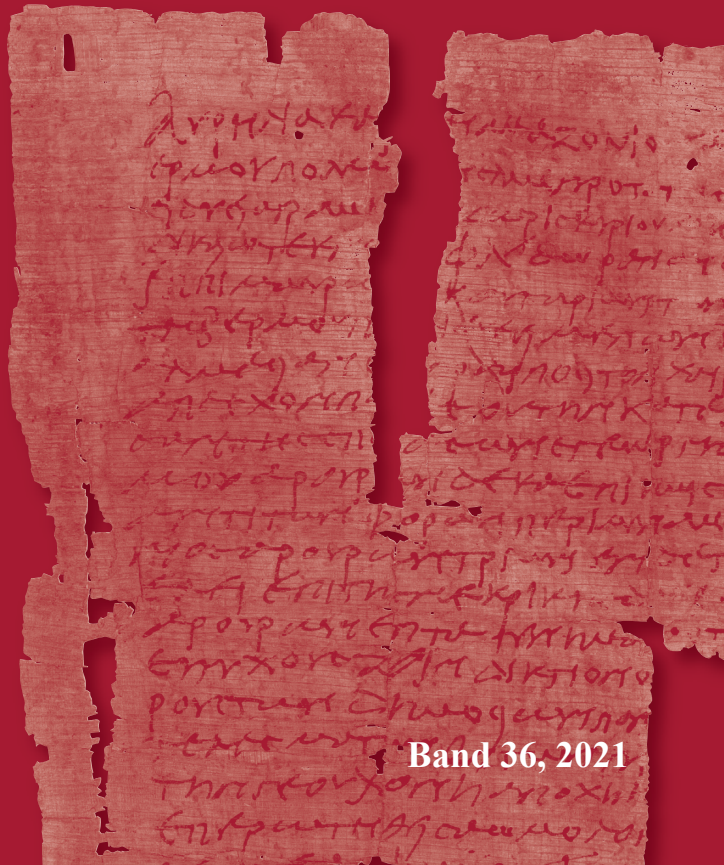


TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik



HOLZHAUSEN

Der Verlag

Band 36, 2021

I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Christer B r u n: Commodus and/or Marcus Aurelius in a Double-Sided Inscription from Ostia (<i>ScO</i> XI, C 115): Yes and No (Taf. 1).....	1
Chiara C e n a t i — Victoria G o n z á l e s B e r d ú s — Tina H o b e l — Peter K r u s c h w i t z — Denisa M u r z e a: Defragmenting Apulum: A Re-Examination of <i>IDR</i> III/5.2.586 (With a Digression on <i>IDR</i> III/5.2.622+626).....	11
Bram F a u c o n n i e r: Euergetism as a Political Strategy: The Case of Iason versus Moles	27
Alexander F r e e: A New Epitaph from Aphrodisias (Taf. 2–5).....	47
Nikolaos G o n i s: Caracalla’s Titulature, Geta’s Murder, and Egypt. Some Chronological Considerations	57
Nikolaos G o n i s: From Theadelphia to Philadelphia (PA): Two New Papyri from the Dossier of Aurelius Sakaon (Taf. 6–7)	63
Nikolaos G o n i s: Letters of Wessely to Bell	71
Alan J o h n s t o n: The Re-Emergence of <i>IG</i> XII,9 1196 (Taf. 8–10).....	79
Aikaterini K o r o l i: A Greek Receipt for the Payment of <i>diagraphon</i> from the Dossier of Ioulios (Taf. 11)	83
Sophie K o v a r i k: Aus Zwei mach Eins: SB XVIII 13997 und P.Vindob. G 21154. Ein arsinoitischer Teilpachtvertrag über Weinland (Taf. 12–13) .	87
Adam Ł a j t a r: <i>Peripoloi</i> and the god Medaurus in a newly-discovered Greek inscription from Rhizon (Taf. 14–15).....	97
Donato M a r a z z i: Contratto di lavoro per un muratore salariato (Taf. 16– 17).....	109
Federica M i c u c c i †: A Hermopolite Sale on Delivery in Vienna and London (Taf. 18–21)	115
Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s — Eleni T s i t s i a n o p o u l o u: Der Gebrauch von Gnomēn, Proverbien und Apophthegmata in den griechischen Privat- und Geschäftsbriefen der byzantinischen und früh-arabischen Zeit (5.–8. Jh. n. Chr.).....	121
Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s — Athanassios V e r g a d o s: An Oxy- rhynchan Deed of Surety for a Registered Sailor from the Dossier of Flavia Anastasia (Taf. 22–23)	131
Linda P u t e l l i: Ein neuer Papyrus des Flavius Johannes, <i>comes</i> <i>consistorianus</i> (Taf. 24–25).....	139
Peter S i e w e r t: Spätarchaisches Gesetz über Landwirtschaft aus Olympia (BrU 10) (Taf. 26).....	149
Marianna T h o m a — Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s: The Use of Threat as a Rhetorical Strategy in Women’s Papyrus Letters.....	163

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXXIV (<Korr. Tyche> 989–1094)	177
Adnotationes epigraphicae XII (<Adn. Tyche> 119–122)	211
Tafeln 1–26	

ADAM ŁAJTAR

Peripoloi and the god Medaurus
in a newly-discovered Greek inscription from Rhizon*

Plates 14–15

Rhizon (Greek Ῥίζων, Latin Risinum) was the name of an ancient settlement on the northeastern edge of the Rhizonic Gulf, currently known as the Bay of Kotor or Boka Kotorska, Montenegro.¹ The settlement apparently functioned as an Illyrian *oppidum* before the fourth century BC. It was one of the strongholds of Illyrian kings at the time of the Roman-Illyrian wars at the end of the third and beginning of the second century BC. Roughly at the same time, Rhizon started minting autonomous coinage in bronze,²

* The first version of this paper was written in 2019, immediately after the discovery of the inscription, on the basis of documentation (photo and facsimile) prepared by the excavators. Two anonymous reviewers invited by the editors of *Tyche*, where the paper was submitted for publication, suggested important improvements to the reading of the inscription. The readings of crucial places were checked first with the help of the RTI application on a new photograph taken in July 2021, and then during an autopsy of the original kept in the Centre for Conservation and Archaeology of Montenegro in Cetinje during my visit to Montenegro in August 2021. I would like to thank Piotr Dyczek, Director of the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw and head of the Center's expedition to Risan, for inviting me to publish this interesting epigraphic find. I also thank three members of the expedition, Martin Lemke, Bartosz Wojciechowski, and Aleksandra Miernik, for providing me with all the necessary information and documentation related to the find. I am greatly obliged to Benedetto Bravo for discussing with me textual problems posed by the inscription, Krzysztof Narloch for taking a high-resolution photograph of the stone and helping me with the RTI application, Milan Moštrolak for granting me access to the artefact and taking care of the logistic side of the examination, and my colleagues, Tomasz Płóciennik and Tomasz Derda, for assisting me in this examination. The article came into existence within the framework of the project of the National Science Centre, Poland, allotted on the basis of decision DEC 2015/19/B/HS3/02056.

¹ For general information on ancient Rhizon/Risinum, see G. Alföldy, *Ῥίζων*, RE Suppl. XI (1968) 1214–1217; P. Cabanes, *Risinum (Rhizon)*, DNP 10 (2001) 1023–1024. For the name of the settlement and its ethnicon, which varies, especially in Latin sources, see T. Płóciennik, “Rhizus, Rhizon, Rhizinum, Risinum, Rhisinon, etc. The name of the bay, city and its residents in ancient and early medieval Greek and Latin sources (until the tenth century AD)”, forthcoming.

² For the autonomous coinage of Rhizon, see D. Ujes, *Autonomous coinage of Rhizon in Illyria*, in: P. Cabanes, J.-L. Lamboley (eds.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité. IV: Actes du IV^e colloque international de Grenoble (10–12 octobre 2002)*, Paris 2004, 149–168; R. Ciołek, *The Monetary System in the Kingdom of Ballaeus (Rhizon/Risinum. Illyrian Fortress, Greek and Roman Town 2)*, Warsaw 2021, passim, especially 43–55. The mint of Rhizon issued also coins of King Ballaios and, most probably, the so-called “coinage from the Rhisonic Gulf”,

which suggests that it became a city in the Greek style. Under the Romans, perhaps already during the reign of Augustus, Rhizon/Risinum became a *municipium*, and later, possibly in the third century AD, it may have been elevated to the rank of a colony. The main god of Rhizon/Risinum was the Illyrian Medaurus represented as a mounted warrior throwing a spear, as described by an epigram in Latin accompanying his (lost) statue erected in Lambaesis in Numidia, the seat of *legio III Augusta*, by its commander, a native of Risinum.³

Ancient Rhizon/Risinum, now largely hidden under the modern town of Risan, has been subjected to archaeological excavations by an expedition of the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw since 2001.⁴ The archaeological work has concentrated on two sites: the rocky hill of Gradina corresponding to the acropolis of the ancient city, the place of the royal Illyrian fortress and the temple of Medaurus, and the lower town stretched along the Spila River. It brought to light interesting discoveries, of which the most spectacular was a hoard of 4,656 bronze coins datable to the third century BC and representing predominantly the issues of a somewhat mysterious Illyrian king, Ballaios.⁵

The 2019 season of excavations yielded an interesting epigraphic find. It is a stone block with a Greek inscription in ten lines.⁶ The block came to light in a trench close to the internal curtain of the northeastern course of defences on the Gradina hilltop, in a layer of nearly black earth lying directly on the rock (pl. 14 fig. 1). The layer contained mixed archaeological material: sherds of ancient pottery (amphorae MGS V and Lamboglia 2) occurred there together with fragments of medieval and modern vessels. The block made of local limestone is 60 cm wide, 33 cm high, and 20 cm thick (pl. 15 fig. 2). The inscribed face of the block is smoothed and the remaining faces only roughly dressed. The dimensions of the block and its treatment suggest that we are dealing with an element of a construction, such as a building or an altar. The block is chipped off, especially on the edges and in the lower part. The inscribed surface is

which has been considered as originating from a symmarchy of towns which included Rhizon. Recent excavations on the acropolis of Rhizon brought to light a mould for casting coins (information provided by Piotr Dyczek).

³ For Medaurus and his iconography, see P. Dyczek et al., *Une inscription métrique de Lambaesis (CIL, VIII, 2581; F. Buecheler, Carmina Latina epigraphica, 1527) et la statue du dieu illyrien Médaure*, *Antiquités africaines* 50 (2014) 73–84. An extended version of this article was published in Polish: *Illiryjski bóg Medaurus i mury Risinium w świetle inskrypcji metrycznej z Lambaesis (CIL VIII 2581; F. Buecheler, Carmina Latina epigraphica 1527)*, *Novensia* 21 (2010) 79–133.

⁴ For a summary of results after the 2017 season of work, see P. Dyczek, *Rhizon – capital of the Illyrian kingdom – some remarks*, in: A. Łajtar, K. Jakubiak (eds.), *Ex Oriente Lux. Studies in Honour of Jolanta Młynarczyk*, Warsaw 2020, 423–433.

⁵ The publication of the hoard is under preparation by Renata Ciołek. For a preliminary discussion, see R. Ciołek, *'Great hoard' of 4656 coins of King Ballaios from Risan*, *Novensia* 21 (2010) 7–12.

⁶ Until this discovery, epigraphic finds made by the University of Warsaw mission were limited to graffiti on pottery. For more on them, see A. Łajtar, T. Kowal, *Graffiti na ceramice stolowej z Risan (Rhizon, Risinium)*, *Novensia* 25 (2014) 85–104.

abraded and pockmarked. The inscription occupies the upper three quarters of the front face, leaving an empty space at the bottom. The text was framed on three sides, except for the bottom, by a flat fillet, c. 2 cm wide. The inscription was rather carelessly executed. Letters of varying height do not form even lines, which shows that the stone-mason did not make use of guidelines. The height of letters ranges between 1.7 cm (first *omicron* in περιπολαρχούντος in Line 1) and 2.2 cm (first *rho* in περιπολαρχούντος). In terms of letter forms, one has to mention: *alpha* with a broken bar (see, however, the first *alpha* in the name Κλεανδρίδα in Line 7 and probably also the second *alpha* in the last name in Line 10, which have a slightly oblique bar rising from left to right), *epsilon* square, *zeta* with a vertical or slightly oblique bar in the middle, *mu* with external *hastae* oblique, *omicron* smaller than the rest of letters and placed at the top of the script line, *pi* with the vertical *hastae* of the same length, *sigma* of the classic form with the external *hastae* horizontal, *upsilon* with arms both straight and slightly bent (e.g., in περιπολαρχούντος in Line 1), *omega* of the classic form and, similarly as *omicron*, smaller than the rest of letters and placed at the top of the script line. *Tau* in τοῦ Ζωίλου in Line 5 was probably corrected from *upsilon* and *upsilon* from *tau*. This may indicate that the stone-mason was not literate and identified the letters only on the basis of their forms. Palaeographic criteria suggest that the inscription might have come into being in the mid-Hellenistic Period, perhaps at the beginning of the second century BC.

The inscription can be transcribed and translated as follows:

περιπολαρχούντος Μεδαύρου, πρυτα-
 γεύοντος Ἀριστοκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος, πε-
 ριπόλων Βαΐου τοῦ Τραύζου, Ζωίλου τοῦ
 4 Πανκίου, Κάλλωνος τοῦ Φίλωνος, Μενέσ-
 τιος τοῦ Γέτου, Τέχνωνος τοῦ Ζωίλου, [Ἄλε]-
 ξάνδρου τοῦ Διονυσίου, Κράτωνος τοῦ Μι-
 νθίου, Κλεανδρίδα τοῦ Φιλιστίδα, Ἄντι-
 8 ωνος τοῦ Ἀγελάου, Γέτου τοῦ Σκενότη-
 ος, Ἰσιοδώρου τοῦ Ἰστιήου, Δάμωνος
 τοῦ Γαύρου, . ε . . ου τοῦ Πλα[.]α . [. .] .

When Medaurus was peripolarchos (and) Aristokles son of Aristion was prytanis, peripoloi Baios son of Trauzos, Zoilos son of Pankios, Kallon son of Philon, Menestis son of Getos, Technon son of Zoilos, Aleksandros son of Dionysios, Kraton son of Minthios, Kleandridas son of Philistidas, Antion son of Agelaos, Getos son of Skenotis, Isidoros son of Histieos, Damon son of Gauros, [.]e[. . .]os son of Pla[.]a[. . .] .

Line commentary

2. Genitive Ἀριστοκλέος instead of the expected Ἀριστοκλέους is obviously due to the persistence of a dialectal form down to the *Koine* period. Genitives in -εος occur in different dialects and it is impossible to state which dialect intervened here.

3. The personal name Βαΐος equals the adjective βαΐος, “little, small, scanty, feeble”. Βαΐος was a mythological name. It was carried by the helmsman of Odysseus who is

said to have died during the stay of the latter in Sicily.⁷ Later tradition made him the eponym of several place names including Baiæ in Campania. As a historical name, Βαῖος is rare. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (henceforth *LGPN*) lists only four examples: three in Cyrenaica⁸ and one in the Cimmerian Bosphorus.⁹

The reading Τραύζου is not entirely certain but very probable. Alternatively, one can read Τραύσου. The personal name Τραυῖος/Τραυῖος is attested epigraphically in southern Illyria, in Apollonia,¹⁰ Epidamnos/Dyrrhachium,¹¹ and on the Salento Peninsula on the other side of the Strait of Otranto.¹² The topographical distribution of the name suggests that it was of Illyrian origin. Latin inscriptions from different parts of the Roman world attest the name Trausus/Trauseus (either an individual name or a *cognomen*),¹³ tentatively considered by Géza Alföldy as being of Venetic origin.¹⁴ Τραυῖος/Trausi was also the name of a Thracian tribe whose members inhabited the southwestern region of the Rhodopes.¹⁵ The relations between the Thracian ethnonym and the Illyro-Venetic anthroponym are unknown.

4. The personal name Πάνκιος may be on record in a grave inscription from Corcyra,¹⁶ assuming that Πάνκιος Κορινθίου means “Pankios son of Corinthios”¹⁷ and not “(Grave) of Pankis a Corinthian”. The name Πάνκις, gen. Πάνκιος, was known on Rhodes. It was the name of a Lindian, whose sons colonised Cyrene together with Battos, as indicated by a dedication made in Rhodes by their descendants in 335 BC,¹⁸ later quoted by the so-called “Lindian Chronicle”.¹⁹ Note that the spelling of the name fluctuates between Πάγκις and Πάνκις in Rhodian inscriptions.

⁷ For more on him, see G. Wissowa, *Baios*, RE II, 2 (1931) 2777.

⁸ G. Oliverio, G. Pugliese-Caratelli, D. Morelli, *Supplemento epigrafico Cirenaico*, ASAA n.s. 23–24 (1961–1962) 299, no. 144: Βαῖος Λυσανία (undated) and p. 300, no. 148: Βαῖος (third century BC); *SEG* IX 46, 43: [Β]βαῖος Κυλία (fourth century BC).

⁹ *CIRB* 898, 1: [- - -]ακον Βαῖου (third century AD).

¹⁰ *I.Apollonia* 158: Τραυῖος (Hellenistic Period).

¹¹ *I.Dyrrhachium* 152: Γένθεις Τραυῖου (Hellenistic–Roman Imperial), 418: Τραυῖος Ἐπιγένης (undated), and 421: Τρίτος Τραυῖου.

¹² *IG* XIV 2406, 83: Τραυῖος (Hellenistic–Roman Imperial). Note that G. Susini, *Fonti per la storia greca e romana del Salento*, Bologna 1962, 176, no. 164 bis, read the name as Τραῖος.

¹³ *CIL* III 12027h: *Trausus L. Pomp() Trausus* (Carnuntum, calculating token, early Imperial); *AE* 1974, 475: *Ti(berius) Claudius Trausi fil(ius) Attucius* (Municipium Claudium Virunum, epitaph, AD 51–100).

¹⁴ G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London, Boston 1974 (repr. Abingdon, New York 2014), Appendix I: ‘Venetic’ personal names in Noricum.

Abingdon, New York 2014, Appendix 1: “Venetic personal names in Noricum”.

¹⁵ For more on them, see E. Oberhummer, *Trausi*, RE VIA, 2 (1937) 2245–2246. For more on their name, see D. Detchew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abteilung 14), Vienna 1957, 521.

¹⁶ *IG* IX 1, 893 (Hellenistic Period).

¹⁷ So in *LGPN* IIIA, s.v. Πάγκις.

¹⁸ Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos II. Inscriptions*, Copenhagen 1941, no. 44, 1.

¹⁹ Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II, no. 2, 109 and 114 (99 BC).

4–5. As far as I know, the name Μένεστις has not been attested thus far. Probably, it has to be analysed as a hypocoristic of Μενέστρατος, Μεδέστιος, genitive of Μέδεστις, a name attested in the Perast inscription (see below, with n. 45), apparently cannot be read.

Γέτου is genitive of Γέτος rather than Γέτας; the latter, as a rule, was declined Γέτας, Γέτα. While Γέτας is very common, Γέτος is relatively rare. Interestingly, it is attested epigraphically in Apollonia, southern Illyria.²⁰ Γέτος, similarly to its more common counterpart Γέτας, is derived from the name of the tribe of Getae, which inhabited the territory of the Lower Danubian Plain in ancient times.²¹ Dan Dana demonstrated that bearers of this name known from epigraphic sources were not related directly to the Getae, however.²² They originated from different areas of the Greek-speaking world and might have been given the name Γέτας in different ethnic and social situations. His remarks hold true also for the inscription discussed here.

6–7. Between *ny* and *iota*, there is a letter in the form of an oval with the height of a full line. This is *theta* rather than *omicron*, as the last letter is smaller than the rest of letters and is placed at the top of the script line (see above, palaeographic observations). The name Μίνθιος has not been attested before. It should probably be regarded as a derivate from μίνθα, “mint.”²³ Another possibility is to assume a phonetic notation or a scribal mistake; however, this would be inconsistent with the orthographic correctness of this inscription.

7. The names of the pair Κλεανδρίδας (son) and Φιλιστίδας (father) are common. It is interesting to observe that both are constructed with the Doric suffix -ίδας. Obviously the father chose the name for his son, which resembled his own morphologically. The name of the father — Φιλιστίδας — enjoyed a certain popularity in southern Illyria where it is attested thrice in Epidamnos/Dyrrhachium.²⁴

7–8. Ἀντίων is a mythological name. It was borne by a son of Periphes and Astyguia, grandson of Lapithos, great-grandson of Apollo, father of Ixion by Perimele.²⁵

²⁰ *I.Apollonia 65*: Γέτος Πλάτορος (Hellenistic–Roman Imperial).

²¹ For more on Getae and their name, see K. Strobel, *Südosteuropa in der Zeit von Republik und Prinzipat: Vorgeschichte, Etablierung und Konsolidierung römischer Herrschaft*, in: F. Mitthof, P. Schreiner, O. J. Schmitt (eds.), *Handbuch zur Geschichte Südosteuropas I. Herrschaft und Politik in Südosteuropa von der römischen Antike bis 1300*, Berlin, Boston 2020, 132–133.

²² D. Dana, *Étude sur les porteurs du nom Γέτας*, *Studi classici* 37–39 (2001–2003, publ. 2005) 85–102.

²³ To the best of my knowledge, no personal name derived from μίνθα is attested, but there are names derived from other plants; cf. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, 592–597.

²⁴ *I.Dyrrhachium 295*: Λύκος Φιλιστίδα (second–first century BC), and 436: Φιλιστίδας Τίτου (undated). The name Φιλιστίδας is found on the coins of Dyrrhachium of the mid-third–mid-first century BC; cf. R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1985, 40.

²⁵ For more on the mythological Antion, see K. Wernicke, *Antion I*, RE I, 2 (1900) 2495.

As a historical name, Ἀντίων is rare. *LGNP* lists seven occurrences: four in Boeotia²⁶ and three in Argos.²⁷

8–9. The reading Σκεγότιος seems certain. The name Σκενότις is not attested and its etymology and linguistic affiliation are obscure to me. It is perhaps of Illyrian origin. An Illyrian woman with the name Σκενετα is commemorated by an epitaph from Demetrias in Thessaly.²⁸

9. Ἰσιόδωρος is a rare by-form of Ἰσίδωρος, based on the vocalic declension of the name of the goddess Isis (Ἰσις, Ἰσιος versus Ἰσις, Ἰσιδος). It is attested twice in late Hellenistic times (second/first century BC), once in Macedonia²⁹ and once in Carian Mylasa.³⁰ It is interesting to observe that a theophoric name constructed with the name of the goddess Isis occurs as early as the first half of the second century BC on the Dalmatian coast.

The reading Ἰστιῆου is not entirely certain, but is very probable. Ἰστιῆος is the Boeotian orthography for Ἰστιαῖος.³¹ In Boeotia, it is attested epigraphically in Hyettos³² and Tanagra.³³ It is also on record in Egyptian papyri of the Ptolemaic period,

²⁶ *IG* VII 2473: Ἀντίων (Thebes, third century BC); 2529: Ἀντίων (Thebes, Hellenistic Period); A. D. Keramopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας*, *AEph* 1936, Χρονικά, p. 31, no. 198, 12: Ἀντίων Ξένωνος (Thebes, second century BC); *I. Thesp.* 98, 18: Ἀντίων Ἀμιννίωνος (Thespiai, late third century BC); see also *I. Thesp.* 99, 5: [- - -]ων Ἀντίωνος (perhaps the same man).

²⁷ Πολυκράτης Ἀντίωνος Ἀργεῖος listed several times as a donor in Delphi between 336 and 324 BC (*CID* II 76 ii, 23; 95 [12]; 97, 23; 102 ii B, 28; 120 A, 1; 121 iii, 14); Ἀντίων Πολυκράτους listed as a donor in Delphi at the end of the third century BC (*CID* II 122, 9); *SEG* XXIX 361, 10: Ἀντίων (c. 400 BC).

²⁸ *SEG* XXX 529 (undated).

²⁹ *SEG* LV 723. This funerary inscription of unknown provenance (perhaps Amphipolis), commemorating a mime from Athens, consists of a short prosaic epitaph and a longer epigram. The deceased is called Ἰσίδωρος in the first part and Ἰσιόδωρος in the next one, whereby the choice of the latter form was dictated by the meter.

³⁰ *I. Mylasa* 632, 10 and 25; 634, 5 and 16; 635, 4; 803, 16. This Isidoros was the adoptive father of Theodoros son of Theodoros, a prominent citizen of Mylasa, who, in addition to his many civic offices, was also a priest of Isis.

³¹ For the Boeotian orthography, see, e.g. A. Morpurgo Davies, *Geography, history and dialect: the case of Oropos*, in: E. Crespo, J. L. Garcia Ramón, A. Strino (eds.), *Dialectologia Graeca. Actas del II Coloquio Internacional de Dialectologia Griega*, Madrid 1991, 261–279; G. Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, Blackwell 2014, 84–86.

³² *IG* VII 2816, 17: Ἀρίστιχος Ἰστιῆω (ca. 260–246 BC); *SEG* XXVI 499, 13: Καπίων Ἰστιῆω and 14: Καλλίδαμος Ἰστιῆω (ca. 210–200 BC).

³³ *IG* VII 524, 4: Ἰστιῆος Ἀρίστωνος (after mid-third century BC). Note that the man was a Milesian who was granted proxeny in Tanagra. Perhaps his family had had previous contacts with Boeotia and that is why he was given a “Boeotian” name.

with attestations coming from Arsinoites³⁴ and probably Herakleopolites.³⁵ Considering the date of the documents, the bearers of this name could have been recent immigrants from Boeotia.

10. The name Γαῦρος equals the adjective γαῦρος, “splendid”. Louis Robert has demonstrated that this adjective had a eulogistic character when connected to the sphere of gymnasium and competitions, and suggested that the name Γαῦρος might have essentially been given to the sons of men who frequented the gymnasium.³⁶ He also collected attestations of the name Γαῦρος in epigraphic and literary sources.

A possible reading is Θεάρριου. *LGPV* lists no examples of the name Θεάρριος. However, this name is attested in Thespiai.³⁷ We also know similar names Θεαρίδης/Θεαρίδας, Θεαρῖνος, Θέαρις, Θεαρίς, Θεάρτιος, Θεάριχος, Θεαρίων, and Θέαρος, all derived from the Doric-flavoured variant of the verb θεωρέω. Θεάρριος was an epithet of Apollo as an oracular god in Troizen.³⁸

In the last name, the second *alpha* is followed by a letter with two vertical *hastae*, perhaps *nu*. This invites the reading Πλα[τ]αν[ι]ου. Πλα[τ]ουρ[ι]ου, genitive of the name Πλατουριος attested in the Perast inscription, cannot be read because the letter following the lacuna was definitely a triangular one. Πλατάνιος is not attested as a personal name before late Antiquity,³⁹ even if we know other names derived from the name of the platanus tree, such as the male Πλάτανος and the female Πλατανίς. On the other hand, Πλατάνιος was the name of a river in northeastern Boeotia according to Pausanias IX 24.5,⁴⁰ which suggests that it could have been present in the onomastics much earlier than late Antiquity.

³⁴ *P. Petrie Kleon* 16, fr. A 5: Ἰστιείω[τ] (260–249 BC); *P. Tebt.* III 821, 1: Ἰστιέα Ἰστιήου Μακέτα, “Histiea, daughter of Histieos, Macedonian” (209 BC). The first of these documents was found in Gurob but originated in Arsinoites, the second was written and found in Tebtynis.

³⁵ *P. Hibeh* I 118 42 and 79: Ἰστιήος (ca. 250 BC). The papyrus was found in Ankyronpolis but probably written in Herakleopolites. It is likely the same man who is mentioned in both instances. His name is largely reconstructed in the first instance.

³⁶ L. Robert, *Hellenica I*, Limoges 1940, 127–131; idem, *Hellenica II*, Paris 1946, 139–141; idem, in: N. Firatli, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l’Institut français d’archéologie d’Istanbul 15), Paris 1964, 146.

³⁷ *I. Thesp.* 122, 11 (third century BC).

³⁸ For more on Apollo Thearios, see B. Kruse, *Thearios*, RE VA, 2 (1934) 1382–1383. He is attested in both literary record (Pausanias II 31.6) and inscriptions (*IG* IV 748; 755 [supplemented]; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I. Inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936, no. 53; A. Wilhelm, *Inscriptionen aus Halikarnassos und Theangela*, JÖAI 11 [1908] 70–72, no. 7 [two decrees of Troizen for citizens of Theangela]; *SEG* LV 502 [epithet of Apollo in a dedication of a helmet from the sanctuary of Apollo Korythos in Korone]).

³⁹ Flavius Platanus Serenianus was *dux Orientis* in the time of Justinian, as attested by an inscription found in Palmyra; cf. H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, Syria 27 (1952) 239, no. 5.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., E. Kirsten, *Platanios*, RE XX, 2 (1950) 2333.

General commentary

It is not entirely clear how the inscription should be interpreted grammatically. Assuming the reading *περιπόλων*, as in the transcription above, two interpretations can be suggested: (1) The text consists of two clauses constructed as absolute genitives depending on an implied main clause: *περιπολαρχούντος Μεδαύρου πρυτανεύοντος Ἀριστοκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος, περιπόλων (ὄντων) Βαίου τοῦ Τραύζου κτλ.*, “(So-and-so happened) when Medaurus was *peripolarchos* (and) Aristokles son of Aristion was *prytanis*, when Baios son of Trausos, etc., were *peripoloi*”. (2) The text consists of two clauses, of which the first — *περιπολαρχούντος Μεδαύρου πρυτανεύοντος Ἀριστοκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος* — is a dependent clause constructed as genitive absolute, and the rest — *περιπόλων Βαίου τοῦ Τραύζου κτλ.* — an independent one with both the subject and the predicate implied: “When Medaurus was *peripolarchos* (and) Aristokles son of Aristion was *prytanis*, (so-and-so was done by) the *peripoloi* Baios son of Trauzos, etc.” It is difficult to decide which of the three interpretations is the correct one. I am slightly in favour of the second one.

If we follow the second interpretation, the inscription commemorates an act performed by the *peripoloi*. Pierre Cabanes observed (see below, note 43) that *peripoloi* inscriptions, especially those originating from the Greek North-West, are frequently religious dedications made by those people, and this could have been the case also here. The addressee of the dedication was most probably Medaurus, the tutelary god of Rhizon, mentioned in the first clause as the current commander of *peripoloi*. The inscribed block might originally have belonged to his altar or temple standing on the acropolis of Rhizon, not far from the block’s findspot. It is possible that the inscription was accompanied by a title, placed on another block of the same structure, which described the act performed by *peripoloi* more clearly, thus explaining the brevity and ambiguity of the present text. Other inscriptions, set up by different groups of *peripoloi* acting under different command, could have been carved under the same title.

Considering that *peripoloi* are the main actors referred to in the text, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at this institution. Generally speaking, *peripoloi* were people who guarded the borders of a city and patrolled its territory, operating out of garrisons established in important strategic places.⁴¹ The institution of *peripoloi* is best known from Athens, where it is attested from the fifth century BC until the Hellenistic Period.⁴²

⁴¹ For general information on *peripoloi*, see G. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1936, 86–88; H. Hommel, *Peripoloi*, in: RE XIX 1 (1937) 852–856; L. Robert, *Hellenica X*, Paris 1955, 283–292; F. S. Russel, *Information Gathering in Ancient Greece*, Ann Arbor 1999, 38–39; A. Chaniotis, *Policing the Hellenistic countryside: Realities and ideologies*, in: C. Brélez, P. Ducrey (eds.), *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes* (Entretiens sur l’antiquité classique 54), Geneva 2008, 132–134; A. S. Chankowski, *L’éphébie hellénistique. Étude d’une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l’Asie Mineure* (Culture et cité 4), Paris 2010, 359–366.

⁴² For more on the institution of *peripoloi* in Athens and its changes over time, see especially C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l’éphébie attique: des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1962, 35–44; J. Ober, *Fortress Attica. Defence of the Athenian Land Frontier 402–322 B.C.*

It underwent several changes during its three to four hundred years of functioning. The *peripoloi* were recruited initially from among the mercenaries; later they were citizens acting voluntarily, as it would seem, then ephebes and then, finally, mercenaries again. Their commanders, who were under the direct control of *strategoï*, were always Athenians. Outside Athens, the institution of *περίπολοι* was known, among others, in the North-West of the Greek mainland, in Epirus and Illyria.⁴³

The institution of *peripoloi* was already attested for Rhizon by a Greek inscription reportedly found in Risan in 1880 and now lost. For the sake of convenience, this inscription will be called “old” in the further part of the paper, in contrast to the 2019 find, which will be called “new”. The “old” inscription, dating to the second half of the Hellenistic Period on palaeographic grounds, was recently reedited on the basis of a photograph by Jovan Martinović and myself in the following way:⁴⁴ περιπολιαρ[χ - - -] | [.] Μεδαύρου θ[- - -] | [. .] ἄρχόντων . [- - -]. Based on the “new” inscription, the lines 1–2 of the “old” one can now tentatively be read as: περιπολιαρ[χοῦντο] | [ς] Μεδαύρου. Because of the mention of *peripolarchos*, one can hypothesise that the lower, lost part of the text contained a list of *peripoloi*.

It is possible that yet another Greek inscription speaking about *peripoloi* should be connected with Rhizon. The inscription in question was in the collection of Andrija Zmajević, a titular bishop of Bar and primate of Serbia in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was kept in his palace in Perast, four kilometres away from Risan, and now belongs to a lapidarium in the Church of Our Lady of the Rock (Gospa od Škrpjela) situated on a small island opposite Perast.⁴⁵ The text, dating palaeographically

(*Mnemosyne Supplement* 84), Leiden 1985, 90–94; K. F. Daly, *Citizens, Soldiers, and Citizen-Soldiers in Attic Garrisons in the Fourth to the Second Centuries BCE*, Diss. Harvard University 2001, 306–314; J. L. Friend, *The Athenian Ephebeia in the Fourth Century BCE* (Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy 13), Leiden, Boston 2019, 41–48; T. R. Handerson, *The Spring-time of the People. The Athenian Ephebeia and Citizen Training from Lykourgos to Augustus*, Leiden 2020, passim, especially 122–126.

⁴³ P. Cabanes, *Recherches épigraphiques en Albanie : péripolarques et peripoloi en Grèce du Nord-Ouest et en Illyrie – la période hellénistique*, CRAI 1991, 197–221. A new inscription from Illyria mentioning a *peripolarchos* was published in N. Ceka, O. Ceka, *A peripolarchos inscription from fortress of Matohasanaj*, in: *New Discoveries in the Albanian Regions: Proceedings of the International Conference, 30–31 January, Tirana 2017*, Tirana 2017, 489–508; P. Cabanes et al., *Nouvelles inscriptions grecques en Albanie*, REA 118 (2016) 405–408.

⁴⁴ A. Ćajtar, J. Martinović, *Greek inscriptions in the Bay of Kotor (Boka Kotorska), Montenegro: Pierres errantes and objects of local provenience*, Palamedes 7 (2012) 83–87, no. 1 (SEG LXII 395). Note that the inscription was not included by Pierre Cabanes in his study of the institution of *peripoloi* in the Greek North-West (see the previous note).

⁴⁵ *Editio princeps*: D. Rendić-Miočević, *L’inscription hellénistique de la collection d’autrefois de l’archevêque Zmajević*, Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Arheološki Radovi i Rasprave 10 (1987) 155–165 (in Serbo-Croatian with a summary in French) (SEG XXXVIII 572). After Rendić-Miočević, the inscription was studied by O. Masson, *Notes épigraphiques: Thessalie et Dalmatie*, BCH 115 (1991) 357–359 (SEG XLI 546), and Cabanes, *Recherches épigraphiques* (n. 43) 220, no. 6. The inscription was reedited after the personal examination of the stone by Ćajtar, Martinović, *Greek inscriptions* (n. 44) 87–91, no. 2. Recently, it was discussed by N. Vujčić, O. Pelcer-Vujačić, *Some notes on two Greek inscriptions from*

to the second half of the Hellenistic Period,⁴⁶ apparently recorded a dedication. The list of dedicants included eleven or twelve *peripoloi* and four other men who were either all *peripolarchoi* or, more probably, one *peripolarchos* and three other officials.⁴⁷ Interestingly, the onomastics of the entire group of men shows a clear Illyrian flavour, recognisable in such names as Βατών, Δάζος, Πλατώρ, Πλατουριος, and Τριτος. The origin of the inscription is disputable. Considering that the Zmajević collection consisted largely of *pierres errantes* and taking into account the prominence of the Illyrian names, the first editor of the stone, Duje Rendić-Miočević, opted for its provenance from southern Illyria, probably from the area of Epidamnos/Dyrrhachium, although he did not exclude the possibility of its coming from the more northerly territories, around Skodra and Lissus. He was followed by Pierre Cabanes who extended the area of the possible origin of the stone as far south as Apollonia. On the other hand, Olivier Masson was in favour of its coming from one of the settlements on the Dalmatian coast based on the presence of such names as Σαλλην, Ἄνταλλος, and Ἐπιδοον, which have parallels exactly there. In our edition of the inscription, Jovan Martinović and I suggested that it might have originated from Rhizon, which also knew the institution of *peripoloi*, and the present inscription seems to support this suggestion.

The “new” inscription shows that the city of Rhizon had thirteen *peripoloi* in the mid-Hellenistic Period, which is very close to eleven or twelve *peripoloi* a hundred or so years later, as per the Perast inscription.⁴⁸ The *peripoloi* mentioned in the “new” inscription seem to have been citizens of Rhizon rather than mercenaries. However, whether they were epebes fulfilling their military training, as in Athens of the fourth century BC, or adult men cannot be said.

It is interesting to observe that the Rhizonitan *peripoloi* occur as a group in both the “new” inscription from Risan and the Perast inscription. A group occurrence of *peripoloi* may also be hypothesised for the “old” inscription from Risan (see above). It should further be stressed that all the three inscriptions under consideration apparently commemorate religious acts, with *peripoloi* as agents. Importantly, the religious act commemorated by the “new” inscription took place in the civic centre and probably had the main civic god, worshipped in the temple on the acropolis, as its addressee.⁴⁹

Montenegro, *Arheološki Vestnik* 70 (2019) 174–178. The last authors knew the edition by Łajtar and Martinović but adopted the text as established by Rendić-Miočević.

⁴⁶ Rendić-Miočević (followed by Masson and Cabanes) and Łajtar & Martinović dated the inscription to the mid-second century BC. Vujčić and Pelcer-Vujačić opted, not without grounds, for the first century BC.

⁴⁷ The ambiguity is due to the fact that the word *peripolarchos* has been preserved without the flecational ending.

⁴⁸ One cannot exclude the possibility that thirteen and eleven/twelve men listed in either of the two inscriptions were only a fraction of the entire body of *peripoloi*, perhaps members of a single patrol or the crew of one watchtower.

⁴⁹ This is worth stressing, as in the majority of known cases dedications of *peripoloi* were made to local gods in local shrines found in the area of *peripoloi* activity, i.e. in the *chora* and on its borders; for more, see Cabanes, *Recherches épigraphiques* (n. 43) 202, 209, 214.

As for *peripolarchos*, the Perast inscription has a lacuna in the place where his name is expected. The “new” inscription from Risan mentions the god Medaurus in this capacity and most probably the “old” inscription did so as well. That Medaurus is the only *peripolarchos* of Rhizon known by name is surely a matter of chance. The peripolarity must have been a civic office, as a rule exercised by mortal men, citizens of Rhizon, and only occasionally, at the lack of a candidate, by the god, whereby the costs of fulfilling the office were covered from the treasury of his temple.⁵⁰ The two Risan inscriptions cannot refer to the same peripolarity of Medaurus, as the “old” inscription is younger by a century or so than the “new” one. On the other hand, they together show that fulfilling the function of *peripolarchos* by Medaurus was not an isolated phenomenon. In this regard, I wonder if the letter *theta* following the name of Medaurus in the “old” inscription, tentatively interpreted as the beginning of the word θεοῦ in the edition by Łajtar and Martinović, designates the ninth peripolarity of the god. However attractive, this hypothesis cannot be taken for granted, as one expects the article τὸ before a number in this context.

After *peripolarchos*, the “new” Risan inscription mentions *prytanis*, an official previously unattested with relation to Rhizon. His mention may be due to the fact that he was an eponymous official of the city, but note that the “old” inscription has ἀρχόντων (note the plural) in the same position.⁵¹ A similar situation as in the “old” Risan inscription might have occurred in the Perast inscription, in which the name of *peripolarchos* was followed by names of three other men, apparently civic officials of some sort. Another possibility is that the *prytanis* from the inscription here discussed was the “deputy” of the god, who ensured all the practicalities connected with his fulfilling the function of *peripolarchos*.

While mentioning the civic institutions of *peripoloi*, *peripolarchos*, and *prytanis* the “new” inscription confirms that Rhizon was a πόλις in the mid-Hellenistic Period, a fact that was already inferred based on the coins struck in the city. The list of fourteen men mentioned in it with their proper names and names of their fathers provides insight into the civic body. Out of the twenty-eight names, twenty-six are completely preserved or securely supplemented. Two names — Ζώϊλος and Γέτος — appear two times each. This gives us twenty-four names susceptible to onomastic observations. Of these twenty-four names, only two, Τραῦζος and Σκένοτις can securely be identified as Illyrian. The remaining twenty-two are Greek names, mostly representing the common Greek onomastic repertoire of the period. Three names deserve special attention: Ἴστυῆος, the Boeotian version of Ἴστιαῖος; Ἀντίων, whose occurrence area includes central Greece and the northeastern Peloponnese (Boeotia and Argolis); and Πάνκιος, which is attested only in Doric areas (Rhodes and Corinth with its colony Corcyra). The prominence of Greek names suggests that the δῆμος of Rhizon at the beginning of the

⁵⁰ For the fulfilment of civic offices by gods, see, e.g. L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études 272), Paris 1938, 143–150; idem, *Hellenica II*, Paris 1946, 51–64; R. Sherck, *The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities V*, ZPE 96 (1993) 283–288.

⁵¹ It is possible that this line should be supplemented [ἐπ'] ἀρχόντων [- - -].

second century BC, probably not a long time after Rhizon became a πόλις, was greatly subjected to Greek cultural patterns. It was probably composed of both ethnic Greeks, be they colonists from the remote past or newcomers from the time of the foundation of the πόλις, and Hellenized Illyrians. Among the former, there were people who traced their origin to central Greece and Corinthian colonies on the eastern shores of the Ionian and Adriatic seas. On the other hand, the Perast inscription displays totally different onomastic practices, dominated by Illyrian elements. If this inscription originated from Rhizon, the civic body of this city changed its cultural patterns (and perhaps also its composition) towards Illyrisation between the beginning of the second century BC (the date of the “new” inscription from Risan) and the first century BC (the date of the Perast inscription).

Chair of Papyrology and Epigraphy
Faculty of Archaeology
University of Warsaw
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26–28
00-927 Warsaw, Poland
a.lajtar@uw.edu.pl

Adam Łajtar

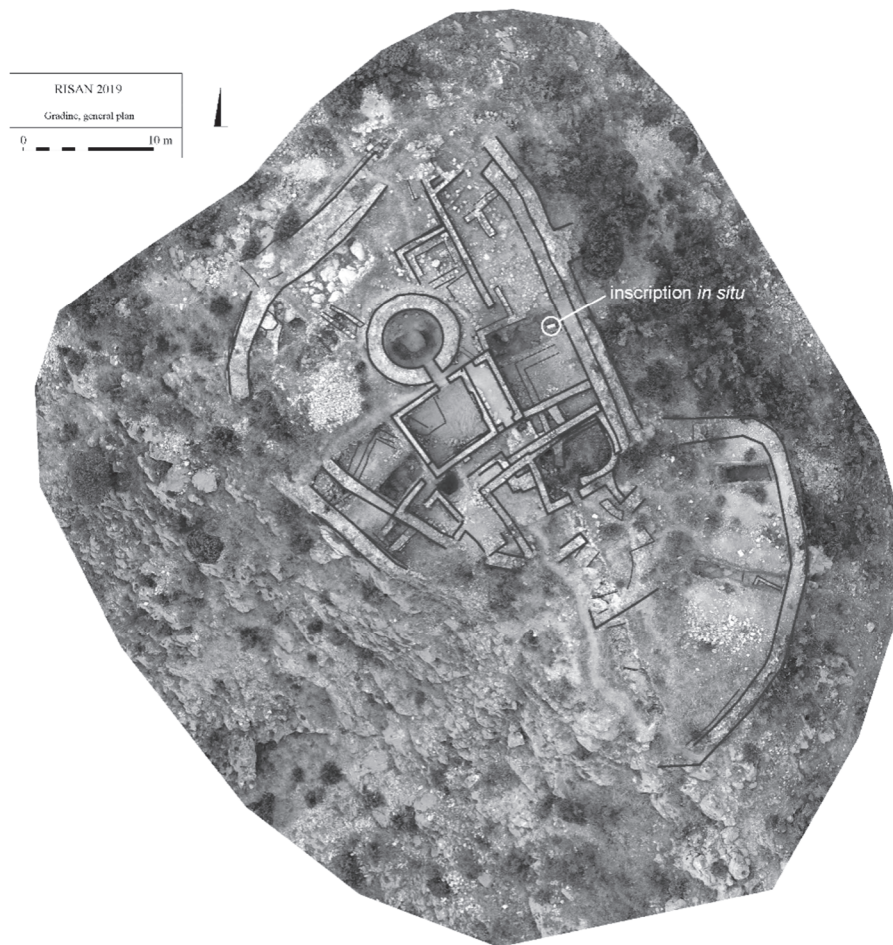


Fig. 1: General plan of the Gradine hill-top with the find-spot of the inscription indicated

(© Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw, measuring and drawing Bartosz Wojciechowski)



The inscribed block
(© Copyright Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the
University of Warsaw, photo Janusz Reclaw)

zu A. Łajtar, S. 97