek epigrams, especially with respect to the rules of prosody and the nature of the most popular epigrammic meters.

Greek epigrams are of the "stichic" type of verse. In other words, the lines of verse (στίχοι) are short, are of uniform length, and repeat themselves in a regular fashion (e.g., repeating hexameters, alternating pentameters with hexameters). Each line consists of an orderly sequence of syllables, with each syllable counting long or short for the purpose of meter.

Though epigrams tended to be brief—composed of one to four distichs (i.e., two couplets of verse)—in the classical period, they tended to become increasingly longer in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Some consist of an alternation of two meters within a distich (*a, b, a, b, a, b*), as in the case of the elegiac verse, or the simple repetition of a single meter, such as dactylic hexameters or iambic trimeters (*a, a, a, a, a, a*). For example, the Aberkios Inscription, one of the earliest Christian inscriptions that communicates Christian belief (ca. A.D. 200), is composed of twenty-two successive hexameters.[6]

4. Paul Maas (*Greek Metre,* trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones [Oxford: Clarendon, 1962], 3–4) remarks: ". . . scarcely any facet of the culture of the ancient world is so alien to us as its quantitative metric. . . . We have no means of reading, reciting, or hearing Greek poetry as it actually sounded. It may be possible to form a mental notion of it; but such a notion is too shadowy to serve as a basis for scientific investigation of the subject."

5. *Longum, -a:* a vowel deemed to be long according to the rules of prosody; indicated by the symbol ¯ over the letter (ā). *Breve, -ia:* a vowel deemed to be short according to the rules of prosody; indicated by the symbol ˘ over the letter (ă). *Anceps, -cipitia:* a doubtful syllable whose quantity can be either long or short; indicated here by the letter *x*.

6. The inscription is from Hieropolis (Phrygia). For the editio princeps see W. M. Ramsay, "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Part 1," *JHS* 4 (1883): 370–436, esp. 424–27 (only LL. 7–15). Lines 7—15 were originally published as part of the Alexander inscription: see W. M. Ramsay, "Les trois villes phrygiennes, Brouzos, Hieropolis et Otrous," *BCH* 6 (1882): 503–20, esp. 518. Cf. W. M. Ramsay, "The Tale of Abercius," *JHS* 3 (1882): 339ff.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers: II.1. S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp* (London: Macmillan, 1885), 492–501; W. M. Calder, "The Epitaph of Avircius Marcellus," *JRS* 29 (1939): 1–4; Laurence H. Kant, "The Interpretation of Religious Symbols in the Graeco-Roman World: A Case Study of Early Christian Fish Symbolism," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1993), 3:752–80 (app. 3); M. Volante, "Il 'Casto Pastore' dell' 'Inscrizione' di Abercio e il 'Pastore' de Erma," *Orpheus* 8 (1987): 355–65 (*SEG* 37.1166). Wolfgang Wischmeyer has demonstrated how this epigram employs conventional phraseology, formulae, topoi, and vocabulary, and he reapplies them to convey Christian ideas in a cryptic manner. For a history of the restoration with an extensive critical apparatus see W. Wischmeyer, "Die Aberkiosinschrift als Grabepigramm," *JAC* 23 [1980]: 22–26 (cf. *SEG* 30.1479); R. Merkelbach, "Grabepigramm und Vita des Bischofs Aberkios von Hierapolis," *EpigAnat* 28 (1997): 125–39. Cf. Horsley in *NewDocs* 6.177–81. See M. Guarducci's defense of its Christian provenance (Guarducci, *EG,* 4.380–86; cf. M. Guarducci, "L'iscrizione di Abercio e Roma," *AncSoc* 2 [1971]: 174–203). Cf. the Christian funerary epigram by Pektorios (IV A.D.) in *IG* XIV, 2525 (cf. *SEG* 28.825); *SEG* 42.1201.

16.02 The Rules of Prosody

The following summary of the rules of prosody is intended as a general guide only. The reader should consult the works of M. L. West, Paul Maas, and David Raven for a more detailed treatment of this subject.[7]

To determine the meter of an epigram, the quantity of each syllable—whether it is long or short—must be determined. A given syllable may count as short for prosodical purposes but be long by nature and vice versa. The fundamental principles for the determination of vowel quantity can be summarized by four rules.

Rule 1. Syllables containing either η, ω, or diphthongs are long by nature. A vowel that is long by nature is short by position if in hiatus. The final vowel of a word is said to be in hiatus if it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel and is unelided. This process is a phenomenon known as Epic correption.

Rule 2. The quantity of the vowels α, ι, and υ can be either long or short and must be determined from the context.

Rule 3. Syllables containing ε and ο are short by nature. Any vowel that is short by nature becomes long by position when followed by two or more consonants or by a double consonant (ζ, ξ, ψ). For example, the ε and ο in ἔρχονται are short by nature but count as long for the purpose of scansion because they are each followed by two consonants. Similarly, when a short vowel-consonant combination occurs at the end of a word, followed by a word beginning with a consonant, the short vowel becomes long by position (e.g., πένθος τῆς).

Rule 4. There is one major exception to rule 3: a naturally short vowel followed by two consonants can remain short if the consonants are a combination of a mute (π, τ, κ, φ, θ, χ, β, δ, γ) followed by a liquid (λ, μ, ν, ρ). This phenomenon is known as Attic correption. For example, the α in πατρός can be treated as either long or short because it is followed by a mute-liquid combination (-τρ). Similarly, a final short vowel followed by a word beginning with a mute-liquid combination can be treated as either long or short (e.g., ποτε βρέφος). However, when the mute and liquid belong to different

7. M. L. West, *Introduction to Greek Metre* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); Maas, *Greek Metre* (cf. supra n. 4); Raven, *Greek Metre* (cf. supra n. 3); James W. Halporn et al., *Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry,* rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

words (e.g., ἐκ λόγων) or to different parts of a compound word (e.g., ἐκλέγω), the vowel must be long.

16.03 Dactylic Hexameter

By definition, a dactylic hexameter is made up of six *metra.*[8] The first five metra may be either dactyl or spondee,[9] though a spondee is rare in the third and fifth metra. The sixth *metron* is a spondee, or in the case of a final *anceps*[10] (*x*), a trochee[11] (¯ ˘) is permitted.

There must be a caesura (i.e., a break between two words in the middle of a metron), indicated by |, after either the first or the second syllable of the third metron or after the first syllable of the fourth metron.[12] This hexameter pattern can be summarized as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6
- ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	- | ˘ | ˘	- | ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	- *x*
or	*or*	*or*	*or*	*or*	
- -	- -	(¯ | ¯)	¯ | ¯	(¯ ¯)	

This pattern is illustrated by the following epigram written in two hexameters.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Σῆς δ' ἀρε/τῆς καὶ / σωφροσύ/νης | μνη/μεῖον ἄ/πασιν					
- ˘ ˘	- -	- ˘ ˘	- -	- ˘ ˘	- ˘
λείπεις, / οἰκτρὰ πα/θὼν Μοί/ρας | ὑπὸ / δαίμονος / ἐχθροῦ.[13]					
- -	- ˘ ˘	- -	- ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	- -

8. *Metron, -a:* the basic unit of a line of verse. There are also irregular dactylic lines with lengths of seven or eight metra, i.e., heptameters and octameters, mixed with hexameters (e.g., *CIG* 808).

9. *Dactyl:* a metron (metrical foot) consisting of a long-short-short (¯ ˘ ˘) pattern; *spondee:* a metron consisting of a long-long (¯ ¯) pattern.

10. For *anceps* see n. 5.

11. *Trochee:* a metron consisting of a long-short (¯ ˘) pattern.

12. See Raven, *Greek Metre,* 43–44.

13. "You leave to all a memorial of your virtue and goodness after suffering a pitiful lot from a destiny to a hostile deity" (*IG* II² 13087; *GVI* 1783 [second half of IV B.C.]).

16.04 The Elegiac Distich

The hexameter is frequently combined with a second metrical form, the most popular combination being known as the elegy.[14] An elegiac distich consists of two lines, the first being a dactylic hexameter; the second consists of the first two and a half metra of a hexameter, known as the *hemiepes,* repeated once and separated by a caesura (|).[15] Some authors loosely refer to this repeated hemiepes as a "pentameter," though the meter does not correspond precisely to a pentameter, nor does it end with a spondee as a pentameter should.

The first two metra of the first hemiepes may be either dactyl or spondee, but the first two metra of the second must be dactyls. The last syllable of the second hemiepes is an anceps. This repeated hemiepes pattern can be summarized as follows:

1	2	½		1	2	½
- ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	-	|	- ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	x
or	*or*					
- -	- -					

This pattern is illustrated by the following epigram (from Athens after 350 B.C.).

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ἥδε κα/σιγνή/τη | ἡ / Σμικύθο / ἐνθάδε / κεῖται· (hexameter)					
- ˘ ˘	- -	- -	- ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	- -

1	2	½	1	2	½
πένθος / τῆς ἀρε/τῆς | / πᾶσι φί/λοις θεμέ/νη. (double hemiepes)[16]					
- -	- ˘ ˘	-	- ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	-

14. There are many possible groupings of hexameters and elegiacs. A series of hexameters are frequently preceded and/or concluded by one or more repeated elegiac distichs.

15. See Raven, *Greek Metre,* 45.

16. "This is the sister Smikytho who is buried here, who caused all her friends sorrow because of her virtue" (Christopher W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Period* [Mainz: P. V. Zabern, 1970], 139, no. 61).

A second example, from a village near Sardis (after 300 B.C.), is written in two elegiac distichs.

Ματὶς / μέμ μοι / τοὔνομ' ἔ/φυ, | πατ/ρὶς δε Κε/λαιναί. (hexameter)
– – – – – ◡ ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – –

Ἀνδρομέ/νης δὲ πό/σις | τεῦξ' ἐπὶ / σῆμα τό/δε, (double hemiepes)
– ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡

ὧι καὶ / φιτύ/σασα | λί/πον τρεῖς / παῖδας ἐν / οἴκωι (hexameter)
– – – – – ◡ ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – –

θηλυτέρ/ην τε μί/αν | τοῦς ἔλι/πον φθιμέ/να. (double hemiepes)[17]
– ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡

16.05 Iambic Trimeter

The iambic meter was also used in epigrams, though with much less frequency than the hexameter and elegy. Some epigrams combine iambic verses with hexameters.[18] As its name would suggest, an iambic trimeter is composed of three iambic metra, with each metron consisting of two feet. An iambic metron is defined as $x\,\breve{}\,\breve{}\,\bar{}$, where x represents an anceps.

A caesura (|) occurs after the first syllable of the third or fourth foot. No word can end after a long anceps, except at a caesura in the middle of a line (Porson's Law).[19] This iambic pattern can be summarized as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6 (feet)
$x\,\bar{}$	$\breve{}\,\bar{}$	$x\,\vert\,\bar{}$	$\breve{}\,\vert\,\bar{}$	$x\,\bar{}$	$\breve{}\,x$

This meter is illustrated in the following verse.

17. "Matis was my name, my homeland was Kelainai, and Andromenes, my husband, set up this stone over me; I bore for him and left behind me in our home three sons and one daughter. I left them [still living] when I died" (George M. A. Hanfmann and Kemal Ziya Polatkan, "A Sepulchral Stele from Sardis," *AJA* 64 [1960]: 49–52).

18. E.g., *CIG* 411B; cf. an epigram from Nikaia (II/III A.D.) that consists mostly of iambic trimeters, with one line (L. 10) in hexameter (*GVI* 21a).

19. See Maas, *Greek Metre*, 34.

ἔρω/τι θυ/μὸν | ἐκ/πλαγεῖσ' / Ἰά/σονος
◡ – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡

In certain cases, a long syllable in an iambic metron can be resolved into two short syllables ($\breve{}\,\breve{}$).[20] For example, the long second syllable in the first foot can be resolved into two short syllables—forming, in effect, a dactyl—when the first syllable is long, that is, $\bar{}\,\bar{} \rightarrow \bar{}\,\breve{}\,\breve{}$. Hence ἐνθάδε (= $\bar{}\,\breve{}\,\breve{}$) can be resolved into $\bar{}\,\bar{}$.

The long second syllable in the first or second metron can be resolved into a double short syllable, forming a tribrach,[21] when the preceding syllable is short ($\breve{}\,\bar{} \rightarrow \breve{}\,\breve{}\,\breve{}$). In the following example, the long second syllable in both the first and the second metra are resolved into tribrachs: ἐκόμι/σα παρέδ/ρους (= $\breve{}\,\breve{}\,\breve{}$/$\breve{}\,\breve{}\,\breve{}$). The first in a sequence of two long syllables in the first foot can be resolved into two short syllables ($\breve{}\,\breve{}$), forming, in effect, an anapaest[22] ($\bar{}\,\bar{} \rightarrow \breve{}\,\breve{}\,\bar{}$), as in ἀτέλεσ/τον (= $\breve{}\,\breve{}\,\bar{}$). To accommodate a proper name, an anapaest is allowed in any foot except the last, as in Ἀν/τιγόνη (= $\breve{}\,\breve{}\,\bar{}$).

16.06 Irregularities of Meter

A knowledge of the meter of an inscription can be a useful aid in restoration, since the metrical requirements of a line ought to prohibit some proposed restorations. However, caution needs to be exercised, since some epigrams display such liberty with meter that the meter becomes muddled and irregular. This is especially true in regions where Greek was not the dominant language. For example, a number of the hexameters in the Aberkios Inscription from Hieropolis (Phrygia) are flawed.[23] Similarly, of the approximately twenty surviving Jewish metrical texts, primarily from Egypt (especially Leontopolis), most are in crude metrication.[24]

In regions where Greek was not the dominant language, irregularities of meter are often attributable to the influence of the popular pronunciation on the quantity of syllables. After his study of Phrygian epigrams, A. Petrie remarks, "the meter is in some cases tolerably correct, as judged by classical

20. See Raven, *Greek Metre*, 27–28.

21. *Tribrach:* the foot consisting of $\breve{}\,\breve{}\,\breve{}$ (see Raven, *Greek Metre*, 28; cf. 54).

22. *Anapaest:* the pattern $\breve{}\,\breve{}\,\bar{}$.

23. See Guarducci, *EG*, 4.377–386, esp. 382; cf. supra n. 6.

24. See G. H. R. Horsley, "Towards a New Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum? A propos W. Horbury and D. Noy, Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt," *JSQ* 2 (1995): 77–101, esp. 89, 96–97; P. W. van der Horst, "Jewish Poetical Tomb Inscriptions," in J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst, eds., *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 129–47.

canons, and a fair guide to restoring the text with something like accuracy; in others it is crude in the extreme, and it is hard to discover on what system, if any, the engraver proceeded."[25] This may suggest a low level of literacy in the area in question. The survival of few metrical inscriptions in the same location, relative to the total number of extant inscriptions, lends further support to this conclusion.

There is evidence to suggest that epigrams were sometimes gathered into collections by the more elite stonemasons' workshops and made available to customers.[26] This would explain the use of stock phrases that is so evident in epigrams. Some inscriptions have correct hexameter verses in such stock lines as ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει τὸν δεῖνα and ἀένεον τόδε σῆμα ὁ δεῖνα ἵδρυσε τῷ δεῖνι but immediately run afoul once the engraver commences his own free composition to describe the age, character, and occupation of the deceased.[27]

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25. A. Petrie, "Epitaphs in Phrygian Greek," in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire,* ed. W. M. Ramsay (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 119–34, esp. 133–34. There was also a tendency to sacrifice meter in order to cite a numeral specifying the age of the deceased (see C. P. Jones, "Two Epigrams from Nicomedia and Its Region," *ZPE* 21 [1976]: 189–91).

26. See S. Mariner Bigorra, "Il problema degli epitafi ripetuti e le sue derivazioni," in *Atti del terzo Congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina (Rome 4–8, settembre 1957)* (Rome: "L'Erma" de Bretscheider, 1959), 207–11.

27. E.g., in one epigram, the first line displays the correct hexameter (ἄρτι με γευομένην ζωῆς βρέφος ἥρπασε δαίμων), the hexameter breaks down in the second line (οὔπω τρίετιν ἤδη), then the hexameter is correct again further down, when the engraver returns to using stock phrases (ἡ δέσ[ποινά] με Μοῖρα καθήρπασε) (Petrie, "Epitaphs in Phrygian Greek," 123, no. 5; cf. 134).

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17

Currency and Its Commodity Value

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, most financial transactions were carried out in the form of gold, silver, and bronze currency, except in remote and backward areas.[1] Since many inscriptions record the prices of financial transactions of one kind or another, epigraphists must know something of the denominations of currency in use in the ancient world and their relative exchange values.

However, such knowledge, though indispensable, is insufficient by itself for the interpretation of many inscriptions: if a scholar has no appreciation of the commodity value, or "purchasing power," of a particular price or sum, the full significance of the figures will elude him or her. As I shall show, the determination of the commodity value of a denarius is no simple task and may indeed be unachievable in many cases, since this currency became increasingly devalued over the centuries.

17.01 The Denominations of Greek Currency

The denominations of Athenian currency in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were used as a model for a number of Greek and Macedonian currencies throughout the Hellenistic period. The standard Athenian denominations were the chalcus, the obol, the drachma, and the mina. The tetradrachm[2]

1. See Christopher J. Howgego, "The Supply and Use of Money in the Roman World, 200 B.C. to A.D. 300," *JRS* 82 (1992): 1–31, esp. 16–22.

2. τετράδραχμον, τέτραχμον. On accentuation and orthographical variants of this term see *SEG* 37.1859.

was a coin worth four drachmae. These denominations have the following relative values:

Greek Currency

8 chalcoi (χαλκοί)	= 1 obol
6 obols (ὀβολοί)	= 1 drachma
100 drachmae (δραχμαί)	= 1 mina
60 minas (μναῖ)	= 1 talent

The Macedonian kings from Alexander onward adopted the Attic standard in minting their silver coins, the most important denomination being the Macedonian tetradrachm. Aetolia also minted silver tetradrachms on the Athenian standard, in addition to gold staters (στατῆρες). As their standard currency, the Thessalian league and the other leagues of northern Greece used the stater, based on the standard of the Roman victoriatus (= ¾ denarius), with 15 staters reckoned as 22½ denarii. Northwest Greece and Illyria also minted on the standard of the Roman victoriatus.[3]

17.02 The Denominations of Roman Currency

The first denarius was issued after the First Punic War (241 B.C.). It was composed of 100 percent silver and weighed 4.55 grams. At the same time, the copper *as* was implemented as the unit of accounting.

In 217 B.C., a new currency standard was implemented with a new, lighter denarius weighing 3.9 grams, struck at eighty-four to the pound,[4] its silver content remaining at 100 percent. Ten *asses* were reckoned to the denarius. This new denarius standard continued until the time of Nero. The denarius became the common currency of the Roman empire, though local currencies continued alongside it.

After the Second Punic War (201 B.C.), the *as* was devalued to sixteen *asses* to the denarius and was replaced by the sesterce (HS) as the standard unit of

3. See *ESAR* 4.326–34; cf. Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, enl. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911; reprint, London: Spink, 1977).

4. The theoretical weight of gold and silver coins was expressed in terms of how many coins were struck out of one pound of precious metal; e.g., the expression "struck at eighty-four to the pound" means that eighty-four coins were struck out of one pound of ingot. In actual fact, the moneyers would strike a few more coins than this and keep these additional coins for themselves as a service fee.

accounting. Four sesterces were reckoned to the denarius. Smaller coins were also minted, such as the victoriatus (¾ denarii), the quinarius (½ denarii), the dupondius (two *asses*), and fractional bronze coins (semis [½ *as*], triens [⅓ *as*], quadrans [¼ *as*]). The gold aureus, introduced by Julius Caesar (49–44 B.C.), was 100 percent gold, struck at forty to forty-two to the pound, and valued at twenty-five denarii. Thus, from the late first century B.C., the three principal coins of the empire were the aureus (gold), the denarius (silver), and the sesterce (bronze), with the most business being transacted in denarii.

Roman Currency from the Second Century B.C.

1 quadrans	= ¼ *as*
1 triens	= ⅓ *as*
1 semis	= ½ *as*
1 dupondius	= 2 *asses*
16 asses	= 1 denarius
4 sesterces (HS)	= 1 denarius
1 quinarius	= ½ denarius
1 victoriatus	= ¾ denarius
1 denarius	= 4 sesterces
1 aureus	= 24 denarii

17.03 Regional Currencies

Despite the fact that Roman imperial coinage was circulated on a vast scale throughout the empire, a bewildering array of city and regional coinages persisted. They were produced by the hundreds of local (as opposed to imperial) mints that flourished throughout the Roman provinces. Local mints issued a great variety of coins made from base metal or bronze.[5] There were also regional currencies in Egypt, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete, Syria, and Phoenicia.

Rome kept Egypt as a separate economic entity in the empire, prohibiting the circulation of imperial currency.[6] The principal Egyptian coin was the bronze tetradrachm, established by Augustus. Though it was composed of bronze, it was called "Augustan silver"—or simply "silver"—out of respect to the emperor. A bronze drachma and a bronze obol were also issued. The

5. See Michael Grant, *Roman History from Coins: Some Uses of the Imperial Coinage to the Historian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 73–74.

6. See Grant, *Roman History from Coins*, 81.

official exchange rate of the Egyptian tetradrachm was twenty-four obols, though it could exchange at twenty-six to twenty-nine obols in private transactions. The terms *denarius* and *as* were used in Egyptian taxation and accounting records as ciphers for the Egyptian tetradrachm and obol, respectively.[7]

In A.D. 19/20, Tiberius replaced Augustus's Egyptian tetradrachm with a billon tetradrachm (i.e., "impure" tetradrachm) composed of silver and base metal. It was also called "silver," though its actual silver content was slight (one-third less silver than an imperial denarius). Marcus Aurelius reduced its already small silver content by a further 75 percent to finance his military campaigns, but this did not affect its trading value, owing to the isolation of Egypt's fiduciary currency. The silver content disappeared completely in the third century A.D. The Egyptian tetradrachm continued to be minted until A.D. 296, at which time Egypt began to share a common monetary system with the rest of the empire as a result of Diocletian's economic reforms.

Though Roman currency was legal tender throughout Asia Minor, the cistophoric coinage was also minted throughout the province.[8] It was first established by the Pergamene kings and was continued by Augustus and succeeding emperors. The cistophorus was a silver coin, minted to the Rhodian standard and reckoned at ¾ Attic drachma, or ¾ imperial denarius. Hence, the cistophoric tetradrachm was valued at three denarii.

Even as late as the third century A.D., some epitaphs and documents in Asia Minor continue to assess fines in Attic drachmae.[9] The light Rhodian drachma also continued to be popular in southwestern Asia Minor under Augustus and Claudius, as did silver issues from some of the client kings. Syria also minted its own silver tetradrachm, which was not only more popular than other local issues in the first to second centuries but also more popular than the Roman denarii.[10]

These local and regional currencies tended to stay within the areas of their production, probably because they were not legal tender elsewhere, though this has not been confirmed.[11] The drachma-based currencies of Attica, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria would probably be converted into

7. See *ESAR* 2.422–28, 434.

8. See Moritz Pinder, *Über die Cistophoren* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1856); Kurt L. Regling, "Kistophoren," *RE* 11 (1922): 524–25; *ESAR* 4.555–56, 883–84, 888.

9. See *IGRR* IV, 1185, 1360; W. H. Buckler, "A Charitable Foundation of A.D. 237," *JHS* 57 (1937): 1–10.

10. See *ESAR* 4.211, 556, 883.

11. See Richard Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 39 n. 45.

denarii before being used in the empire at large.[12] The Attic drachmae was usually exchanged on par with the denarius. The Egyptian tetradrachm had a value close to that of the denarius.[13] Over the centuries, all silver regional coins shared progressive debasements and weight reductions in proportions so similar that the relative exchange rate between them did not undergo significant changes in the course of inflation.

Currency Equivalences

1 cistophorus	= .75 denarius, .75 Attic drachma
1 Attic drachma	= 1 denarius
1 Rhodian drachma	= .25 cistophorus
1 Attic tetradrachm	= 4 denarii[14]
1 Egyptian tetradrachm	= about 1 denarius
1 Macedonian tetradrachm	= 4 denarii
1 Syrian tetradrachm	= 3 denarii

17.04 The Commodity Value of Roman Currency and Military Pay

To appreciate the commodity value, or "purchasing power," of denarii, one could attempt to calculate their equivalent value in American dollars or British pounds sterling at the time of reading this book. The value of this exercise is very limited, since such equivalences would quickly go out of date as a result of modern inflation and the vicissitudes of the currency markets.

It is more useful if the value of the denarius is compared to the average daily wage of a working person in the ancient world and to average prices of commodities in the same period. With knowledge of the ratio of an average wage to typical commodities in a given century, the scholar is in a somewhat better position to estimate, at least approximately, its modern equivalence. However, even this approach has its limitations, since the items purchased by

12. See Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale*, 39 n. 46.

13. It is difficult to determine the exchange value of Egyptian currency, since it was entirely fiduciary, being determined by law; around A.D. 70, the Roman aureus was reckoned in Egyptian currency at 104 drachmae and 1 obol. Tenney Frank estimates that the aureus was worth 98 drachmae in A.D. 97. In A.D. 110, the aureus fell from 115 to 111 drachmae. By the end of III A.D., the Egyptian tetradrachm and the Roman denarius were still considered to be of almost equal value, although both were virtually worthless (see *ESAR* 2.425, 433–34).

14. Though the Athenian tetradrachm (at 17.46 gm) weighed slightly more than four denarii (at 3.9 grams each), it was reckoned on par.

an ancient (or the allocation of his income) were necessarily quite different from those of a modern person.

The market value of wheat is a relatively good reference point for the value of commodities in general, since the price of wheat is quoted in a uniform measure, the *modius* (= 9/10 peck) or, in Egypt, the *artaba* (= 3 modii). Moreover, wheat constituted the staple food of the commoner and represented the greatest element of a commoner's expenditure, at least for commoners who did not grow their own wheat.[15]

However, even the use of wheat for this purpose is not without its difficulties, since the price of grain varied annually, especially in times of scarcity, and regionally, depending on the proximity of the place of production. In the sections that follow, I discuss the cost of wheat and other commodities (e.g., wine, olive oil) as they can be known from century to century and compare these costs to the wage of a common foot soldier and common laborers. This provides the reader with a general sense of how the purchasing power of currency varied with respect to wages, especially throughout the periods of increasing inflation.

17.04.1 Prior to Nero (218 B.C.–A.D. 54)

During the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.), troops were paid at a rate of 120 denarii per annum (or ⅓ denarius per day) for about nine months of active service.[16] Each soldier also received four modii of wheat per month of active service; in other words, they received a total of thirty-six modii of wheat, with a market value of about twenty-seven denarii.[17] Therefore, the total value of a stipend (including rations) was 147 denarii per annum. Troops also received bonuses derived from booty, at first amounting to a few denarii, but fixed at fifty denarii between 191 and 188 B.C., raising the total to 197 denarii per

15. A soldier consumed about forty-eight modii of wheat per year, while the average citizen consumed about thirty modii (see *ESAR* 5.87 n. 54). The poor might have eaten less expensive grains.

16. Soldiers were paid their annual pay in three installments (*stipendia*), paid on 1 January, 1 May, and 1 September. See D. W. Rathbone, "The Census Qualification of the *Assidui* and the *Prima Classis*," in *De Agricultura: In Memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve*, ed. R. J. van der Spek, DMAHA 10 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1993), 121–153; M. Alexander Speidel, "Roman Army Pay Scales," *JRS* 82 (1992): 87–106; R. Alston, "Roman Military Pay from Caesar to Diocletian," *JRS* 84 (1994): 113–23; F. Lammert, "Stipendium," *RE* 3 (1929): 2536–38, esp. 2537; H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928), 214–24.

17. With wheat at .75 denarii per modius; cf. *ESAR* 1.76–77.

annum. Though the stipend remained at 120 denarii, bonuses grew, and promises of land were also given.

The soldier's daily wage is roughly on a par with the wages of temporary and seasonal laborers, who received .66–.8 denarius per day, but laborers were not employed for as many months as a soldier. The daily work of a farm slave was reckoned as worth .5 denarius per day. These wages can be compared with the approximate prices of the following commodities from 250 to 150 B.C.:[18]

wheat	.75 denarius per modius[19]
olive oil	.4 denarius per liter
wine (*ordinaire*)	.2–.26 denarius per liter
farm slave	300–500 denarii

The price of wheat and other commodities remained relatively constant throughout the first century B.C.[20] In 70 B.C., Cicero states that the normal price for the year varied from .62 to 1.25 denarius per modius (*Verr.* 3.163). In other words, the average price remained at about .75 denarius per modius. In the late first century B.C., there were modest increases in the price of olive oil and wine:

olive oil	.5–.75 denarius/liter
wine (*ordinaire*)	.2–.3 denarius/liter

Though prices for many commodities are unavailable in this period, it would appear that prices in general increased only incrementally. Wages increased slightly as well, with temporary and seasonal workers being paid a maximum of one denarius per day. Against this background, Julius Caesar's increase of the basic pay of a soldier from 120 to 225 denarii per annum is notable.

18. Other commodities include beef at four to five *asses* per Roman pound (*libra*/λίτρα) (= .75 avoirdupois); pork at six to seven *asses* per *libra;* plough oxen at sixty to eighty denarii; sheep at six to eight denarii (*ESAR* 1.200, 220).

19. The normal price of wheat between the First and Second Punic Wars (241–218 B.C.) ranged from .66 to 1.06 denarii per modius; in Rome, the normal price was ¾ denarius per modius. In 150 B.C., the normal price was still 3 sesterces per modius, though the price varied in times of famine and surplus.

20. See *ESAR* 1.191, 198, 283, 384–85, 402–5.

17.04.2 From Nero to Septimius Severus (A.D. 54–211)

In the first two centuries A.D., the denarius was debased much more rapidly than the aureus.[21] Despite the debasement of the denarius, inflation throughout the first century A.D. was very moderate. The price of wheat seems to have fallen in the late first century A.D., to .5 denarius per modius.[22] Some other commodities, such as wine (*ordinaire*), apparently show little or no increase, selling at about .4 denarius per liter. About this same time (in A.D. 83), Domitian raised the annual wage of a soldier from 225 to 300 denarii, paid in aurei.[23]

This stability of prices went out of the market by the late second century A.D.: the price of wheat doubled, selling at one denarius per modius,[24] while the basic wage of soldiers remained unchanged at three hundred denarii per annum.[25] Generally speaking, all wages during this period failed to keep pace with inflation. In an attempt, at least in part, to address this problem, the wages of the troops were increased by Septimius Severus in A.D. 197; the annual salary of a foot soldier was raised from 300 denarii (set in A.D. 83), probably by 50 percent to 450 denarii.[26]

21. The standard of the denarius established in 217 B.C. remained unchanged until A.D. 64, when Nero attempted to restore imperial finances by tampering with its content and weight: he debased the denarius to 90 percent silver by mixing in a base metal; he also reduced the weight of each coin, striking ninety-six to the pound, up from eighty-four. Nero also had the aureus struck at forty-five to the pound (up from forty-two per pound), but it remained at 100 percent gold throughout the first two centuries. Trajan (A.D. 98–117) debased the denarius a second time, reducing its silver content to 85 percent; it was subsequently reduced to 75 percent silver by Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80) and to 50 percent silver by Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211). See A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P. A. Brunt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974), 194; M. Crawford, "Finance, Coinage, and Money from the Severans to Constantine," *ANRW* II, 2 (1975): 578–81.

22. In the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), wheat in Pisidian Antioch normally sold for eight to nine *asses* (.5–.56 denarius). See W. M. Ramsay, "Studies in the Roman Province Galatia: VI. Some Inscriptions of Colonia Caesarea Antiochea," *JRS* 14 (1924): 172–205, esp. 179–84; *ESAR* 4.879. See also Jones, *Roman Economy*, 193, for more examples from I–II A.D.; *ESAR* 4.879–80 (cf. 1.273 n. 14).

23. In the reign of Domitian, a soldier had deducted from his 300 denarii 60 for rations (*annona*), 50–60 for his uniform (*vestis*), and an additional sum for boots and sundries—in total 134–44 denarii in deductions. Arms did not require annual replacement. A soldier was able to save approximately two-thirds of his salary.

24. See *ESAR* 4.880.

25. In A.D. 138, one chiton and four cloaks were worth twenty-four denarii each (see Jones, *Roman Economy*, 208). The deductions seem to have remained constant, at about 134–44 (cf. figures of 130–40 denarii in A.D. 83–84: see Jones, *Roman Economy*, 192; H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* [Oxford, 1928], 214). Thus, a soldier would be able to save approximately half of his salary. Similar changes are observed in Egypt during the same period (see Fritz M. Heichelheim, "Zur Währungskrisis des römischen Imperiums im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," *Klio* 26 [1933]: 960113).

17.04.3 From Caracalla to Numerianus (A.D. 211–284)

The debasement of the silver coinage, begun in the first two centuries, continued in the third century, resulting in a loss of confidence in the monetary system. For the first time, people began to refuse to accept denarii at face value;[27] though the official trading price for denarii was still twenty-five to the aureus, its actual exchange rate on the open market was much lower.

Since the denarius was the standard coin of all wages, rents, and business transactions, the fall of the denarius forced markets to adjust themselves by increasing prices, resulting in high inflation.[28] Egypt also experienced inflation in the first sixty years of the third century A.D., owing to persistent wars and recurring famines, with prices for land, wheat, and other staples increasing significantly from the levels of the second century A.D.

The accelerating inflation of the third century A.D., combined with the fact that there had been no significant increase in imperial taxation since the first century A.D., resulted in a crisis in imperial finances, though some taxes were paid in kind. The expenditures subject to the greatest inflation were those that were paid out in denarii, such as the payroll for public officials, the largest component being the wages of the troops. Caracalla (A.D. 198–217) raised these wages by 50 percent (if our conclusion concerning the previous pay rate of Septimius Severus is correct), resulting in a new pay level of 675 denarii per annum.[29] It was raised again by Maximinus Thrax (A.D. 235–38) by 100 percent, probably to 1,350 denarii.[30]

26. See Alston, "Roman Military Pay," 114–15.

27. Caracalla issued a new coin, the antoninianus, valued at two denarii; this coin replaced the denarius as the standard coin of the empire for the next fifty years. He also slightly reduced the weight of the aureus, striking fifty to the pound. The antoninianus was debased throughout the first half of III A.D. By the reign of Gallienus (A.D. 260–68), it contained less than 5 percent silver and was greatly reduced in weight.

28. The minting of gold and silver coins ceased at this time. Aurelian (A.D. 270–75) minted two silver-plated copper coins, the nummus (worth five denarii), and a smaller coin. Gold and silver coins that already existed were driven out of circulation, as people began to hoard them and melt them down for their precious metal (see Jones, *Roman Economy*, 196).

29. This rapid increase is only partly attributable to the debasement of the denarius and inflation of prices; it also represents an attempt by the emperor to win the support of the army in his struggles with the Senate.

30. See Alston, "Roman Military Pay," 115; cf. Speidel, "Roman Army Pay Scales," 88.

The basic pay increases for a legionary from the late third century B.C. to the late third century A.D. accrued as follows:

Date	*Annual Pay*	*% Increase*
late III–late I B.C.	120	
Caesar/Augustus (late I B.C.–A.D. 83)	225	87
Domitian (A.D. 83–197)	300	33 ⅓
Septimius Severus (A.D. 197–212)	(450?)[31]	50
Caracalla (A.D. 212–34)	(675?)	50
Maximinus Thrax (234–late III A.D.)	(1,350?)	100

This cumulative increase in military pay did not come close to keeping pace with inflation. The fact that it was far beyond the means of the government to increase wages in proportion to the rising cost of living forced it to abandon currency as the principal form of payment to the troops; military wages were supplemented with issues in kind of wheat, wine, meat, oil, and clothes, obtained by a system of levies.

17.04.4 From Diocletian to Constantine (A.D. 284–337)

Diocletian (A.D. 284–305) addressed the problem of inflation and the resultant crisis in imperial finances by instituting an annual budget and system of indictions. At the beginning of each financial year (1 September), the praetorian prefect would calculate the quantity of goods required by the government for the coming year. He then set the levies for wheat, meat, wine, oil, and garments, so as to meet this anticipated demand. Thus, unlike previous taxes, levies varied according to the requirements of the state in a given fiscal year. As a result, the imperial levy doubled between the years A.D. 324 and 364.[32]

In A.D. 296, the old denarius was discontinued and replaced with a new denarius, a copper coin with a silver wash. This debased denarius—or *denarius communis,* as it is known in Diocletian's Price Edict—was the standard coin of all business transactions.[33] Diocletian also attempted to reintroduce silver and gold currency, the minting of which had ceased in the third century.[34] From

31. The figures in parentheses are those of R. Alston; Speidel estimated rates of 600, 900, and 1,800 denarii, respectively (cf. n. 16).

32. See Jones, *Roman Economy,* 199.

33. The old nummus, previously worth 5 denarii, was devalued by half. A new silver-plated coin, the new nummus, was issued. It was much heavier than the old nummus and valued at 25 denarii.

34. A gold coin was issued at seventy (and later sixty) to the pound, and a silver coin (of unknown name) at ninety-six to the pound.

the late third century onward, there was no fixed relation between the value of the *denarius communis,* silver, and gold currency: the value of gold had risen forty-five times and that of silver eighty-six times from their values in the second century,[35] whereas the denarius had depreciated two hundred times with respect to the price of wheat (one hundred denarii per modius). In other words, there were three currencies in use, gold, silver, and copper (i.e., silver-plated denarii), and each found its market value independently of the others.[36]

The rate of inflation continued to increase under Diocletian. Diocletian's Price Edict (A.D. 301) represents an attempt to stabilize the exceptionally high prices of commodities by stipulating maximum levels that must not be exceeded. The actual effect of the edict was to drive goods off the open market, which suggests that the prices quoted in the edict were significantly below their current market value.[37] The Diocletian Price Edict quoted the following prices for the following commodities:[38]

wheat	100 denarii per modius[39] (I, 1)
wine (*ordinaire*)	13.7 denarii per liter (II, 10)
olive oil	13.7 denarii per liter (III, 3)
beef	8 denarii per Roman pound[40] (IV, 2)

35. Gold increased from 1,125 denarii per pound to 50,000 denarii per pound; silver increased from 96 denarii per pound to 8,328 denarii per pound.

36. See Jones, *Roman Economy,* 201, 206.

37. See K. T. Erim, J. M. Reynolds, and Michael H. Crawford, "Diocletian's Currency Reform: A New Inscription," *JRS* 6 (1971): 171; K. T. Erim and J. M. Reynolds, "The Aphrodisias Copy of Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices," *JRS* 63 (1973): 99–110; M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, "The Publication of the Prices Edict: A New Inscription from Aezani," *JRS* 65 (1975): 160–63; M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, "The Aezani Copy of the Prices Edict," *ZPE* 26 (1977): 125–51; J. M. Reynolds, "The Aphrodisias Copy of Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices," *ZPE* 36 (1979): 46; M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, "The Aezani Copy of the Prices Edict," *ZPE* 34 (1979): 163–210; J. M. Reynolds, "XII. Imperial Regulations," in *IAphrodChr,* 252–318; *SEG* 37.335, 346; Jones, *Roman Economy,* 200.

38. See Elsa Rose Graser, "Appendix: The Edict of Diocletian on Maximum Prices," in *ESAR* 5.307–421; Siegfried Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt,* Texte und Kommentare 4 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1971); Marta Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium* (Genoa: Istituto di storia antica e scienze ausiliarie, 1974); J.-P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311,* BEFAR 214 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969), 394–407.

39. Literally, a "castrensis modius," which is identical with an ordinary modius (see Angelo Segrè, "Inflation and Its Implication in Early Byzantine Times," *Byzantion* 15 [1940–41]: 249–79, esp. 277).

40. One Roman pound (*libra*/λ(ε)ίτρα) = .75 avoirdupois; on the epigraphical evidence for this standard of measurement see Michel Lejeune, "Le nom de mésure ΛΙΤΡΑ: Essai lexical," *REG* 106 (1993): 1–11.

pork	12 denarii per Roman pound (IV, 1a)
farm laborer (with maintenance)	25 denarii per day (VII, 1a)

The high rate of inflation dramatically reduced real wages of the troops. The government was unable to offset inflation by increasing wages, partly because the rate of taxation had been virtually frozen since the first century A.D. However, the impact of the low rate of taxation was lessened by the imposition of many new taxes over the years, as well as by the long-standing practice of requisitioning wheat, meat, wine, oil, textiles, and leather without payment and issuing them to the troops without charge.

Constantine (A.D. 306–37) continued Diocletian's policy of issuing gold and silver coins. He minted a new gold coin known as the solidus at seventy-two to the pound. This coin served as the basis for the imperial treasury for centuries thereafter, though the common people naturally transacted business in debased denarii, not solidi.[41] The aureus had declined in weight to such an extent that it was abolished in the fourth century.

Since the government based its own finances on the stable gold solidus, it ignored the copper currency, allowing the debased denarius to deflate rapidly. Inflation ran wild throughout the remainder of the fourth century for goods purchased in denarii. The upper classes were unaffected by this trend, since they were paid in gold and since their capital consisted of land and gold. However, troops and most public officials were paid in denarii, whose value had become nominal. Soldiers were somewhat cushioned from inflation by the payment of a donative of five solidi annually and one pound of silver on each imperial accession (and five solidi every five years thereafter).[42] By the late fourth century, the value of the denarius was so low that the issue was abandoned.[43]

41. New silver coins were also issued, though the names of this coinage and its relation to the denarius and solidus are not known.

42. See Jones, *Roman Economy,* 197, 208, 213, 225. It is difficult to calculate the total value of the remuneration of soldiers in IV A.D., because it was a composite of a number of factors: a soldier's stipend had remained unchanged from its value in early III A.D. at 750 debased denarii and therefore was of negligible value. He also received a ration of 200 denarii, bringing the total to 950 denarii. However, with the price of wheat set at one hundred denarii per modius, it would cost each soldier four thousand denarii to purchase a year's rations. In other words, their annual wages were sufficient (in theory) to purchase only eight weeks of grain, though (in actuality) it is unlikely that soldiers were required to purchase all the grain they required. The edict sets the price of a "military indictional chlamys (best quality)" at four thousand denarii, i.e., an increase of 166 times from its value in A.D. 138 of twenty-four denarii. The remainder of their rations (*annona*), uniform (*vestis*), and arms were supplied without charge in kind. In addition, a soldier received one-fifth of his donative paid in *denarii communes* (under Diocletian). He also received an accession and quinquennial donative paid out in gold or silver as an annual bonus. As his stipend was of negligible value, all he could hope to save was the donative, but this did not compensate for the depreciation in the value of the currency from I A.D. values.

43. See Jones, *Roman Economy,* 224.

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Appendix: Electronic Tools for Research in Greek Epigraphy

The following is a list of several electronic tools that provide access to primary texts and images, including Web- and CD-ROM–based tools. In addition to these, many other types of electronic epigraphical resources are catalogued on the Web site of the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (<http://asgle.classics.unc.edu/>).

CSAD Imaging Project
<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Images.html>

The Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at Oxford is creating an online database of epigraphical images drawn from its squeeze archive (see § 3.06). Under the supervision of the center's director, Dr. Alan K. Bowman, and its administrator, Dr. Charles Crowther, CSAD aims to distribute digital images of all its squeezes via the Internet, accompanied by a complete catalogue of data. Greek inscriptions from all periods are represented, with emphasis on Attica, Chios, Samos, Priene, Rhodes, and Samothrace. Several sample images are already available.

Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg
<http:/www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh>
Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Marstallhof 4, D-69117 Heidelberg.
Telephone: 06221 / 54 22 39
Fax: 06221 / 54 22 34

This long-term project for the registration of Roman inscriptions, under the direction of Dr. Géza Alföldy and the auspices of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, has already digitized approximately thirty thousand inscriptions. Those reported in the *Année Épigraphique* between 1900 and 1990 are available on-line. Biannual updates are planned. The texts are presented in revised and corrected full-length minuscule texts. Abbreviations are expanded and fragmentary texts restored. Bibliographic references to relevant major editions are included. A multifeature search engine (in German and English) is available on-line. Future plans include Web access to a bibliographical database with over six thousand items and a digital version of the *Epigraphische Photothek Heidelberg,* with over twenty-one thousand images.

Inscriptiones Graecae Eystettenses: A Database for the Study of the Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor
<http://www.gnomon.ku-eichstaett.de/LAG/datenbank.html>

Developed and maintained by Dr. Jürgen Malitz at the Katholische Universität Eichstätt, with the assistance of Dr. Wolfgang Blümel (Cologne), this database is distributed on CD-ROM for use on IBM PC (or compatible) computers. A hardware copyright protection device called a *dongle* must be attached to the computer for the program to run. Both Greek and Latin characters can be used in formulating searches and displaying results. Full texts are not displayed: the program is designed to function as a concordance and word-search tool. The database incorporates an extensive corpus of the inscriptions from Bithynia and Pontus, which can also be searched on-line.

Inscriptions from the Land of Israel
<http://jefferson.village.Virginia.EDU/mls4n>

Directed by Prof. Michael L. Satlow at the University of Virginia, this project seeks to create a computerized, multilanguage corpus of inscriptions from ancient Palestine. It will cover the Hellenistic period (ca. 330 B.C.) through the Persian conquest (A.D. 614). The project's Web presence currently permits searches of the inscriptions from Beth She'arim, based on the publication *IBethShe'arim.* To view the original texts of the inscriptions, the individual user must download and install the freeware Java program called BABBLE (Windows 95 or NT only).

PHI CD-ROM #7, "Greek Documentary Texts"
<http://132.236.125.30/content.html>
License and pricing information: Packard Humanities Institute, 300 Second Street, Suite 200, Los Altos, CA 94022.
Telephone: (415) 948–0150
E-mail: <74754.2713@compuserve.com>

The PHI CD-ROM #7, "Greek Documentary Texts," was released in January 1997. It contains two major databases: "The Duke Databank of Documentary Greek Papyri" and an extensive collection of Greek epigraphical texts assembled by the Greek Epigraphy Project at Cornell, the Epigraphical Center of the Ohio State University, and the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton with the cooperation of scholars from other institutions. The epigraphic database facilitates the efficient search of Greek epigraphical texts using appropriate software purchased from a third-party vendor (such as Pandora for the Mac or the PHI workplace). For a complete list of software access programs, see the Web page of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* project at <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/~tlg>.

De Imperatoribus Romanis
<http://salve5.salve.edu/~romanemp/test.htm>

This site allows its users to retrieve short biographical essays of all the Roman emperors from the accession of Emperor Augustus to the death of Emperor Constantine XI Palaeologus. Each essay on this site, which is peer reviewed, is written by a scholar and is accompanied by a bibliography, illustrations, and footnotes.

Rulers of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, 753 B.C.–A.D. 1479
<http://www.dalton.org/groups/Rome/RPol.html>

An extensive and thorough collection by N. Wittering of lists of kings, consuls, emperors, despots, and dukes. A general bibliography is included.

Prosopographia Ptolemaica
<http://kuleuven.ac.be/facdep/arts/onderz/dep/klass/autom_prosop.htm>

This database by E. Van't Dack et al. will eventually contain all the material in the printed volumes, that is, lists of all inhabitants of Egypt between 300 and 30 B.C., from Greek, Egyptian, and Latin sources, both authors and documents.

Abbreviations of Epigraphical and Related Classical Publications

This list of abbreviations is a suggested set of abbreviations for future epigraphical publications. It incorporates the list of new epigraphical abbreviations published by G. H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee in "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphical Volumes," *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129–69. Additional abbreviations for journals and series have been incorporated, and sometimes modified, from *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Anatolian Studies, L'Année philologique,* the *American Journal of Archaeology* (*AJA* 95 [1991]: 1–16), and elsewhere (e.g., Jean Susorney Wellington, comp., *Dictionary of Bibliographic Abbreviations Found in the Scholarship of Classical Studies and Related Disciplines* [Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983]). Standard abbreviations for some of the principal collections of ostraca and papyri have also been given on the grounds that they are often relevant to the study of inscriptions (for a complete listing of abbreviations for papyri and ostraca see John F. Oates and Wm. H. Willis, "Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraka," *BASP* 11, no. 1 [1974]: 1–35). The arrow symbol (→) directs the reader to another recommended abbreviation of the same work.

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Berlin) (continued by JdI.)
AAA	Ἀρχαιολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
AAES	→ *ISyria*Prentice
AAPat	*Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze* (Padua)

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Cambridge, MA)
AAT	*Atii della Accademia delle Scienze de Torino* (Bologna)
AAWW	→ AnzWien
AbhBerl	*Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
AbhGött	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse
AbhHeid	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
AbhKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
AbhLeip	Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philosophisch-historischen Klasse. Leipzig, then Berlin.
AbhMünch	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Munich.
ABSA	→ *BSA*
ABV	*Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters,* by J. D. Beazley. Oxford, 1956.
Acme	*Acme: Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere dell'Università statale di Milano*
Acta . . .	→ *CongrEpigr*
ActaArch	Acta Archaeologica
ActaInstRomFin	Acta Instituti romani Finlandiae. Helsinki
ActaLund	Acta Universitatis Lundensis
ActaOrHung	Acta orientalia Academicae scientiarum Hungaricae
Actes . . .	→ *CongrEpigr*
ADA	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AdI	*Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.* (Issued as part of *Monumenti ed annali.*)

AegForsch	Aegyptologische Forschungen
Aegyptus	Aegyptus: Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia (Milan)
AEpigr	*L'Année épigraphique*
AeR	Atene e Roma: Rassegna trimestale dell'Associazione
Aevum	Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (Austria)
Aggelos	Aggelos: Archiv für neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte und Kulturkunde
Agora	*The Athenian Agora.* Princeton, 1953–. III. *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia,* ed. R. E. Wycherley. 1957. Reprint, London, 1973. XV. *The Athenian Councillors,* ed. B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill. 1974. XVII. *The Funerary Monuments,* ed. D. W. Bradeen. 1974. XIX. *Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands,* ed. C. V. Lalonde, M. K. Langdon and M. B. Walbank. 1991. XXI. *Graffiti and Dipinti,* ed. M. L. Lang. 1976. XXV. *Ostraka,* ed. M. L. Lang. 1990.
*AGS*Peek I	*Attische Grabschriften,* vol. 1, *Eine Nachlese zum letzten Band der Inscriptiones Graecae.* II/III 2, by Werner Peek. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1953, no. 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954.
*AGS*Peek II	*Attische Grabschriften,* vol. 2, *Unedierte Grabinschriften aus Athen und Attika,* by W. Peek. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und

	Kunst, Jahrgang 1956, no. 3. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957.
AGWG	→ AbhGött
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AICA	→ *AdI*
AIEGL	L'Association internationale d'épigraphie grecque et latine
AIIN	*Annali: Istituto italiano di numismatica* (Rome)
AION(filol)	*Annali dell'Istituto per universitario orientale di Napoli,* Sezione filologico-letteraria. (Rome)
AION(ling)	*Annali dell'Istituto per universitario orientale di Napoli,* Sezione linguistica (Naples)
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology* (Princeton)
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History* (Cambridge, MA)
AJP	*American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore)
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
ALA	→ *IAphrodChr*
AltO	Der alte Orient
Alt. v. Hierapolis	→ *IHierapJ*
AM	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung. Berlin.
AMNS	→ *IAsMin*BH
AnalBoll	Analecta Bollandiana. Brussels.
AnalOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnalRom	Analecta romana Instituti Danici
Anatolica	Anatolica: Annuaire international pour les civilisations de l'Asie antérieure. Istanbul.
AnatSt	*Anatolian Studies: Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara* (London)
AncEg	Ancient Egypt
AncSoc	*Ancient Society* (Louvain)

AncW	*The Ancient World* (Chicago)
AnnAcFenn	Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae
Annales (ESC)	*Annales (Économie, Sociétés, Civilisations)* (Paris)
AnnArch	Annales archéologiques
Ann. de l'EPHE	Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études
AnnEconSocCiv	Annales: Economies, sociétes, civilisations
AnnLiv	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool.
AnnRepCypr	Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus
Annuario	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* (Bergamo, then Rome)
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin)
AntCl	*L'Antiquités classique* (Louvain-la-Neuve)
AnthPal	*Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina,* ed. F. Dübner. 3 vols. Paris, n.d.
AnzWien	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophische-historische Klasse
AÖAW	→ AnzWien
APAW	→ *AbhBerl*
ArchAnz	→ *AA*
ArchCl	Archeologia classica. Rome.
ArchChron	Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Χρονικα. In *ArchEph.*
ArchDelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαιδεύσεως (Athens)
Archeologia	*Archeologia Polski* (Warsaw)
ArchEph	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς (Athens)
ArchNews	Archaeological News
ArchPF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete. Leipzig.
ArchRW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
Arctos	*Arctos: Acta philologica Fennica* (Helsinki)

ARW	→ *ArchRW*
AS	→ *AnatSt*
ASAW	→ AbhLeip
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*
ASOR	American School of Oriental Research
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
Athena	Ἀθηνᾶ: Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπιστημονικῆς ἑταιρείας. Athens.
Athenaeum	Athenaeum: Studi periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell' Antichità. Pavia.
Ἀθήναιον	Ἀθήναιον, σύγγραμμα περιοδίκον κατὰ διμηνίαν ἐκδιδόμενον συμπράξει πολλῶν λογίων
AthMitt	→ AM
'Atiqot	*'Atiqot: Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities*
ATL	→ *IAthTrib*
AttiLincei	Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Ser. V–VIII. Rome.
AttiPontAcc	Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rome.
AttiTor	Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologische. Bologna.
Audollent	→ *IDefix*Audollent
AVI	*Attische Versinschriften,* ed. W. Peek. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, AbhLeip 69.2. 1980.
AvP	→ *IPergamon* (Altertümer von Pergamon)
AW	*Antike Welt* (Zurich)
BA	→ BiblArch
BAB	*Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (Brussels) (Continued by the *Bulletin de la classe des beaux-arts* of the Academie Royales des Science and by the *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politique* of the Academie Royale de Belgique.)
BAC	*Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris, 1883–1964; n.s., 1965–)
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
Baillet, *Inscr. . . . des tombeaux des rois*	→ *IEg*Baillet
BalkStud	*Balkan Studies* (Thessaloníki)
BAntFr	Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaries de France. Paris.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad. Cambridge, MA.
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* (New York)
BASP Suppl	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplements
BCBA	→ *BAB*
BCAR	*Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma* (Rome)
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (Paris)
BCH Suppl	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Suppléments. Paris, 1973–.
BCILL	Bibliothèque Cahiers Institut Linguistique de Louvain
BCO	Bibliotheca classica orientalis. Berlin, 1956–69.
BDAG	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* 3d ed., ed. F. W. Danker. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) Based on *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments,* by W. Bauer, 6th ed., and

	previous English editions by W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker.)
BdE	Bibliothèque d'etude
BE	*Bulletin épigraphique.* Published in *REG* (1888–), notably by B. Haussoullier, A.-J. Reinach, P. Roussel, and R. Flacelière, and, from 1938 to 1984, by J. Robert and L. Robert; from 1987, revived under direction of P. Gauthier. The issues of *BE* by the Roberts have been published separately in 10 vols. (Paris 1972–87), with 5 vols. of indices (Paris, 1973–83).
Bechtel*Frau*	*Die attischen Frauennamen nach ihren Systemdargestellt,* by F. Bechtel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1902.
Bechtel*Mann*	*Die einstämmigen männlichen Personennamen des Griechischen, die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind,* by F. Bechtel. AbhGött 2.5. Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1898.
Bechtel*PN*	*Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit,* by F. Bechtel. Halle, 1917.
Bees	→ *IKorinthChr*
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Paris.
BEHE	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IV[e] section, sciences historiques et philologiques
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu: Belleten
BEO	Bulletin d'études orientales, l'Institut Français de Damas. Damascus.
Ber. Akad.	Berlin → SBBerl
BerRGK	Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Frankfurt.
Berytus	*Berytus: Archeological Studies* (Beirut)

BES	**Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique**
BFC	*Bollettino di filologia classica*
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Meseen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden.* 11 vols. Berlin, 1895–1968.
BIAAM	British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph Series
BIAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale de Caire*
BiblArch	Biblical Archaeologist
Biblica	Biblica
BibO	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden.
BIBR	Bulletin de l'Institut historique beige de Rome.
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BICS Suppl	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London Supplements
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* (= *Yedioth*)
BIFAO	→ *BIAO*
BithStud	→ *IBith*Sahin
BJb	*Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society
BJRU	*Bulletin of John Rylands University*
BKP	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie
BMAH	Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Brussels.
BMI	→ *IBM*
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BN	Beiträge zur Namenforschung (Heidelberg)
BNF	→ *BN*
BO	→ BibO
Bonner	→ *IEgAmulet*
Brit.Mus.Inscr.	→ *IBM*

BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens* (London)
BSL	*Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* (Paris)
BSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome* (London)
BSRAA	Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie d'Alexandrie
Buck	*Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*, by C. D. Buck. Boston, 1910.
Bull.ép.	→ *BE*
Buresch	→ *ILydia*B
Bursian	Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Berlin and Leipzig, 1873–1944/45.
Byzantion	*Byzantion: Revue internationale des études byzantines*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Cabrol-Leclercq	*Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes ét de liturgie*, ed. H. Leclercq and F. Cabrol. Oxford, 1905.
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CahArch	Cahiers Archéologiques: Fin de l'antiquité et Moyen âge. Paris.
CahEtAnc	Cahiers des Études anciennes. Montreal.
Calderini	*Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, by A. Calderini and S. Daris. 5 vols. and supple. Cairo, Madrid, and Milan, 1935–88. Reprint, Milan, 1972.
C&M	→ *ClMed*
Carie	→ *IAmyzon*
CCCA	*Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, ed. M. J. Vermaseren. EPRO 50. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977–89. I. *Asia Minor.* 1987. II. *Graecia atque insulae.* 1982. III. *Italia: Latium.* 1977. IV. *Italia: Aliae provinciae.* 1978.

	V. *Aegyptus, Africa, Hispania, Gallia et Britannia.* 1986. VI. *Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Thracia, Moesia, Dacia, Regnum Bospori, Colchis, Scythia et Sarmatia.* 1989. VII. *Musea et collectiones privatae.* 1977.
CCET	*Corpus cultus equitis Thracii.* EPRO 74. Leiden, 1979–84. I. *Monumenta orae Ponti Euxini Bulgariae*, ed. Z. Gočeva and M. Opperman. 1979. II. *Monumenta inter Danubium et Haemum reperta*, ed. Z. Gočeva and M. Opperman. II.1. *Durostorum et Vicinia, Regio Oppidi Tolbuhin, Marcianopolis et Vicinia, Regio Oppidi Sumen.* 1981. II.2. *Regio Oppidi Tărgovište, Abrittus et Vicinia, Sexaginta Prista et Vicinia, Nicopolis ad Istrum Novae.* 1984. IV.4. *Moesia Inferior (Romanian Section) and Dacia*, ed. N. Hampartumian. 1979. V. *Monumenta intra fines Iugoslaviae reperta*, ed. A. Cermanovič-Kuzmanovič. 1982.
CCID	*Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, ed. M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim. EPRO 106. Leiden, 1987.
CCIS	*Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii*, by M. J. Vermaseren. 3 vols. EPRO 100. Leiden, 1983–89.
CD	→ IDelph
CDH	→ *IDelosCDH*
CE	→ *ChrEg, IDelosEg*
CEFR	Collection de l' École française de Rome
CEG	*Carmina epigraphica Graeca*, ed. P. A. Hansen. 2 vols. Berlin, 1983–89. I. Saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n. TK 12. 1983. II. Saeculi IV a. Chr. n. TK 15. 1989.

CERP	*Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire,* by A. H. M. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937.
CF	→ *ICollFroehner*
CFCIP	→ *IPhrygChr*
CGCI	*Corpus der griechisch christlichen Inschriften von Hellas,* by N. A. Bees. Vol. 1. Athens: Christlich-archäologische Gesellschaft, 1941. Reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1978.
Charitonidis, Συμπλήρωμα	→ *ILesbosSuppl*
ChID	→ *IDelosChoix*
Chiron	*Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Munich)
CHL	Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum
Choix	→ *IDelosChoix*
ChoixIG	*Choix d'inscriptions grecques: Textes, traductions et notes,* ed. M. Pouilloux. Bibliothèque de la Faculté des lettres de Lyon. Paris, 1960.
ChrEg	*Chronique d'Égypte* (Brussels)
ChronOr	Chroniques d'Orient, by S. Reinach. In *RA,* 1891/1896.
CIA	*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum,* ed. W. Dittenberger, A. Kirchhoff, J. Kirchner, and U. Köhler. 3 vols. in 8. Berlin, 1873–95. (Revised and reprinted as *IG* I–III.)
CID3	→ IDelph
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.* 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–77. Reprint, Subsidia Epigraphica, Hildesheim, 1977.
	I–II. Greece, islands, European coast of Pontus Euxinus, western Asia Minor, ed. A. Boeckh. 1828–43.
	III. Asia, Africa, Europe, ed. J. Franz. 1845–53.

	IV. Inscriptions of doubtful origin, Jewish and Christian inscriptions, *instrumentum domesticum,* ed. E. Curtius and A. Kirchhoff. 1856–59. Index by H. Roehl. 1877.
CIGPel	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Peloponnesi et insularum vicinarum.* Berlin, 1902. (Vol. 1 superseded by *IG* IV.)
CIGS	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Graecia Septentrionalis. Berlin, 1895–97.
CII	→ *CIJ*
CIJ	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum,* ed. J.-B. Frey. 2 vols. Sussidi allo studio d'elle antichita cristiane 1 and 3. Rome, 1936–52.
	I. Europe. 1936. Reprint, with prolegomenon, ed. B. Lifshitz, New York, 1975.
	II. Asia-Africa. 1952.
CIJud	→ *CIJ*
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae Editum. Berolini, 1863–1974.
CIMRM	*Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae,* ed. M. J. Vermaseren. 2 vols. The Hague, 1956–60.
CIRB	→ *IBosp*
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CJ	*Classical Journal* (Athens)
Clairmont	*Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Period,* ed. C. W. Clairmont. Mainz, 1970.
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity* (Berkeley)
ClArch	*Classical Archaeology*
Claros I, Robert	→ *IKlaros*
ClMed	*Classica et Mediaevalia: Revue danoise d'Historie et de Philologie* (Copenhagen)

CM	Clio Medica: Acta Academiae internationalis historiae medicinae. Amsterdam.
CMRDM	*Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis,* ed. E. Lane. 4 vols. EPRO 19.1–4. Leiden, 1971–78.
Coll.Froehner	→ *ICollFroehner*
Compt.Rend.Ac.Inscr.	→ *CRAI*
CongrEpigr	*Actes des congrés internationaux d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Places and dates of congresses are indicated in parentheses.)
	I. (Amsterdam, 1938.) No volume published.
	II. (Paris, 1952.) Paris, 1953.
	III. (Rome, 1957.) Rome, 1959.
	IV. (Vienna, 1962.) Vienna, 1964.
	V. (Cambridge, 1967.) Oxford, 1971.
	VI. (Munich, 1972.) Vestigia 17. Munich, 1973.
	VII. (Constanza, 1977.) Bucharest, 1977; Paris, 1979.
	VIII. (Athens, 1982.) Athens, 1984.
	IX. (Sofia, 1987.) Acta Centri Historiae, Terra Antiqua Balcanica 2. Sofia, 1987.
	X. (Nîmes, 1992.)
	XI. (Rome, 1997.) Rome, 1999.
Corinth 8.1	→ *IKorinth*Meritt
Corinth 8.3	→ *IKorinth*Kent
C(orpus) Bosp	→ *IBosp*
CP	*Classical Philology* (Chicago)
CPJ 3 "Inscr"	"The Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt," ed. D. M. Lewis. In *CPJud* 3. 138–96.
CPJud	*Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum.* 3 vols. Cambridge, MA, 1957–64.
	I. Ed. V. A. Tcherikover. 1957.
	II. Ed. V. A. Tcherikover. 1960.
	III. Ed. D. M. Lewis. 1964.
CPS Suppl	Cambridge Philological Society Supplement

CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review* (Oxford)
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris)
C R Bosporani	→ *IBosp*
CRHP	Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la X[e] Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani
Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*	→ *IDura*Cumont
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
CW	Classical World
Cyrène	*Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique. Libykai Historiai, de l'époque républicaine au principat d'Auguste,* by A. Laronde. Paris, 1987.
DAA	→ *IAthAkrop*
Dacia	*Dacia: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne,* n.s. (Bucarest)
DACL	→ Cabrol-Leclercq
DAGR	→ *DarSag*
DAIMR	Department of Antiquities of the Israel Museum Reports
Dain, *Inscr. du Louvre*	→ *ILouvreD*
Dain, *Textes inédits*	→ *ILouvreD*
DarSag	*Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments,* ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio. 6 vols. in 10. Paris, 1873–1884.
DAT	→ *IAthTrib*
DAWphK	→ DenkschrWien
DCA	*Délos, colonie athénienne,* P. Roussel. BEFAR 111. Paris, 1916.
DCTFD	Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi
Dedic. Ath. Acropolis	→ *IAthAkrop*
Délos	→ EAD
Demitsas, Ἡ Μακεδονία	→ *IMaked*D

DenkschrWien	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse. Vienna.
Dessau	→ *ILS*
DGE	*Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora,* ed. E. Schwyzer. Leipzig, 1923. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1960.
DHA	*Diologues d'histoire ancienne* (Paris)
DialArch	Dialoghi de Archeologia
Dial. Gr. Ex.	→ *DGE*
Dionisio	*Dionisio: Rivista trimestrale di studi teatro antico* (Syracuse, Italy)
Dit., *Or.*	→ *OGI*
DMAHA	Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology
DÖAW	→ DenkschrWien
DocsAug	*Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius,* ed. V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones. 2d ed. Oxford, 1955. Reprint, with addenda, 1976.
DocsFlav	*Selected Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors Including the Year of Revolution,* A.D. *68–96,* ed. M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead. Cambridge, 1961.
DocsGaius	*Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero,* ed. E. M. Smallwood. Cambridge, 1967.
DocsNerva	*Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian,* ed. E. M. Smallwood. Cambridge, 1966.
Donateurs	→ *IJudDonateurs*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
Dornseiff-Hansen	*Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen,* by F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen. Berlin, 1957. Reprint, with appendix by L. Zugusta, AbhLeip 102.4, Chicago: Ares 1978.

Dura	→ *IDuraRep*
Durrbach	*IDelosChoix*
EA	→ *EpigAnat*
EAD	Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'École française d'Athènes
EAD XXX	→ *IRhenaia*
EAH	Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολγικῆς Ἑταιρείας
EAM	→ *IMaked*
EAZ	*Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* (Berlin)
EFA	École française d'Athènes
EFR	L' École française de Rome
EG	→ Guarducci, *EG*
Ehrenberg & Jones	→ *DocsAug*
Ehrenberg Studies	*Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on His Seventy-fifth birthday.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1966.
EI	→ ErIsr
EJ	→ Sterrett*EJ*
EMC	*Échos du Monde classique. Classical Views.* (Calgary, Albert)
EncyAACO	*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale*
EO	Études orientales
EphDac	*Ephermis Dacoromana: Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma*
EpigAnat	*Ephigraphica Anatolica: Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens* (Bonn)
Epigraphica	*Epigraphica: Rivista italiana di epigrafia* (Milan)
Epigr.Gr.	→ Kaibel
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain. Leiden.
EpSt	Epigraphische Studien. Cologne, Graz.
Eranos	Eranos: Acta philological suecana
Ergon	→ EAH

ErIsr	Eretz-Israel
ESAR	*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* ed. T. Frank. 5 vols. Baltimore, 1938.
Expl.Arch.Délos	→ EAD
Expos	*Expositor*
Faras IV	→ *IFarasChr*
FD	*Fouilles de Delphes,* vol. 3, *Épigraphie.* Paris, 1929–.
	III.1. *De l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens,* ed. E. Bourguet. 1929.
	III.2. *Inscriptions du trésor des Athéniens,* ed. G. Colin. 1909–13.
	III.3. *Depuis le trésor des Athéeniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*
	III.3.1. Ed. G. Daux and A. Salač. 1932.
	III.3.2. Ed. G. Daux. 1943.
	III.4. *La terrasse du temple et la zone nord du sanctuaire*
	III.4.1. Ed. G. Colin. 1930.
	III.4.2. Ed. R. Flacelière. 1954.
	III.4.3. Ed. A. Plassart. 1970.
	III.4.4. Ed. J. Pouilloux. 1976.
	III.4.Index. *Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire: Index (nos 87 à 516),* ed. M.-J. Chavane and T. Oziol. Paris, 1985.
	III.5. *Les comptes du IV^e siècle,* ed. E. Bourguet. 1932. (Superseded by IDelph II.)
	III.6. *Inscriptions du théâtre,* ed. N. Valmin. 1939.
FdD	→ *FD*
FDelphes	→ *FD*
F.Eph.	→ FiE
FGrHist	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* ed. F. Jacoby. 3 vols. Leiden, 1954–64.
FiE	Forschungen in Ephesos. Vienna, 1906–.
	I. *Die Viersäulenbau auf der Arkadianestrasse; der Rundbau auf dem Panajirdagh; Erzstatue eines griechischen Athleten; Studient am Artemision; Inschriftliche Zeugnisse über das Artemision,* ed. O. Benndorf and R. Heberdey. 1906.
	II. *Das Theater in Ephesos,* ed. R. Heberdey. 1912. (With index to vols. 1 and 2.)
	III. *Die Agora, Torbauten am Hafen, der Aquädukt des C. Sextilius Pollio,* ed. W. Wilberg, J. Keil. 1923.
	IV.1. *Die Marienkirche in Ephesos,* ed. E. Reisch, J. Keil, et al. 1932.
	IV.2. *Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer,* ed. J. Keil and F. Miltner. 1937,
	IV.3. *Die Joanneskirche,* ed. G. A. Sotiriu, J. Keil, et al. 1951.
	V.1. *Die Bibliothek,* ed. W. Wilberg, J. Keil, et al. 1945. Reprint, 1953.
	IX.1.1. *Der Staatsmarkt, die Inschriften des Prytaneions, die Kureteninschriften und sonstige religiöse Texte,* ed. D. Knibbe. 1981.
Fluchtaf.	→ *IDefix*Wünsch
Foraboschi	*Onomasticon altertum papyrologicum: Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke,* by D. Foraboschi. TDSA 16; Serie Papirologica 2. Milan, 1971.
Fouill.	→ *FD*
Fouilles de Xanthos VII	→ *IXanthos*
Fraser, *RFM*	→ *IRhodEpit*
Friedländer	*Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse from the Beginnings to the Persian Wars,* ed. P. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffleit. Berkeley, 1948.
Gallia	*Gallia: Fouilles et monuments archéologiques en France métropolitaine* (Paris)
GD	→ *IDelosGD*
GDI	*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-*

	Inschriften, ed. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel. 4 vols. Göttingen, 1884–1915. Reprint, Nendeln and Liechtenstein, 1973.
	I. *Kypros, Aeolien, Thessalien, Böotien, Elis, Arkadien, Pamphylien (No. 1–1333),* ed. H. Collitz. 1884.
	II.1. *Epirus, Akarnanien, Aetolien, Aenianen, Phthiotis, Lokris, Phokis, Dodona, Achaia und seine Colonien, Delphi (No. 1334–2086),* ed. H. Collitz. 1899.
	II.2. *Die delphischen Inschriften (No. 2087–2342),* by J. Baunack. 1896.
	III.1. *Die megarischen Inschriften (No. 2343–4399),* ed. F. Bechtel.
	III.2. *Die Inschriften von Lakonien, Tarent, Herakleia am Siris, Messenien. Thera und Melos. Sicilien und Abu-Simbel. Die ionischen Inschriften (No. 4400–5793),* ed. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel. 1905.
	IV.1. *Wortregister zum ersten Bande,* by R. Meister. 1886.
	IV.2. *Nachträge, Grammatik und Wortregister zu den lakonischen Inschriften (III.2),* by O. Hoffmann.
GGR³	*Geschichte der griechischen Religion,* M. P. Nilsson. 3d ed. 2 vols. HbA 5.2. Munich, 1955–67.
GHI	→ MeiggsLewis
GHI	→ Tod
*GHI*Rhodes	*Greek Historical Inscriptions, 359–323 B.C.,* by P. J. Rhodes. London Association of Classical Teachers 9. Hatfield, Herts. 1971.
Giacomelli	*Achaea Magno-Graeca: Le iscrizioni archaiche in alphabeto acheo di Magna Graecia,* ed. R. Giacomelli. Studi grammaticali e linguistici 17. Brescia, 1988.
GIBM	→ *IBM*

Gladiateurs	*Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec,* ed. L. Robert. Paris, 1940. BEHE 278. Reprint, Amsterdam, 1971.
GLIBM	→ *IBrooklynMus*
Glotta	*Glotta: Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*
Gnomon	*Gnomon: Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft* (Munich)
GöttNachr	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen
GRBM	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies Monograph Series
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
Grégoire, *Recueil*	→ *IAsMinChr*
Griech.Grabgedichte	→ *IEpitVers*
Griech.Verinschriften	→ *GVI*
Gr.Grabged.	→ *IEpitVers*
Guarducci, *EG*	*Epigrafia greca,* ed. M. Guarducci. 4 vols. Rome, 1967–78.
	I. *Caratteri e storia della disciplina: La scrittura greca dalle origini all'età imperiale.* 1967.
	II. *Epigrafi di carattere pubblico.* 1969.
	III. *Epigrafi di carattere privato.* 1974.
	IV. *Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane.* 1978.
GV	→ *GVI*
GVAK	→ *IAsMinVers*
GVI	*Griechische Vers-Inschriften,* vol. 1, *Die Grabepigramme,* ed. W. Peek. Berlin, 1955. Reprint, Chicago, 1988.
*GVI*Hansen	*A List of Greek Verse Inscriptions,* ed. P. A. Hansen. 2 vols. Copenhagen, 1975–85.
Habicht, *Studien*	*Studien zur Geschichte Athens in Hellenistischer Zeit,* by C. Habicht. Hypomnemata 73 (1982).
Harv.Stud.	→ *HSCP*
Hauser	"Grammatik der griechischen Inschriften Lykiens," by K. Hauser. Ph.D. diss. Basel, 1916.

HbA	Handbuch der [klassichen] Altertumswissenschaft. Munich.
Heberdey-Kalinka	→ *IAsMinSW*
Helbing	*Auswahl aus griechischen Inschriften,* ed. R. Helbing. Berlin, 1915.
Hellenika	Ἑλληνικά. Φιλολ., ἱστορ. καὶ λαογρ. Περιοδικὸν Σύγγραμμα τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μαδεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν (Thessaloníki)
Hermathena	*Hermathena.* Dubin.
Hermes	*Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*
Hesperia	*Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
Hesperia Suppl	*Hesperia Supplements*
HGK	→ *IKos*Herzog
HibJ	Hibbert Journal
HicksHill	*A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions,* ed. E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill. Oxford, 1901.
Historia	Historia: Revue d'histoire ancienne. Wiesbaden.
Hondius	*Saxa loquuntur: Inleiding tot de grieksche Epigraphiek,* by J. J. Hondius. Leiden, 1938. Reprint, Chicago, 1976.
Horos	Ὧρος. Ἕνα ἀρχαιογνωστικόν περιοδικόν (Athens)
HR	*History of Religions* (Chicago)
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HThS	*Harvard Theological Studies*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IAbydosMemn	*Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos,* ed. P. Perdrizet and G. Lefebvre. IGAeg 3. Nancy, 1919. Reprint, Chicago, 1978.
IAfricaRom	*Documenti antichi dell'Africa Italiana,* ed. G. Oliverio. 2 vols. in 4. Bergamo, 1932–36.
IAG	→ *IAgonist*
IAgonist	*Iscrizioni agonistiche greche,* ed. L. Moretti. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica 12. Rome, 1953.
IAgonVers	*Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen,* ed. J. Ebert. AbhLeip 63.2. Berlin, 1972.
IAkôris	→ *IGLAkôris*
IAlbania	*Albania antica,* ed. L. M. Ugolini. 3 vols. Rome, 1927–42.
IAlexandriaK	*Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie Impériale (I^er^–III^er^ s. apr. J.-C.),* ed. F. Kayser. Bibliothèque d'étude 108. Cairo, 1994.
IAlexandriaMus	*Inscriptiones nunc Alexandriae in Museo: Iscrizioni greche e latine,* ed. E. Breccia. IGAeg 2. Cairo, 1911. Reprint, Chicago, 1978.
IAlexGt	*Alexander the Great and the Greeks: The Epigraphic Evidence,* ed. A. J. Heisserer. Norman, OK, 1980.
IAmyzon	*Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie,* vol. 1, *Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions,* ed. J. Robert and L. Robert. Paris, 1983.
IAndrosIsis	*Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte,* ed. W. Peek. Berlin, 1930.
IAnemurMos	*The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium,* ed. J. Russell. Vienna, 1987. DenkschrWien 190; Ergängzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 13.
*IAnkyra*Bosch	*Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum,* ed. E. Bosch. Ankara, 1967.
IAntinooup	*Les portes du desert: Recueil des inscriptions grecques d'Antinooupolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollonopolis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna,* by A. Bernand. Paris, 1984.
IApamBith	*Die Inschriften von Apemeia (Bithynien) und Pylai,* ed. T. Corsten. IK 32. Bonn, 1987.
IApameia und Pylai	→ *IApamBith*
IAphrodArchive	*Aphrodisias and Rome: Documents from the*

	Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias Conducted by Professor Kenan T. Erim, Together with Some Related Texts, ed. J. M. Reynolds. JRSM 1. London, 1982.
IAphrodChr	*Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity,* ed. C. Roueché. JRSM 5. London, 1989.
IAphrodJud	*Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias: Greek Inscriptions with Commentary,* ed. J. M. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum. CPS Suppl 12. Cambridge, 1987.
IAphrodSpect	*Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Period,* ed. C. Roueché. JRSM 6. London, 1993.
"IApollonia"	"The Inscriptions of Apollonia," ed. J. M. Reynolds. In *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene: Excavations by the University of Michigan, 1965–1967,* by R. G. Goodchild et al., 293–333. Libya Antiqua Suppl. 4. Tripoli, 1976.
IAquileiae	*Inscriptiones Aquileiae,* ed. J. B. Brusin. 3 vols. Udine, 1991–93.
*IArkad*Dubois	*Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien,* ed. L. Dubois. 3 vols. Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain 33–35. Louvain, 1986.
IArykanda	*Die Inschriften von Arykanda,* ed. A. Sahin. IK 48. Bonn, 1994.
IAshoka	*The Moral Edicts of King Asóka, included: the Greco-Aramaic Inscription of Kandahar and Further Inscriptions of the Maurian Period,* ed. P. H. L. Eggermont and J. Hoftijzer. TextMin 29. Leiden, 1962.
*IAsMin*BH	*L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud: Inscriptions inédites,* ed. C. Brixhe and R. Hodot. Études d'archéologie classique 6. Nancy, 1988.
IAsMinChr	*Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes*

	d'Asie Mineure, vol. 1, ed. H. Grégoire. Paris, 1922. Reprint, Amsterdam, 1968.
IAsMinLyk	*Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien.* 2 vols. Vienna, 1884–89.
	I. *Reisen in Lykien und Karien,* ed. O. Benndorf and G. Niemann. 1884.
	II. *Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis,* ed. E. Petersen and F. von Luschan. 1889.
IAsMinMil	*Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor,* ed. D. French. Oxford, 1981.
	I. *The Pilgrim's Road.* BAR International Series 105. 1981.
	II. *An Interim Catalogue of Milestones.* BAR International Series 392. 1987.
IAsMinSW	*Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien,* ed. R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka. DenkschrWien 15. Vienna, 1896.
IAsMinVers	*Griechische Verinschriften aus Kleinasien,* ed. W. Peek. DenkschrWien; Ergängzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 8. Vienna, 1980.
IAssos	*Die Inschriften von Assos,* ed. R. Merkelbach. IK 4. Bonn, 1976.
IAthAkrop	*Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries* B.C., ed. A. E. Raubitschek and L. H. Jeffery. Cambridge, MA, 1949.
IAthAllot	*Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates,* ed. J. H. Kroll. Harvard, 1972.
IAthFinanc	*Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century,* ed. B. D. Meritt. Ann Arbor, MI, 1932.
IAthKeram	*Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen,* vol. 3, *Inschriften, Ostraka, und Fluchtafeln,* ed. W. Peek. Berlin, 1941. Reprinted in SIA 5.

IAthNat	*Naturalization in Athens,* ed. M. J. Osborne. 4 vols. in 3. Brussels, 1981–83.
IAthTrib	*Documents on the Athenian Tribute Lists,* ed. B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor. 4 vols. Cambridge, MA, then Princeton, 1939–53.
IAttEpit	*Classical Attic Tombstones,* ed. C. W. Clairmont. 7 vols. Kilchberg, 1993.
IAttHist	*Historische attische Inschriften,* ed. E. Nachmanson. Bonn, 1913. 2d ed., KT 110, 1931.
IBargylia	→ *IIasos,* vol. 2.
IBerenike	"The Inscriptions," ed. J. M. Reynolds. In *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice),* vol. 1, by J. A. Lloyd et al., 233–54. Libya Antiqua Suppl. 5. Tripoli, 1977.
IBerkeley	*Greek and Latin Inscriptions at Berkeley,* ed. R. J. Smutny. University of California Publications, Classical Studies 2. Berkeley, 1966.
IBeroiaGym	*La loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia,* ed. P. Gauthier and M. B. Hatzopoulos. Meletêmata 16. Athens, 1993.
IBethShe'arim	*Beth She'arim,* vol. 2, *The Greek Inscriptions,* ed. M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz. Jerusalem, 1974.
IBildauer	*Inschriften griechischer Bildauer,* ed. E. Loewy. Leipzig, 1885. Reprint, Chicago, 1976.
*IBith*Dörner 1	*Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien,* ed. F. K. Dörner. IstF 14. Berlin, 1941.
*IBith*Dörner 2	*Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien,* ed. F. K. Dörner. Vienna, 1952.
*IBith*Sahin	*Bithynische Studien—Bithynia incelemeleri,* ed. S. Sahin. IK 7. Bonn, 1978.
IBM	*The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.* Oxford, 1874–1916.
	I. *Attica,* ed. E. L. Hicks. 1874.
	II. *Megara, etc.,* ed. C. T. Newton. 1883.
	III.1 *Priene and Iasos,* ed. E. L. Hicks. 1883.
	III.2 *Ephesos,* ed. E. L. Hicks. 1890.
	IV.1 *Knidos, Halikarnassos, Brankhides,* ed. G. Hirschfeld. 1893.
	IV.2 Supplements, indices to all vols., ed. F. H. Marshall. 1916.
IBoiotEpit	*Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones,* ed. P. M. Fraser and T. Rönne. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, 4th ser., 6. Lund, 1957.
IBosp	*Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani: Korpus bosporskikh nadpisei* (in Russian), ed. V. V. Struve et al. Moscow and Leningrad, 1965.
IBrooklynMus	*Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum,* ed. K. Herbert. Wilbour Monographs 4. Brooklyn, NY, 1972.
IBruxMus	*Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire,* ed. F. Cumont. Brussels, 1913.
IBubon	*Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nordlykien),* ed. F. Schindler. SBWien 278.3. Vienna, 1972.
IBulg	→ *IGBulg*
IBulgChr	*Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien,* ed. V. Beševliev. Berlin, 1964.
IBurdur	*Inscriptions in the Burdur Museum,* ed. G. H. R. Horsley and R. A. Kearsley. RECAM IV. Forthcoming.
IByzEpit	*Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine, avec l'édition et l'index commenté des épitaphes,* ed. F. Firatli and L. Robert. BAH 15. Paris, 1964.

IC	→ *IKret*
ICairoMus	*Inscriptiones nunc Cairo in museo,* ed. J. G. Milne. IGAeg 1. Oxford, 1905. Reprint, Chicago, 1978.
ICapitolMus	*La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini: Inediti—revisioni—contributi al riordino,* ed. S. Panciera. Tituli 6. Rome, 1987.
*ICeram*Dumont	*Inscriptions céramiques de la Grèce,* ed. A. Dumont. Archives des missions scientifique, 2d ser., 6. Paris, 1871.
ICil	→ *IKilikia*DF
ICollFroehner	*Collection Froehner,* vol. 1, *Inscriptions grecques,* ed. L. Robert. Paris, 1936.
ICos	→ *IKos*PH
ICr	→ *IKret*
ICret(icae)	→ *IKret*
ICUR	*Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae,* n.s., ed. A. Silvagni, then A. Ferrua and D. Mazzoleni. 9 vols. Rome, 1922–85.
ID	→ *IDelos*
IDacia	*Inscriptiile Daciei romane: Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae.* Bucharest, 1975–. I.1. Ed. I. I. Russu. 1975. I.2. Ed. G. Florescu and C. C. Petolescu. 1977. I.3.1. Ed. I. I. Russu et al. 1977. I.3.2. Ed. I. I. Russu et al. 1980. III. *Dacia Superior. 3. Pars media (ager inter Ulpiam Traianam, Miciam, Apulum, Alburnum Maiorem et flumen Crisium),* ed. I. I. Russu et al. 1984.
IdC	→ *IKilikia*DF
*IDefix*Audollent	*Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in CIA editas,* ed. A. Audollent. Paris, 1904. Reprint, Frankfurt am Main, 1967.

*IDefix*Kagarow	*Defixionum tabellae,* ed. E. G. Kagarow. Charkow, 1918.
*IDefix*Wünsch	*Antike Fluchtafeln,* ed. R. Wünsch. 2d ed. KT 20. Bonn, 1912.
IDeirBahari	*Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir El-Bahari . . . ,* ed. A. Bataille. Publications de la société Fouad I de papyrologie, Textes et documents 10. Cairo, 1951.
IDelos	*Inscriptions de Délos.* 7 Vols. 1926–72. I. Nos. 1–88, ed. A. Plassart. 1950. II. Nos. 89–104, ed. J. Coupry. 1972. III. Nos. 290–371, ed. F. Durrbach. 1926. IV. Nos. 372–509, ed. F. Durrbach. 1929. V. Nos. 1400–1496, ed. F. Durrbach and P. Roussel. 1935. VI. Nos. 1497–2219, ed. P. Roussel and M. Launey. 1937. VII. Nos. 2220–2879, ed. P. Roussel and M. Launey. 1937.
"IDelosAmph"	"Les timbres amphoriques grec," ed. V. Grace and M. Savatianou-Petropoulakou. In *L'îlot de la maison des comédiens,* ed. Ph. Bruneau. 277–382. EAD XXVII. Paris, 1970.
IDelosCDH	*Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellenistique et à l'époque impériale,* by Ph. Bruneau. BEFAR 217. Paris, 1970.
IDelosChoix	*Choix d'inscriptions de Délos, avec traduction et commentaire,* vol. 1, *Textes historiques,* ed. F. Durrbach. Paris, 1921. Reprint, Subsidia epigraphica 6, Hildesheim, 1976; Chicago: Ares, 1977.
IDelosEg	*Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e^ au I^er^ siècles av. J.C.,* ed. P. Roussel. Annales de l'Est, 3d ser., 6–7. Nancy, 1916.
IDelosGD	*Guide de Délos,* P. Bruneau and G. Daux. 2d ed. Paris, 1966.

IDelosIRD	"Les Italiens résidant à Délos," by J. Hatzfeld. *BCH* 36 (1912): 5–218.
"IDelos"PR	"Les Athéniens metionnés dans les inscriptions de Délos," by P. Roussel. *BCH* 32 (1908): 303–444.
IDelosSarap	*The Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis,* ed. H. Engelmann. EPRO 44. Leiden, 1975.
IDelph	Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes I. *Lois sacrées et règlements religieux,* ed. G. Rougemont. Paris, 1977. II. *Les comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle,* ed. J. Bousquet. Paris, 1989. (Supersedes *FD* III.5.)
IDelphSot	"Corpus des actes relatifs aux Sôtéria de Delphes," ed. G. Nachtergael. In *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes,* 391–519. Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la classe des lettres, 2d ser., 63.1. Brussels, 1977.
IDelta	*Le delta égyptien d'après les texts grecs 1: Les confins libyques,* ed. A. Bernand. 3 vols. to date. Mémoires publies par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 91–. Cairo, 1970–.
IDidyma	*Didyma.* II. *Die Inschriften,* ed. R. Rehm. Berlin, 1958.
*IDidyma*McCabe	*Didyma Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, NJ, 1985.
IDiocletG	*Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium,* ed. M. Giacchero. 2 vols. Genoa, 1974.
IDiocletL	*Diokletians Preisedikt,* ed. S. Lauffer. TK 5. Berlin, 1971.
IDiocletMB	*Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian,* ed. T. Mommsen and H. Blümner. Berlin, 1893. Reprint, 1958.
IDolichenus	*Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus,* ed. P. Merlat. Paris, 1951.
IDorIns	*Inschriften von den dorischen Inseln,* ed. W. Peek. AbhLeip 62.1. Berlin, 1969.
IDR	→ *IDacia*
*IDura*Cumont	*Fouilles de Doura Europos (1922–1923),* ed. F. Cumont. BAH 9. Paris, 1926.
IDuraRep	*The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Reports.* New Haven, 1929–52. I. *First Season,* Spring 1928. 1929. II. *Second Season,* Oct. 1928–April 1929. 1931. III. *Third Season,* Nov. 1929–March 1930. 1932. IV. *Fourth Season,* Oct. 1930–March 1931, by P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff, and A. R. Bellinger. 1933. VI. Sixth Season, Oct. 1932–March 1933. 1936. IX. *Ninth Season,* 1935–36. 1. The Agora and Bazaar. 1944. 3. The Palace of the Dux Ripae and the Dolichenum. 1952.
IEgAmulet	*Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian,* ed. C. Bonner. University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 49. Ann Arbor, MI, 1950.
*IEg*Baillet	*Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes à Thebes,* ed. J. Baillet. MIFAO 42. Cairo, 1926.
IEgChr	*Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte,* ed. G. Lefebvre. IGAeg 5. Cairo, 1907. Reprint, Chicago, 1978.
IEgIntagliio	*Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes,* ed. A. Delatte and P. Derchain. Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des médailles et antiques. Paris, 1964.
IEgJud	→ *IJudEg*
IEgnatMil	*Les milliares de la voie Egnatienne entre*

	Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique, ed. L. Gounaropolou and M. B. Hatzopoulos. Meletêmata 1. Athens, 1985.
IEgSyene	*De Thèbes à Syène,* ed. A. Bernand. Paris, 1989.
IEgVers	*Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine: Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte,* ed. E. Bernard. Paris, 1969.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IEph	*Die Inschriften von Ephesos.* Bonn, 1979–.
	Ia. Nos. 1–47, ed. H. Wankel. IK 11.1. 1979.
	II. Nos. 101–599, ed. C. Börker and R. Merkelbach. IK 12. 1979.
	III. Nos. 600–1000, ed. H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, and R. Merkelbach. IK 13. 1980.
	IV. Nos. 1001–445, ed. H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, and R. Merkelbach. IK 14. 1980.
	V. Nos. 1446–2000, ed. C. Börker and R. Merkelbach. IK 15. 1980.
	VI. Nos. 2001–958, ed. R. Merkelbach and J. Nollé. IK 16. 1980.
	VII.1–2. Nos. 3001–500, 3501–5115, ed. R. Meriç, R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, and S. Sahin. 2 vols. IK 17.1–2. 1981.
	VIII.1 *Wortindex, Konkordanzen,* ed. H. Engelmann. IK 17.3. 1984.
	VIII.2 *Verzeichnis der Eigennamen,* ed. J. Nollé. IK 17.4. 1984. [indices to vols. 1–7.]
	Addenda et corrigenda zu den Inschriften von Ephesos I–VII, 1 (IK 11.1–17.1), ed. R. Merkelbach and J. Nollé. In vol. VII.1.
IEphChr	*De Oud-christelijke Monumenten van Ephesus,* ed. J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink. Leiden, 1923.

*IEph*Hölbl	*Zeugnisse ägyptischer Relionsvorstellungen für Ephesus,* ed. G. Hölbl. EPRO 73. Leiden, 1978.
*IEph*McCabe	*Ephesos Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe, R. N. Elliott, A. Hilton, K. Na, and C. Redmond. 3 vols. Princeton, NJ, 1991.
IEphZoll	*Das Zollgesetz der Provinz Asia: Eine neue Inschrift aus Ephesos,* ed. H. Engelmann and D. Knibbe. Epigraphica Anatolica 14. Bonn, 1989.
IEpidaur	*Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros,* ed. W. Peek. AbhLeip 63.5. Berlin, 1972.
IEpidaurAskl	*Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros,* ed. W. Peek. AbhLeip 60/2. Berlin, 1969.
IEpiros	"Appendice épigraphique," ed. P. Cabanes. In *L'Epire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine (272–167 av. J.-C.,* 534–95. Paris, 1976.
IEpitVers	*Griechische Grabgedichte,* ed. W. Peek. Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt 7. Berlin, 1960.
IErythMcCabe	*Erythrai Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and J. V. Brownson. Princeton, NJ, 1986.
IErythr	*Die Inscriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai,* ed. H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach. 2 vols. IK 1. Bonn, 1972.
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen. Berlin.
IFarasChr	*Faras,* vol. 4, *Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes,* ed. J. Kubinska. Warsaw, 1974.
IFayum	*Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum,* ed. E. Bernand. Leiden, then Cairo, 1975–81.
	I. *La 'méris' d'Hérakleidès.* 1975.
	II. *La 'méris' de Thémistos.* Bibliothèque d'Étude 79. 1981.

	III. *La 'méris' de Polémôn.* Bibliothèque d'Étude 80. 1981.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.* Berlin.
IG I²	*Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno (403/2) anteriores,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertingen. 1924.
IG I³/1	*Decreta et tabulae magistratuum,* ed. D. Lewis and L. Jeffery. 1981.
IG II	*Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora,* ed. Johannes Kirchner. 5 vols. 1877–95. (Superseded by *IG* II².)
IG II²	*Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores,* ed. Johannes Kirchner. 4 vols. 1913–40.
	1.1. *Decreta.* 2 fascicles. 1913–16.
	2.1. *Tabulae magistratuum.* 1927.
	2.2. *Catalogi nominum: Instrumenta iuris privati.* 1935.
	3.1. *Dedicationes, tituli honorariai, tituli sacri.* 1935.
	3.2. *Tituli sepulcrales.* 1940.
	4.1. *Indices.* 1918.
IG II/III²	→ *IG* II²
IG III	→ *CIA.* (Superseded by *IG* II².)
IG IV	*Inscriptiones Graecae Aeginae, Pityonesi, Cecryphaliae, Argolidis,* ed. M. Fränkle. 1902.
IG IV²/1	*Inscriptiones Epidauri,* part 1, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 1929.
IG V/1	*Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae,* part 1, ed. W. Kolbe. 1913.
IG V/2	*Inscriptiones Arcadiae,* part 2, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 1913.
IG VII	*Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae,* ed. W. Dittenberger. 1892.
IG IX/1	*Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, Insularum Maris Ionii,* part 1, ed. W. Dittenberger. 1897.
IG IX/1².1	*Inscriptiones Aetoliae,* part 1, no. 1, ed. G. Klaffenbach. 1932.

IG IX/1².2	*Inscriptiones Acarnaniae,* part 1, no. 2, ed. G. Klaffenbach. 1957.
IG IX/1².3	*Inscriptiones Locridis occidentalis,* part 1, no. 3, ed. G. Klaffenbach. 1968.
IG IX/2	*Inscriptiones Thessaliae,* part 2, ed. O. Kern. 1908.
IG X/2.1	*Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae,* part 2, no. 2, ed. C. Edson. 1972.
IG XI/2	*Inscriptiones Deli, Tabulae archontum, Tabulae hieropoeorum, 314–250,* ed. F. Dürrbach. 1912.
IG XI/3	*Inscriptiones Deli,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 1927.
IG XI/4	*Inscriptiones Deli: Decreta, foedera, catalogi, dedicationes, varia,* ed. P. Roussel. 1914.
IG XII	*Inscriptiones insularum maris Aegaei praeter Delum* 9 vols. and Suppl.
IG XII/1	*Inscriptiones Rhodi, Chalces, Carpathi cum Saro, Casi,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 1895.
IG XII/2	*Inscriptiones Lesbi, Nesi, Tenedi,* ed. W. R. Paton. 1899. (See *ILesbos-Suppl.*)
IG XII/3	*Inscriptiones Symes, Teutlussae, Teli, Nisyri, Astypalaeae, Anaphes, Therae et Therasiae, Pholegandri, Meli, Cimoli,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 1898.
IG XII/3 *Suppl*	*Supplementum,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, 1904.
IG XII/5	*Inscriptiones Cycladum,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 2 parts. 1903–9.
IG XII/7	*Inscriptiones Amorgi et insularum vicinarum,* ed. J. Delamarre. 1908.
IG XII/8	*Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici,* ed. C. Fredrich. 1909.
IG XII/9	*Inscriptiones Euboeae,* ed. E. Ziebarth. 1915.
IG XII *Suppl*	*Supplementum,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 1939.
IG XIV	*Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, additis Graeci Galliae, Hispaniae, Britanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus,* ed. G. Kaibel. 1890.

IGA	→ *IGAnt*
IGAeg	Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti
IGalatN I	*The Inscriptions of Ankara,* ed. S. Mitchell. RECAM I. Forthcoming.
IGalatN II	*The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia,* ed. S. Mitchell. BAR International Series 135; RECAM II. Oxford, 1982.
IGAnt	*Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica Repertas,* ed. H. Roehl. Berlin, 1882. Reprint, Chicago, 1978.
IGB	→ *IBildauer*
IGBR	→ *IGBulg*
IGBulg	*Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae,* ed. G. Mihailov. Sofia, 1956–70.
	I. *Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini.* 2d ed. 1970.
	II. *Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae.* 1958.
	III.1. *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae: Territorium Philippopolis.* 1961.
	III.2. *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae: A territoria Philippopolitano usque ad oram Ponticam.* 1964.
	IV. *Inscriptiones in territorio Serdicensi et in vallibus Strymonis Nestique repertae.* 1966.
IGC	→ *IAsMinChr.*
IGC	*Inscriptions de Grèce centrale,* ed. F. Salviat and C. Vatin. Paris, 1971.
IGCB	Inscriptiones Graecae Christinae Veteres et Byzantinae
IGCVO	→ *IGOccidChr*
*IGDefix*Kagarow	*Griechische Fluchtafeln,* ed. E. G. Kagarow. Eos Suppl. 4. Lviv and Paris, 1929.
IGDial	*Inscriptiones graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae,* ed. F. Solmsen and E. Fränkel. 4th ed. Leipzig, 1930. Reprint, Stuttgart, 1966.
IGDS	→ *ISikilDial*
IGerasa	"The Inscriptions," ed. C. B. Welles. In *Gerasa (City of Decapolis),* ed. C. H. Kraeling, 355–494. New Haven 1938.
IGForsch	→ IF
IGHist	*Historische griechische Inschriften bis auf Alexander den Grossen,* ed. E. Nachmanson. KT 121. Bonn, 1913.
IGHistVers	*Historische griechische Epigramme,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. KT 156. Bonn, 1926.
IGHon	*Griechische Ehreninschriften,* ed. G. Gerlach. Halle, 1908.
IGJurid	*Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques: Texte, traduction, commentaire,* ed. R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, and T. Reinach. 2 vols. Paris, 1894–1904. Reprint, Studia juridica 6, Rome, 1965.
IGLAkôris	*Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akôris,* ed. E. Bernard. BIFAO 103. Cairo, 1988.
IGLAM	→ Le Bas
IGLBenef	*Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken,* vol. 1, *Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des römischen Reiches,* ed. E. Schallmeyer. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemburg 40. Stuttgart, 1990.
IGLBibl	*Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia,* ed. E. Gabba. Turin, 1958.
IGLDakke	*Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften von Dakke (Der Tempel von Dakke, III.),* ed. W. Ruppel. Cairo, 1930.
IGLEccl	*Griechische und lateinische Inschriften zur Sozialgeschichte der Alten Kirche,* ed. W. Wischmeyer. Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte 28. Gütersloh, 1982.

IGLHibis → *IKhargeh*

IGLP → *IGPalermoMus*

IGLRomania *Inscriptiile grecesti si latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România,* ed. E. Popescu. Bucharest, 1976.

IGLS → *IGLSyria*

IGLSkythia *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae (Inscriptiile antice din Dacia si Scythia Minor, seria II).* Bucharest, 1980–87.

I. *Histria et vicinia,* ed. D. M. Pippidi. 1983.

II. *Tomis et territorium,* ed. I. Stoian. 1987.

V. *Capidava, Troesmis, Noviodunum,* ed. E. Dorutiu-Boilă. 1980.

IGLSyria *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.* 21 vols. Paris, 1929–93.

I. *Commagene and Cyrrhestica,* ed. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde. BAH 12. 1929.

II. *Chalcidica and Antiochea,* ed. L. Jalabert and R. Mourterde. BAH 32. 1939. (Reprints material from *ISyriaPrinceton* B.)

III.1. *Region of Amanus, Antioch,* ed. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde. BAH 46. 1950.

III.2. *Antioch, Antiochea,* ed. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde. BAH 51. 1953. (Index to vols. 1–3.)

IV. *Laodikeia, Apamea,* ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, and C. Mondésert. BAH 61. 1955. (Reprints material from *ISyriaPrinceton* B.)

V. *Emesea,* ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, and C. Mondésert. BAH 66. 1959.

VI. *Baalbek and Beqa',* ed J.-P. Rey-Coquais. BAH 78. 1967.

VII. *Arados and Neighbouring Regions,* ed. J.-P. Rey-Coquais. BAH 89. 1970.

XIII.1. *Bostra,* ed. M. Sartre. BAH 113. 1982. (Reprints material from *ISyria*Prentice and from *ISyriaPrinceton* A.)

XIII.1. *Suppl. Bostra des origines à l'Islam,* ed. M. Sartre. Paris, 1985. BAH 117. (completes XIII.1 with Index onomastique commenté, pp. 161–245.)

XXI. *Inscriptions de la Jordanie.*

XXI.2. *Région centrale (Amman, Hesban, Madaba, Main, Dhiban),* ed. P.-L. Gatier. BAH 114. Paris, 1986.

XXI.4. *Pétra et la Nabatène méridionale du wadi al-Hasa au golfe de 'Aqaba,* ed. S. Sartre. Paris, 1993.

IGLVindob *Greichische und lateinische Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung,* ed. R. Noll. Vienna, 1962.

IGOccidChr *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis,* ed. C. Wessell. Halle, 1936.

IGonnoi *Gonnoi,* ed. B. Helly. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1973.

IGPalermosMus *Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo,* ed. M. T. Manni Paraino. Sikelika 6. Palermo, 1941.

*IG*Pfohl *Griechische Inschriften als Zeugnisse des privaten und öffentlichen Lebens: Griechisch und deutsch,* ed. G. Pfohl. Munich, 1966.

IGPortus *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Porto,* ed. G. Sacco. Rome, 1984.

IGR → *IGRR*

IGRavenna *Le iscrizioni greche de Ravenna,* ed. M. Bollini. Faenza, 1975.

IGRJurid *Epigrafia giuridica greca e romana,* ed. G. I. Luzzatto. Università di Roma,

	Pubblicazioni dell'Istituo di Diritto Romano 19. Milan, 1942.
IGRR	*Iscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes,* ed. R. Cagnat et al. 3 vols. Paris, 1906–27. Reprint, Chicago, 1975. I. *Inscriptiones Europae (praeter Graeciam) et Africae,* ed. R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, and P. Jouguet. 1906. II. Not published. II.I. *Inscriptiones Asiae I,* ed. R. Cagnat and G. Lafaye. 1906. IV. *Inscriptiones Asiae II,* ed. G. Lafaye. 1927.
IGSI	*Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae.* Berlin, 1890. (Became *IG* XIV.)
IGSikilDial	*Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicilie,* ed. L. Dubois. EFR 119. Rome, 1989.
IGSikilJurid	*Inscriptiones graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae ad ius pertientes,* ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri. Milan, 1925. Reprint, Chicago, 1980.
IGSK	→ IK
IGUR	*Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae,* ed. L. Moretti. Rome, 1968–91. I. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica (SPII) 17. 1968. (nos. 1–263). II.1. SPII 22.1. 1972. (nos. 264–728). II.2. SPII 22.2 1973. (nos. 729–1141). III. SPII 28. 1979. (nos. 1142–1490). IV. SPII 47. 1991. (nos. 1491–1705).
IG Urbis Romae	→ *IGUR*
IGVeronaMus	*Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo Maffeiano di Verona,* ed. T. Ritti. Rome, 1981.
IHadrianoi	*Die Inschriften von Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia,* ed. E. Schwertheim. IK 33. Bonn, 1987.
IHellHist	*Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche,* ed. L. Moretti.

	2 vols. Biblioteca di studi superiori 53, 62. Florence, 1967–76.
IHeracleaPont	*The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica,* ed. L. Jonnes. IK 47. Bonn, 1994.
IHerodesAttic	*Herodes Atticus,* ed. W. Ameling. 2 vols. Studia epigraphica 11. Hildesheim, 1983.
*IHierap*J	"Inschriften," ed. W. Judeich. In *Altertümer von Hierapolis,* ed. C. Humann, C. Cichorius, W. Judeich, and F. Winter, 67–202. Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 4. Berlin, 1898.
IHierapKast	*Inschriften aus Hierapolis-Kastabala,* ed. M. Sayar, P. Siewert, and H. Taeuber. SBWien 547. Vienna, 1989.
*IHierap*P	"Nuove iscrizioni di Hierapolis Frigia," by F. A. Pennacchietti. *AAT* 101 (1966–67): 287–328.
*IHierap*R	*Hierapolis: Scavi e ricerche,* vol. 1, *Fonti letterarie e epigrafiche,* ed. T. Ritti. Archaeologia 53. Rome, 1985.
IHistria	→ *IGLSkythia* I
IIA	*Imagines inscriptionum atticarum: Ein Bilderatlas epigraphischer Denkmäler Attiikas,* by J. Kirchner. 2d ed. Ed. G. Klaffenbach. Berlin, 1948.
IIasos	*Die Inschriften von Iasos,* ed. W. Blümel. 2 vols. IK 28, 1–2. Bonn, 1985. (Vol. 2 contains the corpus of Bargylia.)
IIG	*Imagines inscriptionum graecarum antiquissimarum in usum scholarum,* by H. Roehl. 3d ed. Berlin, 1907.
IIlion	*Die Inschriften von Ilion,* ed. P. Frisch. IK 3. Bonn, 1975.
IIlionSS	*Heinrich Schliemann's "Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer,"* by H. Schmidt. Berlin, 1993.

IItal	*Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae Consociatae ediderunt.* 13 vols. to date. Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1931–. I. *Regio I. Fasciculus 1, Salernum.* ed. Vittorio Bracco. 1981. III. *Regio III. Fasciculus 1, Civitates vallium Silari et Tanagri,* ed. Vittorio Bracco. 1974. VII. *Regio VII. Fasciculus 1, Pisa,* ed. Aldo Neppi Modona. 1953. IX. *Regio IX. Fasciculus 1, Augusta Bagiennorum et Pollentia,* ed. Antonio Ferrua. 1948. X/4. *Regio X. Fasciculus 4, Tergeste,* ed. Pietro Sticotti. 1951. X/5. *Regio X. Fasciculus 5/1–3, Brixia,* ed. Albino Garzetti. 3 vols. 1984–86. XIII. *Fasti et Elogia. Fasciculus 2, Fasti Numani et Iuliani: Accedunt Ferialia, Menologia rustica, Parapegmata,* ed. Attilio Degrassi. 2 vols. 1963.
IIznik	→ *INikaia*
IJerusalem	*Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung,* ed. P. Thomsen. Leipzig, 1922.
IJG	→ *IGJurid*
IJudaeaMil	*Roman Roads in Judaea,* vol. 1, *The Legio-Scythopolis Road,* ed. B. Isaac and I. Roll. BAR International Series 141. Oxford, 1982.
IJudDonateurs	*Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues grecques: Répertoire des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagogues,* ed. B. Lifshitz. Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 7. Paris, 1967.
IJudEg	*Jewish Inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman Egypt, with an Index of Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica,* ed. W. Horbury and D. Noy. Cambridge, 1992. (Includes indices for *IJudKyren.*)
IJudEur	*Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe,* vol. 1, *Italy (Excluding the City of Rome), Spain and Gaul,* ed. D. Noy. Cambridge, 1993.
IJudKyren	*Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika,* ed. G. Lüderitz. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients Reihe B.53. Wiesbaden, 1983. (New indices in *IJudEg.*)
IJudRomL	*The Jews of Ancient Rome,* ed. H. J. Leon. Philadelphia, 1960. Updated ed., Peabody, Mass., 1995.
IJudRomN	*Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe,* vol. 2, *The City of Rome,* ed. D. Noy. Cambridge, 1995.
IJurGr	→ *IGJurid*
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien. Bonn.
IKafizin	*The Nymphaeum of Kafizin: The Inscribed Pottery,* ed. T. B. Mitford. Kadmos Suppl. 2. Berlin, 1980.
IKalkhedon	*Die Inschriften von Kalchedon,* ed. R. Merkelbach, F. K. Dörner, and S. Sahin. IK 20. Bonn, 1980.
IKalymna	*Tituli Calymnii,* ed. M. Segre. Bergamo, 1952. Reprinted from *ASAA* 23–24, n.s., 6–7 (1944–45).
IKanais	*Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs: Les inscriptions grecques,* ed. A. Bernand. Leiden, 1972.
IKeramos	*Die Inschriften von Keramos,* ed. E. Varinlioğlu. IK 30. Bonn, 1986.
IKhargeh	*The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis,* part 2, *Greek Inscriptions,* ed. H. G. E. White and J. H. Oliver. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 14. New York, 1938.
IKhers	*Novye epigrafičeskie pamjatniki Hersonesa* (New epigraphical monuments of the

	Chersonesos), ed. E. I. Solomonik. 2 vols. Kiev, 1964–73.
IKhersGraff	*Graffiti antičnogo Hersonesa* (Graffiti of ancient Chersonesos), ed. E. I. Solomonik. Kiev, 1978.
*IKhios*McCabe	*Chios Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and J. V. Brownson. Princeton, NJ, 1986.
IKibyra-Olbasa	*An Epigraphic Survey in the Kibyra-Olbasa Region,* ed. N. P. Milner. RECAM III; BIAAM 24. Hertford, 1998.
*IKilikia*BM 1	*Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1962–1963,* ed. G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford. DenkschrWien 85. Vienna, 1965.
*IKilikia*BM 2	*Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964–1968,* ed. G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford. DenkschrWien 102; Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 3. Vienna, 1970.
*IKilikia*DF	*Inscriptions de Cilicie,* ed. G. Dagron and D. Feissel. Travaux et Mémoires du centre de recherche d'histoire et civilization de Byzance, Monographies 4. Paris, 1987.
*IKilikia*HW	*Reisen in Kilikien,* ed. R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm. DenkschrWien 44.6. Vienna, 1896.
IKios	*Die Inschriften von Kios,* ed. T. Corsten. IK 29. Bonn, 1985.
IKlaros	*Claros,* vol. 1, *Décrets hellenistiues,* ed. L. Robert and J. Robert. Paris, 1989.
IKlaudiop	*Die Inschriften von Klaudiupolis,* ed. F. Becker-Bertau. IK 31. Bonn, 1986.
IKlazom	→ *IErythr*
*IKlazom*McCabe	*Klazomenai Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe, J. V. Brownson, and B. D. Ehrman. Princeton, 1986.
IKnidos	*Die Inschriften von Knidos,* ed. W. Blümel. 2 vols. IK 41–42. Bonn, 1991–92.
*IKolophon*McCabe	*Kolophon Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed.

	D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1985.
IKönigsbriefe	*Griechische Königsbriefe,* ed. A. Wilhelm. Klio, Beiheft 48. Leipzig, 1943. Reprint, N.F. 35. Aalen, 1960.
IKonya	*Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Museum,* ed. B. H. McLean. RECAM. 2002.
IKoptos	*De Koptos à Kosseir,* ed. A. Bernand. Leiden, 1972.
IKorinthChr	*Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inschriften von Hellas. I. Peloponnes. 1. Isthmos-Korinthos,* ed. N. A. Bees. Athens, 1941. Reprint, IGCB 1, Chicago, 1978.
*IKorinth*Kent	*Corinth 8.3, The Inscriptions, 1926–1950,* ed. J. H. Kent. Princeton, 1966.
*IKorinth*Meritt	*Corinth 8.1, Greek Inscriptions, 1896–1927,* ed. B. D. Meritt. Cambridge, MA, 1931.
*IKos*Herzog	*Heilige Gesetze von Kos,* ed. R. Herzog. AbhBerl 1928.6. Berlin, 1928.
*IKos*HK	*Asylieurkunden aus Kos,* ed. R. Herzog and G. Klaffenbach. AbhBerl 1952.1. Berlin, 1952.
*IKos*PH	*The Inscriptions of Cos,* ed. W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks. Oxford, 1891. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1990.
*IKos*S	*Iscrizioni di Cos,* ed. M. Segre. Monografie della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente 6. Rome, 1993.
IKourion	*The Inscriptions of Kourion,* ed. T. B. Mitford. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 83. Philadelphia, 1971.
IKret	*Inscriptiones Creticae: Opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr colectae,* ed. M. Guarducci. 4 vols. Rome, 1935–50.
	I. *Tituli Cretae mediae praeter Gortynios.* 1935.

	II. *Tituli Cretae occidentalis.* 1939.
	III. *Tituli Cretae orientalis.* 1942.
	IV. *Tituli Gortynii.* 1950.
IKretChr	*The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete,* ed. A. C. Bandy. Athens, 1970.
IKretVers	*Griechische Epigramme aus Kreta,* ed. A. Wilhelm. Symbolae Osloenses Suppl. 13. Oslo, 1950.
IKyme	*Die Inschriften von Kyme,* ed. H. Engelmann. IK 5. Bonn, 1976. (Also contains corpus of Larissa.)
*IKypr*Ch	Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πηγὰς 4.1, ed. K. Chatzeioanno. Nicosia, 1980.
*IKyprSalam*MN	*The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis,* ed. T. B. Mitford and I. K. Nicolaou. Salamis 6. Nicosia, 1974.
*IKyprSalam*PRM	*Testimonia Salaminia: Corpus épigraphique,* ed. J. Pouilloux, P. Roesch, and J. Marcillet-Jaubert. Salamine de Chypre. 13. Paris, 1987.
IKyrenAug	*Les édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène,* ed. F. de Visscher. Louvain, 1940.
*IKyren*Ferri	*Alcune iscrizioni de Cirene,* ed. S. Ferri. AbhBerl 1925.5. Berlin, 1926.
IKyrenJud	→ *IJudKyren*
IKyzikos	*Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung,* ed. E. Schwertheim. 2 vols. Bonn, 1980–83.
	I. *Grabtexte.* IK 18. 1980.
	II. *Miletupolis: Inschriften und Denkmäler.* IK 26. 1983.
ILabraunda	*Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches.* Lund, 1955–77.
	I.2. *The Architecture of the Hieron, with an Epigraphical Appendix,* ed. J. Crampa. 1963.
	III.1. *Greek Inscriptions,* part 1, ed. J. Crampa. 1969.

	III.2. *Greek Inscriptions,* part 2, ed. J. Crampa. 1972.
ILampBN	*Lampes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris),* ed. M.-C. Hellmann. 2 vols. Paris, 1985–87.
	I. *Collection Froehner.* 1985.
	II. *Fonds général: Lampes pré-romaines et romaines.* 1987.
ILampsakos	*Die Inschriften von Lampsakos,* ed. P. Frisch. IK 6. Bonn, 1978.
ILaodikeia	"Les inscriptions," ed. L. Robert. In *Laodicée du Lykos: Le nymphée; campagnes 1961–1963,* by J. des Gagniers, P. Devambez, L. Kahil, and R. Ginouvès, 247–389. Quebec, 1969.
ILarissa	→ *IKyme*
*ILebedos*McCabe	*Lebedos Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and A. Hilton. Princeton, 1989.
ILegesSacr	*Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae,* ed. J. von Prott and L. Ziehen. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1896–1906. Reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1988.
*ILepsia*McCabe	*Lepsia Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1985.
*ILeros*McCabe	*Leros Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1985.
ILesbosSuppl	Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου: Συμπλήρωμα, ed. S. Charitonidis. Athens, 1968. (Supplement to *IG* XII/2.)
ILindos	*Lindos: Fouilles et Recherches.* II, *Fouilles de L'Acropole: Inscriptions,* ed. C. Blinkenberg. 2 vols. Archaeological Historical Series 22.1. Copenhagen, 1941.
ILLRP	*Inscriptiones latinae liberae rei publicae,* ed. H. Degrassi. Rome, 1957–.
*ILouvre*D	*Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre:*

	Les textes inédits, ed. A. Dain. Collection d'études anciennes. Paris, 1933.
*ILouvre*F	*Musée impérial du Louvre: Les inscriptions grecques,* ed. W. Froehner. Paris, 1865.
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,* ed. H. Dessau. 3 vols. in 5. Berlin, 1892–1916. Reprint, Dublin, 1974.
ILSA	*Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum aplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae antiquitatis.* 3 vols. Vols. 1–2, ed. J. C. Hagenbuch and J. K. Orelli. Vol. 3, ed. W. Henzen. Turici, 1828–56.
*ILydia*B	*Aus Lydien,* ed. K. Buresch. Subsidia Epigraphica 7. Leipzig, 1898. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1977.
*ILydia*H	*Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien,* ed. P. Herrmann. DenkschrWien 80. Vienna, 1962.
*ILydia*KP	*Bericht über eine Reise . . .* , ed. J. Keil and A. von Premerstein. Vienna, 1908–14. I. . . . *in Lydien und der sünlichen Aiolis.* DenkschrWien 53.2. 1910. II. . . . *in Lydien.* DenkschrWien 54.2. 1911. III. . . . *in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens.* DenkschrWien 57.1. 1914.
ILykaonia	*Denkmäler aus Lycaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien,* ed. J. Keil, H. Swoboda, and F. Knoll. Leipzig, 1935.
ILykaoniaImp	*Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens,* ed. G. Laminger-Pascher. Vienna, 1922–. I. *Der Süden.* Ergänzungsbände zu den TAM 15. 1992.
*ILykaonia*LP	*Beiträge zu den griechischen Inschriften Lykaoniens,* ed. G. Laminger-Pascher. DenkschrWien 173; Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 11. Vienna, 1984.

*ILykia*Bean	***Journeys in Northern Lycia, 1965–1967,*** ed. G. E. Bean. DenkschrWien 104; Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 4. Vienna, 1971.
*ILykian*P	→ *IAsMinLyk*
IM	→ *IEgVers*
IMag	→ *IMagnMai*
IMagnMai	*Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander,* ed. O. Kern. Berlin, 1900. Reprint, 1967.
IMagnSip	*Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos,* ed. T. Ihnken. IK 8. Bonn, 1978.
IMaked	Ἐπιγραφὲς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, vol. 1, Κατάλογος ἐπιγραφῶν, ed. T. Rizakis and G. Touratsoglou. Athens, 1985.
IMakedChr	*Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle,* ed. D. Feissel. BCH Suppl 8. Paris, 1983.
*IMaked*D	Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις καὶ μνημείοις σωζομένοις, ed. M. G. Demitsas. 2 vols. Athens, 1896. Reprint, under the title *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum et latinarum Macedoniae,* Chicago, 1980.
*IMaked*O	Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας, ed. G. P. Oikonomos. Athens, 1915.
IManisaMus	*Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum,* ed. Hasan Malay. Vienna, 1994. Ergänzungsbande zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 19.
IMaronIsis	*Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée,* ed. Y. Granjean. EPRO 49. Leiden, 1975.
IMauer	*Griechische Mauerbauinschriften,* ed. F. G. Maier. 2 vols. Vestigia 1 and 2. Heidelberg, 1959–61.
IMemnon	*Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon,* ed. A. Bernand and E. Bernand. Cairo, 1960.
IMessapic	*Nuovi studi messapici: Epigrafi, lessico,* ed.

C. Santoro. 3 vols. Galatina, 1982–84. (Inscriptions in vol. 1.)

*IMetropolis*McCabe — *Metropolis Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and A. Hilton. Princeton, 1989.

IMilet — *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899,* ed. T. Wiegand. 16 vols. Berlin, 1906–36.
II. *Das Rathaus von Milet* (nos. 1–30), ed. C. Fredrich. 1908.
III. *Das Delphinion in Milet* (nos. 31–186), ed. A. Rehm. 1914.
VI. *Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht* (nos. 187–92), ed. A. Rehm. 1922.
VII. *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen* (nos. 193–305), ed. A. Rehm. 1924.
IX. *Thermen und Palaestren* (nos. 306–97), ed. A. Rehm. 1928.

*IMilet*McCabe — *Miletos Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1984.

IMiletupolis — → *IKyme*

IMoabChr — *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab,* ed. R. Canova. Sussida allo studio delle antichita cristiane 4. Vatican City, 1954.

IMoesia — *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure,* ed. F. Papazoglu. 6 vols. to date. Belgrade, 1976–.

IMylasa — *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*
I. *Inschriften der Stadt,* ed. W. Blümel. IK 34. Bonn, 1987.
II. *Inschriften aus der Umbegung der Stadt,* ed. W. Blümel. IK 35. Bonn, 1987.

IMylasaSin — *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa,* vol. 1, *Les inscriptions,* ed. L. Robert. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul 7. Paris, 1945.

IncunGr — Incunabula Graeca. Rome, 1961–.

Index — *Index: Quaderni camerti di studi romanistici. International Survey of Roman Law.* Naples, 1970–.

INegev — *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev,* ed. A. Negev. Studium biblicum, collectio minor 25. Jerusalem, 1981.

INessana — *Excavations at Nessana,* vol. 1, ed. G. E. Kirk and C. B. Welles. London, 1962.

INikaia — *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia),* ed. S. Sahin. 4 vols. IK 9–10.3. Bonn, 1979–87.
I. Nos. 1–633. 1979.
II.1. Nos. 701–1210. 1981.
II.2. Nos. 1230–597. 1982.

INoricum — *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien,* ed. A. Schober. Sonderschriften des österreichsichen archäologischen Instituts in Wien 10. Vienna, 1923.

*INotion*McCabe — *Notion Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1985.

Inscr. gr. lat. des tombeaux des rois — → *IEg*Baillet

Inscr. gr. Louvre: Les textes inédits — → *ILouvre*D

Inscr. Jur. — → *IGJurid*

Inscr. métr. Ég. — → *IEgVers*

Inscr. métriques — → *IEgVers*

INubia I — *Inscriptions grecques d'Egypte et de Nubie: Répertoire bibliographique des OGI,* ed. E. Bernand. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 272; Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 45. Paris, 1982.

INubia II — *Inscriptions grecques d'Egypte et de Nubie:*

	Répertoire bibliographique des IGRR, ed. E. Bernand. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 286; Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 51. Paris, 1983.
IOinoandaDiog	*Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Epicurean Inscription*, ed. M. F. Smith. Naples, 1993.
IOinoandaW	*Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda*, ed. M. Wörrle. Vestigia 39. Munich, 1988.
IOlbia	*Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917–1965)* (in Russian), ed. T. N. Knipovič and E. I. Levi. Leningrad, 1968.
IOlympia	*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, ed. Wilhelm Dittenberger and Karl Purgold. Berlin, 1896.
IOlympiaAusgr	*Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, ed. E. Kunze, H. Schleif, et al. 10 vols. Berlin, 1937–81. (Vol. 9 not published; only some vols. contain inscriptions.)
IOPE	→ *IPontEux*
IOropos	Ἐπιγραφικὰ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ, ed. B. G. Petrakos. Athens, 1980.
IOrphC	*Laminette orfiche*, ed. D. Comparetti. Florence, 1910.
IOrphO	*Lamellae aureae Orphicae*, ed. A. Olivieri. KT 133. Bonn, 1915.
IosPE	→ *IPontEux*
IPaidesEpit	Παῖδες ἄωροι: *Poésie funéraire*, ed. A.-M. Vérilhac. 2 vols. Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 41. Athens, 1978–82.
IPalTert	*Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der Araba*, ed. A. Alt. Berlin, 1921.
IPaphlag-Capp	*Esplorazioni e Studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia: Relazione sulla seconda campagna esplorativa Agosto–Ottobre 1936*, ed. G. Jacopi. Rome, 1937.

IParion	*Die Inschriften von Parion*, ed. P. Frisch. IK 25. Bonn, 1983.
IParthenonC	*The Parthenon Inscription*, ed. K. K. Carroll. GRBM 9. Durham, NC, 1982.
IParthenonOV	Τὰ Χαράγματα τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, ed. A. K. Orlandos and L. Vranoussis. Athens, 1973.
*IPatmos*McCabe	*Patmos Inscriptions: Texts and List*, ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1985.
IPergamon	*Die Inschriften von Pergamon.* Altertümer von Pergamon VIII. Berlin, 1890–1969. 1. *Bis zum Ende der Königszeit*, ed. M. Fränkel. 1890. 2. *Römische Zeit*, ed. M. Fränkel. 1895. 3. *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, ed. C. Habicht. 1969.
IPerge	*Die Inschriften von Perge*, ed. S. Sahin. 3 vols. IK 46–48. Bonn, 1992.
IPhilae	*Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, ed. A. Bernand and E. Bernand. 2 vols. Paris, 1969.
*IPhokaia*McCabe	*Phokaia Inscriptions: Texts and List*, ed. D. F. McCabe and A. Hilton. Princeton, 1989.
IPhrygChr	*The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia*, ed. E. Gibson. HThS 32. Missoula, 1978.
*IPhryg*DB	*Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, ed. T. Drew-Bear. Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia. Zutphen, 1978.
*IPhryg*Haspels	*The Highlands of Phrygia*, ed. C. H. E. Haspels. 2 vols. Princeton, 1971.

IPisidCen	*The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia,* ed. G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell. IK 57. Bonn, 2000.
IPompeiGlad	*Gladiatorum paria: Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei,* ed. P. Sabbatini-Tumolesi. Tituli 1. Rome, 1980.
IPont	*Studia Pontica.* III. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie,* fasc. 1, ed. J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont and H. Grégoire. Brussels, 1910.
IPontEux	*Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae,* ed. B. Latyšev. 3 vols. St. Petersburg, 1885–1901. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1965.
	I. *Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae.* 1885.
	II. *Inscriptiones regni Bosporani.* 1890.
	IV. *Supplement for Years 1885–1900.* 1901.
IPontos-Bithynia	*Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia,* ed. C. Marek. IstF 39. Tübingen, 1993.
IPrag	*Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in the Collection of Charles University,* ed. V. Marek. Prague, 1977.
IPriene	*Inschriften von Priene,* ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Berlin, 1906.
*IPriene*McCabe	*Priene Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe, B. D. Ehrman, and R. N. Elliott. Princeton, 1987.
IPrusaOlymp	*Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum.* 2 vols. Bonn, 1991–93.
	I. Ed. T. Corsten. IK 39. Bonn, 1991.
	II. Ed. T. Corsten. IK 40. Bonn, 1993.
IPrusiasHyp	*Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium,* ed. W. Ameling. IK 27. Bonn, 1985.
IRD	→ *IDelosIRD*
IRhenaia	*Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée,* ed. M.-Th. Couilloud. EAD 30. Paris, 1974.

*IRhod*B	*Die Inschriften der rhödischen Peraia,* ed. W. Blümel. IK 38. Bonn, 1991.
IRhodEpit	*Rhodian Funerary Monuments,* ed. P. M. Fraser. Oxford, 1977.
*IRhod*FB	*The Rhodian Peraea and Islands,* ed. P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean. Oxford, 1954.
*IRhod*K	*Inscriptions inédites relatives à l'histoire et aux cultes de Rhodes au II^e^ et au I^er^ s. avant J.-C. Rhodiaka,* vol. 1, ed. V. Kontorini. Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain 42. Louvain, 1983.
*IRhod*M	*Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos,* ed. A. Maiuri. Florence, 1925.
IRhodP	*Recueil des inscriptions de la Perée rhodienne: Perée integrée,* ed. A. Bresson. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 445; Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 105. Paris, 1991.
IRijksmuseum	*The Greek Inscriptions in the "Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" at Leyden,* ed. H. W. Pleket. Leiden, 1958.
IRomaniaChr	*Les monuments paléochrétiens de Roumanie,* ed. I. Barnea. Sussidi àllo studio delle antichita cristiane. Vatican City, 1977.
IRomChr	*Iscrizioni cristiane di Roma: Testimonianze di vita cristiana (secoli III–VII),* ed. C. Carletti. Biblioteca Patristica 7. Florence, 1986.
IRomDefix	*Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom,* ed. R. Wünsch. Leipzig, 1898.
IRomJud	→ *IJudRom*L
IRT	→ *ITripol*
IRussChr	*Sbornik grečeskih nadpisej hristianskih vremen iz južnoj Rossij* (Collection of Greek Christian inscriptions from southern Russia), ed. V. Latyšev. St. Petersburg, 1896. Reprint, Leipzig, 1974.

ISalamis	→ *IKyprSalam*MN
*ISamos*McCabe	*Samos Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe, J. V. Brownson, and B. D. Ehrman. Princeton, 1986.
ISamothr	*Samothrace: The Inscriptions on Stone,* ed. P. M. Fraser. New York, 1960.
*ISard*BR	*Sardis,* VII, 1, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions,* ed. W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson. Leiden, 1932.
*ISard*Gauthier	*Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes,* vol. 2, ed. P. Gauthier. Geneva, 1989.
*ISard*Robert	*Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes,* vol. 1, ed. L. Robert. Paris, 1964.
Iscr. agon. gr.	→ *IAgonist*
Iscr. Arena	→ *ISikil*
Iscr.stor.ell.	→ *IHellHist*
ISculpt	*Recueil des signatures des sculpteurs grecs,* ed. Jean Marcadé. 2 vols. Paris, 1953.
ISE	→ *IHellHist*
ISeleukeia	*Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma,* ed. J. Wagner. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orientis Reihe B.10. Wiesbaden, 1976.
ISelge	*Die Inschriften von Selge,* ed. J. Nollé and F. Schindler. IK 37. Bonn, 1991.
ISelinusTemp	*The Inscriptions from Temple G at Selinus,* ed. W. M. Calder. GRBM 4. Durham, NC, 1963.
ISestos	*Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones,* ed. J. Krauss. IK 19. Bonn, 1980.
ISide	*Die Inschriften von Side,* ed. J. Nollé. IK 43. Bonn, 1993–.
*ISide*Bean	*Inscriptions of Side* (in English and Turkish), ed. G. E. Bean. Ankara, 1965.
ISikil	*Iscrizioni greche archaiche di Sicilia e Magna Graecia. Iscrizioni di Sicilia. I. Iscrizioni di Megara Iblea e Selinunte,* ed. R. Arena. Milan, 1989.

ISikilChr	*Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia,* ed. S. L. Agnello. Rome, 1953.
ISikilDial	*Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile: Contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire grec colonial,* ed. L. Dubois. Collection de l'École française de Rome 119. Paris, 1989.
ISinuri	→*IMylasaSin*
ISMGL	→*IGLSkythia*
ISmyrna	*Die Inschriften von Smyrna,* ed. G. Petzl. 2 vols. Bonn, 1982–90. I. Grabschriften, postume Ehrungen, Grabepigramme. IK 23. 1982. II.1. IK 24.1. 1987. II.2. Addenda, Corrigenda und Indices. IK 24.2. 1990.
*ISmyrna*McCabe	*Smyrna Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe, T. Brennan, and R. N. Elliot. Princeton, 1988.
IstF	Instanbuler Forschungen
IstMitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Istanbuler Abteilung*
IStratonikeia	*Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia,* ed. S. Sahin. Bonn, 1981–90. I. *Panamara.* IK 21. 1981. II.1. *Lagina, Stratonikeia und Umgebung.* IK 22.1. 1982. II.2. *Neue Inschriften und Indices.* IK 22.2. 1990.
*ISyria*Prentice	*Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria,* vol. 3, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions,* ed. W. K. Prentice. New York, 1908. (Texts are reprinted in *IGLSyria* XIII.1.)
ISyriaPrinceton A	*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria. III. Greek and Latin Inscriptions.* A. *Southern Syria,* ed. E. Littmann, D. Magie, and D. R. Stuart. 7 fascicles. Leiden,

	1904–21. (Texts are reprinted in *IGLSyria* XIII.1.)
ISyriaPrinceton B	*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria. III. Greek and Latin Inscriptions.* B. *Northern Syria,* ed. W. K. Prentice. Leiden, 1908–22. (Texts are reprinted in *IGLSyria* II and IV.)
*ISyria*W	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie,* ed. H. Waddington. Paris, 1870. Reprint, Rome, 1968.
*ITeichioussa*McCabe	*Teichioussa Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1985.
*ITeos*McCabe	*Teos Inscriptions: Texts and List,* ed. D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett. Princeton, 1985.
IThasosAmph	*Les timbre amphoriques de Thasos,* ed. A.-M. Bon and A. Bon. Études thasiennes 4. Paris, 1957.
IThessChr	Κατάλογος χριστιανικῶν ἐπιγραφῶν στὰ μουσεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, ed. E. Tsigaridas and K. Loverdou-Tsigarida. Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 52. Thessaloníki, 1979.
ITomis	→*IGLSkythia* II.
ITralleis	*Die Inschriften von Tralles und Nysa,* vol. 1, *Die Inschriften von Tralleis,* ed. F. B. Polijakov. IK 36.1. Bonn, 1988.
*ITralleis*Pappa	Αἱ Τράλλεις ἤτοι συλλογὴ Τραλλιανῶν, ἐπιγραφῶν, ed. M. Pappakonstantinos. Athens, 1895.
ITripol	*The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania,* ed. J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins. London, n.d.
ITyrEpit	*Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963–1974),* vol. 1, *Inscriptions de la nécropole,* ed. J.-P. Rey-Coquais. Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth 29. Paris, 1977.

ITyriaion	*Tyriaion en Cabalide: Épigraphie et géographie historique,* ed. C. Naour. Studia Amstelodamensia 20. Zutphen, 1980.
IUmbriaEpit	*Reperti funerari in Umbria, I sec. a. C.–I sec. d. C.,* ed. S. Diebner. Archaeologica 67; Archaeologia Perusina 4. Rome, 1986.
IVenetia	*Römische Statuen in Venetia und Histria: Epigraphische Quellen,* ed. G. Alföldy. Abh Heid 1984.3. Heidelberg, 1984.
IVersWilhelm	*Griechische Epigramme, aus dem Nachlass A. Wilhelm,* ed. H. Engelmann and K. Wundsam. Bonn, 1980.
I. v. Ol.	→ *IOlympia*
IvP	→ *IPergamon*
IWadiHaggag	*The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,* ed. A. Negev. Qedem 6. Jerusalem, 1977.
IXanthos	*Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon,* ed. A. Balland. Fouilles de Xanthos 7. Paris, 1981.
IZakynthosEpit	*Die Grabstelen der einstigen Sammlung Roma in Zakynthos,* ed. G. Klaffenbach. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1964.2. Berlin, 1964.
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (Münster)
Jahrb.	→ *JdI*
Jahres(hefte).	→ *ÖJh*
JAOS	*Journal of American Oriental Association* (Baltimore)
JbAc	→ *JAC*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature* (Society of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia)
JDAI	→ *JdI*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.* Berlin. (Continuation of AA.)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)

JGRChJ	*Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* (Sheffield)
JHÖAI	→ *ÖJh*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London)
JIAN	*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JJurP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
JKF	*Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen*
JKGS	Jahresberichte für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven
JKP	Jahrbuch für klassischen Philologie
JMEOS	*Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
JNG	*Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*
JOAI	→ *ÖJh*
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinisischen Gesellschaft
JOEByz	→ JÖBG
JP	*Journal of Philology* (New York)
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology* (Ann Arbor, MI)
JRAI	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRA Suppl	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplements
JRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. Bonn.
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies* (London)
JRSM	Journal of Roman Studies Monographs
JSav	*Journal des Savants,* 2d ser. (Paris)
JSCP	*Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (Cambridge)
JSNT Suppl	Journal of New Testament Studies Supplements. (Sheffield.)
JSOR	*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*

Kadmos	*Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik*
Kaibel	*Epigrammata Graeca ex labidibus conlecta,* ed. G. Kaibel. Berlin, 1878. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1965.
Keil & von Premerstein	→ *ILydia*KP
Kerameikos III	→ *IAthKeram*
Klio	*Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Berlin)
KlPauly	*Der kleine Pauly: Lexicon der Antike*
KP I, II, III	→ *ILydia*KP
KT	Kleine Texte
Ktèma	*Ktèma: Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce at de Rome antiques* (Strassbourg)
La Carie	*La Carie,* vol. 2, *Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs,* ed. J. Robert and L. Robert. Paris, 1954.
Lampas	*Lampas: Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse classici* (Muiderberg)
Lampe	*A Patristic Lexicon,* by G. W. H. Lampe. 5 vols. Oxford, 1961–68.
Lanckoroński	*Les villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie,* ed. K. Lanckoroński, G. Niemann, and E. Petersen. 2 vols. Paris, 1890–93.
Laodicée du Lykos	→ *ILaodikeia*
Latomus	*Latomus: Revue d'études latines*
Latyšev	→ *IPontEux*
Laum	*Stiftungen in der griechischen und römanischen Antike: Ein Beiträg zur antiken Kulturgeschichte,* ed. B. Laum. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1914.
LBW	*Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineur,* ed. P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington. 2 vols. Subsidia Epigraphica 1–2. Paris, 1870. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1972. I. *Textes en majuscules* II. *Textes en minuscules et explications.* 2 vols. Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure: Asie Mineure.
Le Bas	→ LBW

Lebas III	→ LBW
Le Bas & Waddington	→ LBW
Le Bas-Wadd.	→ LBW
Lefebvre	→ *IEgChr*
Leg. Sacr.	→ *ILegesSacr*
Le sanctuaire de Sinuri	→ *IMylasaSin*
LGPN	*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names.* Oxford, 1987–.
	I. *The Aegean Islands. Cyprus, Cyrenaica,* by P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews. 1987.
	II. *Attica,* by M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne. 1994.
	III. *Peloponnesus and the Greek mainland, including Thessalia and Epeiros, the Ionian and Adriatic Islands, Sicily and Magna Graecia, Western Europe, North Africa (excluding Cyrenaica).* 1995.
	IV. *Makedonia, Thrake, Scythia Minor, South Russia.* Forthcoming.
	V. *The Asia Minor coast.* Forthcoming.
	VI. *Unassignable individuals, indices, analytical tables, bibliographies.* Forthcoming.
LGS	→ *ILegesSacr*
Libyca	Libyca, 2d ser., Archaeology and Epigraphy. Alger.
Lindos II	→ *ILindos*
LingBalk	*Linguistique Balkanique*
Littmann, *Princeton Exp. Syria*	→ *ISyriaPrinceton A*
Loewy	→ *IBildhauer*
LSA	→ *LSAM*
LSAM	*Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure,* ed. F. Sokolowski. EFA, Travaux et mémoires 9. Paris, 1955.
LSCG	*Lois sacrées des cités grecques,* ed. F. Sokolowski. EFA, Travaux et mémoires 18. Paris, 1969.

LSCG Suppl	*Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplément,* ed. F. Sokolowski. EFA, Travaux et mémoires 11. Paris, 1962.
LSJ	*Greek-English Lexicon,* by Liddell and Scott. 9th ed., rev. H. Stuart Jones. Oxford, 1996.
LSJ Suppl	*Greek-English Lexicon: A Supplement,* ed. E. A. Barber. Oxford, 1996.
LSS	→ *LSCG*Suppl
MAA	*Macedoniae Acta Archeologica*
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome
MAB	Mémoires publiés par la Classe des Lettres et Sciences et morales et politique de l'Académie royale de Belgique
MAH	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1881–1970) (Continues as *MEFRA.*)
MAIBL	Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge*	→ *IRhod*M
Μακεδονία	→ *IMaked*D
Makedonika	Makedonika. Thessalonike.
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua.* 10 vols. Manchester, then London, 1928–93.
	I. *Eastern Phrygia,* ed. W. M. Calder. Manchester, 1928.
	II. Meriamlik and Korykos. 1930. (No texts.)
	III. *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien,* ed. J. Keil and A. Wilhelm. Manchester, 1931.
	IV. *Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia,* ed. W. H. Bucker, W. M. Calder, and W. K. C. Guthrie. Manchester, 1933.
	V. *Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea,* ed. C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron. Manchester, 1937.
	VI. *Monuments and Documents from*

	Phrygia and Caria, ed. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder. Manchester, 1939.
	VII. *Monuments from Eastern Phrygia,* ed. W. M. Calder. Manchester, 1956.
	VIII. *Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias,* ed. W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack. Manchester, 1962.
	IX. *Monuments from Aezanitis,* ed. B. M. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter, M. Waelkens, and D. Nash. JRSM 5. London, 1988.
	X. *Monuments from Appia and the Upper Tembris, Cotiaeum, Cadi, Synaus, Ancyra Sydera and Tiberiopolis,* ed. B. M. Levick, S. Mitchell, and M. Waelkens. JRSM 7. London, 1993.
Manni Piraino	→ *IGPalermosMus*
Marcadé, *Recueil*	→ *ISculpt*
Marcadé, *Signatures*	→ *ISculpt*
Mauerbauinschr.	→ *IMauer*
MBAH	Münsterlische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte
McCrum & Woodhead	→ *DocsFlav*
MDAI(A)	→ *AM*
MDAI(I)	→ *IstMitt*
MDAI(R)	→ *RömÖ*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MEFRA	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l' École française de Rome, Antiquité* (Rome) (Continuation of *MAH.*)
MeiggsLewis	*A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.,* ed. R. Meiggs and D. Lewis. Oxford, 1969. Rev. ed., 1988.
MélBeyr	*Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth*
Mél. de l'Éc. fr. de Rome	→ *MEFRA*

Mém.Acad.Belg.	→ MAB
Mém.Acad.Inscr.	→ MAIBL
MGR	*Miscellanea greca e romana: Studi pubblicati dall'Ist. ital. per la storia antica* (Rome)
MH	*Museum Helveticum: Revue suisse pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité classique*
Michel	*Recueil d'inscriptions grecques,* ed. C. Michel. Brussels, 1900. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1976.
Michel*Suppl*	*Recueil d'inscriptions grecques: Supplément,* ed. C. Michel. Brussels, 1912. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1976.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.
Milet	→ *IMilet*
MittAth	→ *AM*
MNDPV	Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen-Palästina Vereins
Mnemosyne	*Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica batava*
MonAL	Monografie di archeologia libica. Rome.
MonAnt	Monumenti antichi pubblicati dall'Accademia dei Lincei. Rome.
Moretti	→ *IAgonist*
Μουσεῖον	Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς
MUMCAH	McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History
MusBelge	*Le musée belge: Revue de philologie classique.* (Louvain)
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NAkG	Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle* (London)
Neue Jahrb.	→ NJbb
NewDocs	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity.* 7 vols. Sydney, 1981–.

	I–V. Ed. G. H. R. Horsley. 1981–89.
	VI. Eds. S. R. Llewelyn and R. A. Kearsley. 1992.
	VII. Ed. S. R. Llewelyn. 1998.
*NG*Robert	*Monnaies grecques: Types, légendes, magistrates monétaires et géographie,* ed. L. Robert. Hautes Études numismatiques 2. Geneva, 1967.
NIEpi	→ *IEpidaur*
NIP	→ *IPhryg*DB
NISard	→ *ISard*Gauthier
NJbb	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassiche Altertum
NotScav	→ *NSc*
NouvChoix	*Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques: Textes, traductions, commentaires,* ed. Institut Fernand-Courby. Paris, 1971.
Nouv.inscr.Sardes	→ *ISard*Robert
NPA	*Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica,* by Johannes Sundwall. Excerpted from Öfversigt af Finska vetenskaps-Societetens forhandlingar 52, 1. Helsinki, 1909–10. Reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1981.
NSA	→ *NSc*
NSc	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (Rome)
NTroad	*Monnaies antiques en Troade,* ed. L. Robert. Hautes Études numismatiques 1. Paris, 1966.
Nuova Silloge	→ *IRhod*M
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift
"OAsh"	"Ostraca in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford." In *OBodl* 1.63–81.
OAth	*Opuscula Atheniensia (Acta Inst. Athen. Regni Sueciae)* (Lund)
OBodl	*Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections,* ed. J. G. Tait, C. Préaux, et al. 3 vols. London, 1930–64.
OBrussBerl	*Ostraka aus Brüssel and Berlin,* ed. P. Viereck. Papyrusinstiut Heidelberg IV. Berlin and Leipzig, 1922.

OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
"OCamb"	"Ostraca in the Cambridge University Library." In *OBodl* 1.153–73.
OCD[2]	*Oxford Classical Dictionary,* ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard. 2d ed. Oxford, 1970.
OCD[3]	*Oxford Classical Dictionary,* ed. S. Hornblower. 3d ed. Oxford, 1996.
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica.* (Rome)
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts: Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.
OGI	*Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae,* ed. W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1970.
	I. Hellenistic kingdoms.
	II. Roman provinces.
OGIS	→ *OGI*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.* (Vienna)
OJoach	*Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka,* ed. F. Preisigke and W. Speigelberg. Strasbourg, 1914. Reprint, Milan, 1972.
"OLeid"	"Griechische Ostraka aus dem 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,' in Leiden." In *Oudheidkundige Mededlingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden,* 44–49 (1963–68).
Olympia VII Bericht	→ *IOlympiaAusgr*
OMich	*Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection,* part 1, *Texts,* ed. L. Amundsen. Ann Arbor, MI, 1935.
"OMinor"	"Ostraca in Various Minor Collections." In *OBodl* 1.174–81.
OMS	*Opera minora selecta: Epigraphie et antiquités grecques,* by L. Robert. 7 vols. Amsterdam, 1969–90.

OOntMus	*Death and Taxes.* Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum 1, ed. A. E. Samuel, W. K. Hastings, A. K. Bowman, and R. S. Bagnall. Toronto, 1971.
OOslo	*Ostraca Osloensia, Greek Ostraca in Norwegian Collections,* ed. L. Amundsen. Oslo, 1934.
"OPetr"	"Ostraca in Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie's Collection at University College, London." In *OBodl* 1.82–152.
Orpheus	*Orpheus: Rivista di umanità classica e cristiana.* (Catania)
Öst. Ak. der Wiss., Ph.-hist. Kl. Sitz.	→ SBWien
Ostraka	→ OWilck
OStras	*Griechische und griechische-demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg in Elsass,* vol. 1, ed. P. Viereck. Berlin, 1923.
OTheb	*Theban Ostraca,* ed. A. H. Gardiner, H. Thompson, and J. G. Milne. London, 1913.
OWilb	*Les Ostraca grecs de la collection Charles-Edwin Wilbour au Musée de Brooklyne,* ed. C. Préaux. New York, 1935.
OWilck	*Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien,* ed. U. Wilcken. 2 vols. Leipzig and Berlin, 1899. Reprint, Amsterdam, 1970.
PA	*Prosopographia Attica,* by J. Kirchner. 2 vols. Berlin, 1901–3. Reprint, Berlin, 1966.
PAA	*Persons of Ancient Athens,* by J. Traill. 9 vols. to date. Toronto: Athenians, 1994–. Available at (<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca:8080/attica>).
PAAH	→ Praktika
PAAJR	→ ProcAAJR
PAAR	American Academy in Rome Papers and Monographs

PAES	→ *ISyriaPrinceton* A
Pal. Soc. Facs.	→ PSF
PAmh	*The Amherst Papyri; Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney,* by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. 2 vols. London, 1900–1901. Reprint, Milan, 1965.
Paneion d'El-Kanais	→ *IKanais*
Pap.Am.School	→ PAS
PapeBenseler	*Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen,* by W. Pape and G. E. Benseler. 3d ed. Rev. G. E. Benseler. 2 vols. 1863–70. Reprint, Braunschweig, 1911.
PAS	*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
Pauly-Wissowa	→ *RE*
PBrem	*Die Bremer Papyri,* ed. U. Wilcken. Berlin, 1936.
PBSR	→ *BSR*
*PCair*Goods	*Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum,* E. J. Goodspeed. Chicago, 1902.
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PD	→ *IDelos*PD
Peek	→ *GVI*
PEFA	*Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*
PEFQ	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PEleph	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen in Berlin: Griechische Urkunden, Sonderheft, Elephantine-Papyri,* ed. O. Rubensohn. Berlin, 1907. Reprint, Milan, 1972.
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PFay	*Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri,* ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth. London, 1900.
PFlor	*Papiri greco-egizii, Papiri Fiorentini,* R. Accademia dei Lincei under the

	direction of G. Vitelli and D. Comparetti. 2 vols. Milan, 1906–15.
Pfohl	→ *IG*Pfohl
PFrankf	*Griechische Papyri aus dem Besitz des rechtswissenschaftlichen Seminars der Universität Frankfurt,* ed. H. Lewald. Heidelberg, 1920.
PfuhlMöbius	*Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs,* ed. E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius. 2 vols. in 4. Mainz, 1977–79.
PG	*Patrologia Graeca,* ed. J.-P. Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857–66.
PGen I	*Les Papyrus de Genève* I, ed. J. Nicole. Geneva, 1906. Reprint, Amsterdam, 1967.
PGiss	*Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessichen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen,* ed. O. Eger, E. Kornemann, and P. M. Meyer. 5 vols. Leipzig and Berlin, 1910–12. Reprint, Milan, 1973.
PGM	*Prosopographiae Graecae Minores,* ed. J. M. Fossey.
PGrenf I	*An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and Other Greek Papyri, Chiefly Ptolemaic,* ed. B. P. Grenfell. Oxford, 1896. Reprint, Milan, 1972.
PGrenf II	*New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri,* ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. Oxford, 1897. Reprint, Milan, 1972.
PH	→ *IKos*PH
PHamb	*Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek,* ed. P. M. Meyer, B. Snell, and A. Dietrich. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1911–55. Reprint, Milan, 1973.
PHerm	*Papyri from Hermopolis and Other Documents of the Byzantine Period,* ed. B. R. Rees. London, 1964.

PHib	*The Hibeh Papyri,* ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, E. G. Turner, and M. T. Lenger. 2 vols. London, 1906–55.
Philologia (Sofia)	Philologia. Sofia. Bulgarskata akademiia na naukite. 1977–.
Philologus	*Philologus: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.* (Berlin)
PhilWoch	Berliner philologische Wochenschrift
Phoenix	*The Phoenix: The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada*
PHolm	*Papyrus graecus Holmiensis, Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur,* ed. O. Lagercrantz. Uppsala and Leipzig, 1913.
PIand	*Papyri Iandanae,* ed. C. Kalbfleisch et al. 8 vols. Leipzig, 1912–38.
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I, II, III,* by E. Groag, A. Stein, and L. Petersen. 2d ed. 5 vols. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1933–70.
PLeid	*Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi,* ed. C. Leemans. 2 vols. Lugduni Batavorum, 1843–85.
PLille	*Papyrus grecs (Institut Papyrologique de l'Université de Lille),* ed. P. Jouguet, P. Collart, J. Lesquier, and M. Xoual. 3 vols. Paris, 1907–29.
PLips	*Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig,* ed. L. Mitteis. Leipzig, 1906. Reprint, Milan, 1971.
PLond	*Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* ed. F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell, et al. 7 vols. London, 1893–1974. Reprint, Milan, 1973.
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* ed. A. H. M. Jones. Cambridge, 1971. I. A.D. 260–395, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris. 1971. II. A.D. 395–527, by J. R. Martindale. 1980.

	IIIA/B. A.D. 527–641, by J. R. Martindale. 1992.
PMert	*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfrid Merton,* ed. H. I. Bell et al. 3 vols. London and Dublin, 1948–67.
PMich	*Michigan Papyri,* ed. C. C. Edgar et al. 11 vols. Ann Arbor, MI, and Cleveland, 1931–71.
ΠΩΛΕΜΩΝ	ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ: ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ
POsl	*Papyri Osloenses,* ed. S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen. 3 vols. 1925–36.
Powell	*Collectanea alexandrina: Reliquiae minores poetarum graecorum aetatis ptolemaicae 323–146 A.C.,* ed. J. U. Powell. Oxford: Clarendon, 1925.
POxy	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, et al. 42 vols. London, 1898–1974.
PP	*La Parola del Passato: Rivista di Studi antichi* (Naples)
PPetr	*The Flinders Petrie Papyrii,* ed. J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly. 3 vols. Dublin, 1891–1905.
PraktAkAth	Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
Praktika	Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
PreisigkeNB	*Namenbuch: Enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen, und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern, usw.) Ägyptens sich vorfinden,* by F. Preisigke. Heidelberg, 1922. Reprint, Toronto, 1967.
PRev	*Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus,* ed. B. P. Grenfell. Oxford, 1896. (Reedited by J. Bringen in SB I [1952–61].)

ProcAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research
ProcJPES	Proceedings of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society
ProcPhilAs	Proceedings of the American Philological Society
PRyl	*Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library,* A. S. Hunt et al. 4 vols. Manchester, 1911–52.
PSI	*Papiri greci e latini (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto),* G. Vitelli, M. Norsa, et al. 15 vols. Florence, 1912–79.
PSF	Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions
PStras	*Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg,* ed. F. Preisigke. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1912–20. Reprint, 1969.
PTeb	*The Tebtunis Papyri,* ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, et al. 3 vols. London, 1902–38.
PThead	*Papyrus de Théadelphie,* ed. P. Jouguet. Paris, 1911. Reprint, Milan, 1974.
Pulpudeva	Pulpudeva. Academie Bulgare des Sciences. Institut de Thracologie. Musée Archéologique de Plovdiv. 1976–.
PUps8	*Der Fluch des christen Sabinus, Papyrus Upsaliensis 8,* ed. G. Björck. Uppsala, 1938.
PW	→ *RE*
PWarr	*The Warren Papyri,* ed. M. David, B. A. van. Groningen, and J. C. van Oven. Leiden, 1941.
PYale	*Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,* ed. J. F. Oates et al. New Haven and Toronto, 1967.
QAL	*Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* (Rome)
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*

Qedem	Qedem: Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
RA	*Revue archéologique* (Paris)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart)
RACrist	*Rivista di archeologia cristiana* (Rome, then Vatican City)
RAL	→ RendLinc
Ramsay, *CBP*	*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* by W. M. Ramsay. 2 vols. Oxford, 1895–97. Reprint, 2 vols. in 1, New York, 1975.
RArch	→ *RA*
RB	→ *RBibl*
RBArch	*Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* (Brussels)
RBibl	*Revue biblique* (Paris)
RBPhil	*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* Brussels.
RC	→ Welles
RD	*Revue Historique de Droit français et étranger* (Paris)
RDGE	→ Sherk, *RDGE*
RE	*[Paulys] Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.* Rev. G. Wissowa, ed. K. Ziegler. Stuttgart, 1894–1980. 1. Reihe (A–Q). 1894–1963. 2. Reihe (R–Z). 1914–72. Supplemente 1–15. 1903–78. Register der Nachträge und Supplemente. 1980.
REA	*Revues des études anciennes* (Bordeaux)
RECAM	Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor
RECAM I	→ *IGalatN* I
RECAM II	→ *IGalatN* II
RECAM III	→ *IKibyra-Olbasa*
RECAM IV	→ *IBurdur*
Rec. inscr. gr. Egypte	→ *IEgChr*

Recueil	→ *IAsMinChr*
Recueil inscr. Fayoum	→ *IFayum*
REG	*Revue des études grecques* (Paris)
REH	*Revue des études historiques*
Reise Lydia	→ *ILydia*KP
Reisen Kilikien	→ *IKilikia*HW
Reise Nordostlydien	→ *ILydia*H
REJ	*Revue des études juives* (Louvain)
REL	*Revue des études latines* (Paris)
RendLinc	Rendiconti della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Ser. V–VIII. Rome, 1892–.
RendPontAcc	*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* (Rome)
RESE	*Revue des Études sud-est-européennes* (Bucarest)
ResGestaeAug	*Res gestae divi Augusti ex monumentis Ancyrano et Antiocheno Latinis Ancyrano et Apolloniensi Graecis,* ed. J. Gagé. Paris, 1977. (Nouvelle collection de textes et de documents.)
Rev. de l'instr. Belg.	→ *RIPBelg*
Rev. Phil.	→ *RPhil*
Reynolds, "Apollonia"	→ "IApollonia"
RFIC	→ *RivFil*
RGDA	→ *ResGestaeAug*
RHist	*Revue historique*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (Frankfurt)
Rhod. 1	→ *IRhod*K
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RIC	*The Roman Imperial Coinage,* by M. Mattingly and E. A. Syndenham. 9 vols. London, 1926–51.
RICM	→ *IMakedChr*
RIDA	*Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* (Brussels)
RIG	→ Michel
RIGSup	→ Michel*Suppl*

RIL	*Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche* (Milan)
RIPBelg	*Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* (Brussels)
RivFil	*Rivista de filologia e di instuzione classica* (Turin)
RivLF	*Rivista de linguistica y filologica clasica* (Madrid)
RM	→ RömÖ
RN	*Revue Numismatique* (Paris)
Robert, *Collection Froehner*	→ *ICollFroehner*
Robert, *ÉtAnat*	Études anatoliennes: Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie mineure, by L. Robert. EO 5. Paris, 1937.
Robert, *ÉtÉpPhil*	*Études épigraphique et philologique,* by L. Robert. BEHE 272. Paris, 1938.
Robert, *Hellenica*	*Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques,* by L. Robert. 13 vols. Amsterdam, then Paris, 1940–65. I. By L. Robert. Amsterdam, 1940. II. By L. Robert. Paris, 1946. III. By L. Robert. Paris, 1946. IV. *Épigrammes du Bas-Empire,* by L. Robert. Paris, 1948. V. By L. Robert. Paris, 1948. VI. *Inscriptions grecques de Lydie,* by L. Robert and J. Robert. Paris, 1948. VII. By L. Robert. Paris, 1949. VIII. *Inscriptions en langue carienne: Monuments de gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec.* by L. Robert. Paris, 1950. IX. By J. Robert and L. Robert. Paris, 1950. X. By L. Robert. Paris, 1955. XI–XII. By L. Robert. Paris, 1960. XIII. By L. Robert. Paris, 1965.
Robert, *Les gladiateurs*	→ *Gladiateurs*

Robert*Noms*	*Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine,* by L. Robert. BAH 13. Paris, 1963.
Roberts-Gardner	*An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy,* by E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1887–1905.
Roman Docs Greek East	→ Sherk, *RDGE*
RömÖ	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung (Continuation of Bull.dell'Instituto.)
RömQSchr	*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* (Freiburg)
Rough Cilicia	*IKilikia*BM 1
Royal Corr.	→ Welles
RPAA	*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* (Rome)
RPhil	*Revue de philologie, de littéraire et d'histoire anciennes,* n.s. (Paris)
RQA	→ *RömQSchr*
RRMAM	→ *IAsMinMil*
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
Sahin, *BSt*	→ *IBith*Sahin
Sammelbuch	→ SB
Samml. Griech Dial.-Inscr.	→ *GDI*
Sardis VII, 1	→ *ISard*BR
SAWW	→ SBWien
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, ed. F. Preisigke, then F. Bilabel, F. Kiessling, H.-A. Rupprecht. vols. 1–21. 1915–73. Reprint, vols. 1–2, ed. J. Bingen. Göttingen, 1952–61. (Collection of documentary papyri, inscriptions, etc. from Egypt published in journals and unindexed catalogues.)
SBAk.Berlin	→ SBBerl

SBAW	→ SBWien
SBBerl	Sitzungsberichte der [first preussischen, then] Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-historischen Klasse
SBHeid	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLeip	Sitzungsberichte der Sächischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig
SBMünch	Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-historische Abteilung
SBWien	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenchaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
Schindler	→ *IBubon*
Schwertheim, *I. Kyz(ikos)*	→ *IKyzikos*
Schwyzer	→ *DGE*
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica: Yearbook of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies* (Jerusalem)
SCO	*Studi Classici e Orientali* (Pisa)
Scriptorium	*Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits*
SDHI	*Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* (Rome)
SDI	→ *GDI*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 1–11. Ed. J. J. E. Hondius et al. 1923–. 12–25. Ed. A. G. Woodhead et al. Leiden, –1971. Indices to vols. 11–20, by G. Pfohl. Leiden, 1970. (After a gap from 1971 to 1975, the publication began again on a new foundation.)

	26–39. Ed. H. W. Pleket and R. S. Stroud. Alphen aan den Rijn, then Amsterdam, 1979–92. Consolidated indices to vols. 26–35, by H. Roozenbeek. Amsterdam, 1990.
SEJG	*Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* (Steenbrugge, St. Petersburg)
SEHHW	*Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* by M. Rostovtzeff. 3 vols. Oxford, 1941.
Selection gr. hist. inscr.	→ MeiggsLewis
SERP	*Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire,* ed. W. M. Ramsay. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.
SGDI	→ *GDI*
SHAW	→ SBHeid
Sherk, *RDGE*	*Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus,* ed. R. K. Sherk. Baltimore, 1969.
Sherk, *TDGR*	*Translated Documents of Greece and Rome,* vol. 4, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus.* Cambridge, 1984.
SIA	*Inscriptiones Atticae: Supplementum Inscriptionum Atticarum,* ed. A. N. Oikonomides. 5 vols. to date. Chicago, 1976–. I. 1976. Reprint of *Defixionum tabellae,* ed. R. Wünsch (1897) and of studies by W. Peek and G. Stamiris. II. 1979. Reprint of studies by J. Hondius (1923–27). III. 1979. Reprint of *IG* III.2, nos. 1363, 1383–87, 1428, 3435–47; of *De titulis Atticae christianis antiquissimis,* ed. C. Bayet (Paris, 1878); and of "Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens," ed.

	J. S. Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesp* 16 (1947): 1–54.
	IV. Inscriptions on the vases of the Acropolis. 1984.
	V. Ostraca and tablets. 1984. Reprint of studies by E. Vanderpool, J. H. Kroll, and W. Peek (see *IAthKeram*).
SIBD	*Sylloge inscriptionum Boeoticarum dialectum popularem exhibentium,* ed. W. Larfeld. Berlin, 1883.
SIBoet	*Sylloges inscriptionum Boeoticarum particula,* ed. C. A. K. Keil. Leipzig, 1847.
SIFC	Studi italiani di fililogia classica. Florence.
SIG[1]	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum,* ed. W. Dittenberger. 1st ed. Leipzig, 1883.
SIG[2]	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum,* ed. W. Dittenberger. 2d ed. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1898–1901.
SIG[3]	*Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum,* ed. W. Dittenberger. 3d ed. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–24.
	I–II. Organized chronologically.
	III. Organized according to subject matter.
	IV. Index, by F. Hiller von Gaertringen.
SIGLM	→ *IMakedD*
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SIRIS	*Sylloge inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae,* ed. L. Vidman. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 28. Berlin, 1969.
Sitz.Bayr.Akad.	→ SBMünch
Sitz.Berl.Akad.	→ SBBerl
Sitz.Heid.Akad.	→ SBHeid
Sitz.Wien.Akad.	→ SBWien
Smallwood	→ *DocsGaius*
Smallwood	→ *DocsNerva*
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed egeo-anatolici. Rome.
SO	→ *SymbOslo*
SÖAW	→ SBWien

Sokolowski I	→ *LSAM*
Sokolowski II	→ *LSCG*
Solin	*Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: Ein Namenbuch,* by H. Solin. 3 vols. CIL, Auctarium. Berlin, 1982.
Solmsen	→ *IGDial*
SPAW	→ SBBerl
Spiegelberg	*Ägyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit,* by W. Spiegelberg. IGAeg 4. Leipzig: E. J. Brill, 1901. Reprint, Chicago: Ares, 1978.
SS	→ *IlionSS*
StAmst	Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia. Amsterdam, 1972–.
StClas	*Studii Clasice: Societatea de studii clasice din Republica Socialista România*
Stein	*Römische Inschriften in der antiken Literatur,* ed. A. Stein. Prague, 1931.
Stèles fun. Byzance	→ *IByzEpit*
Sterrett*EJ*	*An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor during the Summer of 1884,* ed. J. R. S. Sterrett. PAS 2. Boston, 1888.
Sterrett*WE*	*The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor during the Summer of 1885,* ed. J. R. S. Sterrett. PAS 3. Boston, 1888.
StPap	Studia Papyrologica
Studia Pontica, III, 1	→ *IPont*
Studies Mylonas	ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ ΕΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΝ Ε. ΜΥΛΩΝΑΝ. 2 vols. Athens, 1986–87.
SubEpig	Subsidia epigraphica: Quellen und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Epigraphik. Hildesheim, 1972–.
SuppIt	*Supplementa Italica* (Rome)
Syll[3]	→ *SIG*
Sylloge	→ *SIG*
SymbOslo	*Symbolae Osloenses, auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latinae* (Oslo)

Syria	*Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.* (Paris)
Tab. Defix. Aud.	→ *IDefix*Audollent
TAD	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
T & MByz	*Travaux et mémoires: Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilizations byzantines* (Paris)
Talanta	Τάλαντα: *Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*
	I. *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti,* Vienna, 1901, ed. E. Kalinka.
	II. *Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti,* ed. E. Kalinka. 3 vols. Vienna, 1920–44.
	II.1. *Pars Lyciae occidentalis cum Xantho oppido.* 1920.
	II.2. *Regio quae ad Xanthum flumen pertinet praeter Xanthum oppidum.* 1930.
	II.3. *Regiones montanae a valle Xanthi fluminis ad oram orientalem.* 1944.
	III. *Tituli Pisidiae Graeca et Latina conscripti.*
	III.1. *Tituli Termessi et agri Termessensis,* ed. R. Heberdey. Vienna, 1941.
	IV. *Tituli Bithyniae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti.*
	IV.1. *Paeninsula Bithynica praeter Chalcedonem: Nicomedia et ager Nicomedensis cum septentrionali meridianoque litore sinus Astaceni et cum lacu Sumonensi,* ed. F. K. Dörner and M.-B. von Stritsky. Vienna, 1978.
	V. *Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti,* ed. P. Herrmann. 2 vols. Vienna, 1981–89.
	V.1. *Regio septentrionalis ad orientem vergens.* Vienna, 1981.

	V.2. *Regio septentrionalis ad occidentem vergens.* 1989.
TAM Suppl 3	→ *IKilikia*BM 2
TAM Suppl 4	→ *ILykia*Bean
TAM Suppl 8	→ *IAsMinVers*
TAM Suppl 11	→ *ILykaonia*LP
TAM Suppl 13	→ *IAnemurMos*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association* (Decatur, GA)
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philological Society
TCRPO	Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiques de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strassbourg
TDSA	Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità
TextMin	Textus Minores
TextMin 14	*Tituli achaici et aeolici,* ed. J. J. E. Hondius. Leiden, 1950.
TextMin 29	→ *IAshoka*
TextMin 31	*Epigraphica,* vol. 1, *Texts on the Economic History of the Greek World,* ed. H. W. Pleket. Leiden, 1964.
TextMin 36	*Greek Poems on Stones,* vol. 1, *Epitaphs: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries* B.C., ed. G. Pfohl. Leiden, 1967.
TextMin 41	*Epigraphica,* vol. 2, *Texts on the Social History of the Greek World,* ed. H. W. Pleket. Leiden, 1969.
TextMin 44	*Tituli dorici et ionici,* ed. J. B. Hainsworth. Leiden, 1972.
TextMin 47	*Epigraphica,* vol. 3, *Texts on Bankers, Banking, and Credit in the Greek World,* ed. R. Bogaert. Leiden, 1976.
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für das gesamte Gebiet der Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* (Berlin)

Threatte, *Grammar*	*The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, by L. Threatte. 2 vols. Berlin, 1980–96.
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
Tituli	Tituli: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di epigrafia antichità greche e romane dell'Università di Roma
TK	Texte und Kommentare
Tod	*A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions from the Sixth Century B.C. to the Death of Alexander the Great*, ed. M. N. Tod. 2 vols. Oxford, 1933–48.
TT	→ TürkArkDerg
TürkArkDerg	Türk arkeoloji dergisi
Türsteine	*Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: Typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür*, ed. M. Waelkens. Mainz, 1986.
Tyche	*Tyche: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (Vienna)
UPZ	*Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)*, ed. W. Wilcken. 2 vols. Berlin, 1927–57.
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnej Istorii: Revue d'Histoire ancienne* (Moscow)
VigChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*
von Prott & Ziehen	→ *ILegesSacr*
Wadd.	→ LBW
Waltzing	*Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire*, by J.-P. Waltzing. Brussels, then Louvain, 1895–1900. I. *Le droit d'association à Rome.* 1896. II. *Les collèges professionnels considère comme institutions officielles.* 1896. III. *Recueil des inscriptions. 1899.* IV. *Indices. Liste des collèges connus.*
Welles	*Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*, ed. C. B. Welles. New Haven, 1934. Reprint, Chicago, 1974.
WienAnz	→ AnzWien
WienStud	→ *WS*
WJA	*Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* Würzburg, 1946–50, NF, 1975–.
Wolfe Exped.	→ SterrettWE
WS	*Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patriskik* (Vienna)
Wuthnow	*Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, by H. Wuthnow. Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde I.4. Leipzig, 1930.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	Wiender Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
Yedioth	→ *BIES*
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. Berlin.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZfN	Zeitschrift für Numismatik
Zgusta*KO*	*Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, by L. Zgusta. Beiträge zur Namenforschung 21. Heidelberg, 1984.
Zgusta*KP*	*Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, by L. Zgusta. Prague, 1964.
Zgusta*NB*	*Neue Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Anthroponymie*, by L. Zgusta. Disserationes orientales 24. Prague: Academia, 1970.
Zgusta*NS*	*Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*, by

Index of Greek Personal Names

This index excludes Roman personal names written in Greek (e.g., Αὐρήλιος), names of months, and demes.

Index of Latin Terms

Index of Roman Personal Names

n = nomen; p = praenomen; c = cognomen; a = agnomen. For the sake of brevity, this index excludes those nomina that are mentioned only in table 8.

General Index