

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

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Tafeln 1–25

<Adn. Tyche>

124. An Inscribed Spindle Whorl from Ancient Almopia (Lower Macedonia)*

The inscribed spindle whorl under consideration was unearthed in 1993 in Nea Zoi, now a village of the Regional Unit of Pella — ancient region of Almopia (Lower Macedonia). The discovery took place during a two-month excavation of the ancient settlement on Terikleia hill. (Pl. 23, Fig. 1). The spindle whorl was found during a surface survey in the rock dips at the summit of the ancient settlement, along with other finds dating from the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period¹. The artifact is currently housed in the archaeological collection of Edessa, part of the Archaeological Museum of Pella, and is catalogued with the inventory number AKE 1410.

It is a small disc-shaped artifact, with a central hole, crafted from dark yellowish-brown fine-grained clay, measuring 0.016 m. high, with a diameter of 0.038 m. (0.009 diameter of the hole), and a weight of 28.855 gr. It is decorated with a geometric pattern of oblique lines on the lower and the lateral, curved surface, incised before firing, which seem to echo the impressions of fiber on wooden spindle whorls (Pl. 23, Figs 2, 3). The inscription, also incised before firing, encompasses the entire surface of the upper, circular side of the disc (Pl. 23, Figs 4, 5). The letters, measuring approximately 0.015 m. (excluding omicron and sigma, which are around 0.005), are separated by vertical, dividing lines, occasionally aligning with the vertical strokes of the letters themselves.

The inscription was initially noted by A. Chrysostomou shortly after its discovery in the publication of the excavation report². However, it was published for the first time in 2003 in her detailed description of the archaeological sites and findings of Almopia³. The reading of the inscription was provided by the late and lamented supporter of the excavators in Macedonia, A.-Ph. Christidis, who dated it to the Classical period. It was

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¹ Specifically, the spindle whorl was collected from the rocky summit, along with a terracotta figurine of a turtle, see A. Chrysostomou, *Σωστικές ανασκαφές κατά το 1993 στη Νέα Ζωή και την Έδεσσα του Νομού Πέλλας*, AEMTh 7 (1993 [1997]) 111–122, at 111–113. For the archaeological site see also eadem, *Αλμωπία. Οδοιπορικό στο μονοπάτι του χρόνου*, in: *Γνωριμία με την γη του Αλέξανδρου*, Thessaloniki 2003, 141, 146.

² See Chrysostomou, AEMTh 7 (s. n. 1) 114.

³ See Chrysostomou, *Γνωριμία* (s. n. 1) 146 fig. 19.

also included in the catalogue of non-stone inscriptions from ancient Almopia by the editors of *I.Kato Maked. II*⁴.

As part of an extensive revision of the archaeological material from the ancient settlement in Nea Zoi, currently in progress under the direction of A. Chrysostomou⁵, a recent analysis of the artifact has been carried out. This investigation reaffirms Christidis' reading of the inscription:

Νέφαρχος

The lettering of the inscription, not commented upon by Christidis, presents special interest, mainly the idiosyncratic five-shape epsilon, resembling Corinthian beta, not seen elsewhere⁶. Other remarkable features include digamma with diagonal lines, tailed rho, trident-shaped chi (but with four prongs), squared omicron, and lunate sigma.

The alphabet used is an epichoric, red or Western-type alphabet, as evidenced by the distinctive shape of chi (Ψ). Given that it is a small, portable object, and an isolated find — currently the only epigraphic finding from the ancient settlement of Nea Zoi and the sole one predating the Hellenistic period in the entire region of Almopia⁷ —, it remains uncertain whether the spindle whorl (and consequently the inscription) was locally crafted or if it represents an imported item.

Despite the scarcity of early epigraphic material from Macedonia proper, various epichoric alphabets are attested, influenced by their immediate neighbors, until the beginning of the 4th century BC, when the Ionic alphabet became the dominant script all over Macedonia, as it did in the rest of Greece⁸. Among the diversity of epichoric scripts, a red alphabet similar to the one found on the spindle whorl from Nea Zoi was in use in the region since the 6th century BC, as confirmed by other recent finds on

⁴ *I.Kato Maked. II* 801 n. 16.

⁵ A. Chrysostomou, *Ο αρχαίος οικισμός και τα νεκροταφεία στη Νέα Ζωή της Π. Ε. Πέλλας*, forthcoming.

⁶ For the different shapes of epsilon in the Archaic alphabets and Corinthian beta see N. Elvira Astoreca, *Early Greek Alphabet Writing. A Linguistic Approach*, Oxford 2021, 63–64.

⁷ For the epigraphic record of Almopia see *I.Kato Maked. II* 799–818.

⁸ For the local scripts of Ancient Macedonia, besides the seminal work by L. H. Jeffery (*The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries BC* [revised edition with a supplement by A. W. Johnston], Oxford 1990, 364–365), see A. Panayotou, *Διαλεκτικές επιγραφές της Χαλκιδικής, της Μακεδονίας και της Αμφιπόλεως*, in: *Επιγραφές της Μακεδονίας. Γ' Διεθνές Συμπόσιο για τη Μακεδονία, 8–12 Δεκεμβρίου 1993*, Thessaloniki 1996, 124–163, eadem, *Η γραφή στη Μακεδονία κατά την αρχαϊκή και την πρόιμη κλασική περίοδο*, *Philologos* 134 (2008) 572–579; more recently, see A. Boufalis, *Local Scripts in Archaic Macedonia*, *CHS Research Bulletin* 7 (2019) [http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:BoufalisA.Local_Scripts_in_Archaic_Macedonia.2019], idem, *Ionic Art and Script in Ancient Macedonia: Origin(s), Medium(s), Effect(s)*, *Tekmeria* 18 (2024) 151–212, at 161–171, and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Makedonia*, in: N. Papazarkadas (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Greek Epigraphy*, Oxford, forthcoming. For early inscriptions from Macedonia in general see E. Martín González, P. Paschidis, *The 21st-century epigraphic harvest from Macedonia*, *AR* 63 (2017) 181–200, at 183, with previous bibliography, to which add now: A. Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, *Εγχάρκτη σπλεγγίδα από την Αιανή*, *Fortunatae* 32 (2020) 519–524.

pottery and metal. Illustrative examples include an Attic kylix discovered in Pontokomi (Eordaia), dating to the late 6th or early 5th century, featuring the distinctive Macedonian name Μαχάτας in the genitive, scratched onto the surface after firing⁹, and a silver phiale found in Aigeai (ca. 500 BC), still not fully published, which, according to the excavators' description, preserves the female name Πεπερία, also in the genitive, inscribed in a Western-type alphabet¹⁰.

Irrespective of its origin, the inscription presents a remarkable combination of archaic and post-classical letterforms, making the issue of dating especially challenging. Thus, the use of digamma (one of the rare instances in Macedonian epigraphy¹¹) and the epichoric alphabet provide as terminus ante quem 400 BC, as stated above. Conversely, the smaller round letters (in this case, squared omicron and lunate sigma), placed midline, are characteristic of Hellenistic epigraphy, while lunate sigma is seldom encountered before 400 BC¹². A dating to the 5th century BC, probably to the middle or the second half of the century, would reconcile the seemingly incongruent paleographic features, while aligning with the information provided by the archaeological context¹³.

Regarding the external features of the artifact, the meticulous decoration and the inscription on the small disc suggest a particular attention to its craftsmanship. This is noteworthy, considering that spindle whorls, unlike loomweights, rarely feature

⁹ *I. Ano Maked. Suppl.* 204 no. 40 with previous bibliography.

¹⁰ *SEG* 46.831.

¹¹ For another testimony of digamma in Macedonia, incised in a pot fragment dating to the 8th–7th cent. BC from Methone (Pieria), see I. Tzifopoulos (ed.), *Μεθώνη Πιερίας I: Επιγραφές, χαράγματα και εμπορικά σύμβολα στη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή κεραμική από το 'Υπόγειο' της Μεθώνης Πιερίας στη Μακεδονία*, Thessaloniki 2012, 353–354 no. 10, and for the alphabet (Euboean, in this case), see A. Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, *The Impact of Late Geometric Greek Inscriptions from Methone on Understanding the Development of Early Euboean Alphabet*, in: J. Strauss Clay, I. Malkin, Y. Tzifopoulos (eds), *Panhellenes at Methone. Graphê in Late Geometric and Protoarchaic Methone, Macedonia (ca 700 BCE)* (Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes 44) Berlin, Boston 2017, 232–241. Although the Milesian alphabet adopted by the Macedonians after the 5th century BC did not include a specific sign for the semivowel wau, its presence persisted, at least at the word-initial position, as evidenced by the notation of the semivowel by O and OY in Macedonian inscriptions until the end of the Hellenistic period. See M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Souvenirs d'Olivier Masson – Ἀδαῖος et la notation de la semi-voyelle /w/ dans les inscriptions macédoniennes*, *CCEC* 50 (2020) 67–78, at 69–78, with previous bibliography.

¹² See P. Gorissen, *Litterae Lunatae*, *Ancient Society* 9 (1978) 149–163, at 149. For one of the earliest examples on stone see H. Taeuber, *Sykion statt Aigeira: Neue Beobachtung zur Stele von Stymphalos (IG V/2, 351–357)*, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 179–192, at 187. For the first testimonies of lunate letters in Macedonian inscriptions, both on stone and other material, and papyri, see M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Oleveni*, *Chiron* 25 (1995) 163–185, at 179–180 (cf. now I. Kato Maked. II p. 247 and nos. 25, 31, 524 and 542), and R. Janko, *Papyri from the Great Tumulus at Vergina, Macedonia*, *ZPE* 205 (2018) 195–206, *passim*, respectively. The oldest examples, though, date back to the first half of the 4th cent. BC.

¹³ See above, note 2.

inscriptions¹⁴. On the other hand, the irregular execution of the letters, particularly the idiosyncratic form of epsilon and the square form of omicron, implies the work of an untrained or non-professional hand¹⁵.

The panhellenic name Νέαρχος, borne by Alexander's well-known admiral¹⁶, reappears in Macedonia on a sling bullet dating back to the 4th century BC¹⁷. To the best of our knowledge, the spindle whorl from Nea Zoi provides the unique testimony of the name rendered with the etymological digamma¹⁸.

The inscribed name Νέαρχος belongs either to the owner or to the manufacturer of the artifact, although the presence of a masculine name on an artifact typically associated with women might suggest the latter. Other testimonies from Macedonia proper linking men with the art of weaving include a clay weaving spool, discovered in a male tomb at the archaic cemetery of Asomata in Imathia as a grave offering¹⁹, and a loomweight from Velvento, Kozani (Upper Macedonia), in which the male name Ἀρριδαῖος has been inscribed after firing²⁰. Alternatively, the spindle whorl could have been offered as a gift or even as a votive offering, along with the aforementioned turtle idol²¹, in which case Nearchos could be the name of the donor. However, these remain mere hypotheses due to a lack of further supporting evidence,

¹⁴ For the decoration and inscription of loomweights see, for instance, M. I. Pologiorgi, *Δύο ἐνεπίγραφα ἀναθήματα ἀπὸ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας*, AEph 159 (2020) 85–98, at 78–86. An example of inscribed spindle whorl, though unintelligible, can be found among the early Archaic graffiti of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria. See Th. Theurillat, *Early Iron Age Graffiti from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria*, in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), *Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age. Acts of an International Round Table. University of Thessaly (June 18–20, 2004)*, Volos 2007, 331–345, at 339 no. 65, 342 fig. 5. The linear pattern applied to the spindle whorl of Nea Zoi deepens its roots in the prehistoric tradition of decorating spindle whorls with geometric motifs. See, for example, the study on the incised whorls of the prehistoric settlement of Sitagroi, on the Drama plain, by E. S. Elster et al., *Textile Tools from Sitagroi, Northern Greece*, in: E. A. Strand, M.-L. Nosch (eds), *Tools, Textiles and Contexts. Investigating Textile Production in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age*, Oxford, Philadelphia 2015, 299–308, at 302–304.

¹⁵ For the square letters in early inscriptions, which are not always a result of the limited skills of the engravers, but also of aesthetic criteria, see E. Martín González, *Professional Scribes and Letter-Cutters in Archaic Greece*, in: R. Ast et al. (eds), *Observing the Scribe at Work: Scribal Practice in the Ancient World* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 301), Leuven, Paris, Bristol CT 2021, 241–253, at 249.

¹⁶ See A. B. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia* (Meletemata 26), Athens 1998, 57 no. 93, with the sources and bibliography.

¹⁷ M.-Ch. Hellmann, *Collection Froehner : Balles du fronde grecques*, BCH 106 (1982) 75–86, at 84 no. 37, who does not rule out the possibility that it refers to the same Nearchos. An alleged second testimony of the name, in an inscription from Edessa, mentioned by A. B. Tataki (*The Prosopography of Edessa* [Meletemata 18], Athens 1994, 60 no. 218), must be dismissed (for the inscription see now I. Kato Maked. II 352).

¹⁸ LGPN and LGPN-Ling, s.v. See also P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (avec un Supplément)*, Paris 1999, s.v. νέος.

¹⁹ See E. Kefalidou, *Ασώματα. Ένα αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο στην Ημαθία*, Athens 2009, 103 no. 50.

²⁰ *I. Ano Maked. Suppl.* 198 no. 10.

²¹ See note 2, above.

Despite its modest nature, the spindle whorl from Nea Zoi stands as the earliest epigraphic evidence from the region of Almopia, offering a significant new insight into the use of epichoric red alphabet in Macedonia proper. Not only does it represent one of the rare instances of inscribed spindle whorls — and, interestingly, with a male name —, but it presents a conspicuous combination of older and newer paleographic features (mainly the etymological rendering of the name Νέφαρχος and the lunate sigma), meticulous craftsmanship and yet irregular lettering, which contribute to its exceptional character.

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125. The Epirote League and Tenos (SEG XL 690)

A block found reused in the temple of Poseidon and Aphitrite on Tenos, published in 1990 by R. Étienne, is inscribed with the texts of two acts of the Epirote League.²² First, in a cover letter sent to an addressee whose name is mostly lost, the Epirotes praise the good services and friendly attitude of a benefactor who aided the League's *theoroi* during their travels to proclaim the Naia festival. The League mentions renewing the existing friendship with the addressee, ἀνανεώσασθαι ... τὰν ὑπάρχουσιν [οἰκ]ειό[τητα] (lines 11–12). One of the difficulties experienced by the *theoroi* was shipwreck “at your island” (line 7; the winds of Tenos are notorious). Below this letter is inscribed the League's decree honoring that benefactor, but little of its text has survived. Letter forms and the Epirote *architheoros* Charops point to the first half of the second century B.C.²³

The stone is incomplete, as the published photograph shows, broken away along the right side and the bottom; the surface is variously worn and difficult to read or entirely effaced. Étienne's reconstruction of logic of the text is expert and convincing. Effacement in lines 1–2 has concealed the identity of the recipient of the cover letter.

Ἀπειρωτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν Ο . . . Ν . . . ΙΞΑΡΧ .

- [.]οι χαίρειν· Χάροψ ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς ἀρχιθεωρὸς [- - - ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις] τὰ[ς]
[κ]ατὰ τὰς νάσους πάσας καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς [- - - τε καὶ] Πτολεμαῖον
4 [τ]ὰν πρεσβείαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελο[γί]ζατο καὶ τὰν τῆς πόλεως πρὸς
[ἀ]μᾶς ἂν ἔχουσα τυγχάνει εὖνοϊαν κα[ὶ] τὰν τῶν παρ' ἀμῶν θεωρῶν ἂν ἐποι-
[ή]σαισθε πολυωρίαν καὶ περὶ Ἀλεξιμάχου ΛΕΚΑΠ - - -
[ν]αυαγῆσαι ποτὶ τῇ νάσῳ τῇ ὑμῶν - - -
(κτλ.)

²² R. Étienne, *Ténos* II, Paris 1990, 102–106 and pl. XI [SEG XL 690].

²³ The theoretic mission for the Naia does not narrow the date, as this need not be the mission that requested initial recognition of the contest as “crowned” (whenever that was), but can be any of the invitations that were regularly sent out thereafter in keeping with the cycle of the contest.

Of the 23 lines extant, only lines 4 and 5 have been restored in full. The left edge of the block is preserved, but as the right side is lost, the stone itself offers no guidance for the line length. Several expressions call for, or at least allow for, expansion. A somewhat longer line seems probable:

Line 2: an agent is frequently included in such statements:²⁴ e.g. [παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ ποτὶ] τὰ[ς πόλεις τὰς] would yield here a line of ca. 62 letters.

Line 3: Étienne's suggested [Ἀντίοχόν τε καὶ] is attractive. But this list of kings may easily continue beyond these two names: Πτολεμαῖον [καὶ Εὐμένη or Ἄτταλον] (ca. 63–64).

Line 4: “the city” needs some further specification: a frequent one would be τὰν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ποτὶ] (ca. 63).²⁵

Line 5 παρ' ἁμῶν: where agency is expressed, a verb is probable, e.g. τὰν τῶν παρ' ἁμῶν πεμφθέντων θεωρῶν (ca. 63); a typical example is Welles, *Royal Corres.* 31.4 οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πεμφθέντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς θεωροί.

Such additions in no way alter the sense of Étienne's careful reconstitution of the text; but they do affect the first line.

The addressee of the letter appears from line 2 to be a lone male: /[.]ωι. Tenos was for a time the seat of the Island League in its Rhodian version, and Étienne sought here a magistrate of that league. He judged νησιάρχῳι to be inconsistent with the traces on the stone (not described or visible in the photograph), and urged instead that they conceal the name of a Rhodian officer assigned to the city,²⁶ hence before 168 B.C. and the end of Rhodian authority. In the body of the letter, however, the addressee is plural: ἐποιή]σαισθε (line 5), τῷ νάσῳι τῷ ὑμῶι (7),²⁷ ὑμῖν (10). Renewing friendship was a gesture of one Greek community toward another; and the expression “your island” seems inappropriate for an individual person.

These features suggest that the recipient was a city government rather than a single personage of whatever name or title. The addressee in line 1 can then be understood as the government that we would expect: κοινὸν <T>[ηνίω]ν [το]ῖς ἄρχ[ουσι(ν) καὶ τῷ δάμ]ωι (ca. 61–62 letters).

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²⁴ Thus in his preliminary publication (*SEG* XXXVII 709) Étienne had suggested [ὑφ' ἁμῶν.

²⁵ Similarly, Étienne would have preferred here πόλεως ὑμῶν, but he estimated the space (“théoriquement”) to be insufficient, given the line length which he proposed.

²⁶ Citing *IG* XII.5 830, a decree concerning a Rhodian officer sent to Tenos, ἀποστα]λέντα ἐπὶ τε τῶν στρατιωτ[ῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πό]λεως ἐπιμέλειαν (or better περὶ τὴν, sent “in charge of the soldiers and for the care of the city”).

²⁷ For this form applied to land, cf. *I.Cret.* III IV 9.127 ἐκ τῆς ὑμᾶς νάσω, III III 2.3 ἐν τῷ ὑμῶι χώραι.

126. *Prima vicaria* (CIL VI 25019 / 34155)*

The corpus of epigraphically attested *vicariae* — women sub-owned within the institution of Roman slavery — is not sizeable. Back in 1896, Heinrich Erman listed a mere 16 inscriptions mentioning that many *vicariae* by this title in his voluminous study titled (tellingly) *Servus vicarius* (for whom he presented, by contrast, 66 texts documenting at least 87 male *vicarii*).²⁸ A quick search on both EDCS (Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby) and EDR (Epigraphic Database Roma) for the lexeme “*vicaria*” produces today easily a significantly increased number of texts to those listed by Erman, but still not a massive return: 40 inscriptions (excluding those that document names, e.g. *Vicaria*, or other usages of the root term, as well as, obviously, attestations that identify *vicariae* through different means).²⁹ Still, modern scholarly interest has continued to centre on the male counterparts of *vicariae*, at least in part driven by the much richer source base for these *vicarii*.³⁰ While only a substantial rise in the number of known *vicariae* may encourage a more balanced interest on the basis of the source material, it is nevertheless essential to be alert to the possibility of even incremental increases, thus to establish as complete a corpus as possible at any one point. To this end, the modest aim of the present intervention is to add a 41st specimen to the list of currently known women who went epigraphically by the title “*vicaria*”: CIL VI 25019 (with 34155).

* I owe thanks to James Clackson and Michael Crawford for discussion of linguistic and epigraphic aspects of the analysed texts, and to Silvia Orlandi for assistance with photographic matters; I am also very grateful for the permissions to use illustrations of four of the discussed inscriptions to the Museo Nazionale Romano, the Musei Capitolini and the Musei Vaticani.

²⁸ H. Erman, *Servus vicarius: l'esclave de l'esclave romain*, Lausanne 1896, 412–423; Erman's complete list of 104 texts includes 24 inscriptions in which sub-owned slavery is identified through means other than the title — increasing his data-set to 23 *vicariae* and at least 105 (male) *vicarii* in total. See also the final comment in note 29 below.

²⁹ Databases last searched by 8 March 2023. With differing levels of certainty, the 40 texts identified as featuring *vicariae* (by this title) from the texts returned by EDCS and EDR are:

CIL II²/13, 540; CIL VI 6303; 6377; 6392; 6393; 6394; 6395; 4559; 6224; 6396; 6398; 6399; 6400; 6401; 7295; 7307; 7371; 7754; 7884; 9425; 9687; 11851; 21695; 21755; 24927; 24931/33246; 25062; 30556,046; CIL VIII 24864; CIL IX 5491; CIL XI 871; 6078; 7251; CIL XII 4451; AE 1948, 69; AE 1992, 196 and 559; AE 1993, 913; AE 1998, 241; AE 2000, 480. For discussion, see the contribution listed in note 42 below.

The remaining texts have been identified as (potentially or likely) mentioning the name *Vicaria* (CIL II²/13, 420; CIL III, 4974a; CIL XI, 4760 and 5792; AE 1983, 212; AE 2009, 214), *Vicariana* (AE 1995, 986), and *Vicarianus* (A. Woodward, P. Leach, *The Uley Shrines. Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977–9*, London 1993, 129, no. 49), or the root term in predominantly later usages (CIL VI 8405; CIL VIII 783; AE 1915, 75; AE 2005, 1696; AE 2006, 590; IHC 242).

Where the specific title (*vicaria*) is missing, identification of *vicariae* depends on their inclusion in texts that speak (in gender-neutral terms) of *vicarii* (e.g., CIL VI 5197; see below, with note 45) or on other linguistic signifiers revealing sub-owned status (such as the epitaph for the imperial *servus* Anthus set up by his *ancilla* — “*eius ancilla*” — Magna: NSc 1939, 86, no. 2).

³⁰ The focus on (male) *vicarii* is related to the absence of the title for enslaved women in the Imperial household: P. C. R. Weaver, *Vicarius and vicarianus in the familia Caesaris*, JRS 54 (1964) 117–128, esp. 119 and 122.

The inscription is not new. It was found along Rome's Via Tiburtina, in the upper part of the cemetery of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, now the Cimitero del Verano, *in situ*: it was first transcribed by Giuseppe Gatti, and published subsequently by Rodolfo Lanciani, in 1878, in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, who noted that it belongs to a small group of “lastrine da colombaio” that were found “rimaste affisse sotto i loculi rispettivi” as well as “affisse alle pareti con chiodi”.³¹ The text — an epitaph — was thus set into a specific burial community, in the early imperial period. Today the inscription is inventoried in the Musei Capitolini (NCE 150). It is a clay tablet, of small size, measuring just over 10 cm in height and less than 30 cm in width; the letters are between just over 2 cm to a maximum of just over 3 cm.³² But while extremely short and deceptively simple, the inscription poses a small epigraphic challenge that has recently led to aberrant readings which in turn have caused the misclassification of the named individuals, and thus requires correction.

The text, as given by both Lanciani and *CIL* (at 25019), runs as follows:

P R I M A
AEGINVS • VICARI
A

This transcription is for all practical purposes truthful to the surviving stone (Pl. 24, Fig. 1). In its supplementary entry for the text, *CIL* (at 34155) added the deceased's age at death, in the last line, in slightly smaller letters, said to be painted in black, before the previously recorded final incised “A”: an(norum) XIII.³³ The combined text is how the inscription is also presented in more recent editions — which appear however bewildered by the seemingly isolated letter “A” at the end of line 3. Notably, the text is given on EDCS thus: *Prima / Aeginus vicari(us) / an(norum) XIII // A*. Similarly, Giorgio Crimi, for EDR, offered the following reading:³⁴

*Prima,
Aeginus vicari(us)
an(norum) XIII A[---].*

³¹ R. A. Lanciani, *Supplementi al volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 6 (1878) 93–131, at 120; the inscription is given at 122, no. 78 (in section IX: *Famiglia di titoli sepolcrali, scoperta nella parte superiore del cimitero di s. Lorenzo fuori le mura*, 120–129). Due to the naming of Marcus Iunius Philomusus in another epitaph (*CIL* VI 9875), the columbarium has early on been understood as the burial space for the enslaved and freed of a branch of the Iunii: see G. Fiorelli, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 111 (1875–76), 81–95, at 89–90.

³² As given by G. Crimi on EDR: height: 11.5 cm; width: 27 cm; depth: 2.3 cm; letter height: 2.2–3.3 cm.

³³ The supplementary *CIL* commentary (at 34155) is characteristically short: “4 AN · XIII litteris atris appicta: eo omittunt Gatti Lanc.” The additional reading is attributed implicitly to Huelsen.

³⁴ EDR121891 (published 16 June 2015).

Leaving aside the fact that the belatedly recorded painted letters can no longer be verified, the (presumably) later addition of the deceased's age at death is otherwise documented on comparable funerary plaques — such as that of the *vicaria* Hilara, on which the age-at-death appears inscribed in a different manner to the rest of the text, suggesting this to have occurred on a different, later occasion (Pl. 24, Fig. 2).³⁵ More critically, it is obvious from the two recent editions here cited that the inscription under scrutiny is today understood as documenting a *vicarius* — Aeginus, in alignment with the general concern with (male) *vicarii*, and the widespread sidelining of *vicariae* in modern scholarship. In short, the final “A” of line 3 — although easily legible still today — is deemed either unrelated to the other text or at best inexplicable, i.e. too fragmentary by itself to be made sense of. But what is plainly evident is that the seemingly bizarre “A” is located just below the end of “VICARI” in line 2, as reproduced correctly by Lanciani and in *CIL*. This being so, a different reading presses forward — namely one that links the isolated “A” to the “VICARI” of the second line, completing that word to “VICARIA”. Indeed, it happens regularly that the final letter or letters of a word at the end of a line are in fact tucked in by the engraver below the word that these letters are meant to complete. A good example from a cognate context is another epitaph from Rome, for an imperial slave called Grathus, found in the Necropoli Vaticana, along the Via Trionfale.³⁶

As can be seen in Grathus' epitaph (Pl. 25, Fig. 3), the letters “VS” are inscribed on the right-hand side below line 4, to complete the final word of that line to read “SER(V)VS”. The relevant part of the text of the epitaph is given on EDCS without any problems thus: *Grathus Caes(aris) / servus ex nemore C[ai] / et Luci posuit Abasca/ntus aquarius Caes(aris) ser/v(u)s / d(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)*; the same approach is adopted by Sara Meloni for EDR (my emphases in both editions):³⁷

Grathus Caes(aris)
servus ex nemore C[ai]
et Luci. Posuit Abasca=
ntus aquarius Caes(aris) ser=
us(:servus).
D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum).

The epitaph for Prima, I contend, follows the same pattern, i.e. the seemingly isolated letter “A” below “VICARI” must be read to complete these six letters to give “VICARIA”. The point can be underscored further by reference to another epitaph from

³⁵ *CIL* VI 6395; the age at death (“AN · XIII”), identical with that of Prima, is plainly engraved differently, hence most likely on a separate, i.e. later occasion.

³⁶ See F. Buranelli, G. Spinola, P. Liverani, *I nuovi scavi della necropoli della via Trionfale in Vaticano*, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 78 (2005–2006), 451–472, at 467–468; P. Liverani, G. Spinola (eds.), *La Necropoli Vaticana lungo la Via Trionfale*, Rome 2006, 69.

³⁷ EDR110229 (published 7 July 2015). Note that, in fact, “SERVVVS” in line 2 also omits one “V”; it should be revised to read “ser(v)us” in any edition.

Rome, for the *vicaria* Rufa, whose title displays a small(er) final “A” to complete the word, without causing scholarly confusion (Pl. 25, Fig. 4).³⁸ In short, the text of *CIL* VI 25019/34155, while not pretty, is best to be understood as documenting the *vicaria* Prima — and *not* the *vicarius* Aeginus. The edition of the inscription should be as follows: *Prima / Aeginus vicari/a / an(norum) XIII*. Or in tabular format, following the conventions used by EDR, thus:

Prima
Aeginus vicari=
a
an(norum) XIII

Seen this way, the text falls more readily into its place, especially if one understood “AEGINVS” as the onomastic signifier of the person who sub-owned Prima. In this sense, the most straightforward reading consists in taking “AEGINVS” as the genitive of the name “Aegines” — in place of the more readily expected “AEGINIS”;³⁹ given the likely Augustan date of the inscription, the alternative version ending in “us” is not out of place, in a period in which there is known to have existed regular -us/-is variation in genitive endings of Latinised Greek names. As a result, Prima would be labelled as “the *vicaria* of Aegines”, on a plaque focused on the bland description of the deceased — Prima, the *vicaria* of Aegines, aged 14 (at death). To be sure, in his study of Greek personal names attested in Rome, Heikki Solin attributed the name to female “Aegis”.⁴⁰ But since there exists otherwise no certain attestation of a female genitive (?) “AEGINVS” (or “AEGINIS”) in the epigraphic record, reading the epitaph in this manner creates an uncomfortable epigraphic hapax.⁴¹ But it also creates a hapax in the currently known corpus of inscriptionally attested *vicariae* — for it would generate an *ordinaria* (named Aegis) of a *vicaria* (name Prima), i.e. an enslaved woman who ‘owns’ another female presented with the title *vicaria*, an occurrence otherwise unattested in the corpus of epigraphically labelled *vicariae*.⁴² By contrast, the reading here privileged requires no further epigraphic or historical explications. On the other hand, the alternative reading of “AEGINVS” as a nominative, as implied by the editions

³⁸ *CIL* VI 6399.

³⁹ This is, I think, also the meaning behind the commentary for *CIL* VI 25019, noting that “*Aeginus* videtur esse genitivus pro *Aeginis*”.

⁴⁰ See H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, 3 vols., Berlin, New York 2003, I, 610.

⁴¹ Solin’s name list does not clarify the cases he has in mind for the listed onomastic occurrences. Besides the inscription naming Prima, he lists one occurrence of the nominative “Aegis” (*CIL* VI 35988; but note that the text, and hence name, is epigraphically imperfect) and one of the dative “Aegidi” (*CIL* VI 23245), as well as the seeming genitive “Haecini” (*CIL* VI 19137); the last may indicate Solin’s genitive reading also for “Aeginus” (i.e. “Aeginis”) from the name “Aegis”.

⁴² For an up-to-date corpus and discussion of currently known, epigraphically attested *vicariae*, see U. Roth, *Vicariae, not contubernales: reassessing the conjugal relationships of sub-owned women in Roman slavery*, *Journal of Epigraphic Studies* 7 (2024), in press; see also note 29 above.

that present him as a named *vicarius*,⁴³ would turn the epitaph into an active dedication, with a named dedicatee and a named dedicator (even if the specific role allocation would remain at best ambiguous without textual emendation).⁴⁴ Evidently, both *vicariae* and *vicarii* are well known to have acted as commemorators.⁴⁵ But the epitaph seems to me to be in better company — also in visual terms — with comparable funerary plaques from a columbarium context that simply name the deceased in conjunction with a brief indication of their sub-owned status (and without actively identifying a dedicator), such as in the cases of the already mentioned Hilara and Rufa.⁴⁶ In sum, it is high time to send the *vicarius* Aeginus packing and to welcome (back) the *vicaria* Prima.

Just as one swallow does not a summer make, the addition of Prima to the corpus of inscriptionally attested *vicariae* who sport this title will not change the longstanding gender imbalance in the study of sub-ownership in Roman slavery. But the case of Prima lays bare that the privileging of (male) *vicarii* over *vicariae* has actually the potential to distort the analysis of the very source material on which our interpretative efforts rely. Clearly, greater caution, and a less androcentric perspective, is in order at the point of text edition too.

Ulrike ROTH

127. IvE 2483: Aufstellung einer Ehrenstatue

Im Repertorium der ephesischen Inschriften (IK 16) wird der aus der „Scholastica-Therme“ stammende Text Nr. 2483 ohne weiteren Kommentar wie folgt wiedergegeben:

τὴν .[- - -]
 τοῦ ἀνδ[ρὸς - - -]
 Λ(ουκίου) Σπεδίου Λ[- - - υἱοῦ - - -]
 [Δ]ιονυ[σί]οι Νεικη[φό]ρου?

⁴³ For the epigraphic documentation of a Iulius Aeginus, see S. Gsell, *Recherches archéologiques en Algérie*, Paris 1893, 144.

⁴⁴ The most obvious emendation in this scenario is the addition of an “E” to “VICARI/A” to give “VICARI/AE”, thus formulating a dedication by “Aeginus to” (in the dative) “the *vicaria*”, following the naming of the deceased in line 1 (whether or not the nominative form of Prima’s name in line 1 should then also be emended). For comparable examples, see *CIL* VI 7295 and 9425. By contrast, an example from the same columbarium naming both the deceased (a *sarcinatrix* called Caliste) and the commemorator (Marcus Iunius Philomusus; see also note 31 above) in the nominative is *CIL* VI 9875; the onomastics clarify the respective role allocation in this case.

⁴⁵ The most famous example, involving both a *vicaria* and several (male) *vicarii*, must be that of the epitaph for Musicus Scurranus: *CIL* VI 5197. But *vicariae* are also known to have commissioned epitaphs by themselves or in a lead role: e.g., *CIL* VI 4559; 6224; 6303; 7371.

⁴⁶ Other examples include *CIL* VI 6393, 6394 and 6401 (all from the Monumentum Statiliorum, ambiente N).

Die Inschrift ist unter die „Grabschriften“ eingereiht und wird im epigraphischen Depot als Nr. 402 aufbewahrt. Das Skizzenbuch enthält dazu unter Nr. 3032 eine Zeichnung von Konrad Wickert (Abb. 1):



Abb. 1

Ein neugefundenes, als Spolie vermauerter Fragment (SkB 5567B) mit einem sehr ähnlichen, wenn nicht sogar identischen Text lässt jedoch eine andere Deutung zu (Abb. 2).

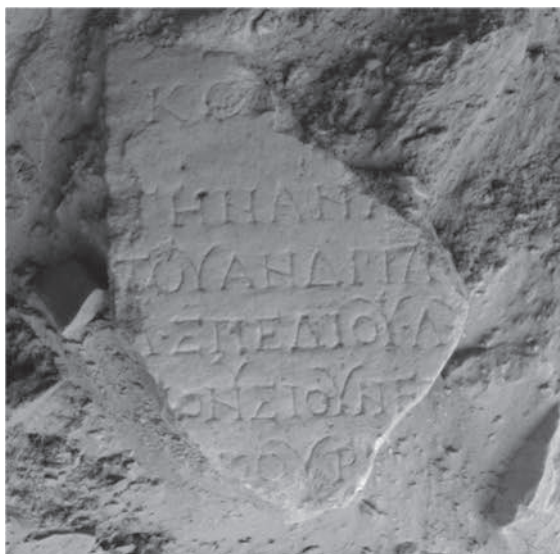


Abb. 2 (Photo H. Taeuber)

Das neue Stück ähnelt in seiner Form und seinem Textgehalt dem schon bekannten, weist jedoch abweichende Bruchkanten auf. Da in beiden Fällen ein Stück des linken Randes erhalten ist, lässt sich feststellen, dass auch die Zeilenaufteilung übereinstimmt. Hier ist nun zu lesen:

[- - -]
 O . [- - -]
 KO[- - -]

- τὴν ἀνά[- - -]
 4 τοῦ ἀνδρία[- - -]
 Λ(ουκίου) Σπεδίου Λ(ουκίου) υἱοῦ[- - -]
 [Δ]ιονυσίου Νε[ικηφόρου - - -]
 [...] κουρ[- - -]
 [- - -]

Die Buchstabenformen, besonders das nach oben verlängerte, geschwungene Ypsilon, lassen eine Datierung um die Mitte oder in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. zu. In. Z. 6 liegt eine Ligatur von N und Y vor.

Oberhalb einer freigelassenen Zeile sind noch Reste zweier Zeilen in größerer Schrift erhalten; hier könnten Namensbestandteile oder Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen des Geehrten bzw. seine Ämter oder Verdienste (wie z.B. in IvE 633: ἔργοις πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις τὴν πατρίδα κεκοσμηκότα) angeführt gewesen sein.

Der gegenüber IvE 2483 etwas bessere Erhaltungszustand erlaubt es nun, den Charakter des Textes zu bestimmen. Das Formular lässt sich unter Berücksichtigung der Zeilenaufteilung nach dem Beispiel von IvE 3033, Z. 19/20 und 3034, Z. 18/19 zu τὴν ἀνά[στασιν ποιησαμένων] / τοῦ ἀνδριά[ντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων] ergänzen. Es handelt sich also nicht um eine Grabinschrift, sondern um die statuarische Ehrung (ἀνδριάς) einer leider unbekannt bleibenden Person. Immerhin sind die zwei für die Aufstellung (ἀνάστασις) verantwortlichen Männer identifizierbar. Es handelt sich um L. Spedius L. f. (Aphrodisios) und Dionysios, Sohn des Nikephoros. Dieselben Namen finden sich auch in der etwa zwischen 130 und 140 n. Chr. zu datierenden Kureteninschrift IvE 1034:

- ἐ[πὶ] πρυτάνεως Λ(ουκίου)
 Κερρεϊνίου Λ(ουκίου) υἱοῦ
 Οὐλτινία Παίτου
 4 κουρήτες εὐσεβεῖς καὶ
 φιλοσέβαστοι·
 Λ(ούκιος) Σπέδιος Λ(ουκίου) υἱὸς Παλα(τεῖνα)
 Ἀφροδείσιος παραφύλαξ
 8 τῆς ἱρήνης·
 Διονύσιος Νεικηφόρου
 παραφύλαξ τῆς ἱρήνης· κτλ.

Das offensichtliche Naheverhältnis, welches in diesem Fall aus der gemeinsamen Funktion als παραφύλακες τῆς (ε)ἱρήνης hervorgeht, lässt kaum einen anderen Schluss zu, als dass es sich in beiden Fällen um dieselben Personen handelt. Auch ihre Mitgliedschaft an der Kultgemeinschaft der Kureten (samt den schmückenden Beiwörtern) dürfte in unserem Text erwähnt worden sein.

Ein Dionysios, Sohn des Nikephoros, erscheint aber noch in einem wesentlich prominenteren Zusammenhang. Eine Person dieses Namens wurde nämlich ihrerseits von der Polis mit einer Statue und einer ausführlichen Inschrift geehrt (IvE 661, Z. 1–17):

- [τῆς] πρώτης καὶ με-
 [γί]στης μητροπόλεως
 τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεοκό-
 4 ρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων
 πόλεως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 ἐτείμησεν
 Διονύσιον Νεικηφόρου
 8 τοῦ Διονυσίου, πρυτανεύ-
 σαντα φιλοτείμως, παραφύ-
 λακα, νεοποιὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος,
 [γ]ραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς, πατέρα
 12 [ι]ερῆς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰουλίας,
 [π]ατέρα ἱεροκήρυκος Νεικηφόρου,
 ἐλαιοθετήσαντα διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ Διο-
 νυσίου μῆνας τέσσαρες ἐκ τῶν
 16 ἰδίων ἄνευ τάγματος ἐν τῷ ἄνω
 γυμνασίῳ, κτλ.

Die Herausgeber des Repertoriums schreiben im kritischen Apparat zu Z. 7/8 und 13: „Der Sohn des Prytanen Dionysios in nr. 1034,9 als Kuret und Paraphylax.“ Dies bezieht sich auf die oben zitierte Inschrift. Wie schon Dieter Knibbe erkannt hat⁴⁷, ist diese Aussage unzutreffend. Nach IvE 661 hatte der Prytane Dionysios Nikephorou zwei Söhne: einen Hierokeryx Nikephoros (Z. 13), der nicht gemeint sein kann, und einen Dionysios (Z. 14/15), der mit Patronymikon Διονύσιος Διονυσίου geheißen haben müsste, was vom Namensformular in IvE 1034 (Z. 9: Διονύσιος Νεικηφόρου) abweicht. Zudem wird IvE 661 mit 140–150 n. Chr. um 10–20 Jahre später datiert als IvE 1034, obwohl man in dieser Konstellation eher das Gegenteil erwarten sollte. Naheliegend ist vielmehr, dass wir in IvE 1034 den zukünftigen Grammateus in einer frühen Phase seiner Karriere vor uns haben. Tatsächlich wird auch in der späteren Ehreninschrift jene Funktion als Paraphylax erwähnt (Z. 9/10), welche er zum Zeitpunkt der Kureteninschrift innehatte. Damit gelangen wir zu folgendem Ergänzungsvorschlag für das neue Fragment:

⁴⁷ D. Knibbe, *Der Staatsmarkt. Die Inschriften des Prytaneions. Die Kureteninschriften und sonstige religiöse Texte* (Forschungen in Ephesos IX/1/1, Wien 1981) 36 B 34 u. 113f.

[- - -]

Q . [- - -]

KO[- - -]

- τὴν ἀνά[στασιν ποιησαμένων]
 4 τοῦ ἀνδριά[ντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων]
 Λ(ουκίου) Σπεδίου Λ(ουκίου) υἱοῦ Ἀφροδεισίου καὶ
 [Δ]ιονυσίου Νε[ικηφόρου τοῦ Διονυ]-
 [σίου] κουρ[ήτων εὐσεβῶν καὶ]
 8 [φιλοσεβάστων].

Analog dazu ist nun auch IvE 2483 zu ergänzen:

- τὴν ἀ[νάστασιν ποιησαμένων]
 τοῦ ἀνδ[ριάντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων]
 Λ(ουκίου) Σπεδίου Λ(ουκίου) υἱοῦ Ἀφροδεισίου καὶ
 4 [Δ]ιονυ[σίου] υἱ Νεικη[φόρου τοῦ Διονυ]-
 [σίου] κουρήτων εὐσεβῶν καὶ
 [φιλοσεβάστων].

Hans TAEUBER

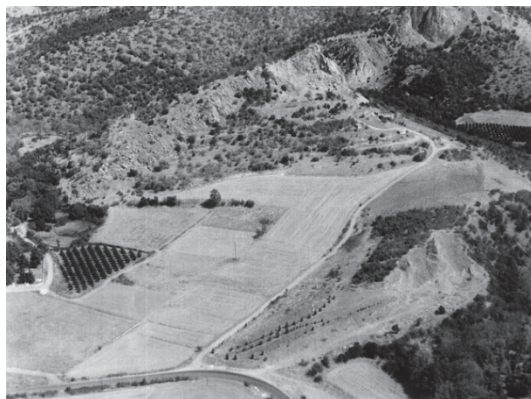


Fig. 1: Terikleia hill



Fig. 2: Side B



Fig. 3: Lateral



Fig. 4: Side A



Fig. 5: Drawing



Fig. 1: Epitaph of the *vicaria* Prima (CIL VI 25019),
with kind permission of the Musei Capitolini (NCE 150)



Fig. 2: Epitaph of the *vicaria* Hilara (CIL VI 6395),
with kind permission of the Ministero della Cultura – Museo Nazionale Romano
(Mag. Epigr. L, 4, 1 esterno, inv. 33312)

zu U. Roth, S. 256–257

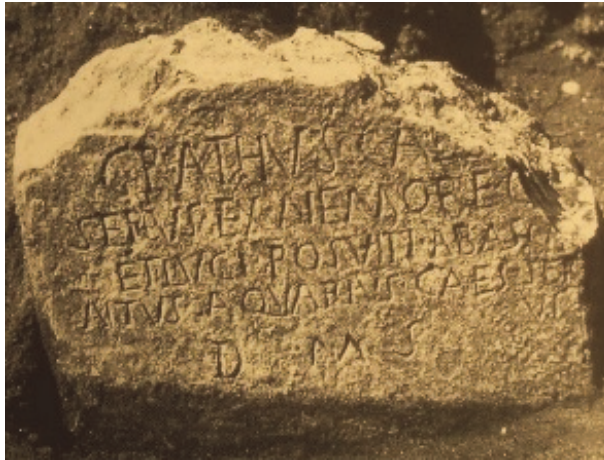


Fig. 3: Epitaph of Grathus (necropoli della via Triumphalis; EDR110229),
with kind permission of the Musei Vaticani



Fig. 4: Epitaph of the *vicaria* Rufa (CIL VI 6399),
with kind permission of the Ministero della Cultura – Museo Nazionale Romano
(Mag. Epigr. L, 4, 1 esterno, inv. 33315)

zu U. Roth, S. 257–258