



A SUPPLEMENT TO  
*ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΚΑΤΩ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ Α΄:*  
*ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΒΕΡΟΙΑΣ*

ELENA MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ – PASCHALIS PASCHIDIS

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A Supplement to  
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**A Supplement to Έπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας Α':  
Έπιγραφές Βέροιας**

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# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	25
------------------------	----

## PART I

INSCRIPTIONS IN <i>EKM I</i> . . . . .	29
--	----

LAWS AND DECREES . . . . .	31
----------------------------	----

<i>EKM I</i> 1. Gymnasiarchical law, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, first third . . . . .	31
--	----

<i>EKM I</i> 2. Honorific decree for Harpalos, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	39
---	----

ROYAL AND IMPERIAL LETTERS AND EDICTS . . . . .	41
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 3. Letters of the regent Demetrios (II) to the <i>epistates</i> of Beroia, 248 BC, ca. February . . . . .	41
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 4. Letter of king Antigonos Doson to the Beroians, 223 BC, ca. August . . . . .	44
--	----

<i>EKM I</i> 5. Letter of emperor Hadrian to the authorities of Beroia, 127 (?) AD . . . . .	47
--	----

<i>EKM I</i> 6. Letter of emperor Hadrian to the authorities of Beroia, 127 (?) AD . . . . .	48
--	----

<i>EKM I</i> 7. Edict of governor L. Memmius Rufus on the revenues for and the financial management of the gymnasium, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	48
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 8. Letter of emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Beroia, 165 AD . . . . .	54
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 9. Letter of emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Beroia, 161-169 AD . . . . .	54
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 10. Letter of an emperor to Beroia, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	55
--	----

<i>EKM I</i> 11. Letter of an emperor or a governor of Macedonia to Beroia, 1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	55
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 12. Letter of an emperor to Beroia, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	55
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 13. Letter to Beroia or imperial edict, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	55
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 14. Imperial edict (in Latin), 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	57
--	----

<i>EKM I</i> 15. Edict (in Latin) of emperor Gallienus, 267 (?) AD . . . . .	58
--	----

SACRED ACCOUNTS . . . . .	59
---------------------------	----

<i>EKM I</i> 16. Accounts of the priests of Asklepios, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, third quarter . . . . .	59
--	----

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS . . . . .	61
-----------------------------------	----

<i>EKM I</i> 17. Dedication of stoas to Athena by king Philip V, 221-179 BC . . . . .	61
---	----

<i>EKM I</i> 18. Dedication of buildings to Apollon, Asklepios, and Hygieia, 131/30 BC . . . . .	61
--	----

<i>EKM I 19. Priestly dedication to Atargatis Soteira, mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC</i>	61
<i>EKM I 20. Dedication to Aphrodite Euschemon, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	62
<i>EKM I 21. Dedication to Dionysos (in the theatre?), mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC</i>	62
<i>EKM I 22. Dedication to Dionysos by the <i>agoranomos</i> of a cultic association and honours for him, 7 BC, ca. April.</i>	62
<i>EKM I 23. Priestly dedication to Enodia Hosia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC</i>	63
<i>EKM I 24. Dedication to Hermes by <i>agoranomoi</i> of the city, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, second half</i>	63
<i>EKM I 25. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 119 AD, ca May.</i>	64
<i>EKM I 26. Priestly dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	64
<i>EKM I 27. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	64
<i>EKM I 28. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	65
<i>EKM I 29. Civic dedication to Herakles Kynagidas, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, second half</i>	66
<i>EKM I 30. Priestly dedication to Herakles Kynagidas, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC</i>	66
<i>EKM I 31. Dedication to Herakles Kynagidas by manumitted slaves, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC</i>	66
<i>EKM I 32. Dedication to Herakles Kynagidas by a manumitted slave, early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC</i>	67
<i>EKM I 33. Dedication to Herakles Kynagidas by a manumitted slave, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC</i>	67
<i>EKM I 34. Dedication (to Isis?), 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD</i>	67
<i>EKM I 35. Dedication (to Isis?), late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	67
<i>EKM I 36. Dedication to Isis Lochia and the city, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	68
<i>EKM I 37. Epigram on a dedication to Pan, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC</i>	68
<i>EKM I 38. Dedication to (unspecified) gods, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	69
<i>EKM I 39. Dedication, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC</i>	69
<i>EKM I 40. Building dedication, late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	70
<i>EKM I 41. Building dedication, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	70
<i>EKM I 42. Civic dedication, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	71
<i>EKM I 43. Dedication, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	71
<i>EKM I 44. Dedication to Eunomia (?), 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	71
<b>MANUMISSION ACTS</b>	72
<i>EKM I 45. Civic manumission act, 239-229 BC</i>	72
<i>EKM I 46. Civic manumission act, ca. 250-225 BC</i>	73
<i>EKM I 47. Civic manumission act (?), 3<sup>rd</sup> (?) cent. BC</i>	74
<i>EKM I 48. Manumission act, 2<sup>nd</sup> (?) cent. AD</i>	75
<i>EKM I 49. Sacred manumission act, to Artemis Agrotera, 181 AD, ca. June</i>	75
<i>EKM I 50. Sacred manumission act, to Artemis Eileithyia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	77
<i>EKM I 51. Sacred manumission act, to Syria Parthenos, 240 AD, ca. June</i>	77
<i>EKM I 52. Sacred manumission act, to Syria Parthenos, 262 AD, ca. March</i>	78

EKM I 53. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 248 AD, ca. April . . . . .	78
EKM I 54. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 248 AD, ca. June . . . . .	79
EKM I 55. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 264/5 AD . . . . .	79
EKM I 56. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 264/5 AD . . . . .	80
EKM I 57. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	80

## HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS . . . . . 80

EKM I 58. Honours for Korrhagos by his daughter, queen (?) Stratonike (?), early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	80
EKM I 59. Honours for L. Calpurnius Piso by the city and the local community of Romans, 57-55 BC . . . . .	81
EKM I 60. Honours for emperor Claudius by the city and the local community of Romans, 41-44 AD . . . . .	82
EKM I 61. Honours for emperor Vespasian (or Titus, or Domitian) by the <i>koinon</i> of the Macedonians and the city of Beroia, 69-84 AD . . . . .	82
EKM I 62. Honours for emperor Titus, 79-81 AD . . . . .	83
EKM I 63. Honours for emperor Nerva by the <i>koinon</i> of the Macedonians, 98 AD . . . . .	83
EKM I 64. Honours for emperor Trajan by the <i>koinon</i> of the Macedonians, 102-117 AD . . . . .	83
EKM I 65. Honours for emperor Antoninus Pius, 138-161 AD . . . . .	83
EKM I 66. Honours for emperor Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna by the city of Beroia, 198-210 AD . . . . .	84
EKM I 67. Honours for Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, 209-212 AD . . . . .	84
EKM I 68. Invitation for games in honour of emperor Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea, 229 AD, ca. June . . . . .	84
EKM I 69. Invitation for games in honour of emperor Gordian, 240 AD, ca. July . . . . .	85
EKM I 70. Honours for Caesar Saloninus by the city of Beroia, 258-260 AD . . . . .	86
EKM I 71. Honours for an emperor by the city of Beroia, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	86
EKM I 72. Honours (in Latin) for an emperor, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	87
EKM I 73. Honours for Aelius Theotimos, president of the <i>koinon</i> , early 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	87
EKM I 74. Honours for Pontia Ammia, high-priestess, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	87
EKM I 75. Honours for Claudius Lysimachos, president of the <i>koinon</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	87
EKM I 76. Honours for Aurelius Kassianos, president of the <i>koinon</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	88
EKM I 77. Honours for Iulia Kassiane, high-priestess, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	88
EKM I 78. Honours for Memmius Quintianus Kapiton, president of the <i>koinon</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	88
EKM I 79. Honours for Menelaos, "father of the <i>synedrion</i> ", 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	89
EKM I 80. Honours for Insteius Torkouatos (a <i>synedros</i> ?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	89

EKM I 81. Honours for Terentianus Alexandros, a <i>synedros</i> , 177/8 AD . . . . .	89
EKM I 82. Honours for Iuuentius Gaios (a <i>synedros</i> ?), 181/2 AD . . . . .	90
EKM I 83. Honours for Iulia Priskilla and her father Iulius Menelaos (a <i>synedros</i> ?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	90
EKM I 84. Honours for Annia Tydda, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	90
EKM I 85. Honours for Iulius Longinos and his wife (?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> (?) cent. AD . . . . .	90
EKM I 86. Honours for Sextius Gaianos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	91
EKM I 87. Honours for Torkouatos (a <i>synedros</i> ?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	91
EKM I 88. Honours for Aelius Lykomedes, a <i>synedros</i> , late 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	91
EKM I 89. Honours for the orator Ulpius Isodemos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	91
EKM I 90. Honours for Varianus Didianus Demetrios, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	92
EKM I 91. Honours for Iunius Antigonos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	92
EKM I 92. Honours for Iunius Dioskourides, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	92
EKM I 93. Honours for Iulius Kleanthes, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	92
EKM I 94. Honours for Claudia Kointiane, daughter of a president of the <i>koinon</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	92
EKM I 95. Honours for Aurelius Bassos, son of a <i>synedros</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	93
EKM I 96. Honours for Aurelius Bassos, son of a <i>synedros</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	93
EKM I 97. Honorific epigram of Poseidippos, expert on Roman law, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	93
EKM I 98. Honours for Septimius Orestes, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	93
EKM I 99. Honours for Aelius Potamon, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	94
EKM I 100. Honours for Septimia Silvana Kellerine, daughter of a president of the <i>koinon</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	94
EKM I 101. Honours for the jurist Licinius Rufinus, 254 (?) AD . . . . .	94
EKM I 102. Honours for the high-priests of the <i>koinon</i> Aelianus Alexandros and Avidia Ammia, late 1 <sup>st</sup> -early 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	95
EKM I 103. Honours for Iulius Theogenes, 29/8 BC – 28/9 AD. . . . .	95
EKM I 104. Honours for the agonothetes of the <i>koinon</i> and gymnasiarch Claudius Ptolemaios, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	96
EKM I 105. Honours for Domitia Ioulia, early 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	96
EKM I 106. Honours for Flavius Kassandros, president of the <i>koinon</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	96
EKM I 107. Honours for Silvanus Nikolaos, consular, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter. . . . .	97
EKM I 108. Honours for Vetulenus Nikomedes, mid-3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	97
EKM I 109. Honours for Aureliana Alexandra, priestess and daughter of a high-priest, shortly after 249/50 AD . . . . .	98
EKM I 110. Fragmentary honorific inscription, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	98

<i>EKM I 111. Fragmentary honorific inscription, indeterminate date</i>	98
<i>EKM I 112. Honours for Popillius Sosigenes, Imperial period</i>	98
<i>EKM I 113. Honours for Popillius Soummos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	99
<i>EKM I 114. Honours for Popillius Proclus Iunianus Python, gymnasiarch, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	99
<i>EKM I 115. Honours for Claudius Pierion, president of the <i>koinon</i>, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	99
<i>EKM I 116. Honours for Claudius Pierion, president of the <i>koinon</i>, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	100
<i>EKM I 117. Honours for Popillius Python, president of the <i>koinon</i>, soon after 98 AD</i>	100
<i>EKM I 118. Honours for Popillius Python, president of the <i>koinon</i>, soon after 98 AD</i>	102
<i>EKM I 119. Honours for Flavius Paramonos, president of the <i>koinon</i>, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD,</i> first half	102
<i>EKM I 120. Honours for Memmius Quintianus Makedon, 2<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	103
<i>EKM I 121. Honours for Popillius Python, president of the <i>koinon</i>, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	103
<i>EKM I 122. Honours for Claudia Alkestis, priestess of an unspecified cult,</i> early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.	104
<i>EKM I 123. Honours for Claudius Pierion, president of the <i>koinon</i>, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	104
<i>EKM I 124. Honours for a president of the <i>koinon</i>, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	104
<i>EKM I 125. Honours for Aulus Torpilius and his wife Caesia, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD</i>	104
<i>EKM I 126. Honours for Ouettia, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	105
<i>EKM I 127. Honours for (Claudia) Alkestis, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	105
<i>EKM I 128. Honours for a woman, late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	105
<i>EKM I 129. Honours for Konops, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	106
<i>EKM I 130. Honours for Limnaios, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	106
<i>EKM I 131. Epitaph (?) of [- -]Ja and Neo[- -], 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC</i>	106
<i>EKM I 132. Honours, by a group residing in Beroia (?), 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	106
<i>EKM I 133. Fragment of an honorific (?) inscription in Latin, Imperial period</i>	106

## CATALOGUES . . . . . 106

<i>EKM I 134. List of 'hunters' of Herakles Kynagidas, 122/1-112/1 BC</i>	106
<i>EKM I 135. List of ephebes, 177/8 AD</i>	108
<i>EKM I 136. List of ephebes, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter.</i>	109
<i>EKM I 137. List of ephebes, 251/2 AD</i>	110
<i>EKM I 138. List of ephebes, 255/6 AD.</i>	111
<i>EKM I 139. Commemoration of a foot race, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC</i>	111
<i>EKM I 140. List of victors in games, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC</i>	111
<i>EKM I 141. List of 47 names, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC</i>	112
<i>EKM I 142. List of at least 22 names, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	113
<i>EKM I 143. List of 83 names, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	114

<i>EKM I 144.</i> List of at least 25 names, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	114
<i>EKM I 145.</i> List of 15 names, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	115
<i>EKM I 146.</i> List of more than 16 names, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	115

## **FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS . . . . . 116**

<i>EKM I 147.</i> Epitaph of Andreas from Osbe, 4 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC, first half . . . . .	116
<i>EKM I 148.</i> Epitaph of Attylos and Antigona, 4 <sup>th</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	116
<i>EKM I 149.</i> Epitaph of Sadalas, Straton, and Philista, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	116
<i>EKM I 150.</i> Epitaph of Parmeneia and Nikylla, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	116
<i>EKM I 151.</i> Epitaph of Diphilos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second half . . . . .	116
<i>EKM I 152.</i> Epitaph of Synesis, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second half . . . . .	117
<i>EKM I 153.</i> Epitaph of Hadymos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	117
<i>EKM I 154.</i> Epitaph, 3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	117
<i>EKM I 155.</i> Epitaph of Zopyros, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, first half . . . . .	117
<i>EKM I 156.</i> Epitaph of Seuthes and Ethos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, first half. . . . .	117
<i>EKM I 157.</i> Epitaph of Chairephanes, early 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	117
<i>EKM I 158.</i> Epitaph of Amyntas and Artemidoros, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	117
<i>EKM I 159.</i> Epitaph of Zoilos, Glykinno, and Glykinno, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	118
<i>EKM I 160.</i> Epitaph of Tyrios, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	118
<i>EKM I 161.</i> Epitaph of Demetrios, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	118
<i>EKM I 162.</i> Epitaph of Alexandros, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC, first half . . . . .	118
<i>EKM I 163.</i> Epitaph of Krateuas and Nikadas, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	118
<i>EKM I 164.</i> Epitaph of [- -]jenea, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	119
<i>EKM I 165.</i> Epitaph of Bardias, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	119
<i>EKM I 166.</i> Epitaph of Munatius Alexippos, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	119
<i>EKM I 167.</i> Epitaph of Adaios, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	120
<i>EKM I 168.</i> Epitaph of Antonius Louppos and Turpilia, 1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	120
<i>EKM I 169.</i> Epitaph of Terpne, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	120
<i>EKM I 170.</i> Epitaph of Phila, Imperial period . . . . .	120
<i>EKM I 171.</i> Epitaph of Distichis, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	120
<i>EKM I 172.</i> Epitaph of Maskellis, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	121
<i>EKM I 173.</i> Epitaph of Straton, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	121
<i>EKM I 174.</i> Epitaph of Ulpus Markos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	121
<i>EKM I 175.</i> Epitaph of Mnaseas, Hellenistic period (?) . . . . .	121
<i>EKM I 176.</i> Epitaph of [- -]otos, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	121
<i>EKM I 177.</i> Epitaph of Moschine, mid-2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	121
<i>EKM I 178.</i> Epitaph of Antigona, Kleta, and Artemikleia, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	122

<i>EKM</i> I 179. Epitaph of Artemidoros, Ophelion, and Matero, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	122
<i>EKM</i> I 180. Epitaph of Artemisia, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	122
<i>EKM</i> I 181. Epitaph of Diogenes and Dada, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	122
<i>EKM</i> I 182. Epitaph of Eurydike, Antigonos, and Melita, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	122
<i>EKM</i> I 183. Epitaph of Kalliche, Themison, and Kallinas, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	123
<i>EKM</i> I 184. Epitaph of Ouadea, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	123
<i>EKM</i> I 185. Epitaph of Iolaos and Odeta, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> - early 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	123
<i>EKM</i> I 186. Epitaph of the daughter of Nikanor, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	123
<i>EKM</i> I 187. Epitaph of Lykkeia, mid-1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	123
<i>EKM</i> I 188. Epitaph of Badea and Aphrodisis, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	124
<i>EKM</i> I 189. Epitaph of Philotera and Kassandros, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	124
<i>EKM</i> I 190. Epitaph of Flavius Agathon, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	124
<i>EKM</i> I 191. Epitaph of [- -]los, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	124
<i>EKM</i> I 192. Epitaph of a man, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	124
<i>EKM</i> I 193. Epitaph of two men (?), 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	125
<i>EKM</i> I 194. Epitaph of the son of Damokles, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	125
<i>EKM</i> I 195. Epitaph of Lanika, Aineias, and Okkos, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	125
<i>EKM</i> I 196. Epitaph of Agathokles, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	125
<i>EKM</i> I 197. Epitaph of Adaios, Philinna, and Hadymos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	125
<i>EKM</i> I 198. Epitaph of Hadista, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	125
<i>EKM</i> I 199. Epitaph of (...) and Lysimachos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	125
<i>EKM</i> I 200. Epitaph of Philoxena, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	126
<i>EKM</i> I 201. Epitaph of Machatas, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	126
<i>EKM</i> I 202. Epitaph of Harpalos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, second half . . . . .	126
<i>EKM</i> I 203. Epitaph of Dionysios and Laomaga, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, second half. . . . .	126
<i>EKM</i> I 204. Epitaph of Hipposstratos and Ammia, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	126
<i>EKM</i> I 205. Epitaph of Gauanes and Palamandros, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	126
<i>EKM</i> I 206. Epitaph of Petronius Bassos, 1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	127
<i>EKM</i> I 207. Epitaph of Krateuas (?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	127
<i>EKM</i> I 208. Epitaph of the <i>threptos</i> Charinos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	127
<i>EKM</i> I 209. Epitaph of Atheno, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	127
<i>EKM</i> I 210. Epitaph of Petronianus Agathemeros, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	128
<i>EKM</i> I 211. Epitaph of Petronianus Theseus, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	128
<i>EKM</i> I 212. Epitaph of Ammianos, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	129
<i>EKM</i> I 213. Epitaph of Antigonos and Antigona, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	129
<i>EKM</i> I 214. Epitaph of Zosime, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	129
<i>EKM</i> I 215. Epitaph of Aurelia, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	129

<i>EKM I 216. Epitaph of Iulius Aphobetos, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.130
<i>EKM I 217. Epitaph of Eubiotos, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.130
<i>EKM I 218. Epitaph of Achilleus, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.130
<i>EKM I 219. Epitaph of Claudia Tyranna, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.130
<i>EKM I 220. Epitaph of Ammianos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.130
<i>EKM I 221. Epitaph of Poseidonios, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.130
<i>EKM I 222. Epitaph of Achilleus, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.131
<i>EKM I 223. Epitaph of Eugamos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.131
<i>EKM I 224. Epitaph of Rhode and Eutycheides, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.131
<i>EKM I 225. Epitaph of Dionysios and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.131
<i>EKM I 226. Epitaph of Ammianos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.132
<i>EKM I 227. Epitaph of Philotera, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.132
<i>EKM I 228. Epitaph of Helenos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.132
<i>EKM I 229. Epitaph of Chryseis, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.132
<i>EKM I 230. Epitaph of Phlabianos, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.132
<i>EKM I 231. Epitaph of Herakleon, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.133
<i>EKM I 232. Epitaph of Epigonos and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.133
<i>EKM I 233. Epitaph of T[- -], Imperial period (?)</i>	.133
<i>EKM I 234. Epitaph of Publicia Agathemeris (?), Imperial period</i>	.133
<i>EKM I 235. Epitaph of Benousta, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.133
<i>EKM I 236. Epitaph of Kalandion and Philetos, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.134
<i>EKM I 237. Epitaph of Hermione, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.134
<i>EKM I 238. Epitaph of Eros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.134
<i>EKM I 239. Epitaph of Phortounatos, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.134
<i>EKM I 240. Epitaph of Arogos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.135
<i>EKM I 241. Epitaph of Iulianus Endemos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.135
<i>EKM I 242. Epitaph of Philodespotos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.135
<i>EKM I 243. Epitaph of Petronius Amyntas, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.136
<i>EKM I 244. Epitaph of the <i>threpte</i> Chreste, late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.136
<i>EKM I 245. Epitaph of Paratos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.136
<i>EKM I 246. Epitaph of Popillius Paramonos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.136
<i>EKM I 247. Epitaph of Didyme, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.136
<i>EKM I 248. Epitaph of Caestroniana Aurelia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.137
<i>EKM I 249. Epitaph of Moustianos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.137
<i>EKM I 250. Epitaph of Prothoenor, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.137
<i>EKM I 251. Epitaph of Pistos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.137
<i>EKM I 252. Epitaph of Hermophilos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.138

<i>EKM</i> I 253. Epitaph of Nike[- -], 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	138
<i>EKM</i> I 254. Epitaph of Leon, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	138
<i>EKM</i> I 255. Epitaph of Loginos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	138
<i>EKM</i> I 256. Epitaph of Louperkos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	138
<i>EKM</i> I 257. Epitaph of Phoibiane, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	138
<i>EKM</i> I 258. Epitaph of Charmosyne, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	139
<i>EKM</i> I 259. Epitaph of Lysimache's child, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	139
<i>EKM</i> I 260. Epitaph of Biktoreinos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	140
<i>EKM</i> I 261. Epitaph of Maxima and her foster parents, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	140
<i>EKM</i> I 262. Epitaph of Markia and of Petillius Klaudianos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> and early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD respectively . . . . .	140
<i>EKM</i> I 263. Epitaph of Leonto, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	140
<i>EKM</i> I 264. Epitaph of N[- -], 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	140
<i>EKM</i> I 265. Epitaph of Kallon, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	141
<i>EKM</i> I 266. Epitaph of Euporos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	141
<i>EKM</i> I 267. Epitaph of Nike, Euktemon, and Dionysios, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	141
<i>EKM</i> I 268. Epitaph of Xenylla, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	141
<i>EKM</i> I 269. Epitaph of Philoxenos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	141
<i>EKM</i> I 270. Epitaph of [- -]ima, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	141
<i>EKM</i> I 271. Epitaph of Aelius (?) Sokrates, late 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	142
<i>EKM</i> I 272. Epitaph of Paramona, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	142
<i>EKM</i> I 273. Epitaph of a couple, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	142
<i>EKM</i> I 274. Epitaph of Petronios, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	142
<i>EKM</i> I 275. Epitaph of Klaudios, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	142
<i>EKM</i> I 276. Epitaph of Potamon and the daughter of Poseidonios, late 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	143
<i>EKM</i> I 277. Epitaph of Arete, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	143
<i>EKM</i> I 278. Epitaph of Caestronianus Kalogennetos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	143
<i>EKM</i> I 279. Epitaph of Nephon, a pedagogue, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	143
<i>EKM</i> I 280. Epitaph of Fictori[us?] (...), 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	143
<i>EKM</i> I 281. Epitaph of Alypos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	144
<i>EKM</i> I 282. Epitaph of Mestrios, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	144
<i>EKM</i> I 283. Epitaph of Endemos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	144
<i>EKM</i> I 284. Epitaph of Amyntiane, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	144
<i>EKM</i> I 285. Epitaph of Aurelia Zosime, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	144
<i>EKM</i> I 286. Epitaph of Cominius Eutychion, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	145
<i>EKM</i> I 287. Epitaph of Nikanor (?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	145
<i>EKM</i> I 288. Epitaph of Aelius Lykos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	145

<i>EKM</i> I 289. Epitaph of Philonikos and Paramona, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	145
<i>EKM</i> I 290. Epitaph of Achilles, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	145
<i>EKM</i> I 291. Epitaph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	145
<i>EKM</i> I 292. Epitaph of [- -]nes, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	145
<i>EKM</i> I 293. Epitaph of a husband, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	146
<i>EKM</i> I 294. Epitaph, Imperial period . . . . .	146
<i>EKM</i> I 295. Epitaph of Epaphroditos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	146
<i>EKM</i> I 296. Epitaph of Paramonos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	146
<i>EKM</i> I 297. Epitaph of Chresimos, Chresima, and their family, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	146
<i>EKM</i> I 298. Epitaph of Petronius Bassos, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	146
<i>EKM</i> I 299. Epitaph of Bastos and Alexandros, late 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	147
<i>EKM</i> I 300. Epitaph of Dionysios, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	147
<i>EKM</i> I 301. Epitaph of Popillius Donax and his family, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	147
<i>EKM</i> I 302. Epitaph of Chresima, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	147
<i>EKM</i> I 303. Epitaph of Eutychos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	147
<i>EKM</i> I 304. Epitaph of a son, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	147
<i>EKM</i> I 305. Epitaph of Amerimnos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	147
<i>EKM</i> I 306. Epitaph of Kriton, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	148
<i>EKM</i> I 307. Epitaph of Claudia Byzantia, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	148
<i>EKM</i> I 308. Epitaph of Turianus Thallos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	148
<i>EKM</i> I 309. Epitaph of Syneros, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	148
<i>EKM</i> I 310. Epitaph of Pithane and Phila, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	148
<i>EKM</i> I 311. Epitaph of the <i>threptos</i> Rekeptos and a woman, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	149
<i>EKM</i> I 312. Epitaph of Nike, a priestess, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	149
<i>EKM</i> I 313. Epitaph of Aurelia Philippa, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	150
<i>EKM</i> I 314. Epitaph of a woman, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	150
<i>EKM</i> I 315. Epitaph for Antig[- -] and his children, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	150
<i>EKM</i> I 316. Epitaph of Daphne, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	150
<i>EKM</i> I 317. Epitaph of Domitius Isagoras, <i>threptos</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	150
<i>EKM</i> I 318. Epitaph of Paramona, mid-2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	151
<i>EKM</i> I 319. Epitaph of Claudia Alexandra, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	151
<i>EKM</i> I 320. Epitaph, 1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	151
<i>EKM</i> I 321. Epitaph of Loukis' wife, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	151
<i>EKM</i> I 322. Epitaph of Caecilius Paramonos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	151
<i>EKM</i> I 323. Epitaph of Aelia Philoumene and her children, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	151
<i>EKM</i> I 324. Epitaph of a family, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	152
<i>EKM</i> I 325. Epitaph of Kominia, 234 AD, ca. June . . . . .	152

<i>EKM I 326. Epitaph of Soterin and the rest of Lalos' family, 133 AD, ca. February.</i>	.152
<i>EKM I 327. Epitaph of Caepianus Helenos, 177 AD, ca. September</i>	.152
<i>EKM I 328. Epitaph, 128 AD, ca. December</i>	.153
<i>EKM I 329. Epitaph of the <i>threptos</i> Gregorios, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.153
<i>EKM I 330. Epitaph of Phabios, Symphorion, and Pothine, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.153
<i>EKM I 331. Epitaph of Popillia Hagne, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.153
<i>EKM I 332. Epitaph of Paramonos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.153
<i>EKM I 333. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.154
<i>EKM I 334. Epitaph of Primillianus Kourtios, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half.</i>	.154
<i>EKM I 335. Epitaph of Marius Markellos, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.154
<i>EKM I 336. Epitaph of Agathophoros and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.154
<i>EKM I 337. Epitaph of Aphrodeisios, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.155
<i>EKM I 338. Epitaph of Nikandros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.155
<i>EKM I 339. Epitaph of Scirtius Agathon and Scirtia Zosime, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.155
<i>EKM I 340. Epitaph of Serapous, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.156
<i>EKM I 341. Epitaph of Lyka and Oualeris, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.156
<i>EKM I 342. Epitaph of Leontiskos and Philippa, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half.</i>	.156
<i>EKM I 343. Epitaph of Louppos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.156
<i>EKM I 344. Epitaph of Menandros, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.157
<i>EKM I 345. Epitaph of Kalleas, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.157
<i>EKM I 346. Epitaph of Polybios, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.157
<i>EKM I 347. Epitaph of Iulius Perikles from Herakleia, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.157
<i>EKM I 348. Epitaph of Akte and Dikaïos, late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.158
<i>EKM I 349. Epitaph of Hermas, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.158
<i>EKM I 350. Epitaph of Anthos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.158
<i>EKM I 351. Epitaph of a son, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.158
<i>EKM I 352. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.158
<i>EKM I 353. Epitaph of Claudia Kouarta, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter</i>	.159
<i>EKM I 354. Epitaph of Alexandra, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.159
<i>EKM I 355. Epitaph of Alketes, late 2<sup>nd</sup> - early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.159
<i>EKM I 356. Epitaph of Beronike, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.159
<i>EKM I 357. Epitaph of Botrys, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.160
<i>EKM I 358. Epitaph of [- -]on (?), late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.160
<i>EKM I 359. Epitaph of Attia Eirene, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half</i>	.160
<i>EKM I 360. Epitaph of the family of the doctor Hermeias, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.160
<i>EKM I 361. Epitaph of Hermione, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.160
<i>EKM I 362. Epitaph of [- -]os and Artemidora, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.</i>	.161

<i>EKM</i> I 363. Epitaph of Metrodoros (below an earlier dedicatory inscription to Aphrodite?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	161
<i>EKM</i> I 364. Epitaph, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	161
<i>EKM</i> I 365. Epitaph of Eumekion, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	162
<i>EKM</i> I 366. Epitaph of a wife, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	162
<i>EKM</i> I 367. Epitaph of Artemidoros, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	162
<i>EKM</i> I 368. Epitaph of Sosibia, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	162
<i>EKM</i> I 369. Epitaph of Xanthion's wife, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	163
<i>EKM</i> I 370. Epitaph, late 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	163
<i>EKM</i> I 371. Epitaph of Gemellos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	163
<i>EKM</i> I 372. Epitaph of the muleteer Aelius Orestes, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	163
<i>EKM</i> I 373. Epitaph of the vocal artist Spedius (?) Satyros from Nikopolis, mid-2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	164
<i>EKM</i> I 374. Epitaph of the gladiator Xiphias, mid-2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	164
<i>EKM</i> I 375. Epitaph of the gladiator Nympheros from Ephesos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	165
<i>EKM</i> I 376. Epitaph of the gladiator Pasinikos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	165
<i>EKM</i> I 377. Epitaph of the gladiator Thourinos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	165
<i>EKM</i> I 378. Epitaph of the gladiator Iason, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	166
<i>EKM</i> I 379. Epitaph of the gladiator Platanos, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	166
<i>EKM</i> I 380. Epitaph of the gladiator Melanippos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	166
<i>EKM</i> I 381. Epitaph of the gladiator Nikephoros, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	166
<i>EKM</i> I 382. Epitaph of the gladiator Ouales, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	166
<i>EKM</i> I 383. Epitaph of the <i>summa rudis</i> Pouplios, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter. . . . .	167
<i>EKM</i> I 384. Epitaph of the gladiator Mariskos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, third quarter. . . . .	167
<i>EKM</i> I 385. Epitaph of a gladiator, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	168
<i>EKM</i> I 386. Epigram of the gladiator Alexandros, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	168
<i>EKM</i> I 387. Epigram of the gladiator Soulpikis from Pautalia, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	168
<i>EKM</i> I 388. Epitaph of the gladiator Zosimos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	168
<i>EKM</i> I 389. Epitaph of a gladiator, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	169
<i>EKM</i> I 390. Epigram of a gladiator, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	169
<i>EKM</i> I 391. Epigram of Hadea, late 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	169
<i>EKM</i> I 392. Epigram of Paterinos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	170
<i>EKM</i> I 393. Epigram, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC. . . . .	171
<i>EKM</i> I 394. Epigram of the musician Antigona, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	172
<i>EKM</i> I 395. Epigram of Antigonos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	172
<i>EKM</i> I 396. Epigram of Kleinos from Amastris, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	172
<i>EKM</i> I 397. Epigram of S[- - -], 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	173
<i>EKM</i> I 398. Epigram of the baker (?) Kaikilis, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	173

<i>EKM</i> I 399. Epigram of the mime Kyrilla, early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	173
<i>EKM</i> I 400. Epigram of Krispinos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	174
<i>EKM</i> I 401. Epigram of Leontios, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	174
<i>EKM</i> I 402. Epigram of the acrobat Am[. . .]on, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	174
<i>EKM</i> I 403. Epigram, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	175
<i>EKM</i> I 404. Epigram of Parthenope, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	175
<i>EKM</i> I 405. Epigram of Philereinos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	175
<i>EKM</i> I 406. Epigram, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	175
<i>EKM</i> I 407. Epigram of a doctor, date impossible to determine . . . . .	175
<i>EKM</i> I 408. Epigram (?) of Soummos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	175
<i>EKM</i> I 409. Epitaph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	176
<i>EKM</i> I 410. Epitaph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	176
<i>EKM</i> I 411. Epitaph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	176
<i>EKM</i> I 412. Epitaph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	176
<i>EKM</i> I 413. Epitaph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	176
<i>EKM</i> I 414. Epitaph (?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	176
<i>EKM</i> I 415. Epitaph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	176
<i>EKM</i> I 416. Epitaph (?), 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	177
<i>EKM</i> I 417. Bilingual epitaph of Furia (?) Secunda, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	177
<i>EKM</i> I 418. Epitaph of Lucius Octavius and his family, in Latin, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	177
<i>EKM</i> I 419. Epitaph of Caesernius Apronianus, in Latin, 1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	177
<i>EKM</i> I 420. Epitaph of Publicius Severus and Domitia Ammia, in Latin, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	177

## INSCRIPTIONS OF LATE ANTIQUITY . . . . . 178

<i>EKM</i> I 421. Building inscription, dedicated by the <i>secretarius</i> Strymonios, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	178
<i>EKM</i> I 422. Epitaph of Bitilianos, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	178
<i>EKM</i> I 423. Epitaph of the presbyter Eugenios, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	178
<i>EKM</i> I 424. Epitaph of the presbyters Theodoulos and Eutropios, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	178
<i>EKM</i> I 425. Epitaph of Martyrios, tailor and sub-deacon, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	178
<i>EKM</i> I 426. Epitaph of Polykarpos, sub-deacon, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	178
<i>EKM</i> I 427. Epitaph of Silbinos, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	178
<i>EKM</i> I 428. Epitaph of Stephanos and Sabina, 6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	179
<i>EKM</i> I 429. Epitaph of Apostolios the weaver and Kyrillos the presbyter, 6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	179
<i>EKM</i> I 430. Epitaph of Nan[- -] and [- -]on, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	179
<i>EKM</i> I 431. Epitaph of Theopompos (?), 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	179
<i>EKM</i> I 432. Epitaph of Petros, soldier, and Demetria, 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	179
<i>EKM</i> I 433. Epitaph of slaves working in a guild, 4 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	179

<i>EKM I 434. Epitaph of Sophia, 5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.179
<i>EKM I 435. Epitaph of Hagne, a deacon, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.180
<i>EKM I 436. Epigram, 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.180
<i>EKM I 437. Epitaph of [- -]Jeskos and Ioannes (?), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.180
<i>EKM I 438. Epitaph of Balentinos and Theodoule, December 545 AD</i>	.180
<i>EKM I 439. Epitaph of Ioannes, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.180
<i>EKM I 440. Epitaph of Patrikios, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.180
<i>EKM I 441. Epitaph of count Phatalios and his family, September 1, 492 AD</i>	.181
<i>EKM I 442. Epitaph of Dometianos and Rhodope, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.181
<i>EKM I 443. Epitaph of the soldier Arias, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.181
<i>EKM I 444. Epitaph with an adjuration for the protection of the monument, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.182
<i>EKM I 445. Epitaph of the family of Aurelia Ariane, 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.182
<i>EKM I 446. Epitaph of Maximos, 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.184
<i>EKM I 447. Epigram of the mother superior Theodora, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.184
<i>EKM I 448. Epigram of the deacon Paula and another person, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.184
<i>EKM I 449. Epitaph (?), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.184
<i>EKM I 450. Epitaph of Abundantia and Thermantia (in Latin), 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.185
<i>EKM I 451. Epitaph of Aquilina (in Latin), 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.185
<i>EKM I 452. Epitaph of the military officer Flavius Belisarius and Gerontia (in Latin), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.185
<i>EKM I 453. Epitaph of Lupercia (bilingual), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.185
<i>EKM I 454. Epitaph of loses from Alexandria, a Jew, 5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.185
<i>EKM I 455. Epitaph of Maria, a Jew, 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD</i>	.186

#### **INSCRIPTIONS OF INDETERMINATE NATURE** .186

<i>EKM I 456. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.186
<i>EKM I 457. Incertum, 90/91 AD</i>	.186
<i>EKM I 458. Incertum, 139-148 AD</i>	.186
<i>EKM I 459. Incertum, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.186
<i>EKM I 460. Dedication to Artemis Boethos (?), Imperial period (?)</i>	.186
<i>EKM I 461. Fragment of a monumental inscription, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.187
<i>EKM I 462. Incertum, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.187
<i>EKM I 463. Incertum, Imperial period</i>	.187
<i>EKM I 464. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.187
<i>EKM I 465. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.187
<i>EKM I 466. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.187
<i>EKM I 467. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD</i>	.187

<i>EKM</i> I 468. Incertum, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC . . . . .	187
<i>EKM</i> I 469. Incertum, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	187
<i>EKM</i> I 470. Incertum, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	187
<i>EKM</i> I 471. Incertum, Imperial period (?) . . . . .	187
<i>EKM</i> I 472. Incertum, date impossible to determine . . . . .	187
<i>EKM</i> I 473. Incertum, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	188
<i>EKM</i> I 474. Incertum, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	188
<i>EKM</i> I 475. Incertum, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	188
<i>EKM</i> I 476. Incertum, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	188
<i>EKM</i> I 477. Incertum in Latin, Imperial period . . . . .	188
<i>EKM</i> I 478. Incertum in Latin, Imperial period . . . . .	188
<i>EKM</i> I 479. Epitaph (?) in Latin, Imperial period. . . . .	188
<b>INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TERRITORY OF BEROIA . . . . .</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>MILESTONES . . . . .</b>	<b>188</b>
<i>EKM</i> I 480. Milestone in Latin, 216/7 AD . . . . .	188
<i>EKM</i> I 481. Milestone, 239 AD. . . . .	189
<i>EKM</i> I 482. Milestone with various texts between 239 and 367 AD . . . . .	189
<i>EKM</i> I 483. Milestone, 239 and 408-432 AD . . . . .	189
<i>EKM</i> I 484. Milestone, 238-244, 293-311, 363-364 AD . . . . .	190
<i>EKM</i> I 485. Milestone, various texts between 239 and 364-367 AD . . . . .	190
<i>EKM</i> I 486. Milestone, 286-305 AD . . . . .	190
<i>EKM</i> I 487. Milestone (in Latin), 141 AD. . . . .	190
<b>ASOMATA . . . . .</b>	<b>190</b>
<i>EKM</i> I 488. Imperial letter (in Latin) to the <i>koinon</i> of the Macedonians, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	190
<i>EKM</i> I 489. Epitaph of Onesiphoros, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	191
<i>EKM</i> I 490. Epitaph of father and son, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	191
<b>KOMNINIO . . . . .</b>	<b>192</b>
<i>EKM</i> I 491. Epitaph of Aeliana Olympias, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	192
<i>EKM</i> I 492. Epitaph of Zoiche, wet-nurse, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half . . . . .	192
<b>KORYPHI . . . . .</b>	<b>192</b>
<i>EKM</i> I 493. Epitaph of Aelianus Terpnos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	192
<b>LAZOCHORI . . . . .</b>	<b>192</b>
<i>EKM</i> I 494. Epitaph of Doris and Apollodoros, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	192

MAKROCHORI . . . . .	192
<i>EKM I 495. Epitaph (?) of the gladiator Pekouliaris, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .</i>	192
<i>EKM I 496. Incertum, Hellenistic period . . . . .</i>	193
<i>EKM I 497. Epitaph of the gladiator Mariskos, late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	193
NEA NIKOMEDEIA. . . . .	193
<i>EKM I 498. Epitaph of Amyntas, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> quarter . . . . .</i>	193
<i>EKM I 499. Honours for Claudius Plotinos, son of the president of the <i>koinon</i> Claudius         Menon, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, probably after 230 . . . . .</i>	193
<i>EKM I 500. Epitaph of Kastor, a freedman, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	194
<i>EKM I 501. Epitaph of the soldier Iulius Aufidius (in Latin), early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	194
NISI . . . . .	194
<i>EKM I 502. Epitaph of Cornelius Theodotos, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	194
<i>EKM I 503. Incertum, indeterminable date . . . . .</i>	195
PATRIS. . . . .	195
<i>EKM I 504. Epitaph of Iouliane, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	195
RACHI. . . . .	195
<i>EKM I 505. Dedication of part of a temple of Ma, 173/4 AD . . . . .</i>	195
<i>EKM I 506. Epitaph of Perdikkas, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .</i>	195
<i>EKM I 507. Epitaph of a man and Philinna, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC . . . . .</i>	195
SKYLLITSI. . . . .	195
<i>EKM I 508. Epitaph of Aelia Eutydis, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	195
STAVROS . . . . .	196
<i>EKM I 509. Dedication of an aqueduct (?), 250/51 AD . . . . .</i>	196
TRILOPHOS. . . . .	196
<i>EKM I 510. Dedication to Poseidon, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC . . . . .</i>	196
PHYTEIA . . . . .	196
<i>EKM I 511. Epitaph of Alexandros and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	196
<i>EKM I 512. Epitaph of Ophelion, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD . . . . .</i>	197

PART II	
INSCRIPTIONS AFTER <i>EKM I</i>	199
DEDICATIONS	201
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 1. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> (?) cent. AD.	201
CATALOGUES	201
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 2. Ephebic catalogue, 235/6 AD	201
FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS	203
SIMPLE EPITAPHS	203
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 3. Epitaph of Nikeso from Thebes and her family, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second quarter.	203
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 4. Epitaph of Philotas, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second half	205
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 5. Epitaph of Euandros, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> - early 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC.	205
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 6. Epitaph of the family of T. Asinius Sekoundos, 102/3 (?) AD	206
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 7. Epitaph of the family of Alypos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half	209
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 8. Epitaph of Petronia, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half.	210
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 9. Epitaph of Trophimion, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half.	211
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 10. Epitaph of Agathea, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD	213
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 11. Epitaph of Artemidoros, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, after 212.	214
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 12. Epitaph of Epiktesis, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD	216
GLADIATORIAL EPITAPHS AND EPIGRAMS	217
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 13. Epitaph of the gladiator Aigialos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half	217
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 14. Epitaph of the gladiator Antiochianos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half	219
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 15. Epitaph of the gladiator Archimedes, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half	220
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 16. Epitaph of the gladiator Hermes, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half	221
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 17. Epitaph of the gladiator Maron, late 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.	223
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 18. Epitaph of the gladiator Podenemos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half	224
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 19. Epigram of the <i>venator</i> Tillorobos, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half	225
JEWISH EPITAPHS AND EPIGRAMS	227
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 20. Epitaph of Theodosios, designated presbyter of the Jewish synagogue, 4 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD, first half	227
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 21. Epitaph of Ioustinos (also called?) Gogornis, 4 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD, second half	229
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 22. Jewish epitaph, 4 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD.	230
<i>EKM I</i> Suppl. 23. Epigram of a cantor of the Jewish synagogue, 4 <sup>th</sup> cent. AD, first half	231

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TERRITORY OF BEROIA . . . . .	233
NISI . . . . .	233
<i>EKM</i> I Suppl. 24. Statue base for an emperor, 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD . . . . .	233
RACHI . . . . .	235
<i>EKM</i> I Suppl. 25. Epitaph of Lykoleon, Theonoe, and Neon, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second-third quarter . . . . .	235
<i>EKM</i> I Suppl. 26. Epitaph of the <i>threpte</i> Prokla, 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half . . . . .	236
TRIPOTAMOS . . . . .	238
<i>EKM</i> I Suppl. 27. Epitaph of a young man, early 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. . . . .	238
 APPENDIX . . . . .	 241
CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS ON MATERIAL OTHER THAN STONE . . . . .	241
NOTE ON UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS . . . . .	245
 INDEXES . . . . .	 249
 BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	 261

# INTRODUCTION

The rationale behind the current Supplement to *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας Α', Ἐπιγραφές Βέροιας (EKM I)*, edited by L. Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos and published in 1998,<sup>1</sup> is explained in detail in the Introduction to the *Supplement of Ἐπιγραφές Ἀνω Μακεδονίας (EAM Suppl.)*,<sup>2</sup> and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to stress, as in *EAM Suppl.*, that the current volume is meant to be used as a supplement to, and not as a replacement of *EKM I*, which is why the text of the inscriptions, the description of the monuments, the administrative data, the bibliography, the apparatus and the commentary of *EKM I* are not reproduced here.<sup>3</sup>

The Supplement consists of two sections. The first contains entries for all inscriptions published in *EKM I*. Each entry provides: a) new information concerning the monument, when such information exists; b) translation of the text; c) bibliography after the publication of *EKM I* (or missing from *EKM I*); d) additional *apparatus criticus*, when necessary; e) additional commentary, when necessary. When possible and necessary, we checked the readings of the inscriptions on photographs and squeezes of the KERA archive.<sup>4</sup> The second section of the Supplement<sup>5</sup> contains entries for inscriptions on stone published after the publication of

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1. L. Gounaropoulou – M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (μεταξὺ Βερμίου ὄρους καὶ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ). Τεύχος Α': Ἐπιγραφές Βέροιας* (Athens 1998). Work for the current volume was carried out in the context of the project “*Anavathmis*. Historical research and digital applications” (MIS 5002357), project implemented by the Institute of Historical Research under the “Action for the Strategic Development on the Research and Technological Sector”, funded by the Operational Programme “Competitiveness, Entrepreneurship and Innovation” (NSRF 2014-2020) and co-financed by Greece and the EU (European Regional Development Fund).
  2. E. Martín González – P. Paschidis, *A Supplement to Ἐπιγραφές Ἀνω Μακεδονίας* (Digital Publications of the IHR 02; Athens 2020).
  3. The only exception is that of *EKM I* 445, where the complexity of the *apparatus* necessitated the inclusion of the text itself.
  4. In the case of *EKM I* 257, considered lost at the time the corpus was published, but actually in the Archaeological Museum of Veria, autopsy was carried out in 2019.
  5. To distinguish between the two sections and avoid confusion, we propose that references to the first section of the *Supplement* (the material included in *EKM I*) be in the form e.g. “*EKM I* 50 Suppl.” and that references to the second section (containing new material) be in the form e.g. “*EKM I* Suppl. 50”.

*EKM* 1 (the cut-off date being 2019).<sup>6</sup> They are ordered according to type (dedication, catalogue, simple epitaphs –arranged in chronological order–, gladiatorial funerary inscriptions –arranged in alphabetical order–, Jewish epitaphs, and inscriptions from the territory of Beroia –arranged by settlement). Whenever possible, the inscribed monuments of this section were studied through autopsy, photographs and squeezes.

For reasons of consistency with the corpora published by KERA after *EAM*, inscriptions on material other than stone, painted inscriptions and inscriptions on mosaics were not included in the main catalogue and are all –both the ones published before the publication of *EKM* I and the ones published after it– listed in an Appendix (without autopsy or photographic documentation), with indicative bibliography, containing mostly first editions, significant discussions, and publications with photographs. Inscriptions known to us through bibliographical references, but which were not published by 2019, have been listed at the end of the Supplement in a succinct catalogue (see “Note on unpublished inscriptions”). There are two separate indexes, one with additions and corrections to *EKM* I, and one for the new material.

All other details concerning entry titles, proposed dates, translations, transliteration, the use of the bibliography and the commentary set forth in the Introduction of *EAM* Suppl. are also applicable for the present Supplement.

We are grateful to several colleagues for their invaluable help. First of all we are grateful to the Ephor of Emathia Angeliki Kottaridi, for permission to study and publish material, for facilitating our visit to the new Museum of Aigai<sup>7</sup> (and, in general, for facilitating KERA's work for decades); we are also grateful to Giannis Graikos, who, as always, provided valuable assistance, administrative and personal; to Giannis Bellas, who indefatigably strove to locate the monuments we wished to study; finally, to the rest of the personnel of the Ephorate of Emathia and the Museum of Aigai for their help and hospitality.

As always, we are also grateful to all our colleagues at KERA for discussing several details with us. The photographer Christos Simatos participated in the field trip of 2019 and is responsible for most photographs herein.<sup>8</sup> Special thanks are due, once again, to Miltiades Hatzopoulos, for a myriad of reasons.

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6. We should note here the fascinating new Beroian asyilia decree for the sanctuary of Apollo at Kos, published by D. Bosnakis – K. Hallof, “Alte und neue Inschriften aus Kos VI”, *Chiron* 50 (2020) 287-326, published as this Supplement was in the press.

7. Autopsies in late 2019 on the material published after *EKM* I were carried out at the new Museum at Aigai where the material from Beroia is temporarily stored, pending the completion of the overhaul of the Archaeological Museum of Veria.

8. With the exception of: *EKM* I Suppl. 8, kindly provided by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia; *EKM* I Suppl. 9, after Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 422 no 125; *EKM* I Suppl. 22, after *CJIG* 108 no 37.





PART I  
INSCRIPTIONS IN *EKM* I



## LAWS AND DECREES

### **EKM I 1. Gymnasiarchical law, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, first third**

(Side A, ll. 1-5) *When Hippokrates son of Nikokrates was strategos, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of Apellaios; at the meeting of the assembly, Zopyros son of Amyntas, the gymnasiarch, Asklepiades son of Heras, and Kallippos son of Hippostratos proposed the following:*

(ll. 5-16) *Whereas all the other magistrates rule according to a law and in the cities where there are gymnasia and where anointing with oil is an established practice the laws concerning the gymnasiarchs are deposited in the public archives, it is appropriate that the same should be done here and that the law which we submitted to the exetastai be inscribed on a stele and placed in the gymnasium and be also deposited in the public archive; for when this is done, the young men will be more respectful and readier to obey their leader and their revenues will not be dissipated, since the gymnasiarchs who will be successively elected will rule according to a law and will be held accountable.*

(ll. 15-22) *It was resolved by the city that the gymnasiarchical law which was proposed by Zopyros son of Amyntas, the gymnasiarch, Asklepiades son of Heras, and Kallippos son of Hippostratos shall be adopted and deposited in the public archive and that the gymnasiarchs shall make use of it and that it shall also be deposited in the gymnasium engraved on a stele. It was ratified on the first of Peritios.*

(ll. 22-34) *Gymnasiarchical law: The city shall elect a gymnasiarch whenever it elects the other magistrates, not younger than 30 nor older than 60. The elected gymnasiarch shall hold office after swearing the following oath: I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Apollo, Herakles and Hermes that I will exercise my duties as gymnasiarch in accordance with the gymnasiarchical law, and as for the matters that are not covered by the law, I will act, using my own judgement, as piously and fairly as I possibly can, without showing favour to a friend or harming an enemy unjustly; nor will I appropriate any of the revenues existing for the young men, nor will I knowingly allow anyone else (to do so) in any way or under any pretext; if I abide by my oath may I enjoy many blessings, but the opposite if I break it.*

(ll. 34-63) *The gymnasiarch who is elected, will, upon entering his office, summon an assembly in the gymnasium on the first day of the month of Dios, and propose three men who, once their appointment is ratified and they have sworn the following oath, will join him in supervising the young men, as they are assigned to them, and will accompany the gymnasiarch in the gymnasium*

every day (...) of the gymnasiarch, along with everything he requires (...); on the second day of the month of Dios (...) the politarchs and the exetastai (...) the gymnasium along with the aforementioned men (...) the prescribed amount set aside by them shall be paid by the revenue he receives for the anointing with oil and thus (...); if anyone does not perform any of the aforementioned duties, he will pay (...), and the exaction of the fine shall be effectuated through the praktor of the city, after the exetastai have countersigned it; and if they do not countersign, [they will also pay the same fine, and give a third of it to the denouncer] (...). On wood supply: (...) along with the exetastai (...) men, and no more than (...) existing goods (...) by court decision (...). We swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Apollo, Herakles and Hermes (...) using our own judgement, [as piously and fairly as we possibly can] (...); nor will we appropriate any of the revenues existing for the young men, nor will we show a favour to a friend nor harm an enemy unjustly, under any pretext; if we abide by our oath may we enjoy many blessings, but the opposite if we break it. (...) of the boys, and the elected gymnasiarch (...) (ca. 44 lines of illegible text follow).

(Side B, ll. 1-10) No one of those under the age of thirty may take off his clothes while the signal is lowered, unless the leader consents. When the signal is raised, no one else may do so unless the leader consents, and no one may anoint himself in another palaestra in the same city; otherwise, the gymnasiarch shall prevent him and fine him fifty drachmae. Whoever is appointed by the gymnasiarch as a leader shall be obeyed by all those who frequent the gymnasium, as is prescribed for the gymnasiarch; whoever does not obey shall be punished by the gymnasiarch by flogging; the rest shall be fined by him.

(ll. 10-13) Ephebes and those below the age of twenty-two shall practice javelin throwing and archery every day, after the boys have anointed themselves, and similarly any other discipline, if it appears to be necessary.

(ll. 13-26) On the boys: None of the young men may enter among the boys, nor talk to the boys, otherwise the gymnasiarch shall fine and prevent anyone who does any of these things. The physical trainers shall present themselves at the gymnasium twice every day at the time the gymnasiarch specifies, unless someone is ill or has any other necessary engagement; otherwise, they shall present themselves to the gymnasiarch. If any of the physical trainers appears to show negligence and is not present for the boys at the appointed hour, he (the gymnasiarch) shall fine him five drachmae per day. The gymnasiarch shall have the authority to flog both the boys who are undisciplined and the physical trainers, if they are not free, and to fine those who are free. He shall order the physical trainers to make a review of the boys three times per year, every four months, and shall appoint judges for them; and he shall crown the winner with an olive branch.

(ll. 26-39) On those who may not participate in the gymnasium: No slave or freedman or their sons shall take off their clothes in the gymnasium, nor anyone untrained in the palaestra, nor anyone who has prostituted himself, has practiced a profession in the market, is inebriated or insane. If the gymnasiarch allows any of those specified above to anoint himself, either knowingly or after someone has reported to him and pointed this out, he shall be fined one thousand drachmae; in order to secure exaction of this fine, the denouncer shall hand over a report to the exetastai of the city, and they

shall countersign the order of the praktor of the city. If they do not countersign, or if the praktor does not collect the fine, they shall also be fined with the same sum, one third of which shall be given to the successful denouncer. If the gymnasiarch believes his name has been unjustly lodged, he shall be allowed, if he appeals within ten days, to be judged before the appropriate tribunal. The future gymnasiarchs shall also prevent those who seem to be anointing themselves contrary to the law (from doing so); otherwise, they shall be liable to the same fines.

(ll. 39-45) No one shall be allowed to verbally insult the gymnasiarch in the gymnasium, otherwise (the gymnasiarch) shall fine him fifty drachmae. If anyone strikes the gymnasiarch in the gymnasium, those present shall impede him and not allow him to do so, and (the gymnasiarch) shall likewise fine the one who strikes him one hundred drachmae, and in addition the latter shall be liable to prosecution by the gymnasiarch according to the common laws. Whoever of those present does not offer his help despite being able to do so shall be fined fifty drachmae.

(ll. 45-71) *On the Hermaia*: The gymnasiarch shall celebrate the Hermaia in the month of Hyperberetaios and he shall sacrifice to Hermes and offer as a prize one weapon (...) and three others for robustness, discipline and endurance, for those up to the age of thirty. As for those who are to judge the competition of <robustness>, (the gymnasiarch) shall make a list of seven men, chosen among those who frequent the gymnasium, draw lots, and make the three who are selected swear by Hermes that (each) will judge fairly who seems to him to have the best bodily condition, without any favouritism or hostility. If those chosen by lot do not perform their duty or do not state under oath that they are unable to judge, the gymnasiarch shall have the authority to fine the one who disobeys ten drachmae, and shall draw lots among the rest to replace the defaulter. As for discipline and endurance, the gymnasiarch, after having sworn to Hermes, will judge regarding discipline who from those up to the age of thirty seems to him to be best-disciplined, and regarding endurance who from those up to the age of thirty seems to him to have trained hardest during the current year. The winners shall wear crowns on that day and whoever amongst them so wishes shall also be allowed to wear a headband. During the Hermaia the gymnasiarch shall also hold a torch race of the boys and the young men. The money for the weapons shall come from the existing revenues (of the gymnasium). The hieropoioi shall also celebrate the Hermaia, receiving from each of those who frequent the gymnasium not more than two drachmae, and shall offer a feast in the gymnasium, and they shall designate in their place others who will serve as hieropoioi for Hermes in the following year. The physical trainers shall also perform a sacrifice to Hermes at the same time as the hieropoioi, receiving from each of the boys not more than one drachma, and they shall divide in portions the raw meat from the sacrificed animals. The hieropoioi and the gymnasiarch shall not organize any entertainment to accompany the drinking. The winners shall dedicate the prizes they have received in the term of the following gymnasiarch, within eight months. If not, the gymnasiarch shall fine them a hundred drachmae; the gymnasiarch shall also have the authority to flog and fine those who cheat and do not compete fairly in the contests, as well as those who hand the victory to another.

(ll. 71-84) *Selection of lampadarchs*: The gymnasiarch shall choose from among those present three lampadarchs in the month of Gorpiaios, and those who have been chosen shall supply oil to

the youngsters, each for ten days. He shall also choose three lampadarchs of the boys; those who are chosen shall supply oil for the same number of days. If any of those chosen, or his father, or his brothers, or his guardians if he is an orphan, object, claiming that that he is not able to be lampadarch, he shall state his inability under oath within five days after he is appointed. If the person appointed does not perform his duty or does not state his inability under oath, he shall be fined fifty drachmae and shall all the same provide the oil and be lampadarch. Likewise, if the person who has declared his inability under oath is shown to have sworn without proper cause, after he has been challenged and accused by the gymnasiarch and the young men, he shall be fined fifty drachmae and shall all the same be obliged to provide the oil and be lampadarch. In place of someone who has justly declared his inability under oath, the gymnasiarch shall appoint another. He shall hold the torch race of the boys from among those who frequent the gymnasium, choosing those who seem to him to be suitable, and similarly for the young men.

(ll. 84-87) *On umpires:* The gymnasiarch shall appoint as umpires those who seem to him suitable, both for the torch race at the Hermaia and for the long race and for the other contests. If anyone complains against one of the umpires, claiming he has been unfairly treated by him, he shall hold him to account according to the common laws.

(ll. 87-109) The gymnasiarch shall have control of the revenues available for the young men and shall spend from them; when he leaves office, he shall inscribe on a wooden tablet the sum of the revenue, together with any income from fines or rendering of accounts, and what has been spent from these, and he shall display it in the gymnasium in the month of Dios of the coming year; he shall give accounts to the exetastai of the city, and anyone who so wishes may examine the accounts with them. He shall hand over the balance of the revenues to the gymnasiarch who succeeds him within thirty days after he has completed his term of office. If he does not hand over the accounts or the balance as prescribed above, he shall pay a fine of a thousand drachmae to the young men; the praktor of the city shall collect the fine from him when the exetastai have countersigned and the gymnasiarch shall all the same hand over the account and the balance. The person who has won the bid for the revenue from the mixture of dirt and used oil shall also provide the service of custodian of the palaestra, doing whatever the gymnasiarch instructs should be done in the gymnasium. If he does not obey or behaves disorderly in any way, he shall be flogged by the gymnasiarch. If anyone steals anything from the gymnasium, he shall face the penalties for temple robbery if convicted before the appropriate tribunal. The gymnasiarch shall inscribe the reason for all the fines that he has imposed and proclaim them publicly in the gymnasium, and display the names of all the culprits on a whitened board; he shall report them to the praktor of the city, and the praktor, having exacted the fines, shall hand them over to the gymnasiarch in office. If anyone claims to have been unjustly fined, he may lodge a complaint and be tried before the appropriate magistrates; and if the person fined wins his suit, the gymnasiarch shall pay to him one and a half times (the amount of the original fine) and in addition one fifth and one tenth. Anyone who so wishes may hold the gymnasiarch to account within twenty-four months after his year of office has ended, and the examination of such suits shall be decided before the appropriate tribunals.

(l. 110) (Transmitted) by the politarchs; concerning the decree: one nay.

The gymnasiarchical law of Beroia is mentioned in most works referring to, *inter alia*, Macedonia (especially Hellenistic Macedonia), Macedonian *poleis* (especially Beroia), civic and royal legislation in Macedonia, Macedonian epigraphy, age-groups, education, and, of course, the gymnasium (in Macedonia and elsewhere). The following bibliography, therefore, cannot be exhaustive; only significant discussions, new interpretations, extended quotations of the text, and translations are included.

Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*<sup>2</sup> 249-268 no 14 (text, translation and commentary, focussing on the Hermaia).

Cf. Quaß, *Die Honoratiorenschicht* 272, 286-291; G. H. R. Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 103 no 7, 115 (on the date), 118 (on l. B 110); *EBGR* 1993-1994 (*Kernos* 10 [1997] no 87) (on Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi*); M. B. Hatzopoulos, *CRAI* 141 (1997) 18-23 (French translation of the preamble and discussion of democratic procedures in Hellenistic Beroia); Arnaoutoglou, *Ancient Greek Laws* 117-123 no 98 (English translation); Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* 196-199 no 84 (text of side A); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 87-90 (on the location of the gymnasium); H. W. Pleket, *Gnomon* 71 (1999) 231-236 (review of Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi*); A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1117-1118 (on Kallippos son of Hippostratos); L. Migeotte, in: *Économie antique. La guerre dans les économies antiques* 154 (on the lack of civic funding for the gymnasium); F. Papazoglou, *ŽivaAnt* 50 (2000) 169-176 (on the relationship between city and king in Macedonia); Bouley, *Jeux romains* 25-27 (mostly on the Hermaia); Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides* 92-93 (on the κοινοὶ νόμοι in l. B 44 and B 87), 139-140 (on the relationship between civic and royal legislation); N. G. Kennell, in: *Altum* 128-130 (on the γλοιός and its uses); L. Migeotte, in: *L'information et la mer* 25-26 (on the delay between the public display and the ratification of the law); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *La naissance de la ville dans l'Antiquité* 134-135; Bagnall – Derow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*<sup>2</sup> 133-137 no 78 (English translation); Fröhlich, *Les cités grecques et le contrôle des magistrats* 126-128, 148-152 (on the *exetastai* and on the procedure followed for the ratification and publication of the law), 265-266 (on ll. B 91-96), 290 (on ll. B 32-35), 292 (on the fines inflicted upon gymnasiarchs by the *exetastai*), 380, 406, 412 (on the control over civic magistrates); I. Weiler, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* 39-40 (on εὐεξία, εὐταξία and φιλοπονία); D. Kah, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* 82 (on the date) and *passim*; C. Schuler, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* 163-192, *passim* (on the gymnasiarch); J. Köbes, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* 237-245 (on the criteria of admission to the gymnasium); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* 91-96 (on pre-military training in Hellenistic gymnasia; cf. H. W. Pleket in *SEG* LIV 1849); A. Giovannini, in: *Poleis e politeiai* 473-489; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 8 (2003-2004 [2006]) 28-37; A. S. Chankowski, in: *Que reste-t-il de l'éducation classique?* 271-279 (on the nature of Hellenistic ephebate); Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 42 (on the elective office of the gymnasiarch), 88-89 (on the exclusion of

slaves from the gymnasium), 103-104 (on fines), 110-111 (on the finances of the gymnasium); Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* 50-51; König, *Athletics and Literature* 51-55; M. Mari, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 214-215, 217-218 (on the relationship between civic and royal legislation); P. Paschidis, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 261 (on Kallippos son of Hippostratos); S. Psoma, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 289-294 (on education in Macedonia); Kennell, *Ephebeia* 32-33; Hatzopoulos, *La Macédoine* 75-77 (text and French translation of the preamble and of l. B 110); A. S. Chankowski, in: *L'huile et l'argent* 97, 113-114; Chr. Laes, *ZPE* 171 (2009) 114 (on the pedagogues); Chankowski, *L'éphébie hellénistique*, passim; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Studi ellenistici* 27 (2013) 63-64 (on democratic procedures); N. M. Kennell, in: *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis* 218, 226 (on the *neoi*); Laes – Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire* 117-118 (on social norms taught to the youth); S. G. Caneva – A. Delli Pizzi, *CQ* 65 (2015) 187 (on the corporal punishment of boys and on attitudes towards slavery and freedmen); K. Lazaridou, *ArchEphem* 154 (2015) 1-48, passim (publication of the ephebarchal law of Amphipolis, parallels with the Beroian law); M. B. Hatzopoulos, *MedAnt* 19 (2016) 203-216; idem, *Νεότης γεγυμνασμένη*, passim; L. R. Huber, in: *Stone, Bones, and the Sacred* 111-114 (criteria of admission to the gymnasium); D. Rousset, *REA* 119 (2017) 62-63, 77-78 and passim (comparison with the law of Amphipolis); M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 13 (2015-2016 [2017]) 166-167 and passim (comparison with the law of Amphipolis and reply to Rousset); P. Nigdelis – P. Anagnostoudis, *GRBS* 57 (2017) 303-305 (on the politarchs; cf. *Bull.* 2018, 281); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 100-101 (on courts); Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 83-84 (on the date); M. Mari, *Historika* 8 (2018) 283-311, esp. 299-304 (on the date); eadem, in: *Letters and Communities* 129-130 n. 32 (on the relationship between civic and royal legislation); I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike*, passim (comparison with the law of Amphipolis).

L. A 1: ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦντος ΕΚΜ Ι; ἐπιστρατηγοῦντος Giovannini, but see the rebuttal of M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 8, 32 n. 19. Ll. B 46-47: the text has long been understood to be defective in this passage; for various suggestions of revision, see Pleket (235) and Lupu (263-264).

The gymnasiarchal law of Beroia remains one of the most discussed inscriptions from Macedonia. The authoritative and detailed analysis of Gauthier and Hatzopoulos in the first full publication of the inscription in 1993 has left little to be added, and remains unchallenged in its broad lines. The publication of the other major late Antigonid legislative text pertaining to the gymnasium, the ephebarchal law of Amphipolis, has not changed that picture (publication: K. Lazaridou, *ArchEph* 154 [2015] 1-48; on the date and the nature of the law, see mainly Rousset, Hatzopoulos' reply in *Tekmeria* 13 and Arnaoutoglou's intermediate position, in: *Dike* 23-25); on the contrary, it has confirmed the predominance of athletic and pre-military activities in the Macedonian gymnasia.

The most significant contribution of the Amphipolitan document to the understanding of the Beroian one is that it corroborated the theory tentatively put forward already by

Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (Loi 59) that the gymnasiarchal law, despite its impeccable democratic language and civic procedure followed until its ratification by the Beroian assembly, was, in fact, a legislative text depending on a document emanating from the central government, from which it copied *verbatim* some provisions, to the point of even including the same textual mistakes (l. B 48, εὐταξία instead of εὐεξία, a mistake repeated in the ephebarchal law of Amphipolis; see Lazaridou 42-44, with the objections of Rousset 62-63 and the reply by Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 13, 166-167). The procedure by which both civic laws originated in a royal text may constitute an example of a [κοινὸς (?)] νόμος (a term restored in the military *diagramma* of Philip V, SEG XLIX 855 l. A 8); civic legislation on matters of national importance may have simply adapted royal legislation to local circumstances; see Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides* 92-93, 139-140; idem, *Tekmeria* 8, 35; cf. M. Mari, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 214-215; eadem, in: *Letters and Communities* 129-130 n. 32.

Other than that, the ephebarchal law of Amphipolis confirmed the picture of the Macedonian gymnasium in the royal period drawn by the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia: the gymnasium was an institution instilling traditional moral values in the youth of the respective cities and preparing boys (aged 14-18) and ephebes (aged 19-20) for their future inclusion to the national army, with vigorous athletic and pre-military individual training, to which the νέοι, aged 20-30, also participated; on the *neoi*, see B. Dreyer, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* 211-236; R. van Bremen, in: *Groupes et associations* 31-58; N. M. Kennell, in: *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis* 217-232. This is hardly a Macedonian peculiarity; for the influence of the institution of the ephebate in the evolution of life in the gymnasia of the Greek world from the late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. onwards, see the contributions by D. Kah and M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*.

Objections have been raised and alternatives have been proposed regarding some of the details in Gauthier's and Hatzopoulos' analysis (for ll. B 1-2 and B 10-13 and Giovannini's interpretation of these passages, see SEG LIV 602 and, in detail, M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 8, 28-31). Pleket has convincingly argued that the ἀφηγούμενος in ll. B 6-8 was not a ὑπογυμνασίαρχος appointed by the gymnasiarch himself (on the ὑπογυμνασίαρχοι, cf. I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 11-12), but simply one of the three deputies of the gymnasiarch elected by the ἐκκλησία of the νέοι (ll. A 34-40). Fröhlich, based on parallels from other cities, suggested that the role of the *exetastai* was not to inspect the legality of the proposed legislation (as originally proposed by Moretti, and then by Gauthier and Hatzopoulos), but simply to receive and transmit documents from and to other civic authorities and to publicize them, i.e. to have "la haute main sur les écritures de la cité" (Fröhlich 151). This would mean that the last line of the inscription (B 110) records the transmission by the politarchs of the final, ratified text not to the authorities of the gymnasium, responsible for the erection of the stele (as assumed by Gauthier – Hatzopoulos), but simply to the *exetastai*, to which the draft text of the law had also been transmitted (see ll. A 9-10). As

for the perennial problem of the gymnasium's finances (cf. *EKM* I 7, below), Pleket (235) posited that apart from donations, trusts and fines, regular contributions may have been exacted by the participants themselves, as suggested by ll. B 60-67.

Practically the only major issue remaining unresolved is the gymnasiarchical law's precise date. Despite the recent trend of downdating documents of the late Antigonid period to after 168 BC, there now seems to be a consensus that the law dates to the royal period; the most recent exceptions are Pleket, Kah (see M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* 95-96), and Giovannini (see in detail M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 8, 31-37). Apart from the arguments drawing on the nature of the law and on prosopographical connections (set out in detail already in Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi*), there is now concrete proof that the ephebarchical law of Amphipolis and the royal *diagramma* on military service during campaigns (Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* II no 12) were contemporary documents (see Hatzopoulos, *MedAnt* 201-207), and since, as seen above, the ephebarchical and the gymnasiarchical laws were part of the same legislative agenda, there should be no doubt that the law of Beroia is also to be dated to the late Antigonid period. Whether it should be dated late in the reign of Philip V or in the reign of Perseus is a matter still open to debate, a debate tied to the problem of dating the replacement of the *epistatai* by the politarchs as chief officials of Macedonian cities. According to M. Mari (*Historika* 8; cf. also, with a more agnostic position, *Historika* 7 [2017] 346-351), the introduction of the office of the politarchs should be dated to the reign of Perseus, since as late as in December 181 BC (*EAM* 87) the *epistatai* seem still to be in charge of Macedonian cities (she also adduces *IG* X 2.2, 347, which may be dated under Perseus, but this inscription is irrelevant to the problem, since there is no way of knowing whether Nikolaos, the addressee of Doules, is an *epistates* or the single politarch, as was the norm in Upper Macedonian villages in the Roman period). If Mari's argumentation is accepted, the two gymnasium laws and the military campaign *diagramma* should all be dated under Perseus as well, and belong to the continuation of Philip V's policies by his son. The problem with this otherwise attractive theory is that the *diagramma* of Philip V on the *stephanitai* games (Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* II no 16, June 183 BC) presupposes a gymnasiarchical law at least in Amphipolis, and presumably in all cities of the kingdom. M. B. Hatzopoulos recently proposed a more radical solution to the problem of the politarchs (the most detailed exposition of which is to be found in Hatzopoulos, *MedAnt*; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Νεότερες γεγυμνασμέναι* 39-42): the politarchs, responsible for the defense of the *polis* with local forces (predominantly reserves and ephebes), coexisted with the *epistatai* and served under them, in the synarchy of archons attested in late Antigonid Macedonian *poleis*; the office of the *epistates* was only abolished after the Roman conquest, as was expected for the official embodying the link between the king and the city. If this elegant theory is accepted, there would be no reason not to date the gymnasiarchical law in the latter part of Philip V's reign. The theory, however, stumbles upon the institutional role of the politarchs attested precisely in the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia: the fact that the politarchs of Beroia were responsible

not only for proposing the law, but also for transmitting the law ratified by the assembly to the authorities of the gymnasium (or to the *exetastai*, according to Fröhlich's alternative interpretation) seems to put them in an institutional position which should have been the one of the *epistates*, if that office existed at the time.

## **EKM I 2. Honorific decree for Harpalos, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*In the year (...); (...), the priest of the Benefactor Gods, recalling the glory of his ancestors –although their fortune, due to the circumstances they encountered, was less favourable–, strove not to prove inferior to them in virtue; and already from the age where he first obtained his civic rights, he has not proven inferior to his elders in petitions or embassies for the fatherland; and, having as his model the generalships of his grandfathers and the expenses they undertook, as well as all they set up regarding the embellishment and safety of the city, he bravely accepted the highest and most costly priesthood; and, as was befitting a good and virtuous man, (...) of the gods (...) that had been abolished because of the past wars, he earnestly endeavoured to bring everything back to the order of the ancients, and in all other affairs he repeatedly conducted himself in a manner worthy both of the gods and of his fatherland; and he is worthy of honours both in the present circumstances and in those expected to come. Since, therefore, at the time of the elections, after the members of the Council had proposed that Harpalos be honoured according to everything he has done for the fatherland, the people, convening at the Council hall, took every care for his honouring, it has been resolved that Harpalos be praised for all that, and that he be crowned with an olive branch, and that a bronze statue of him be erected in the most prominent location of the city, and that this decree be read every year during the elections, and that the decree be inscribed on a marble stele and be set up next to the statue.*

D. A. Hardy – I. Touratsoglou, *Tekmeria* 3 (1997) 46–54 (*editio princeps*; *Bull.* 1999, 338, with French translation; SEG XLVII 891); I. Xydopoulos, *AW&E* 17 (2018) 101, 113 no 39.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 69 (on the sanctuary of Asklepios as the ἐπιφανέστατος τόπος where the stele was erected); Ph. Gauthier, *Bull.* 1999, 2 (on l. 2); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 51–53 (on the *probouleuma*), 78 n. 246 (on the honours); I. Savalli-Lestrade, in: *Les élites et leur facettes* 63–64; Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* 40; M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258, 273; P. Paschidis, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 259–261; Y. Kuzmin, *Aristokratija Beroi*, chapter III (in Russian, *non vidimus*) and 148–149 (English summary); idem, in: *Ruthenia Classica* 123–132; idem, *RheinMus* 156 (2013) 278 (all three on the family of Harpalos); A. Chaniotis, in: *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis* 105 (on financial contributions of benefactors described as “courageous”); E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 295 (on the family of Harpalos); Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 125–126 (on the political survival of prominent Beroian families after the Roman conquest); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 109 n. 52, 111 n. 58 (on ll. 33–39); J. Ma, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 311, 321–322.

L. 10: αἰτεῖν Hardy – Touratsoglou, EKM I; λέγειν Gauthier (*Bull.* 1999, 2), but αἰτεῖν is confirmed on the squeeze. L. 17: ἀπεδέξατ[ο ὅπ]ως [πρέπ]ον ἦν Hardy – Touratsoglou; ἀπεδέξατο καὶ ὥς [ . ca. 3–4.

.]Κ[.]Ν ἦν ΕΚΜ Ι, where [προσῆ]κ[ο]ν is suggested in the apparatus; ἀπεδέξατο καὶ ὡς [καθῆ]κ[ο]ν ἦν Gauthier (*Bull.* 1999, 2).

This document constitutes one of the few exceptions to the rule of the almost complete disappearance of major aristocratic families in Macedonian cities after the battle of Pydna and the dissolution of the kingdom (on the subject, see especially Sève, Kuzmin, Daubner, and Xydopoulos 99-102), since the honorand, Harpalos, is almost certainly a fourth-generation descendant of a family continuously attested since 248 BC in the highest offices of Beroia (Harpalos I [son of Polemaios I?]: *epistates*; Polemaios II son of Harpalos I: first officer of the Beroian contingent in 223 BC) and then in the highest echelons of the royal court until 172 BC (Harpalos II son of Polemaios II: *hieromnemon*, diplomat and first friend of king Perseus; our honorand is most probably his grandson); see the sources and the *stemma* in the commentary of ΕΚΜ Ι 4, below; cf. Paschidis and Kuzmin.

The reasons for this exception are not clear: Kuzmin (in: *Ruthenia Classica* 128), followed by Daubner, assumed that the homonymous grandfather of our honorand, high-ranking member of the late Antigonid court, died soon after 172 BC when he is last mentioned and his son, Polemaios (?) son of Harpalos, had not yet reached the age of 15, therefore he was not deported after 168 along with the rest of the Macedonian noblemen and their offspring (Livy 45.32.3-6). Alternatively, one may think of the surrender of the elites of Beroia, Pella and Thessalonike to the Romans immediately after the battle of Pydna (Livy 44.45.4): perhaps some of the protagonists who hastened to surrender were treated more leniently than the overwhelming majority of members of the Macedonian elite (as already hinted at by J. Ma, in: *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 543).

In any case, what has mostly attracted the attention of scholars after the publication and commentary of the document in the *editio princeps* and ΕΚΜ Ι is its rhetoric regarding the past of Harpalos' family and the references –or lack thereof– to the Romans and to the period of the kings. Savalli-Lestrade argued that the decree foregoes any reference either to the Romans or to the royal period, and that emphasis is given only to family pride within the context of a purely civic euergetism (cf. also Xydopoulos). However, ll. 12-15 (ἐννοηθεῖς δὲ τὰς τῶν πάππων στρατηγίας καὶ δαπάνας ὅσα τε τῆς πόλεως ἐκέῖνοι καὶ πρὸς κόσμον καὶ πρὸς φυλακὴν ἀνέστησαν) can only be a reference –inevitably discreet under Roman rule– to the participation of Harpalos, the grandfather of our honorand, both in the elite of the royal government (whether στρατηγίαι refers to military command, or to the governorship of the Third District, as was Hatzopoulos' original assumption [*Institutions* I 258]) and in the civic elite of Beroia; see Paschidis 260 n. 56. Both positions were a matter of pride for the honorand of this decree, although now the horizon of civic elites in Macedonia had become by definition narrower and reoriented towards civic life (cf. Ma).

Equally discreet is the reference to the circumstances prevailing in the time of Harpalos' ancestors (ll. 6-7: εἰ καὶ ἡ [τ]ύχη διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς αὐτῶν ἦττων ἦν). Hardy – Touratsoglou,

who prefer to date the document to the period immediately after the destruction of Macedonian cities during the invasion of Mithridates VI, suppose that this is a reference to the troubled period of the barbarian invasions in Macedonia between 119 and 112 BC; the editors of *EKM I*, who date the document immediately after the end of the barbarian invasions, allow for the possibility that this is a reference to the even more troubled period of the anti-Roman revolts of the 140's. In our view, the generic reference to "ancestors" (πρόγονοι) in the beginning of the decree need not be a reference to specific events in one particular generation, but encompasses the entire past of the illustrious family in troubled times (in a similar vein, Sève [273] also points out that the phrase need not refer to specific events, but to the fact that Harpalos was the first member of this family who was able to restore its status and glory). This generic reference becomes time-specific only afterwards, with references to the diplomatic activities of the πρεσβύτεροι in l. 11 (presumably the generation of Harpalos' father), and then to the πάπποι in l. 12 (the generation of Harpalos' grandfather, on which see above). The deliberately imprecise emphasis on unfavourable circumstances (καίροι) and τύχη is paralleled in other public documents of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, including the long decree of Abdera for Teos (*IThrakAig* E6, ll. 15-16; P. Thonemann will publish a large new fragment of this decree, discovered in 2017), where again καίροι and τύχη are part of a discreet reference to Roman power and destructions caused by it; cf. also e.g. *IThrakAig* E184.

## ROYAL AND IMPERIAL LETTERS AND EDICTS

### ***EKM I 3. Letters of the regent Demetrios (II) to the *epistates* of Beroia, 248 BC, ca. February***

*In the 36<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Antigonos, after an audience of the huntsmen Chartas son of Nikanor and Attylos son of Nikanor Demetrios, the following letters were delivered.*

*Demetrios to Harpalos, greetings. The priests of Herakles state that some of the god's revenues have been assigned to the civic ones. See to it that they are restored to the god. Farewell.*

*Demetrios to Harpalos, greetings. Liberated slaves seem to have dedicated phialai in the past to the sanctuary; since there is an abundance of those at the service of the god, they shall dedicate (from now on) kerata and skyphoi. Farewell.*

*Demetrios to Harpalos, greetings. Let the priests of Herakles be exempt of exactly the same taxes as the priests of Asklepios. Farewell.*

*In the year 36, on Dystros 15.*

*Iliadou, Herakles in Makedonien 193-196 no 83.*

Cf. Gabbert, *Antigonos Gonatas* 60; D. A. Hardy – I. Touratsoglou, *Tekmeria* 3 (1997) 51 (on the family of Harpalos); M. Faraguna, *Athenaeum* 86 (1998) 354 (on royal intervention in local institutions and economy); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 67 (on the sanctuary of Herakles); A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1117 (on the family of Harpalos); M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Ὀβολός* 4 (2000) 84 (on the monetary value of the *phialai*); M. Riel, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 146 (on Hellenistic manumissions); Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred* 106-107 (with text and translation of the first letter); M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 186 (on Hellenistic manumissions); Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 321 no 16 (cult of Apollo at Beroia); Dmitriev, *City Government* 36-37 (contra Dignas); Hatzopoulos, *La Macédoine* 54 (on the triad of 'political' deities in Hellenistic Macedonia – Zeus, Herakles, Asklepios), 86-87 (text and French translation of ll. 1-8 and 16-17); M. Mari, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 219-220 (on royal and civic legislation); P. Paschidis, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 259-261 (on the family of Harpalos); B. G. Intzesiloglou, in: *Inscriptions and History of Thessaly* 70-71 (on the cult of Herakles Kynagidas and the *kynegoi* in Thessaly); M. Faraguna, in: *Approches de l'économie hellénistique* 125 (on royal intervention in local economy and institutions); M. Youni, *The Legal History Review* 78 (2010) 340-341 (on the manumission tax); eadem, in: *L'organisation matérielle* 90; A. Tziafalias – B. Helly, *Studi ellenistici* 24 (2010) 79 n. 3 (on ἐντυγχάνω); Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, *Droit grec d'Alexandre à Auguste* I 374-375 (with text and French translation of the second letter); M. Mari, in: *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 461 (on the cult of Herakles Kynagidas); Archibald, *Ancient Economies* 304 (on the revenues of the sanctuary); Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Taxing Freedom* 93-94 (on the nature of the dedications by manumitted slaves); Kuzmin, *Aristokratija Beroi*, chapter II1 (in Russian, *non vidimus*) and 148-149 (English summary); idem, in: *Ruthenia Classica* 123-132; idem, *RheinMus* 156 (2013) 278 (all three on the family of Harpalos); Mili, *Religion and Society in Ancient Thessaly* 205-206 (on the cult of Herakles Kynagidas and the *kynegoi* in Thessaly); J. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, in: *Symposion 2015*, 85-86 (with text and French translation of the second letter); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 99 n. 17 (on royal letters from Macedonia), 109 n. 51 (on ll. 9-13); Boehm, *City and Empire in the Age of the Successors* 159-160 (on the *kynegoi*); Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 127-129 (on the *kynegoi*); S. Kravaritou, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 383-384 (on the cult of Herakles Kynagidas in Thessaly); M. Mari, in: *Letters and Communities* 127, 132, 138; Y. Kuzmin, *ŽivaAnt* 69 (2019) 64 (on the regnal years of Demetrios II).

The three short letters recorded in this document, with their plain and almost peremptory administrative language, continue to form one of the most relevant pieces of evidence for a number of important facets of institutional, economic, social and religious life in Hellenistic Macedonia: succession to the throne and co-rulership in Macedonia; the institution of the royal hunters; the cult of Herakles Kynagidas; disputes over sacred property between civic and priestly authorities, arbitrated by the king; Hellenistic civic manumissions; civic taxation; the intervention of kings in local economy and institutions.

The document continues to be used in discussions on the first regnal year of Antigonos Gonatas (most probably the Macedonian year 284/3; for discussion after the commentary in *EKM I* see especially *Bull.* 2006, 246 with further literature), as well as on the institution of coregency in Macedonia (see also *EKM I* 45 below; for another possible reference to the association of Demetrios II to the throne during Antigonos Gonatas' lifetime, see *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 1.4, 1043, with Paschidis, *Between City and King* 182 no A66).

The document also figures prominently in discussions on royal letters and the relationship between central and local government in Macedonia, since it constitutes evidence on the direct implication of the (future) king in matters pertaining to local institutions, economy and cult (the relationship between civic funds and sacred funds, tax immunity, even insignificant administrative matters pertaining to the cult of Herakles Kynagidas): see, e.g., the articles by Faraguna, and M. Mari, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles*. Dignas uses the first letter as evidence for her theory that important sanctuaries operated (or aspired to operate) independently from the *polis* and should not be viewed within the conceptual framework of *polis* religion; contra, Dmitriev. The dossier is also discussed in connection to the office of *epistates* (for literature after *EKM I*, see especially M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 8 [2003-2004] 37-40 and idem, in: *Κερμάτια φιλίας* II 53, 55) and its holder, the first attested member of the prominent family of Harpaloi (see *EKM I* 2, above and *EKM I* 4, below).

The institution of the 'hunters' of Herakles Kynagidas, or 'royal hunters' (Pol. 31.29.1-5), young members of the prominent families of Macedonian cities, among whom the local priests of Herakles Kynagidas were probably chosen, had already been fully analyzed in the bibliography of *EKM I* (see especially Hatzopoulos, *Cultes* 102-109); cf. Mari, in: *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 459, 461. For the then unpublished document from Demetrias, see now *SEG* LVI 625, and for the *kynegoi* and the cult of Herakles in Demetrias in Thessaly, see Intzesiloglou, Mili and Kravaritou. The continuation of the institution under Roman rule (see *EKM I* 16, below) is not without interest for how new civic elites were forged under the Romans (cf. the commentary of Daubner).

For dedications of fine ware to the sanctuaries of Herakles Kynagidas by liberated slaves, roughly corresponding to a tenth of the slaves' price, see also *EKM I* 31-33, below, and *EAM* 20 and 30. Zelnick-Abramowitz (*Taxing Freedom*, with previous bibliography, to which add J. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, in: *Symposion 2015*, 75-89) has convincingly argued that these offerings, attested throughout the Greek world, should not necessarily be viewed uniformly as a manumission tithe (or, even less so, as a formalized expression of gratitude for manumission) but, at least in some areas, as registration and publication fees to the sanctuary under whose auspices the manumission was placed.

**EKM I 4. Letter of king Antigonos Doson to the Beroians, 223 BC, ca. August**

(...) and I have also granted to the officers who fought by my side, when the expedition is over, immunity from civic services. On these matters I have also written to the Botteatai as a whole, but I also deemed appropriate to send a letter to you separately. In year 7, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Gorpiaios.

Polemaios son of Harpalos, Timokles son of Kallippos, Hippostratos son of Kallippos, Pausanias son of Nikanor, Antenor son of Sosimenes, Nikanor son of Nikanor, Nikanor son of Alexandros, Euphron son of Aristolaos, Antipatros son of Demophilos, Euthynous son of Alexandros, Antigonos son of Phoinikilos, Heliodoros son of Aganor, Agathon son of Lynkeus, Armennos son of Adaios, Eudemides son of Machatas, Botrichos son of Nikaichmos, Aristogenes son of Hermon, Zoilos son of Alexandros, Paramonos son of Hagesistratos, Alkimos son of Paramonos, Philoxenos son of Nik[-], Philoxenos son of Teutios, Menandros son of Antigonos, Nikolaos son of Nikodemos, Sogenes son of Hermo[genes or -laos], Nikanor son of Likkyros, Nikanor son of Antigonos, [...].chos son of Sosthenes, Lysipolis son of Kleisimachos, Xenophon son of Poseidippos, Dionysios son of Derkylides, Meidon son of Me[idon (?)], Glaukias son of Eubiotos, Adaios son of Aristos, Meleagros son of Philippos, Epiteles son of Menandros, Nikandros son of Eudikos, Nikolaos son of Peritas, Philon son of Paramonos, Meleagros son of Machatas, Epinikos son of Nikias, Menandros son of Pausanias, Menandros son of Pyrrhos, Adaios son of Bettalos, Stapolemos son of Amyntas, Timokrates son of Deinias, Orestes son of Amyntas, Hegesandros son of Eikadion, Paramonos son of Menandros, Demarchos son of Diagoras, Nikanor son of Adaios, Sogenes son of Aristarchos, Aristokles son of Mikion, Philippos son of Zopyrion, Nikandros son of Poimachos, Diphilos son of Epikrates, Parmenion son of Menandros, Antigonos son of Menekrates, Balakros son of Lamedon, Alkimachos son of Machatas.

SEG XLVI 729; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique* 45-52; idem, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides* 121-122, 165-166 no 5.

Cf. A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia VI* (1996 [1999]) 1117 (on the family of the Harpaloi and of Timokles and Hippostratos sons of Kallippos), 1118-1119 (on the onomastics); D. A. Hardy – I. Touratsoglou, *Tekmeria* 3 (1997) 51 (on the family of Polemaios son of Harpalos); F. Papazoglou, *ŽivaAnt* 49 (1999) 220; L. Dubois, *Bull.* 2000, 209 (on the name Σταπόλεμος) and 210 (on the name Βέτταλος); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 137 (on the names Παυσανίας and Δερκυλίδης); M. Obradovic, *ŽivaAnt* 52 (2002) 215 (on the name Τεύτιος); Ch. Tsougaris, *AEMTh* 18 (2004 [2006]) 689-690 (on the name Λίκκυρος, l. 22 [*Bull.* 2006, 251; SEG LIV 603]); Dmitriev, *City Government* 136; M. Mari, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 219 (on immunity from civic services); P. Paschidis, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 259-261 (on the families of the Harpaloi, Timokles and Hippostratos sons of Kallippos, and Meidon); M. Faraguna, in: *Approches de l'économie hellénistique* 125-126 (on royal intervention in the autonomy of Macedonian cities); B. Helly, in: *Die altgriechischen Dialekte* 213 (on the name Βέτταλος); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Κερμάτια φιλίας II* 49, 53; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Onomatologos* 356-365 (on the names of the catalogue); A. Tziafalias – B. Helly, *Studi ellenistici* 24 (2010) 96, 106-112 (on the date), 116-117 (on the *hegemones*); P. O. Juhel, *GRBS* 51 (2011) 593-594 (cf. *Bull.* 2012, 265); J. Ma, in:

*Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 529-530; E. Sverkos, *AEAM* 2 (2011 [2013]) 276-278 (on the name Λίκκυρος, l. 22); Kuzmin, *Aristokratija Beroi*, chapters II1-4 (in Russian, *non vidimus*) and 148-155 (English summary); idem, in: *Ruthenia Classica* 123-132; idem, *RheinMus* 156 (2013) 278-286 (all three on the families of the Harpaloi, of Timokles and Hippostratos sons of Kallippos, of Glaukias son of Eubiotos, and of Meidon); E. Crespo, in: *Ο γλωσσικός χάρτης* 84 (on the name Βέτταλος); J. Méndez Dosuna, in: *Ο γλωσσικός χάρτης* 107 (on the name Βέτταλος); S. Kremydi, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 237-238, 246 (on the Bottiaians); M. Mari, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 192, n. 71 (on Beroia as the regional capital of the Third District already in the royal period); eadem, in: *Letters and Communities* 125 n. 4, 138; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 99 n. 17 (on royal letters from Macedonia).

L. 22: ΑΙΚΚΥΡΟΥ EKM I; Λικκύρου Tsougaris, Hatzopoulos (*Bull.* 2006), Sverkos correctly (as already suggested by Allamani – Voutiras), in light of a new testimony of the name Λίκκυρος in an inscription from Upper Macedonia (*EAM Suppl.* 48).

The second royal letter to the authorities of Beroia (see also *EKM I* 3, above) has also contributed greatly to the understanding of Macedonian institutions under the kings, despite the fact that only the ending of the letter, followed by the appended catalogue of officers, is preserved.

The dossier of letters by Antigonos Doson to the authorities of Perrhaibian Tripolis mentioned in the commentary in *EKM I* has now been published (*SEG LX* 585-586). The reference to the battle of Sellasia therein leaves no doubt on the identity of the king (Antigonos Doson) and on the date of the letter to Beroia (223 BC, ca. August; for 230/29 year as the first regnal year of Antigonos Doson, see especially *Bull.* 2011, 399, in reply to the alternative interpretation put forward by Tziafalias – Helly).

The significance of the document for establishing the date of introduction of the Macedonian administrative districts (μερίδες) had become clear long before its actual publication (see already Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi* 40-41). The reference to the Botteatai as a collective body and as an addressee of a royal letter constituted the first formal proof that the districts had already been in place under the kings, and that, at least by the reign of Antigonos Doson, they were more than simple recruitment districts, with some sort of institutional structure of their own. For the numismatic evidence pointing to the same conclusion, see now S. Kremydi, *RN* 163 (2007) 91-100; eadem, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 237-238, 246; eadem, 'Autonomous' Coinages 377-385. Corroboration of this conclusion is also provided by the stamps found in the public archive of Gitana in Epirus, securely dated in the age of Philip V and Perseus, see K. Preka-Alexandri – Y. Stoyas, in: *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* V 680-681: stamp with Apollo's head bearing the legend ΜΕΡΙΔΟΣ ΤΕΤ(ΑΡΤΗΣ). These stamps unequivocally show that, by the late Antigonid period, the districts not only were already in place but could even communicate with foreign states, independently of the king or the nation (for the stamp with the legend Μακεδόνων and other stamps of

the Gitana archive pertaining to the Macedonian chancery, see K. Preka-Alexandri, in: 9<sup>th</sup> *Scientific Meeting on Hellenistic Pottery*, with previous bibliography). Despite the secure attestation of the districts under the (at least late Antigonid) kings in the epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological record, there are still attempts to deny that such evidence exists (see Juhel, with *Bull.* 2012, 265, and E. Voutiras, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 217-218, with *Bull.* 2019, 268).

The rationale behind the granting of immunity to the Beroian officers from services before the conclusion of the war against Kleomenes (ll. 5-6) has been interpreted by Hatzopoulos (in: *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique* and *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides*) precisely in connection with the districts as major recruitment units: it may have been considered expedient to promise rewards, even before the decisive battle against Kleomenes was fought, to the officers of contingents who had served for (at least) two years in a row in the Peloponnesian campaign, contrary to the recruitment pattern of the Macedonian national army for campaigns outside Macedonia.

The πολιτικάὶ λειτουργίαι for which the king grants the officers immunity continue to fuel the discussion on the delicate balance between royal and local authorities in the kingdom. The use of the term πολιτικός here seems to be one of the earliest examples of the technical sense the term acquired in the Roman period, when it was used for officials and institutions at the *polis* level, in order to distinguish them from those corresponding to a wider entity, such as a Roman province (see Dmitriev with parallels). Hatzopoulos interpreted these civic services as non-military services nominally due to the city, but in essence related to the needs of the central government (such as, for example, contributions for the upkeep of roads), which is why the king has jurisdiction to award immunity from them. Faraguna, on the other hand, prefers to view this case as another example of the encroachment on civic autonomy by the kings in a wide variety of matters (cf. Hatzopoulos' reply in *Bull.* 2007, 373). Mari (in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles*) takes an intermediate stance, remarking that immunity from civic services here must mean immunity from all services due to the city, but also that royal intervention in this case should not necessarily be seen as setting a general juridical principle, since it constitutes a concession of individual privileges.

The other major contribution of this document is to the understanding of the structure of the Macedonian army (the fullest analysis remains the one in Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* I 452-459; after EKM I, see also idem, in: *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique* and *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides*). The appended catalogue of the beneficiaries of the immunity granted by the king contains the full list of 60 officers (ἡγεμόνες) of the entire Beroian contingent in the campaign of 223 BC. These 60 officers correspond to three *speirai* totalling 783 men (including officers and officers "outside the ranks", but not the three *speirarchai*, who may not have been Beroians themselves; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* I 456-457). Given that, under normal circumstances, each *πυρόκρουσις*

(‘family’ as a civic recruitment units) provided only one soldier, the number of 783 men enlisted for the Peloponnesian campaign would also give us the (minimum) number of families in Beroia in this period (see Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides* 121-122).

The first three names on the list (probably the three *tetrarchai* of the first *speira*; cf. Paschidis 260, n. 52) are members of leading families of Beroia. Polemaios son of Harpalos is the son of the *epistates* of 248 BC (*EKM I* 3) and the father of a leading courtier of Perseus (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 636; *Livy* 42.14.3; *Diod.* 29.34.1; *App., Mac.* 11.3). Timokles and Hipposstratos sons of Kallippos are the uncle and father respectively of one of the two politarchs proposing the gymnasiarchal law (*EKM I* 1), who is possibly identified with an admiral of Perseus (*Livy* 44.28.1). Kuzmin (*RheinMus*) has argued that Kallippa, concubine first of Perseus and, after 168, of a son of king Attalos I, and an influential figure in the early stages of the revolt of Andriskos (*Diod.* 32.15.5-6), could be a member of the family of Kallippos, judging by her rare name. The identification between Meidon son of Meidon (l. 24) and another first friend of Perseus (Paschidis 261) is probable, but not certain. Glaukias son of Eubiotos (l. 25) is the offspring of another leading family, counting among its members three priests of Asklepios (*EKM I* 16, 45 and 46, below).

Finally, the document provides a valuable set of data for the onomasticon of Hellenistic Macedonia; for a detailed analysis of the names and comparison with other contemporary lists, see Hatzopoulos, in: *Onomatologos*.

#### ***EKM I* 5. Letter of emperor Hadrian to the authorities of Beroia, 127 (?) AD**

[Emperor Caesar, son of god] Traia[nus Parthicus, grandson of god Nerva], Traianus [Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex maximus], with tribunician [power for the twelfth (?) year, consul for the] third year, [to the archons, the Council and the people of] Beroia, greetings. (...) [your (?) ambassadors] received remuneration (...) [and I have consented to] everything [you requested from me], all being fair (...) [wishing for] the [common affairs of the synedrion] (...) [conventus iuridicus] (...) fifty thousand denarii (...) [Tiberius Claudius Krispos] owes [and does not] pay back [to the synedroi] who (...) 12,500 denarii (...) spectacles (...) high-priest (...).

Cf. G. P. Burton, *JRS* 65 (1975) 97; Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* 110, 447-448 no B III 1 (on the *conventus iuridicus*); C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 424-425 n. 54 (on documents of the imperial chancery from Macedonia); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 148, 150; Fournier, *Entre tutelle romaine et autonomie civique* 41-42 and n. 165 (on the institution of the *conventus iuridicus* in the East); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 124 (on imperial letters).

The poor state of preservation of this letter, preserved in two copies (see also the next inscription) has not allowed any further progress on the understanding of the circumstances of the embassy of the Beroians and the imperial intervention in this affair.

**EKM I 6. Letter of emperor Hadrian to the authorities of Beroia, 127 (?) AD**

*[Emperor Caesar, son of] god Traia[nus Parthicus], grandson [of god Nerva], Traianus Hadri[anus Augustus, pontifex maximus], with tribunician power for the [12<sup>th</sup> (?) year, consul for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year], to the archons, the Council and the [people of Beroia], greetings. (...) your (?) ambassadors received remuneration (...) and I have consented to everything you requested from me, [all being] fair (...) wishing for the common affairs of the synedrion (...) conventus iuridicus (...) the fifty thousand denarii for (...) [Tiberius] Claudius Krispos [owes and does not pay back] to the synedroi (...) 12,500 denarii (...).*

See the previous inscription and its bibliography.

**EKM I 7. Edict of governor L. Memmius Rufus on the revenues for and the financial management of the gymnasium, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Fragments A+B:

*Lucius Memmius Rufus, proconsul, decrees:*

(ll. 2-5) *Not now for the first time, but from the moment I acceded to the governance of the nation (...) myself (...) particularly for lack of glory; if really (...) of smaller and remote settlements (?) (...) the love of beauty shown in the anointing with oil (...) of those having worked hard, the capital city of Macedonia and a metropolis by title (...) is not inferior in liberality (...) it is most appropriate for such a Council and most useful for the whole commune (...).*

(ll. 5-7) *Since, therefore (...) it has occurred that the gymnasium has closed because of the lack of holders of public office (...) which is most shameful for all the (...), and even more so for you, since you boasted that you had taken care of these matters (...)*

(ll. 8-13) *I took care (...) (funds) to remain available for the city, so that, whenever there is no gymnasiarch (...) perpetual existence (...) to maintain it untouched. And since the [most potent (?) of.. and ...] of the Council have striven by my side (...) to deprive them of the testimony (on their actions) towards the entire people because of envy (would be) quite beneath me (...); (... a capital of) 100,000 denarii, for the (...) and the completion of which both the first of the fatherland and the Council accorded (...) with more difficulty (...) so that my zeal for this purpose was not curtailed (...) be the cause (...) for all time.*

(ll. 13-17) *But since this year has far advanced (...), it is fair (...) neither to impede on the usual financial arrangements for the year (...) to have allowed (to use) the revenues according to the usual manner (...) to maintain the habit of anointment. From the next year onwards, however, which for you (...) to add up (...) the money for the gymnasiarchy, in the manner I prescribe in what follows (...).*

(ll. 18-40) *(...) the endowment of Ioulianos for the anointment with oil, consisting of (...) on the thirtieth of Hyperberetaios, when for you the yearly interest on the capital is completed (...) entrusted to the high-priest Flavius Paramonos, [a most potent man] and patriot (...); 50,000 of the aforementioned (...) [- -] and twelve (...) from which another yearly interest of (...) is added (...) [- - -] and fifteen, which, added up to the amount of the capital (...), entrusted to Neoptolemos son of Neoptolemos the treasurer, so that (...), after the end of the month of Dios of that year, the sum*

will become [- -] thousand (...); and besides that I add the endowment left by Philippos, consisting of 13,007 (?) denarii (...) so that it becomes (with interest) 13,787.5, which are entrusted (...). (...) with my consent drawn from the annual revenue of the watermills (...) 7,000 denarii. Besides that, [the endowment? entrusted to] Plautianus Alexandros (...) without interruption, 1,000 denarii he has granted to you for the phallus (...) but also for the giver. Moreover, [the money offered by] Tharsynon (...) [- -], 862 and 3.5 asses, which with annual interest (...) undersigns (...). But also, the profits of the grain offered by Eulaios (...); (...) 1,500 denarii associated with the donation of wheat of the Elimiotis (?) (...) 3,000 denarii from the watermills of Menandros (...) 93,880 denarii (...) as for the missing 6,310 (sic) denarii (...) the generous compliance both of the first of the fatherland and of the Council, as I mentioned before, (...) a capital of 100,000 denarii is established; it is necessary (...) which render 6,000 denarii with the interest (...).

(ll. 41-47) (...) gymnasiarch, the sale of the office of the first politarch (...) be a part (...) since a reward is given to gymnasiarchs in office (...) award if there is no gymnasiarch (...) spend the sum on an award to others, whomever it is deemed worthy to do so (...); (...) the office of the ephebarch (?) I leave to the association of the young men; likewise (...), one fourth and one fifth of which (...), according to the directive put forward, (...) according to custom.

(ll. 47-53) To the (funds) provided by the city for the gymnasiarchy shall be added (...) if there is a gymnasiarch, shall be appended to the capital, but if it is the city that provides the money for the anointment (...) a yearly income of 1,800 denarii. I know that from this amount (...) so that the rest of the (...) denarii left by the watermills (...) be for the gymnasiarchy and the (...) of the ephebarchic (...) and with that the total capital be augmented (...) there is help.

(ll. 53-58) Likewise, I believe that it would be wise, whenever (...), so that a substantial capital is formed, if this is possible for the good (...) of the city in each year and, I wish, even more (...) and the city will achieve (...) continuously and in succession. (...) or if there is no hope of a voluntary contribution by the prominent citizens of your city (...).

(ll. 58-70) If, as I hope, you have many and (...) not used for the expenses of the gymnasium, then each year it will return to the capital (...) hopefully the [capital] for the liturgy will also rise accordingly (...) the office of the gymnasiarch and it has in my mind (...) he shall judge himself his own private expenses (...) but when it is the city that provides the money for the anointment, for those having served as (or: the families of) high-priests and the councillors of the koinon (shall be assigned) (...) four, slaves (shall receive) two, and those who have served as (or: the families of) the councillors of the city and (...) the slaves who dare anoint themselves in another context (...) of the slaves will anoint themselves by the pitcher (...); on no account (...) according to the strictest compliance to this order (...) I declare to remain immovable when there is no gymnasiarch, directly (...) gymnasium, of the purchase of oil, and the expenditure for this (...) taking care of their preservation (...).

(ll. 71-97) (...) high-priest of the nation Flavius Paramonos, a most potent man (...) [Pop?]illii Apios and Seueros, industrious young men (...) those that will assume the administration after the month of Dios (...). If, as I wish and hope, a gymnasiarch is found (...) annually for the ephebate, to the reckoning for the capital (...) (in order that the) original (capital) is not diminished (...); shall

deposit in advance every six months (...) nor of themselves for the deference towards their fatherland (...) I have endeavoured, not without cause, to (...) (Flavius?) Paramonos (...) exhibits magnanimity towards the nation (...) and the office of the first politarch, and the annual (ephebarchy?) (...) this will lead to more restraint in the anointment with oil (...) again of the parallel increase of the funds (...) you have well understood (?) my already comprehensive reckoning (of the capital) (...). (...) the most undesirable (...) stays no more than four times (...) 1,720 denarii from the revenue of the watermills (...) these 22,300 denarii immediately (...) becomes a capital for the gymnasiarchy; and when the (...) is complete, then (...) handing over (?) to those succeeding in the management (of the fund) (...) those that in the year they exercise the management they (...) nor by property titles (?) or private contracts, so that neither they are able to (...) loss control (...) so that those who hand over the money may do so safely (...) need for service to the fatherland (...) and maliciously (?) remove (...) (if) it is changed, or an archon or mere citizen (...).

#### Fragments C+D:

(ll. 1-19) (...) Valerianus (...) Iulianus Flavius (...) the contractor (...) if he does not act according to the contract (...) he shall be guilty and liable to a fine (...) the crowned statues of the emperors (...) will administer the dispensing of the funds to the fatherland (...) of the city's interests, leave behind a judgement (...) I deemed necessary to correct through this edict; since, therefore (...) income, causing great grief, I order (...) to nullify the proclamation, (...), twelve (...) of preservation, dividing the year into (...) the care for the affair to be continuous (...) in charge for the same amount of time, if during (...) to the gardener responsible for the channelling of the water (...) I set aside for the care of the new bath (...) watermills (...) I do not allow to be done; and if someone dares (...) (... denarii) to the gymnasiarchic fund.

(ll. 19-28) Concerning the (...) watermills, not more than usual (...) as ordered above (...) gathering each month (...) residents (?) (...) timber; and if time still allowed me to (...) if (...) someone profits by my haste and seizes (...), I order the (...) nor by such insolence (...) the use of timber as the most inferior (...) of firewood (...) quickly about this to me, and if all (...) worthy of valuable (...) for the people (...) private (...) to allow him to do so. Since then (...) those who dare to do so (...) it will be better fortified.

(ll. 30-31) This edict (...) in the most prominent place in the city (...) so that it is (easy?) to read by all (...). It is my wish that it is displayed.

(ll. 32-35) For the city; (...) Ioulianos, by care of Caius P[- -]pas, dedicated the stele having it engraved, at his expense.

SEG XLVIII 742; *AnnEpigr* 1998, 1213 a-b; Nigdelis – Souris, Ἀνθύπατος λέγει (edition and detailed commentary; SEG LV 678).

Cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 103 no 11 (on the politarchs); F. Papazoglou, *Živa Ant* 49 (1999) 221; *Bull.* 2000, 270 (on the verb ὀχετηγέω); A. Chaniotis, in: *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power* 258-259 (on interventions of Roman governors on the use of endowments); C. Kokkinia, in: *Roman Rule and Civic Life* 39-45; G. P. Burton, *Historia* 53 (2004) 321 (on the rarity of edicts after inspection of civic accounts); C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi*

*ellenistici* 19 (2006) 438 (on the πρώτοι in l. A+B 11); N. G. Kennell, *BMCR* 2007.08.31 (review of Nigdelis – Souris); T. Ritti – K. Grewe – P. Kessener, *JRA* 20 (2007) 146 (on watermills and civic control over them); N. Giannakopoulos, in: *Pathways to Power* 264 n. 51 (on Flavius Paramonos); P. Adam-Veleni – E. Sverkos, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικής* 22 (on the office of the ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἔθνους); V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικής* 44 (on the phallic procession); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 142 n. 285 (on the gymnasium's financial problems), 168 (on the sale of offices); A. Chaniotis, in: *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire* 11-12 (on interventions of Roman authorities in ritual practices); N. G. Kennell, *IJHS* 26 (2009) 328; E. Sverkos, *AEAM* 2 (2011 [2013]) 246 (on the reference to Elimeia in l. A 34); M. Brunet, in: *L'eau en Méditerranée* 95-96 (on the ὑδρομηχαναί); Laes – Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire* 106 n. 5 (on the financial problems of the gymnasium); Bérenger, *Le métier de gouverneur dans l'empire romain* 300-301 (date); K. Harter-Uibopuu, in: *Stiftungen zwischen Politik und Wirtschaft* 203-204 (on interventions on the use of endowments); A. Dimopoulou, in: *Symposion 2015*, 409-410 (on the ὑδρομηχαναί as a source of public income); E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 294 (on L. Memmius Rufus), 312 (on Flavius Paramonos); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 121 n. 92 (on endowments in Roman Macedonia), 124 (on l. A+B 9 and judicial procedures in Roman Macedonia); M. Amandry – S. Kremydi, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 98-99 (on the use of Roman coin denominations); R. Haensch, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 14-16; I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 10.

Fragments A+B: L. 3: ἀνακεχωρηκότων πό[λεων] Papazoglou; ἀνακεχωρηκότων πο[λισμάτων] Nigdelis – Souris, correctly observing that a female noun is excluded by ἀνακεχωρηκότων. L. 5, fr. B: [ποι]ῆσαι Follet (*AnnEpigr*). L. 9: κ[ρατίστων? - - - ca.<sup>29</sup> - - -] τῆς βουλῆς *EKM* I; κ[ρατίστων ἀνδρῶν τοῦ τε ἔθνους καὶ] τῆς βουλῆς Nigdelis – Souris, assuming that the reference is to the senatorial class in the whole province; τῶν κ[ρατίστων συνέδρων καὶ τῶν πρώτων τῆς πατρίδος καὶ] τῆς βουλῆς P. Paschidis *apud* Nigdelis – Souris p. 47 n. 71, but the restoration is too long. Ll. 44-45: [τὸν τῆς ἐφηβ[αρ]χίας τόπον Kennell; [τὸν τῆς γυμνασιαρχ[α]ρχίας τόπον Chaniotis (*SEG* XLVIII). L. 47: Our translation follows N. Kennell on the meaning of προστεθήσεται δὲ τῇ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως γυμνασιαρχίᾳ (Nigdelis – Souris understand the phrase to mean that the gymnasiarchy of the *koinon*'s festival was added to the jurisdiction of the civic office); see the commentary. L. 72: [Ποπ]ιλίου Ἄπιον καὶ Σευῆρον Kennell.

For an almost line-by-line commentary of this important document, see its full edition by Nigdelis and Souris. As is evident, their commentary cannot be dealt with here in detail, and only a summary of the provisions of this document will be provided, along with discussion of a few points where different interpretations than those offered by Nigdelis and Souris have been proposed.

Kokkinia (45 n. 23), followed by Bérenger, argued that the estimated height of the stele, the extraordinary length of the document, and especially the marked difference in language between A+B and C+D (with the proconsular language being polite and mindful of civic sensibilities in the former and abrupt and authoritative for transgressors in the latter) may indicate that we are dealing with two distinct documents, possibly in two

separate steles, but belonging to the same dossier of issues related to the gymnasium; text A+B, in her view, would be the original edict, and text C+D would be a subsequent document, perhaps addressing problems having arisen from the non-compliance of Beroians to the first; that would be the meaning of ll. C+D 10: [ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην *vel sim.* τούτ]ω τῷ διατάγματι διορθῶσαι, which could belong to the preface of a separate edict. The hypothesis is certainly plausible, although the difference in tone within a single edict between its main provisions and the part dealing with the enforcement of these provisions would not be inconceivable; moreover, there are signs of reproachful language even in the text of A+B (see e.g. ll. 6-7) and there seems to be a natural progression from the references to the management of the fund on A 93 ff. to the penalties for transgressors in C+D. In any case, in what follows the four fragments will be dealt with as a single document, for the sake of convenience.

The structure of the text is clear: after the title (l. A+B 1) comes the *praefatio* (ll. A+B 2-5), in which the governor explains the reasoning behind his edict, then the long *dispositio* (ll. A+B 7 ff.) and, finally, in ll. C+D 30-31, the *subscriptio* ordering the publication; in l. C+D 32 there is reference to the erection of the stele at the expense of a certain Ioulianos (perhaps the person mentioned in ll. A+B 18 and C+D 3).

For the highly rhetorical *praefatio* see especially the analysis of Kokkinia: Memmius Rufus (otherwise unknown, cf. *PIR* VII2 1 p. 121) insists on how shameful and inappropriate it is for one of the major *poleis* in the province (for the term πρωτεύουσα, used here for the first time in Macedonia and not signifying *caput provinciae*, see Nigdelis – Souris 38-40), to have its gymnasium closed for lack of funds; his words are most probably targeted at the reluctance of prominent Beroians to see a number of funds and endowments (see below), some of them reserved for other functions, diverted towards the needs of the gymnasium; cf. the comments of Chaniotis, in: *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, and Haensch. This is also the reason that the governor insists on the cooperation of the Council and the leading citizens of Beroia (ll. A+B 9 and 11). Nigdelis – Souris rightly refrain from viewing these πρῶτοι as a corporate body, at least in the case of Beroia; on the πρῶτοι / πρωτεύοντες in the Roman East, see also S. Zoumbaki, in: *Pathways to Power* 221-239; for a new reference to the outstanding citizens in a similar context, see the εὐσχημονέστατοι and πρῶτοι in *SEG* LVI 708bis, l. A 14, from Idomene (?).

The main goal of the governor is to set up a perpetual endowment with a capital of 100,000 denarii, so that there would be money available for the upkeep of the gymnasium even when no gymnasiarch has been elected. The original capital is to be formed by a number of different sources: a) endowments, bequeathed by wealthy citizens, regardless of their original purpose (Ioulianos: l. A 18, an endowment for the cost of the gymnasiarchy, forming the bulk of the new fund; Philippos: l. A 26; unknown: l. A 30 ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαλλοῦ [on phallic processions, cf. *EKM* II 264 and Nigdelis – Souris 72-74]; Tharsynon: l. A 31; Eulaios, donation in kind: l. A 33), including the yearly interest of the original capital of these

endowments, estimated at 6%; b) civic funds obtained by a number of watermills (l. A 28 and 35; on these ὑδρομηχαναί, see the extensive commentary of Nigdelis – Souris 64-72, Ritti – Grewe – Kessener, Brunet, and Dimopoulou); c) funds somehow connected with the region of Elimeia and (the sale of?) wheat (l. A 34); d) special monetary contributions by leading citizens and the Council (ll. A 37-38).

The rest of the edict records a number of more detailed provisions on specific issues, the precise nature of which is often difficult to understand due to the fragmentary status of the text. Ll. A 41-47 refer to the remuneration of the gymnasiarch, mention civic income from the sale of the office of the first politarch –the first such mention from Macedonia– and refer to the office of the ephebarch (?), the administration of which is entrusted to the association of the *neoi*.

Ll. A 47-53 describe the use of the fund’s interest. Nigdelis – Souris (83-86) understand the phrase προστεθήσεται δὲ τῇ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως γυμνασιαρχία as contrasting a civic gymnasiarchy with a gymnasiarchy of the games celebrated by the *koinon* of the Macedonians; this interpretation would mean that the gymnasiarch of Beroia was also responsible for the expenses associated with the games of the *koinon*. Given, however, that the *koinon* is nowhere mentioned in this part of the text, we follow Kennell’s simpler interpretation, which is more compatible with the rest of the paragraph: the phrase simply contrasts normal civic funds with additional funds made available for the gymnasiarchic fund (this would be the meaning of γυμνασιαρχία here; see Kennell, with parallels).

There is, on the contrary, later in the text, reference to the role of the gymnasium and the gymnasiarch of Beroia during the games of the *koinon* and the expenses the gymnasiarch has to undertake during festivities related to those games: see ll. A 63-70, especially the reference in l. A 63 to the σύνεδροι and the ἀρχιερατικοί; the latter term, unattested in Macedonia but common in Thrace, is understood by Nigdelis – Souris (88, 92) to mean “former high priests”, but it may refer to members of the families of high priests (cf. *DGE*, s.v.), as does, most probably, the term βουλευτικοί in l. A 64. Slaves, contrary to their normal exclusion from the gymnasium, are allowed to participate in these festivities of the *koinon* (ll. A 65-66). On the other hand, the fact that the management of the fund is put under the supervision of the high-priest of the *koinon* Flavius Paramonos does not necessarily constitute another link between the gymnasium of Beroia and the *koinon*, since Paramonos was also a prominent Beroian, honoured with the title υἱὸς πόλεως (*EKM* I 119; cf. Giannakopoulos). For other possible references to the *koinon*, cf. the apparatus regarding l. A+B 9 and l. A 79 (where, again, the reference may be limited to the person of Flavius Paramonos).

The information gleaned from the fragments of this edict does not help to solve definitely the vexing problem of a possible federal gymnasiarchy. It seems to corroborate neither the theory that there were two distinct gymnasiarchs, one fulfilling his duties on a civic level and one on an ‘ethnic’ level (so especially Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi* 147-149), nor the theory that the gymnasiarch of Beroia assumed two distinct functions,

the gymnasiarchy of the city and the gymnasiarchy of the *koinon* (so Nigdelis – Souris). The simplest solution seems to be that there was no distinct gymnasiarchy of the *koinon* and that the gymnasiarch of Beroia was simply responsible for the expenses undertaken during the *koinon*'s festivities. See also the commentary at EKM I 61, 104, 114, 115, 117, 119, 123, below.

The rest of text A+B contains several provisions on the proper management of the fund. Text C+D, if indeed part of the same edict, seems to contain even more detailed provisions for the handling of the fund's resources. The reference to the imminent departure of the proconsul (l. C 22) suggests that the edict tried to address an emergency (see also l. A 13) by providing a permanent solution to the chronic financial difficulties of the gymnasium of Beroia (on which cf. also EKM I 11, 103, 117, 135, 137, below).

#### **EKM I 8. Letter of emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Beroia, 165 AD**

*Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus, supreme high-priest, with tribunician power for the nineteenth year, emperor for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, consul for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, and emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus, supreme high-priest, with tribunician power for the 5<sup>th</sup> year, emperor for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, consul for the 2<sup>nd</sup> year, proconsul, sons of god Antoninus, grandsons of god Hadrianus, great-grandsons of god Traianus Parthicus, descendants of god Nerva, to the archons, the Council and the people of Beroia, greetings.*

*Just as you are inclined [favourably towards us] (...) we have endeavoured (...) according to what we have written, and now (...) we have been informed (...) to yourselves and to (...) we have repeatedly asked you (...) but now you have sought with actions (...) your response (...) not as for everyone (...) of the liturgies (...) it is necessary (...) for us (...) the man (...).*

Cf. C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 424-425 n. 54 (on documents of the imperial chancery from Macedonia); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 124 (on imperial letters).

#### **EKM I 9. Letter of emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Beroia, 161-169 AD**

*Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus, supreme high-priest, with tribunician power for the [- -] year, emperor for the [- -] year, consul for the [- -] year, and emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus, supreme high-priest, with tribunician power for the [- -] year, emperor for the [- -] year, consul for the [- -] year, sons of god Antoninus, grandsons of god Hadrianus, great-grandsons of god Traianus Parthicus, descendants of god Nerva, to the archons, the Council and the people of Beroia, greetings.*

*Just as you (...) joy for the (...) our ancestral power (...) designated (...) your status of metropolis and the (...) most eminent of Ma[cedonia?] (...).*

Cf. C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 424-425 n. 54 (on documents of the imperial chancery from Macedonia); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 124 (on imperial letters).

The letter apparently reaffirms the title of metropolis and the leading status of Beroia within the *koinon* of the Macedonians (cf. EKM I 7, l. 4: ἡ πρωτεύουσα τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ κατὰ ἀξίωμα [μητρόπολις]).

**EKM I 10. Letter of an emperor to Beroia, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) designated consul for the [- -] year, father of the fatherland, to the archons and the Council and the people of Beroia, greetings.

(...) your (...) knowing (...) of the honours (...) all (...).

SEG XLVI 735.

Cf. G. P. Burton, *Chiron* 32 (2002) 273 no 50, 278; C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 424-425 n. 54 (on documents of the imperial chancery from Macedonia).

L. 6: [- -]λαί EKM I; [βο]υλαί Chaniotis (SEG), but the trace of Y is not confirmed on the photograph.

**EKM I 11. Letter of an emperor or a governor of Macedonia to Beroia, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

To the archons, the Council and the people of Beroia, greetings. (...) with distinction (...) to you the judgment (...) of the people [- -] thousand denarii (...) for the gymnasium (...) Fabricianus (...).

Cf. C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 424-425 n. 54 (on documents of the imperial chancery from Macedonia).

This is yet another document concerning the finances of the gymnasium (see EKM I 7, above).

**EKM I 12. Letter of an emperor to Beroia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Emperor Caesar (...) Augustus (...) Pious (...).

Cf. C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 424-425 n. 54 (on documents of the imperial chancery from Macedonia).

**EKM I 13. Letter to Beroia or imperial edict, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) in the presence of (...) to those (...) selling or buying (?) slaves (?) and threptoi (?); otherwise they are not allowed either to sell or to buy (...) recording in the register (...) someone sells slaves (...) shall record their deed of sale, and the archons shall be responsible for their examination; whoever does not do so, sells in a different manner or does not carry out (?) the examination according to what has already been prescribed, shall pay to the tax collector twice (?) the amount of the tax, according to the edict of Cava[r]ius Front[on] (?), of the consular order. Be fortunate.

Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 231, 253 no 1; H. Müller, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 417-446 with photograph (new restorations and extensive commentary) (*AnnEpigr* 2001, 1759; *Bull.* 2002, 259; *SEG* XLVIII 750); G. A. Souris, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικής* 217-225 (textual commentary after revision of the stone) (*AnnEpigr* 2010, 1465; *Bull.* 2011, 409; *SEG* LVIII 561).

Cf. Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 110 n. 413 (on the slave market in Macedonia); M. Rici, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 157 n. 119; *I. Leukopetra* p. 59-60; C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 424-425 n. 54 (on documents of the imperial chancery from Macedonia); A. Papathomas, *Mnemosyne* 63 (2010) 629 (on ἀνάκρισις); N. Sharankov, in *Essays Mihailov* 337 n. 64 (on the *consularis*).

Müller's restorations and the arrangment of l. 19, apparently on the center of the epigraphic field, require a longer text than the one envisaged in *EKM* I; Souris (219 n. 5) also assumes that the missing text is longer. L. 2: [- - -]ΩΡΩΝ *EKM* I; [- - -]εῖον Müller, who suggests, e.g., [ἀρχ]εῖον, [γραμματοφυλακ]εῖον or [ἀγορανομ]εῖον. L. 3: [- - -]Σ καὶ *EKM* I; [---] τε καὶ Müller. Ll. 3-4: τὰ σὺ[---]ματα *EKM* I; τὰ σὺ[ματα καὶ τὰ θρέ]μματα Müller; τὰ σὺ[ματα καὶ τὰ κτή]ματα Rici; Souris, after revision of the stone, rejects the reading of the first M in l. 4 by Müller (the study of the photograph and the squeeze was inconclusive); he considers all previous restorations rather doubtful and tentatively restores τὰς ὠ[νάς - - -]. L. 6: ἀγοράζειν [. . .] *EKM* I; ἀγοράζειν E[.] Müller, correctly. L. 7: ἀπογράψων [. . .] *EKM* I; ἀπογράψωντα[ι] Müller, but the letters after N cannot be read due to the damage in the stone's surface. L. 10: [τὴν δὲ] κρίσιν *EKM* I; [τὴν δὲ ἀ]νάκρισιν Müller, correctly. L. 11: [γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ (?) τῷ]ν ἀρχόντων *EKM* I; [γίνεσθαι διὰ (?) τῷ]ν ἀρχόντων Müller; [ποιεῖσθαι διὰ (?) τῷ]ν ἀρχόντων Souris. L. 12: [μὴ τα]ῦτα ποιήσῃ *EKM* I; [μὴ κατὰ τα]ῦτα ποιήσῃ Müller. Ll. 13-14: ἢ μὴ ἀν[άγ]η τ[ὴν] | [ὠν]ήν (?) *EKM* I; ἢ μὴ ἀνα[κρ]εῖνη | [ται?] Müller; ἢ μὴ ἀνά[κρι]σιν | [ποιῆται] Souris, correctly for l. 13. L. 15: [διπλοῦν (?) τῷ] τελώνῃ *EKM* I; unrestored by Müller; [ἢ μὴ καταβάλη] or τελέσῃ τῷ] τελώνῃ Souris. L. 16: [ἐπιτελεῖ(?)ν] *EKM* I; unrestored by Müller and Souris. Ll. 16-18: καθὼς ΚΑΥΑ | [- - -]ΩΝ ὑπατικός | [περὶ αὐτῶν (?) ἔκ]ρεινεν *EKM* I; καθὼς Καυά[<sup>vvvv</sup>ριος - - -]ων ὑπατικός | [<sup>vac.</sup> ἐπέκ]ρεινεν Müller.

The authority issuing the regulations preserved in this document is impossible to determine. Souris remarks that, despite the ending εὐτυχεῖτε, exclusively used in imperial letters, the content has none of the characteristics of imperial (or gubernatorial) letters, and probably belongs to an edict; as for εὐτυχεῖτε, he supposes that it was added by the authorities of Beroia (or even the engraver) to the main text.

The poor state of preservation does not allow for much commentary on the document's content, which is clearly related to transactions in the slave market and their proper registration by the authorities. It refers to an earlier decision by a *consularis* who had been sent to Macedonia in the past –and, according to Müller's (422-424) and Sharankov's suggestion may have been Cavarius Fronton, governor of Thrace (on whom see Sharankov 337 n. 64 with all the sources).

The interest of Roman authorities on the transactions regarding slaves and on the public documentation of these transactions (see the long commentary of Müller 428-442), especially after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, is also documented in the edict of Tertullianus Aquila in 212/3 (cf. Müller 426-427); in fact, in *I. Leukopetra* p. 59-60 it had been tentatively suggested that this document may have formed part of Aquila's legislative agenda on the matter. The term ἀνάκρισις (see Müller 442-445 with bibliography), denoting the official

authentication of a slave's servile status, was hitherto unattested in epigraphical and papyrological sources outside Egypt.

The restoration [θρέ]μματα in l. 4 is not epigraphically secure, given the doubts on the preserved traces of the first visible letter. The objections of Souris (219) on the probability of the restoration, however, are unfounded: indeed, the term θρεπτός (or θρέμμα, a securely attested alternative in non-legal texts: for some recent attestations, see SEG LXIV 1110 and 1192) may not correspond to a precisely defined legal status (see, e.g. M. Riel, in: *From Hellenism to Islam*), but what interests the legislator here would be merely the commodity's provenance: σώματα would denote slaves bought in the market and θρέμματα would denote θρεπτοί and/or οἰκογενεῖς δοῦλοι (see Müller 425-427).

#### EKM I 14. Imperial edict (in Latin), 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD

(...) we sanction (...) proconsuls (...) for each one (...) for the Macedonians we understand that it is unknown (...) the province, would attempt to restrict and unless (...) we would not abandon without kindness (...) not half the part (...) they understand that they (?) deserve so (...). They will arrange (...) the province another (...) in the three year period of the fiscus (...) unless it remains (...) to return (...) not as much or as frequent (...) to remove the possibility of benefit (?) (...) of the annona (...) necessary at that time (...) they began to offer concessions (...) we believe it will help (...) of the year when there are (...) will attend to what amount is accomplished (...) we could also find there (...) regarding the metals whatever (quantity) of gold or of silver (...) we are indeed aware that because such a document exists (...) the tax collectors (...) will remain (...) it could (...) false accusation and this (...) to the parts it will claim (...) to the Thessalonians or (...).

*AnnEpigr* 1998, 1214; G. A. Souris, in: *Α' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Ἐπιγραφικῆς* 140-142 no II (after autopsy) (*AnnEpigr* 2001, 1757); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 475-477 no T53 (after autopsy).

Cf. C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 438 (on parallels with SEG LVI 708bis); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 130-131.

L. 2: INCIMUS EKM I; [s]ancimus Souris, Nigdelis; indeed, the traces of the first preserved letter seem to belong to a triangular letter. L. 4: *unicuique* Follet (*AnnEpigr*); Nigdelis discerns the letters CUR at the end of the line, not read by the previous editors. L. 7: *coa<c>ta<m> et* EKM I; *coartare <e>t* Souris, Nigdelis; COARTARET on the stone. L. 8: CVIS *ne indulgentia* EKM I; [n]on *sine indulgentia* Souris, Nigdelis; on the photograph and the squeeze only N and E can be verified before *indulgentia*. L. 11: VMVS *provincia aliu[.]* EKM I; VMVS *provincia[a]liu[m]* Souris; *-emus provincia aliu[d]* Nigdelis. The reading of the first four letters cannot be confirmed or dismissed on the photographs and the squeeze; after ALIU, though, a curved stroke must belong to D. L. 14: *ut <h>oc cum beneficii* EKM I; *ut locum beneficii* Souris, Nigdelis, correctly. L. 17: AMV *redimus* EKM I; AM *credimus* Souris, Nigdelis; the first letters of the line are almost indiscernible on the photograph and the squeeze. L. 18: NTUR RATEST *ex <h>erede* EKM I; -ntur RETEST EXEREDE Nigdelis; NTURRATESTEXEREDE on the stone. L. 21: VSDM ET[.]I[.]S *auri vel argenti quil[--]* EKM I; VS *de metallis auri vel argenti quit* Souris, Nigdelis correctly. L. 22: *videmus ATQVIAEST etiam iste titulum* EKM I; *at quia est* Follet (*AnnEpigr*); [pro?]videmus *ut quia est etiam iste titulus* Souris, Nigdelis, correctly, although the two letters

before QVIA are barely discernible. L. 23: *neque* EKM I; *nequi* Souris, Nigdelis, correctly. L. 24: IRE RA[.]VM *iam poterit hoc* PRO EKM I; *ire kalumniam poterit et hoc* Souris, Nigdelis, correctly. L. 25: *partibus indicabit* EKM I; *partibus vindicabit* Souris, Nigdelis, correctly. L. 26: ὙΣΔΕ Ἰθessalonicensibus EKM I; VS[.] Ἰθessalonicensibus Souris; *ve[.] Ἰθessalonicensibus* Nigdelis; VS[.] Ἰθessalonicensibus on the photo and the squeeze.

The reading and understanding of this document have progressed after Souris' revision of the stone. His reading [s]ancimus in l. 2 indicates that the preserved text is probably the *dispositio* of an imperial edict, rather than a letter (as in EKM I). Nigdelis, based on the reference to the Macedonians and the province, proposes that the edict was addressed to the *koinon* of the Macedonians. He also recalls the parallel of an even more fragmentary inscription from Thessalonike (IG X 2, 1 19), where Thessalonike and the *koinon* of the Macedonians seem to be mentioned together as well.

The precise content of the text, though, is still far from clear, although at some points the new readings have cast some light. Thus, the reference in l. 8 to the *indulgentia* shown (and not denied, as in the reading of EKM I) by the author seems to point to some kind of favour towards the inhabitants of the province, probably a preferential treatment regarding tax-collection and the *annona militaris*. In addition, in the last part of the text (ll. 24-25) there are dispositions regarding some judicial procedure (as evidenced by the terms *calumnia* and *vindicabit*), perhaps connected to the activities of the tax-collectors (l. 23: *conductores*).

For new testimonies of the interaction between local authorities and the Roman administration in Macedonia regarding economic difficulties, including fiscal matters, see now SEG LVI 708bis, from Idomene (?), and EKM II 432, from Pella.

#### **EKM I 15. Edict (in Latin) of emperor Gallienus, 267 (?) AD**

Good Fortune. Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Augustus, after deliberation, proclaimed (...) the situation of Macedonia (...) we shall know the requests (...) nor recommending to this (...) and before and (...) we shall divide the troops (...) the auxiliaries will be sent (...) not to anyone else (...) we shall put in order the affairs of the state so that of all (...) that also grain (...) we shall then consent (...) permitting to buy it from Egypt (...) we shall offer and (...) if they want to transport (?) (...) is seized (...) to attend to (...) of our benefit (...) to the best of their (?) ability (...) in a three-year period (...) with benevolence (...) of the quaestor and the legati (...) he shall command according to our (...) and we consider moderate (...) which the province (...) after the three-year period (...) has to be obtained (...) must preserve unaltered (...) attempted that (...).

Cf. G. A. Souris, in: Α' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφική 142-144 no III (after autopsy) (AnnEpigr 2001, 1758); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 130-131; C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 438 (on parallels with SEG LVI 708bis); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 124.

L. 14: *capto* EKM I; *[ab Ae]lgypto* Souris, correctly, as already Kotzias.

Apart from matters of taxation (similarly to the other Latin edict of Beroia, *EKM I* 14), this edict also deals with the organization of the defense against the barbarian invasions, and with the provision of grain for the province of Macedonia.

According to Souris' reading and restoration in ll. 13-14, the grain is to be imported from Egypt. Interestingly, in a letter from Septimius Severus and Caracalla from Idomene (?) (*SEG LVI* 708bis), the emperors also authorize the purchase of grain from abroad, in that case Libya, accepting a petition of the locals.

## SACRED ACCOUNTS

### ***EKM I* 16. Accounts of the priests of Asklepios, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, third quarter**

Column A:

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, (...) son of (...), having served as priest, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure (...) weighing 53 Demetrian drachmae.*

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, Agathanor son of Tharsy[- -], having served as priest, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure, a psykter weighing 104 drachmae and two obols, a kimolion weighing 48 drachmae, a skaphion weighing 54 drachmae, and a kyathos weighing 23 drachmae.*

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, Iollas and Xenon on behalf of their grandfather Iollas son of Hermoitas, who served as a priest, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure, a (...) weighing 32 drachmae and 3 obols.*

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, Pantauchos son of Balakros, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure, two (...) weighing 70 drachmae.*

Column B:

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia (...) son of (...), having served as priest, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure (vessels weighing in total), 127 Demetrian drachmae.*

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, Menandros on behalf of his father Polygnotos, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure, an argolikon weighing 47 Demetrian drachmae, three obols and three half-obols.*

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, Thrason son of Thrasykles, having served as priest, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure, four hypophialia weighing 200 Demetrian drachmae (in total).*

*To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, Androkleides son of Philippos, having served as priest, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure, an argolikon weighing 70 drachmae and two obols, another weighing 31 drachmae and three obols, a skyphion weighing 52 drachmae, and a kimolion weighing 82 drachmae.*

To Apollon, Asklepios, Hygieia, Demetrios son of Glaukias, having served as priest, from the revenue derived from the sacrificial animals and the treasure, a kimolion weighing 50 Demetrian drachmae and two obols, and an antigonis weighing 52 drachmae and two obols.

Cf. A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1116-1117 (on the family of Pantauchos son of Balakros); K. Tsakos, in: *Coinage and Religion* 56 (misinterpreting the inscription as a sacred law); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 70 (on the location of the sanctuary of Asklepios); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Ὀβολός* 4 (2000) 81-82, 87 n. 36 (on coin denominations); M. Melfi, *ASAA* 40-42 (1998-2000 [2001]) 303 (on the treasuries of the Asklepieia); Hatzopoulos, *La Macédoine* 54 (on the triad of 'political' deities in Macedonia –Zeus, Herakles, Asklepios); Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 321 no 16 (on the cult of Asklepios at Beroia); P. Paschidis, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 261 (on the family of Pantauchos son of Balakros); Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*<sup>2</sup> 222 n. 9; Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 140 (on the cult of Asklepios in Macedonia); Y. Kuzmin, *Aristokratija Beroi*, chapters II2 and II4 (in Russian, *non vidimus*) and 151 and 155 (English summary) (on the families of Pantauchos son of Balakros and Demetrios son of Glaukias); Archibald, *Ancient Economies* 290 (on the revenues of the sanctuary); Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come* 212 (on the cult of Asklepios).

This is an annual account of fine ware into which the priests of Asklepios turned the revenue of the sanctuary (consisting of sacrificial animals and donations) each year and then dedicated to the gods (i.e. stored in the treasury); for parallels from other Asklepieia, see especially the article of Melfi.

For the sanctuary of Asklepios, located in the civic centre of Beroia, see Brocas-Deflassieux 69-74. For the cult of Asklepios in Macedonia in general, see Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 135-143. For the role of priests of Asklepios as eponymous in Macedonian cities under the kings, see Mari, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 183-184, with earlier literature and partial objections to Hatzopoulos' theory of a uniform and orchestrated by the royal government eponymity.

For the family of the priest Pantauchos son of Balakros, later attested in the Macedonian court, see Paschidis and Kuzmin, with the sources and earlier literature. Two of the brothers of the priest Demetrios son of Glaukias also served as eponymous priests of Asklepios (*EKM I* 45 and 46), while his nephew served in the Beroian contingent of the Macedonian army in 223 BC (*EKM I* 4, l. 25).

An inscription preserving an even longer set of priestly accounts from the same sanctuary, found in 1997 (V. Allamani, *ArchDelt* 52 [1997 (2003)] B2 746 no 5), from the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC to the Imperial period, remains unpublished (see Note on unpublished inscriptions).

## DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

**EKM I 17. Dedication of stoas to Athena by king Philip V, 221-179 BC**

*King Philip son of king Demetrios (dedicated) the stoas to Athena.*

S. Le Bohec in: *Ἐπιγραφὲς τῆς Μακεδονίας* 78; Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 74-75; B. Schmidt-Douna, *Egnatia* 8 (2004) 269-271 (on buildings dedicated by Macedonian kings).

Cf. E. Voutiras, *Kernos* 11 (1998) 116 (on inscriptions pertaining to Philip V); Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 90; Archibald, *Ancient Economies* 303 n. 11 (on royal dedications); Y. Kuzmin, *RheinMus* 156 (2013) 278 (on the Antigonids and Beroia); N. Kaye, *Hesperia* 85 (2016) 548 (on inscriptions recording royal dedications).

The location of the sanctuary of Athena cannot be identified, since this dedicatory inscription was found reused in a later pavement, not far from the ancient agora (cf. Brocas-Deflassieux). For the cult of Athena in Macedonia in general, see E. Voutiras, *Kernos* 11 (1998); Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 86-93.

To the dedications of Philip V from Macedonia listed in the commentary of *EKM I* (*EKM II* 440, Pella, to Zeus Meilichios; *EKM II* 442, Pella, to Herakles Kynagidas; *IG X* 2.1, 25, Thessalonike, to an unknown deity), a fifth one from Dion to Zeus Olympios can now be added (see S. Pingiatoglou et al., *AEMTh* 25 [2011 (2015)] 138-139; *Bull.* 2017, 316; *SEG LXIII* 425).

**EKM I 18. Dedication of buildings to Apollon, Asklepios, and Hygieia, 131/30 BC**

*In the year 18, Marsyas son of Demetrios had the stone dormitory and the exedra in front of it constructed at his expense, for Apollon, Asklepios, and Hygieia.*

Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 70; Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come* 212 and n. 232 (with translation); Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 105-106.

Cf. Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 321 no 16; M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258, 264; Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*<sup>2</sup> 246 (on incubation); Z. H. Archibald, in: *Agoranomes et édiles* 109; G. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 113 n. 46.

For the cult of Asklepios (and related deities) in Beroia, see *EKM I* 16, above. Renberg plausibly assumes that the structures financed by Marsyas were erected in replacement of preexisting ones, possibly wooden (hence the emphasis on the ἐγκοιμητήριον λίθινον). Marsyas (see also *EKM I* 24) appears to be one of the leading members of the elite of Beroia in the republican period (see Daubner and Sève).

**EKM I 19. Priestly dedication to Atargatis Soteira, mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC**

*The priest Apollonides son of Dexilaos to Atargatis Soteira.*

Cf. M. Hörig, *ANRW* II 17.3 (1984) 1566 (on the diffusion of the cult outside Syria); P. Chrysostomou, *AEMTh* 3 (1989 [1992]) 103-104; Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 77 (on the sanctuary of Atargatis); Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 192; R. Parker – S. Scullion, *Kernos* 29 (2016) 265 (on public cults of foreign deities); *EKM* II 428, *ad comm.*

The fact that six centuries after this dedication two sacred manumission acts (*EKM* I 51-52) were inscribed on the same plaque makes the sanctuary of Atargatis in Beroia not only one of the earliest sanctuaries of the Syrian Goddess in Europe (cf. Hörig 1565-1570), but also one of the sanctuaries with the longest attested life-span in Macedonia.

#### ***EKM* I 20. Dedication to Aphrodite Euschemon, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*To Aphrodite Euschemon, Marius Delikatos, Popillia Pamphila, Terentianus Pamphilos, Lysimache his wife, following a dream, when Lucius Bruttius Poplikianos was priest for life.*

P. Christodoulou, *MDAI(A)* 124 (2009) 347; M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 251-252.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 83; A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1121 (on the priest); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 130; *RICIS* 0301, *ad comm.*; J. Wallensten, in: *Donateur, offrande, déesse* 172 n. 9; Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 97; D. Maikidou-Poutrino, *Arys* 16 (2018) 444; A. Dalaveras, in: *Τῷ διδασκάλῳ* 116; N. Poulakakis, in: *Τῷ διδασκάλῳ* 344-345; Paschidis, in: *Associations in Context* n. 12 (on priests for life in Roman Macedonia).

The assimilation of Aphrodite to Isis in Beroia, attested by the fact that L. Bruttius Poplikianos was a priest for life for the cults both of Aphrodite Euschemon and of Isis Lochia (*EKM* I 36, below), is also reflected in ceramic production (statuettes of Aphrodite with Harpokrates); see Tsakalou-Tzanavari, *Πήλινα ειδώλια* 156-157. For another possible dedication to Aphrodite from Beroia, see *EKM* I 363, below.

Youni assumes that Lysimache, the only person mentioned in this inscription without a *nomen*, is a peregrine.

#### ***EKM* I 21. Dedication to Dionysos (in the theatre?), mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC**

*(...) to Dionysos (...).*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 75-76, 93-94; Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 74 n. 162; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 118 (on the theatre of Beroia).

#### ***EKM* I 22. Dedication to Dionysos by the *agoranomos* of a cultic association and honours for him, 7 BC, ca. April.**

*In the year 141, in the month of Artemisios, Paramonos son of Theogenes, having served as agoranomos of the thiasos, to Dionysos, at his expense.*

*The members of the thiasos in honour of Paramonos son of Theogenes.*

SEG XLVIII 751; Jaccottet, *Choisir Dionysos* 48-49 no 18; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικῆς* 31-47 (Bull. 2011, 408; EBGR 2009 [*Kernos* 25 (2012)] 7; SEG LVIII 562); Kloppenborg – Ascough – Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations* I 300-302 no 63; AGRW #1167 (<https://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=1167>).

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 75-76; 93-94; Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 74 n. 162; P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 490 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/490>); T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 118-119 (on theatrical activities in Beroia); Kloppenborg, *Christ's Associations* 311 and n. 33.

L. 5: θιασ[ω]τῶν EKM I; θιασ[ι]τῶν Allamani-Souri more plausibly, based on the parallel of Düll, *Götterkulte* 340 no 131.

This *thiasos* cannot be the association of Dionysiac artists, as taken for granted in the commentary of EKM I, since the main figure portrayed in the relief next to Paramonos is not an actor, but Dionysos himself (see the detailed discussion of Allamani-Souri); it is therefore a cultic association of devotees of Dionysos (thus already Jaccottet), the *agoranomos* of which was in charge of festivities for the god's cult (among them probably the phallic procession attested in EKM I 7, above, according to Allamani-Souri).

#### **EKM I 23. Priestly dedication to Enodia Hosia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC**

*Kynnana daughter of Epigenes, having served as priestess, (dedicated) the sacrificial hearth to Enodia Hosia.*

Chrysostomou, *Εν(ν)οδία* 71, 135-138.

Cf. V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Μνείας χάριν* 21-22 n. 24 (on the priestess); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 78 (on the sanctuary of Enodia); O. Palagia, in: *Macedonian Legacies* 204 (on the priestess); M. Youni, in: *L'organisation matérielle* 92 (on Enodia); Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλές και ανάγλυφα* 95 (on the priestess); Parker, *Greek Gods Abroad* 91 (on the epithet Hosia).

For the cult of Enodia in Thessaly and Macedonia, see especially the monograph of Chrysostomou; cf. Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 117-125. For the proposed identification between the priestess and dedicant Kynnana with Kynnana mother of Hadea, see the commentary at EKM I 391, below.

#### **EKM I 24. Dedication to Hermes by *agoranomoi* of the city, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, second half**

*Marsyas son of Demetrios, Lysanias son of Lysanias, Aristonous son of Dionysios, having served as agoranomoi, to Hermes, along with the secretary Laandros son of Olympiodoros.*

Cf. M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 264; Z. H. Archibald, in: *Agoranomes et édiles* 109, 111; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 109 n. 52; M. Mari, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 188 n. 48.

For two more dedications of *agoranomoi* to Hermes (Agoraios) in the Republican period, see now *EKM* II 439 (Pella) and *EAM* Suppl. 11 (Elimeia). On Marsyas, see *EKM* I 18, above.

***EKM* I 25. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 119 AD, ca May.**

*Agaiis dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos in fulfilment of a vow; to good fortune; in the year 266, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of Daisios.*

S. Mitchell, in: *Pagan Monotheism* 130 no 35 (following Cormack's edition); *SEG* XLVI 736.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 82 (on the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 40, 52 n. 51; Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 43; Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire* 259 n. 35 (on female dedicants to Zeus Hypsistos).

On the cult of Zeus Hypsistos in Macedonia, see *EKM* II 129, *ad comm.*, and *EAM* 3 Suppl., with bibliography, the sources and discussion. On the cultic association of Zeus Hypsistos in Beroia, see the commentary at *EKM* I 26-28 (and possibly 371), below. For a new attestation of the cult from Beroia, see *EKM* I Suppl. 1.

***EKM* I 26. Priestly dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*To Zeus Hypsistos, Publius Cornelius Roufos and the cult servants serving under him, when Sextus Popillius Philotas (?) was the krites.*

S. Mitchell, in: *Pagan Monotheism* 130 no 36 (following Siganidou's edition); *AGRW* #2144 (<https://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=2144>).

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 82 (on the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 52 n. 53; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 258 (on the *διάκονοι*); S. Mitchell, in: *One God* 170-171; Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 43-44; Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire* 260; P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 477 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/477>); I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Individuals and Materials* 278 no XII 2 and n. 146 (on the *διάκονοι*).

Ll. 5-6: Φιλ — ὥτα | ΝΕ *EKM* I; the three letters at the end of l. 5 are by a different hand and of considerably poorer quality of engraving, while the letter(s) in l. 6 (the E is not visible on the photograph) are much smaller. It is doubtful that they belonged to the original inscription (cf. also the dot after ΦΙΛ, perhaps an indication that the engraver meant to abbreviate the *cognomen*) and may belong to a later graffito.

On the *diakonoι*, most probably minor officials of the association, and the *krites*, cf. Nigdelis and Paschidis.

***EKM* I 27. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*Ouales, nailsmith; Eutropios (...); Onesimos; Gaios (...); Kosmion (...); Heraklas, dyer; Zosas son of Maximos; Alexandros, hatter; Abaskantos, strap manufacturer; Olius Flavius; Epiktetos son of Maximos; Markos, quarry worker; Philippos, nailsmith; Germanos, gardener; Loukios son of Kommounos;*

*Philetos, goldsmith; Sostratos son of Probos; Zosas son of Zosimos; Demetris son of Satyros; Hilaros, weaver; Preimigenes son of Rhomai[os?]; Titos, superintendent of a palaestra; Louppos son of Papias; Sotas; Aprion; Sospis; Kinnamos; Epagathos son of Maximos; Epagathos, builder; Chresmos (?) son of Eurymedon; Quintus Furius Ouales; Akanthos, coppersmith; Bassos, goldsmith; Marcus Opinius Onesimos; Roufos, stonemason; Metrodoros, stonemason.*

SEG XLVI 737; *AnnEpigr* 1995, 1382; AGRW #20675 (<https://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=20675>).

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 82 (on the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 50; O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 143 (on Μάρκος Ὀπήνιος Ὀνήσιμος, with wrong reference); Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 66 and n. 1 (on watermills and the textile industry), 101 n. 274 (on gardeners); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 206 (on the *nomen* Olius); Tataki, *Roman Presence* 331 no 409.5 (on the *nomen* Olius); H.-J. Drexhage, *MünstBeitr* 25 (2006) 171-172 (on nailsmiths); S. Mitchell, in: *One God* 199 no A15; Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 44; P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 477 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/477>); Kloppenborg, *Christ's Associations* 76-77 (with detailed comments on the status of the members).

Kloppenborg assumes that the members whose names are inscribed within the inscribed wreath may be of a higher status than the rest of the members (cf. also Paschidis); he also assumes –less plausibly– that Q. Furius Ouales may have been the leader of the association.

Salomies remarks that the *nomen* Ὀπήνιος (*Opinius*?) appears to be new.

#### **EKM I 28. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*To Zeus Hypsistos, the cult servants under Eros son of Eubiotos* (there follows a list of more than 30 names, most of them indecipherable; the few that can be identified include: *C. Flavius* [- -] *Joios*, *Alkippos*, *Alexandros*, [- -] *son of Apollodoros*, *Alexandros son of Nikolaos*, *Menandros son of Pamphila*, *Titus Mallius Isieros*, *Karpon*, *Loukios*, [- -] *son of Phila*, *Euairestos*).

S. Mitchell, in: *Pagan Monotheism* 130 no 34 (following Cormack's edition); AGRW #2176 (<https://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=2176>) (following Cormack's edition).

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 82 (on the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 144 (on the metronyms); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 258 (on the *διάκονοι*); Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 44; P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 47 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/477>).

For the use of metronyms in Macedonia, see the bibliography of E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 74 n. 63, to which add M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 257-261 for the Roman period.

### EKM I 29. Civic dedication to Herakles Kynagidas, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, second half

*The city to Herakles Kynagidas, when (...) was epistates.*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 66 (on the location of the sanctuary); N. G. L. Hammond, *ABSA* 94 (1999) 373 n. 21 (on the *epistates*) (*Bull.* 2000, 466; *SEG* XLIX 684); M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 8 (2003) 38-39 (on the *epistates*); P. Paschidis, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 252 n. 4 (on the *epistates*); M. Youni, in: *L'organisation matérielle* 90 (on the cult of Herakles Kynagidas).

L. 1: ἐπισ[τατοῦντος] EKM I; ἐπὶ Σ[τράτωνος ἱερέως or κυνηγοῦ] or Ἐπισ[τρόφου ἱερητεύοντος] Hammond, *exempli gratia*, attempting to reject the possibility that an *epistates* could figure as an eponymous archon alone; Hatzopoulos (*Bull.* 2000) rightly argues that these restorations are rather implausible.

This is still the earliest attestation of Beroia as a *polis* and the earliest attestation of the cult of Herakles Kynagidas, for which see EKM I 3, above.

### EKM I 30. Priestly dedication to Herakles Kynagidas, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC

*Asklepiodoros son of Pleuratos, having served as priest, at his expense, to Herakles Kynagidas, and (...).*

Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* 189-191 no 81.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 67; M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258.

The conjunction at the end of the preserved text either introduces a second dedicant (or group of dedicants), or, less probably, a second deity to which the dedication is offered.

### EKM I 31. Dedication to Herakles Kynagidas by manumitted slaves, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC

*Demetrios, Parmonides, Euphranta, Zoïs, Paramona, Onesimos, Epiktesis, Euphrosyne, Aphrodeisia, Beithys, Athenaïs, having been liberated by Kriton son of Eutychides, (have dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas a skyphos weighing the equivalent of 550 drachmae.*

Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 293 no 75; M. Riel, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 146 n. 81; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Taxing Freedom* 93.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 68; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Ὁβολός* 4 (2000) 79, 83 and fig. 3; R. Parker – D. Obbink, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 441 (on the obligations of manumitted slaves towards sanctuaries); M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 185-186; Dana, *OnomThrac* 44 (on the name Βεῖθυς); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 107.

For the dedication of fine ware to the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas by manumitted slaves, see the commentary at EKM I 3, above.

The number of liberated slaves (eleven) belonging to the same master is remarkably high. The only parallel in the material from Macedonia –from all periods– is *I. Leukopetra* 12 which constitutes, however, a special case, since the dedicant there is explicitly dispossessed of his entire slave force of fifteen slaves on account of financial problems.

**EKM I 32. Dedication to Herakles Kynagidas by a manumitted slave, early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Italia, having been liberated by Nikanor son of Lysimachos, (dedicated) a skyphos weighing 50 drachmae.*

Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 294 no 76; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Taxing Freedom* 93.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 68; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Ὀβολός* 4 (2000) 79, 83; R. Parker – D. Obbink, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 441 (on the obligations of manumitted slaves towards sanctuaries); M. Riel, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 146 n. 81; M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 185-186; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 107.

As noted in the commentary of EKM I, this is the earliest attestation of the rare name Ἰταλία in Macedonia. Her manumittor bears a Greek name and patronym very popular in Macedonia; in a sense, therefore, the onomastic context here is similar to (and the exact opposite of) the name Μακεδών (*vel sim.*), sometimes used by Roman citizens for their slaves after the demise of the kingdom.

**EKM I 33. Dedication to Herakles Kynagidas by a manumitted slave, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*(...) to Herakles Kynagidas a skyphos weighing 50 drachmae.*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 68; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Ὀβολός* 4 (2000) 79, 83; R. Parker – D. Obbink, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 441 (on the obligations of manumitted slaves towards sanctuaries); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 95; M. Riel, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 146 n. 81; M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 185-186; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Taxing Freedom* 93; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 107.

**EKM I 34. Dedication (to Isis?), 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) dedicated for his / her salvation, following a (divine) order.*

RICIS 113/0303.

Cf. Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 321 no 16 (hesitantly attributing the ex-voto to Asklepios); L. Puccio, *MélcasaVelázquez* 40 (2010) §12 n. 75; E. Fassa, *JES* 2 (2019) 47 n. 1.

On the interpretation of reliefs representing a pair of footprints of unequal size as a depiction of the god(dess) –most probably Isis– and a devotee, see also the commentary of RICIS and Puccio with earlier literature. Fassa cites several examples of dedicatory reliefs representing footprints where the inscription contains the κατ' ἐπιταγήν formula.

**EKM I 35. Dedication (to Isis?), late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Korrhagos son of Hierax, in fulfilment of a vow, when Caius Canuleius Aper was priest.*

RICIS 113/0302; P. Christodoulou, *MDAI(A)* 124 (2009) 345; D. Maikidou-Poutrino, *Arys* 16 (2018) 446 n. 63.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 52; M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258.

On the footprints, see the previous inscription. On the priest, see also EKM I 128, below; on the Canuleii in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 162 no 130.

### **EKM I 36. Dedication to Isis Lochia and the city, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Lucius Bruttius Agathophoros and his wife Eleutherion have dedicated this altar to Isis Lochia and to the city for their daughter Milesia, in fulfilment of a vow, when Lucius Bruttius Poplikianos was priest for life.*

RICIS 113/0301; P. Christodoulou, *MDAI(A)* 124 (2009) 347; D. Maikidou-Poutrino, *Arys* 16 (2018) 443-444.

Cf. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis* II 190-191b, III 148, 214, 263 (on Isis Lochia); Brocas-Deflasioux, *Béroia* 83; A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1121 (on the priest); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 98, 131, 151; P. Chrysostomou, *Eulimene* 4 (2003) 146-147; Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 252 n. 53.

For the different ways in which the cult of Isis gradually supplanted the traditional one of Artemis Lochia or Eilythia (for the latter, see EKM I 50, below) as the divine protectress of childbirth in Macedonia, either by assimilation or by lending her attributes to the traditional cult, see also the commentary at EKM II 87 and cf. E. Fassa, *JES* 2 (2018) 50-52.

Youni follows Cormack in the assumption that Agathophoros and Eleutherion, both bearing names common for slaves, were probably former slaves of the cult's priest (on whom see EKM I 20, above).

### **EKM I 37. Epigram on a dedication to Pan, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC**

*I, Pan, am greatly honoured also in Arkadia, but desire brought me as a favourable wind to Makedonia; the virtue of Hippokles set me up here then (?) in the prime of my youth, having crowned me with ivy, following ancestral tradition. The reason was that this everlasting royal donation of Philip was granted in perpetuity and also to the children of his children, along with tax exemption for all possessions of this house. The official decree of Antigonos safeguarded this estate.*

Th. Gavriilidis, *Niaousta* 61 (1992) 152-155 (with Touratsoglou's text from the inventory of the Museum of Veria); Th. Pazaras – M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Tekmeria* 3 (1997) 71-77; Th. Gavriilidis, newspaper *Λαός*, 16/1/2000 (non vidimus); G. Velenis, in: *Μύρτος* 619-630 (new edition and detailed commentary) (*Bull.* 2000, 464; *SEG* XLVII 893; *EBGR* 2000 [*Kernos* 16 (2003)] 206); E. Voutiras, in: *Κερμάτια φιλίας* II 34-43 (new edition and commentary) (*Bull.* 2011, 410; *SEG* LIX 654; *EBGR* 2010 [*Kernos* 26 (2013)] 202); R. Lane Fox, in: *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 500 (on Antigonos Gonatas and Pan); E. Voutiras, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 407-409 (with French translation) (*Bull.* 2019).

Cf. M. Faraguna, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 209-210; J. Ma, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 317-318.

L. 5: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΕΣ on the stone; βασιλει<ο>ς ed. pr., *EKM I*, Voutiras; βασιλεις (Aeolic nominative or, rather, vocative) Velenis, or βασιλεῖ ἐς (“in front of the two kings”); Voutiras rightly rejects both suggestions. L. 4: L. 4 θῆκε γέ τε ed. pr., *EKM I*; <πο>τέ Voutiras (*Κερμάτια φιλίας*); <τό>τε Voutiras (*Βορειοελλαδικά*). L. 7: ἄτε (adv.) ed. pr., *EKM I*; ἄ τε Velenis and Voutiras, for metrical reasons; Voutiras adduces *SGO* 2, 270, 09/14/01 as a parallel for ἐπίσημος φάμα as a written decree, bearing the official decree; on ἐπίσημος, see also the parallels adduced by Faraguna 210 n. 59. L. 7: κτεάνων ἀτελὴς δόμος ed. pr., *EKM I*; κτεάνων ἀτελὴς <ἐστίν> δόμος Velenis, for metrical reasons; κτεάνων <πάντων> ἀτελὴς δόμος Voutiras, more plausibly. L. 8: ἐφύλαξεν ed. pr. and *EKM I*, inadvertently; ἐφύλαξε all other editors, correctly; νόμον ed. pr., *EKM I*; νομόν Voutiras more plausibly, who wonders (in: *Κερμάτια φιλίας*) if νομός here may have its original meaning, “pastureland”, a suggestion followed by Faraguna, but later rejected by Voutiras himself in *Βορειοελλαδικά*.

For the cult of Pan in Macedonia, see especially Voutiras, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά*. The base undoubtedly supported a statue of Pan, although the original form of the (simple or composite) monument, remains an unresolved issue, as both Velenis and Voutiras remark.

The text of this important epigram recording a royal donation (on royal donations in Macedonia, see Faraguna with the sources and earlier literature) has received since its publication a number of different interpretations. According to the first editors, the epigram records a royal donation, with tax immunity, offered in perpetuity by Philip II (ἁθάνατος βασιλει<ο>ς χάρις... καὶ τέκνων τέκνοις αἰδίως ἐδόθη and κτεάνων <πάντων> ἀτελὴς δόμος being the poetic equivalents of the terms δωρεὰ ἐμ πατριοῖς and ἀτέλεια τῶν ἐπὶ κτήσει respectively, which are attested in donations in prose); this donation was later officially reaffirmed by Antigonos Gonatas (ἐπίσημος Ἀντιγόνου φάμα). According to Velenis, the king offering the original donation cannot be Philip II and is more probably Philip V, therefore Antigonos must be Antigonos Doson; he tried to explain the reverse chronological order by which the two kings are mentioned by presuming that the donation took place in the short period (229-227 BC) during which Antigonos acted as regent for young Philip and was later reaffirmed after Antigonos assumed the royal title. Voutiras originally agreed with this interpretation, further assuming that the donation and the grant of immunity were offered to Hippokles himself and not to his ancestors. In his more recent commentary on the epigram (in: *Βορειοελλαδικά*), however, Voutiras reverted to the original identification of the two kings put forward in *EKM I* (cf. also *Bull.* 2011, 410). Moreover, he took his new correction <τό>τε instead of <πο>τέ in l. 7 to mean that the dedication of Hippokles coincided (in the past) with the reaffirmation of the donation by Antigonos Gonatas, perhaps due to the participation of Hippokles in one of Antigonos' campaigns.

#### ***EKM I 38. Dedication to (unspecified) gods, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*Claudius Eukarpos and Doris dedicated to the gods, following a (divine) command (?).*

#### ***EKM I 39. Dedication, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC***

*When [- -]os son of Lysikles was (...), (...) son of Epikrates, (...) son of Menedemos (...).*

**EKM I 40. Building dedication, late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) *Claudia Ammia, daughter of Claudius Pierion, along with her children Claudii Loukia, Pierion, Amyntas, in memory of Claudius Aeropos her son, channelled the water from her estates and dedicated both the aqueduct and the reservoir, having them constructed at her expense.*

A. Dimopoulou, in: *Symposion 2015*, 411-412.

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Πιτύη* 246 (on the family of the donors); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 125 n. 513 (on the name Ἀέροπος); M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 306 (on the family and its Roman citizenship).

For the family of the honorand, see EKM I 115-116, 123, below. For the importance of water management in Beroia, apart from EKM I 7 and 41, see also the commentary at EKM I 509, below. Dimopoulou comments on the ownership issues arising from water management and the provision of urban centres with water: the springs from which the water originated belonged to Claudia Ammia as the owner of the relevant χωρία, in accordance with both earlier Greek and Roman law, but the aqueduct and the reservoir –and the water itself– were considered a public commodity since it served the public interest (see now an important new edict from Laodikeia on the Lykos: F. Guizzi, in: *15. Yilinda Laodikeia*). As is often the case, the inscription does not offer any insight on the complex ownership issues concerning the land through which the water infrastructure had to pass through (see again Dimopoulou).

The onomastic choices for all male members of the family conform to the fashion of names pertaining to royal Macedonian history (Amyntas, Aeropos), or to Macedonian geography and mythology (Pierion), which, along with names alluding to Greek (and particularly Homeric) mythology in general, are characteristic of the upper class onomasticon of Roman Macedonia; see Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 133-139; J. Touloumakos, *ŽivaAnt* 47 (1997) 211-226; P. Paschidis, in: *Η Έδεσσα και η περιοχή της Γ΄* 158-160; idem, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 155. For the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17.

**EKM I 41. Building dedication, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) *proconsul (?) [... channelled (?)] the water assigned to each quarter (or: the water in the streets) with new waterpipes from the Euian gate and restored at his expense the marble fountain near the spring, along with its decoration and the fountain with multiple nozzles at the market and the one at the Asklepieion and the waste-pipe at the market; and he calculated the allocation of water as the city petitioned him to do, calculating the existing water quantity, and rendering the rest of it to the members of the Council, a list of whom he deposited in the public archive.*

SEG XLVIII 743; E. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 729; S. Saba, *AC* 77 (2008) 79-90 (with English translation); A. Dimopoulou, in: *Symposion 2015*, 413-416 (with English translation).

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 40, 61, 72; *Bull.* 2000, 230; Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 33 n. 25 (on Euia); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Herodotus and his World* 212 [*Découvrir la Macédoine antique* 202] (on Euia); Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 321 no 16 (on the Asklepieion); J. Du Bouchet, *RevPhil* 88 (2004) 46; Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 66; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 66; E. Sverkos, *AEAM* 2 (2011) [2013] 248 (on Euia); Ch. Blein, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 97 (on Euia).

Few things can be added to the extensive commentary in *EKM I*. In that commentary, the phrase ἀμφοδικὰ ὕδατα is explained in a literal but unattested sense of ἄμφοδον, which would conform well with the topography of ancient and early modern Beroia: water running on either side of the road. L. Dubois (*Bull.* 2000), J. Du Bouchet and S. Saba, on the contrary, take for granted that ἄμφοδον has here its most common sense (in both literary and epigraphic sources), i.e. a delimited city sector, and that, consequently, ἀμφοδικὰ ὕδατα refers to the water allocated to the city sectors into which Beroia was subdivided for administrative and town-planning purposes.

Dimopoulou comments on the legal ramifications of water supply: providing access to water was a necessity for any state authority, and that access, in accordance to Roman law, was a *beneficium* granted by official permission. The proconsul, after an official petition by the city (ll. 7-8: [ὡς ἡ] πόλις [αὐτῶ] ἐνέτυχε), proceeded to a new allotment of water, first calculating the water necessary for public use and for the majority of the population, and then offering the rest to the councilor class, with its increased demand for water due to its lifestyle.

There is now ample archaeological confirmation that Euia is to be sought in Elimeia, in the western exit of the strategic Kastania pass: the city should be identified with the important site of Polymylos (on which see Sverkos 248-252 n. 43, with previous bibliography). On the city of Euia, see also the commentary at *EAM* 87 Suppl., with further bibliography.

For a roughly contemporary parallel of a Roman governor involved in water management in a Macedonian city, see *SEG* LIV 601, from Apollonia in Mygdonia (ἐπιμεληθέντα τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος). For the important new edict of the proconsul of Asia regarding water management, see F. Guizzi, in: 15. *Yilinda Laodikeia*.

#### ***EKM I* 42. Civic dedication, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*The city.*

#### ***EKM I* 43. Dedication, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) following a (divine) command (...)*

#### ***EKM I* 44. Dedication to Eunomia (?), 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Altar of Eunomia (?).*

For other possible dedicatory inscriptions, see *EKM I* 164 and 460 (Artemis?).

## MANUMISSION ACTS

**EKM I 45. Civic manumission act, 239-229 BC**

To good Fortune. On the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Demetrios, in the month of Peritios, when Apollonides son of Glaukias was the priest, Kosmos, Marsyas, and Ortyx paid Attinas, son of Alketas, for the purpose of freedom, themselves on behalf of themselves and their wives, Arnion, Glauka, and Chlidane, and their children –both those who now exist and if any is born later–, and all that belongs to them, fifty gold staters each, and Aspazatis paid on behalf of herself and her belongings twenty-five gold staters. If they remain with Attinas for as long as Attinas lives, and do whatever Attinas commands, they shall be allowed, when Attinas dies, to depart and go wherever they wish. And it shall not be possible for Alketas nor Alketas' wife nor Alketas' offspring nor Lareta to lay hands on them, their wives, or their children, or on Aspazatis, nor to lead them into slavery, nor to seize any of her belongings on any pretext, nor for another (to do so) on their behalf; otherwise, they shall be free and the one who leads them into slavery shall pay for each person one hundred gold staters, and to the king another one hundred each for each person; and if one seizes anything from their belongings he shall pay as a fine twice the value of whatever he seized from them. If, however, they do not remain by Attinas and do whatever he commands –both they and their wives and children– so long as Attinas lives, then for the one who does not comply the freedom shall be invalid again. They claim as their protectors the king, the queen, Machatas son of Theogenes, his children, Archippos, Bakchylos, Damognetos and Iasoneikos. Witnesses: Aischylinos son of Aristokleides, Gaiteas son of Chairekrates, Machatas son of Philippos, Alketas son of M[- -]oikos, (... son of...), Pausanias son of Asandros.

Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* 199-202 no 85 (following earlier editions); M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 183-185; Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, *Droit grec d'Alexandre à Auguste* I 405-406 (text and French translation).

Cf. S. Le Bohec-Bouhet, *Cahiers Glotz* 4 (1993) 244-245 (on queen Phila); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 69 (on the location of the sanctuary of Asklepios); M. Faraguna, *Athenaeum* 86 (1998) 353-354 (on the fine); A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 954 n. 22; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Ὁβολός* 4 (2000) 83 and fig. 2 (on monetary values); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 82, 100; M. Riel, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 146; Knoepfler, *Eretria* XI 145 n. 3; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 132, 163 (on the privileged position of these slaves within the family), 196 n. 30 (on guarantors and witnesses), 258 (on the *prostatai*), 233 n. 109 (on the *paramone* clause); 264 n. 156 (on the protection clause; it should be noted that the author mistakenly takes the owner of the slaves to be female [132, 163, 258]); M. Faraguna, in: *Approches de l'économie hellénistique* 124-125 (on the fine); Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 321 no 16; S. Le Bohec-Bouhet in: *Διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας* 67 (on the regency of Demetrios II; cf. *Bull.* 2006, 246); eadem, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 189 (on the role of the queen), 195 (on the female slaves); Paschidis, *Between City and King* 182 n. 5 (on the joint kingship of Antigonos

Gonatas and Demetrios II); M. Youni, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικής* 73; eadem, *The Legal History Review* 78 (2010) 322 (on the *paramone* formula); J. D. Sosin, *TAPhA* 145 (2015) 369-370 (on the legal status of manumitted slaves burdened with *paramone*); Y. Kuzmin, in: *Deformations and Crises* 74-75 (on the date); R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, in: *Symposion 2017* 378 (simple mention); O. Gabelko – Y. Kuzmin, in: *New Perspectives in Seleucid History* 208 n. 28; Y. Kuzmin, *ŽivaAnt* 69 (2019) 59-84 (on the regnal years of Demetrios II).

Ll. 2-3: ἔτους ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοσ|τοῦ *EKM I*, by mistake; the correct reading is ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοσ|τοῦ ἔτους (Hatzopoulos, *Bull.* 2013; *SEG LXII* 411).

This amply discussed document remains, along with the next inscription, the only extended surviving civic manumission acts from the Old Kingdom (for a 'mixed' manumission act, with elements both of secular and of sacred manumission, see also *EKM I* 48, below).

The legal status of slaves manumitted (regardless of the method) but still burdened by a *paramone* clause continues to be highly debated: they have been labelled by various scholars as free (conditionally and with a temporary suspension of their liberty or with contractual obligations to the former master), slaves (with a promise of future liberation), free regarding third parties but slaves towards their manumittor, or in a fluid legal category between slavery and freedom. For the voluminous relevant bibliography, see especially J. D. Sosin, *TAPhA* 145 (2015) 325-381, - R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*, *passim*, and eadem, *Symposion 2017* 377-401.

The much debated identity of the king is an issue now resolved (cf. *Bull.* 2006, 246); regarding the regnal years of Demetrios II, besides *SVA III* 498 (the treaty between the king and Gortyn), there is now a second document, *SEG LX* 604 (letter to the king by a cavalry officer from Pythion), which shows that the king also used a numbering of his regnal years beginning with the death of Antigonos Gonatas; see Kuzmin, with earlier bibliography. Contrary to these two documents, which both emanate from the royal chancery, the Beroian document continues to use the previous system of numbering Demetrios' regnal years, beginning with his association to the throne of Antigonos Gonatas, perhaps because of lack of familiarity with proper royal protocol.

Faraguna interprets the reference to the fine being paid both to the city and to the king as evidence in support of his theory that the royal economy was much more deeply embedded in Macedonian civic life than previously thought.

On the family of the priest, see *EKM I* 4, above (commentary and bibliography) and *EKM I* 46, below.

#### ***EKM I* 46. Civic manumission act, ca. 250-225 BC**

*When Eubiotos was the priest, in the month of Artemisios, [- -]nos sets free Amyntas (...) and gives Amyntas the daughter of Agelaos to have as his wife; and all the belongings, as long as Parmenion*

and the wife of Parmenion are alive (...); and whenever (...) son of Hippotas (...) Krateros son of (...) Alketas son of Philippos (...).

SEG XLVIII 738; Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, *Droit grec d'Alexandre à Auguste* I 423 (text and French translation of ll. 1-9).

Cf. M. Riel, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 146; M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 186; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 169 (on providing the manumitted slave with a wife); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Die altgriechischen Dialekte* 166 n. 145 (on the patronymic adjective); J. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, in: *Transferts culturels* 199 n. 23.

This second Hellenistic manumission act has received different interpretations after its publication. Zelnick-Abramovitz erroneously believes that the manumittor is Agelaos, who gives the manumitted slave his own daughter as a wife, thus effectively adopting him into his family; the manumittor's name, however, is partially preserved in ll. 2-3. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas (*Droit grec d'Alexandre à Auguste*) doubts that the manumitted slave was bound by *paramone*, although the phrase in ll. 7-11 is difficult to interpret differently, and believes that the manumittors are Parmenion and his wife, an assumption again invalidated by the traces of the manumittor's name in ll. 2-3. She also believes that the ὑπάρχοντα in ll. 6-7 are the entire property of the manumittors, bequeathed to Amyntas (probably a house-born slave), who thus becomes not only free but also their heir, presumably because the couple did not have children of their own. The ὑπάρχοντα, however, are clearly the property of the manumitted slave (cf. *EKM* I 45, ll. 8, 23). The likeliest interpretation remains the one set forth in the commentary of *EKM* I: the manumittor sets free Amyntas, provides him with a wife, but also bounds him with a *paramone* clause towards Parmenion and his wife, who are most probably the manumittor's parents. As for the differentiation of the fate of Amyntas' ὑπάρχοντα before and after the death of the manumittor's parents, it may imply that full and uncontested ownership of Amyntas' private belongings is deferred until the death of Parmenion and his wife.

The parallel for the use of patronymic adjective (Ἀγελαεΐα) from the territory of Thessalonike, mentioned in the commentary of *EKM* I, has been published in *IG* X 2.1 Suppl. 1652: Πιστάρετα Θρασιπεία κόρα (cf. *Bull.* 2011, 419). There are now two more parallels from Macedonia: *SEG* LI 790, from Amphipolis (Μυρτάλη Χαρίκλειος), and possibly *SEG* LI 859 from Pergamos in Pieris (Συραβίτης Ἀρτιδόνιος).

On the family of the priest, see *EKM* I 4 (commentary and bibliography) and *EKM* I 45, above.

#### ***EKM* I 47. Civic manumission act (?), 3<sup>rd</sup> (?) cent. BC**

*To good Fortune (?) (...)*

**EKM I 48. Manumission act, 2<sup>nd</sup> (?) cent. AD**

*I, [Aelia?] Alexandra, priestess of Demeter and Kore, set free Nike immediately (?) after my death.*

Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 268 no 24; M. Ricl, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 146 n. 81.

Cf. S. Pingiatoglou, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 912 (on the cult of Demeter); Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 117.

In form, this appears to be a civic act of manumission (cf. Ricl): the manumittor sets the slave free (albeit probably burdened with a *paramone* clause; cf. Zelnick-Abramovitz), and there is no reference to dedication to a god. Nevertheless, it should be noted that it bears no date, has none of the legal aspects of fully formulated civic manumission acts, and the manumittor is a priestess of the prototype of strong female deities to which slaves are dedicated in Roman Macedonia. Similarly to EAM 115, therefore, this manumission act seems to fall between civic and sacred manumissions (cf. the commentary at EAM 115 Suppl., and P. Paschidis, in: *Ἡμαθεῖν*).

**EKM I 49. Sacred manumission act, to Artemis Agrotera, 181 AD, ca. June**

*Ariagne daughter of Bastos gave as a gift to the goddess Artemis Agrotera a young slave belonging to her named Elpis; no one shall have power over her, be he an archon or a councillor; she also attached the following letter delivered to her by her brothers:*

*Herakleides son of Bastos and Syros son of Bastos to Ariagne daughter of Bastos, our lady sister, greetings; we, our lady sister, have received from you many benefits and now that you wish to liberate some of your slaves we concur and give our consent, for you have power over your own belongings, which you have procured for yourself by hard labour, not receiving them by anyone else; and if now, as an elderly lady, you wish to borrow some money and mortgage some of your belongings in order to manage your old age, we also consent, our lady, and do not object, you being of such an age; for, as we said, all these are yours and you have laboured hard to acquire them. We wrote to you this letter in Beroia, in the Augustan year 212, which is also 328, on the fourth of Peritios, by the hand of Flavius Halys, for we ourselves do not know how to write. We wish you good health.*

*Witnesses: Titus Aelius Epiktetos, Lucius Magnius Oualerianos, Sextus Popillius Lykinos. The stele was engraved in the year 212, on the second day of Peritios.*

Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 45-46, 265-266 no 19; eadem, in: *Esclavage antique* 188; J. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, *Droit grec d'Alexandre à Auguste II* 54 (text and French translation of ll. 11-28).

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 82 (on the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos); P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 89 n. 9 (on the letter type); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 97 n. 346 (on the letter of Ariagne's brothers); M. Ricl, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 145 n. 74; H. Müller, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 427 n. 35 (on the terminology used for manumitted slaves); Dmitriev, *City Government* 239-240 (on the term ἐξουσία); Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 139 n. 21, 206 (on the letter of

Ariagne's brothers); A. Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, in: *Acta XII Congressus* 1088; M. Youni, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Ἐπιγραφικῆς* 75 (on the legal status of the manumitted slave); Dana, *OnomThrac* 3, 27, 343 (on the names Ἄλυσ, Βάστος, and Σύρος, respectively); S. G. Caneva – A. Delli Pizzi, *CQ* 65 (2015) 177 (on the nature of this manumission); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 107 (on the double chronology), 114 (on manumissions from Roman Macedonia); E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 85.

This act of sacred manumission is particularly important for understanding the nature of this kind of documents, in two respects. Firstly, it makes clear that what invariably appears in the acts itself as a “donation” or “consecration” of a slave to a deity (l. 4: δῶρον ἔδωκεν), is in fact a manumission, as the letter of consent by the two brothers of Ariagne clarifies (l. 17: ἐλευθερῶσαι). In fact, it is usually in cases such as this one, when a speaker is not bound by the standard religious terminology used in the main act of donation, that the equivalence between consecrated and free manifests itself (see also *EKM* II 65: [χα]ρίζομε and τ[ῶ]ν δὲ ἐπίλοιπα τὰ ἐξ α[ὐτῆς ἐπιγεννώ]μενα ἵνε [ἅπαντα ἐλε]ύθερα; *EKM* II 157: δωροῦμαι καὶ καταγράφω and ἧς φθάνων αὐτὸς ἡλευθέρωσα); see P. Paschidis, in: *Ἡμαθεῖν*.

The second important aspect of this document is the vivid depiction of the legal independence of women offered by the letter of consent to the transaction by Herakleides and Syros, an independence tempered not by a legal obligation to be represented through a male relative, but by the constraints of family ownership (see e.g. *I. Leukopetra* 40-41 and Zelnick-Abramovitz 130-141). Velissaropoulos-Karakostas discusses this document in the context of the distinction of property in Greek legal tradition according to its mode of acquisition (inherited or αὐτόκτητα).

Caneva – Delli Pizzi use this inscription in their discussion of possible economic transactions between manumittors and the sanctuary where slaves are donated. They posit a distinction between ἀπελεύθερος –the status of a slave ‘donated’ to a god (in this case Elpis), and thus manumitted– and ἱερόδουλος –a term, they claim, which would signify the status of slaves pawned out to the sanctuary to serve it “on the customary days” (in this case, slaves supposedly alluded to in ll. 21-24). Their hypothesis, however, is not based on what the letter of Herakleides and Syros actually says: the consent of the two brothers refers to the future mortgage of any of Ariagne’s belongings (l. 23: τι τῶν σῶν) and not necessarily to the mortgage of slaves to the sanctuary in particular (which is nowhere referred to in the letter). The two brothers simply give Ariagne a blanket consent to the management of all her belongings as she deems fit (cf. Zelnick-Abramovitz 139, n. 21), without referring to specific transactions (notice that the manumission of Elpis is not referred to explicitly; there is only a general reference in ll. 15-17 to the manumission of slaves –in plural).

Dana (*OnomThrac* 3, with earlier bibliography), unnecessarily doubts that the name Ἄλυσ refers to the Asian river name; on the contrary, his assumption that the name

Σύρος is not derived from the homonymous ethnic but may be a Thracian name of the family of names derived from Syr- (343) is plausible, given that the name of the father is also 'west Thracian'.

Sverkos suggests that the witness Lucius Magnus Oualerianos may be related to the ephebe Lucius Magnus Drakon in EKM I 135.

For the cult of Artemis Agrotera in Lower Macedonia, see also EKM I 109, below, EKM II 120, 408, 611.

**EKM I 50. Sacred manumission act, to Artemis Eileithyia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) when Aurelia [- -] was the priestess, I set up on a stele to Artemis Eileithyia and offered him/her to the goddess as a gift, no one being allowed to bother him/her.

SEG XLVIII 749; Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 289 no 64; D. Maikidou-Poutrino, *Arys* 16 (2018) 446 n. 65 (text and English translation).

Cf. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Taxing Freedom* 64 n. 29; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 114.

L. 1: [.] I EKM I; most probably: [ἐ]πί.

Apart from the cult of Artemis Eleithyia at Dion (SEG XXXIV 629, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) mentioned in the commentary of EKM I, the cult of Eileithyia in Macedonia is now attested also at Pydna (SEG LIV 615, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) and in Sintike (SEG XLIII 402, late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC). It is noteworthy that the Beroian cult postdates by five centuries the other three attestations of the epithet. For the cult of Artemis in Macedonia in general, see Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 82-85 with bibliography.

**EKM I 51. Sacred manumission act, to Syria Parthenos, 240 AD, ca. June**

In the Augustan year 271, which is also 387, on Panemos 17; I, Cornelia Dionysia, possessing the right of (three) children, set up on a stele to the goddess Syria Parthenos a slave of mine by the name of Soteria, about thirty years old, born in the house.

Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 278 no 41.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 77 (on the sanctuary of Atargatis); Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 132 n. 4 (on the *ius trium liberorum*), 155 (on the slave's age); eadem, *Taxing Freedom* 64 n. 29; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 114; E. Fassa, *JES* 2 (2018) 51 (on παρθένος); R. Parker, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 415 (on the goddess).

For the invocation of the *ius trium liberorum* by women in their legal transactions in Roman Macedonia –an invocation related to status rather than legal restrictions–, see, *inter alia*, I. Leukopetra p. 41 and M. Youni, in: *Η Έδεσσα και η περιοχή της Β'* 73-74.

**EKM I 52. Sacred manumission act, to Syria Parthenos, 262 AD, ca. March**

*In the Augustan year 293, which is also 409, on Xandikos 30; I, Appia Pannychis, possessing the right of (three) children, set up on a stele to the goddess Syria Parthenos a young slave by the name of Pannychos, about ten (?) years old, born by my slave Nymphodo[ra?].*

Cf. F. Papazoglou, *ŽivaAnt* 49 (1999) 222 (on l. 10); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 77 (on the sanctuary of Atargatis); H. Müller, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 427 n. 35 (on the terminology used for manumitted slaves); Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 132 n. 4 (on the *ius trium liberorum*); eadem, *Taxing Freedom* 64 n. 29; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 114.

L. 10: δέκα ΟΛΤΟ EKM I; Papazoglou plausibly suggests δεκαοκτώ, but since the last four letters were read only by Orlandos and were no longer visible already by 1936, caution is warranted.

The religiously evocative names of the manumittor and the manumitted slave (Παννυχίς and Πάννυχος respectively) remain otherwise unattested in Macedonia outside Beroia (for another Beroian example, see EKM I 270, below). For the *gens* of the Appii in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 99-100 no 49 and E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 97.

**EKM I 53. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 248 AD, ca. April**

The column bearing the inscriptions EKM I 53-57, along with a second column discovered during restoration works in the Old Cathedral of Veria, preserving more (unpublished) sacred manumission acts, and bringing their total number to 21, are exhibited in the renovated Old Cathedral.

*To good Fortune. I, Aelia Nikopolis, possessing the right of (three) children, offered as a gift to the god Dionysos Agrios, Erikryptos, Pseudanor a slave by the name of Epiktetos, about twenty-six years of age, whom I bought from Serius Roufos, as the deposited deed of the donation specifies; when Iulianus Demetrios was the priest, in the Augustan year 279, which is also 395, in Artemisios.*

SEG XLVIII 748; Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 281 no 47; eadem, in: *L'organisation matérielle* 91.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 75-76 (on the sanctuary of Dionysos); A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1120 (on the Serii); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 110 n. 413; A. Chaniotis, *EBGR* 2000 (*Kernos* 16 [2003] 108 (on Παράβολος, epithet of Dionysos in *I. Byzantion* 37, as a possible parallel of Ψευδάνωρ); M. Riel, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 157 (on the γραμματίειον); *I. Leukopetra* p. 23-24 and commentary at no 87 (on Iulianus Demetrios); O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 171 (on the Serii); H. Müller, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 427 n. 35 (on the terminology used for manumitted slaves), 434, n. 77 (on the publication of the manumission); Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 74 n. 162; M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 187; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 132 n. 4 (on the *ius trium liberorum*), 159 (on the slaves' age); M. Youni, *EHHD* 37 (2003) 35; eadem, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Ἐπιγραφικῆς* 76; eadem, *The Legal History Review* 78 (2010) 333 (in all three cases on the γραμματίειον, with wrong reference); Tataki, *Roman Presence* 390 no 550; Goukowsky, *Macedonica varia* 61-90 (detailed discussion of the epithets

of the god; cf. *Bull.* 2011, 411); Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 104; M. Mari, in: *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 455; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 114 (on manumissions from Roman Macedonia); A. Bierl, in: *Πλειών* 253, 266, 287 (on the epithets of Dionysos).

The cult of Dionysos with the epithets Agrios (“Wild, in the wilderness”), Erikryptos (“Most-hidden”), Pseudanor (“False-man” or, according to Goukowsky, “Master of deceit” [cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Bull.* 2011]) has been amply analyzed in Hatzopoulos, *Cultes* 63-85 (see also Goukowsky 61-90). If one excludes the anonymous Hero of an inscription from Elimeia (*EAM* 59), the Beroian Dionysos remains the only male deity in Macedonia to which slaves are dedicated and thus manumitted.

For the term γραμματέιον and the public display of deeds of sale before their setting up on stone, see *I. Leukopetra* p. 57-58, Ricl (*Tekmeria*), Youni, and *EKM* II 156 with further bibliography.

The identification of the priest, Iulianus Demetrios, with the homonymous priest at Leukopetra in 238/9 AD (*I. Leukopetra* 87-94) is plausible, but should probably not be taken for granted, given how common the name is.

Salomies tentatively suggests that the two Serii of Macedonia (cf. also *IG* X 2.1, 69, l. 39) may be connected to the senatorial family of the Serii, the activities of which, however, are not known in detail.

#### **EKM I 54. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 248 AD, ca. June**

*To good Fortune. I, Aurelius Alexandros, formerly known as son of Lysimachos, Beroian, offered as a gift to the god Dionysos Erikryptos, Pseudanor a slave by the name of Alexandra, about four years old, as the deposited deed of the donation specifies; when Iulianus Demetrios was the priest, in the Augustan year 279, which is also 395, on Panemos 7. Be fortunate.*

*SEG* XLVIII 748; Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 281 no 48.

See the bibliography of *EKM* I 53; cf. also M. Youni, in: *Esclavage antique* 187 (on the consecration formula); K. Buraselis, *Θεία δωρεά* 117.

On the onomastic formula ὁ/ῆ πρίν, see Buraselis 94-120, A. Rizakis, in: *Les noms de personnes dans l'empire romain* 260-261, and I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 101-102. On the term κοράσιον, see the next inscription.

#### **EKM I 55. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 264/5 AD**

*To good Fortune. I, Arabianus Markos, offered as a gift to the god Dionysos Pseudanor slaves, born in the house: a slave by the name of Aphrodisia, about 22 years old, and her brothers Aphrodisios, about 12 years old, and Melanthios, about 6 years old; in the Augustan year 296, which is also 412, when the Macedoniarch Marcius Herakleides was hierophant.*

*SEG* XLVIII 748.

See the bibliography of EKM I 53; cf. also A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1120 (on the *nomen* Ἀραβιανός), 1121 (on the hierophant); O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 144-145 (on the *nomen* Ἀραβιανός); H. Müller, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 427 n. 35 (on the terminology used for manumitted slaves); Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 143 n. 30 (on the manumittor's origin), 163-164 (on the manumission of house-born siblings); S. G. Caneva – A. Delli Pizzi, *CQ* 65 (2015) 188 n. 107 (on the term κοράσιον).

The term κοράσιον denotes a childless female slave, as opposed to παιδίσκη, which denotes a slave who has become a mother, in both cases regardless of age; see *I. Leukopetra* p. 42; it is indicative that 22-year-old Aphrodisia is here still called a κοράσιον (cf. Caneva – Delli Pizzi).

Salomies comments on the equivalence between *nomina* in -ius and -ianus in Macedonia, and remarks that Arabius / Arabianus is unattested elsewhere (Zelnick-Abramovitz 143 n. 30 takes Ἀράβιος to be a possible indication of the manumittor's ethnic origin).

#### **EKM I 56. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 264/5 AD**

*To good Fortune. Cassius Sallustius Alkaaios offered as a gift to the god Agrios Dionysos, Kryptos, Pseudanor a girl by the name of Cassandra, about eight years old, as the deposited deed of the donation specifies. Be fortunate.*

SEG XLVIII 748; Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 284-285 no 55.

See the bibliography of EKM I 53; cf. also E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 88 (on the manumittor).

Cassius Sallustius Alkaaios is most probably to be identified to the ephebarch in 251/2 AD (EKM I 137).

For a parallel of the dialectal type κόραν, again in an act of sacred manumission of the same period, see now also EKM II 168, l. 4: παιδίσκαν.

#### **EKM I 57. Sacred manumission act, to Dionysos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*To good Fortune. (...)*

### **HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS**

#### **EKM I 58. Honours for Korrhagos by his daughter, queen (?) Stratonike (?), early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC**

*[For Korrhagos son of - - , her] father, [queen (?) Stratonik]e (?) daughter of Korrhagos.*

SEG XLVIII 737.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 75; F. Papazoglou, *ŽivAnt* 49 (1999) 222 (doubting Tataki's restoration).

This inscription seems to have escaped the attention of scholars working on early Hellenistic courts and royal women in the Macedonian and Hellenistic ruling houses. If the identification of the female dedicant with the wife of Antigonos Monophthalmos and mother of Demetrios Poliorketes, proposed by Tataki, is retained, and if the restoration βασιλίσσα is accepted, this inscription would be further proof for the now generally accepted opinion that this title was not reserved to the wives of kings, but it was also used by other women of the ruling house (see Carney, *Women* 225-228 and S. G. Caneva, in: *Des femmes en action* 138-143 with further literature). For two other possible references to Stratonike as queen, see *IG XII Suppl.* 311, referring either to Stratonike the mother or to Stratonike the daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes, and *IG XII* 4, 22, referring either to Phila the wife or to Stratonike the mother of Demetrios Poliorketes (see Paschidis, *Between City and King* 365-368, esp. 368 and n. 1).

**EKM I 59. Honours for L. Calpurnius Piso by the city and the local community of Romans, 57-55 BC**

*The Beroians and the Romans with property rights for Lucius Calpurnius Piso, proconsul, their patron.*

I. K. Xydopoulos, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1374; Canali di Rossi, *Il ruolo dei patroni* 12, 148 no 36; Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* 29, 141, 206 no. C29; Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 159, 187; P. Nigdelis – P. Anagnostoudis, *GRBS* 57 (2017) 313; M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 244; J. Fournier – A. Simossi, *BCH* 142 (2018) 722 n. 38.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 25 (on the ἐγκεκμημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι); A. Rizakis, in: *Les italiens dans le monde grec* 116 n. 26; M. Youni, *Mediterranées* 32 (2002) 16 n. 13 (on the ἐγκεκμημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι); Erkelenz, *Optimo praesidi* 249; Rödel-Braune, *Stiftungen und Ehrungen* 466 no E155; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 109 n. 52.

This inscription, the earliest testimony of the organized associations of Romans in the cities of Macedonia (cf. Rizakis), is also one of the rare pieces of evidence for the individual award of the title πάτρων in Macedonia (cf. now Fournier – Simossi 711-723 with a new example, from neighbouring Thasos, for the father of the future emperor Augustus, governor of Macedonia in 60-59 BC). The honorific inscription for L. Calpurnius Piso from Amphipolis mentioned both in the commentary of EKM I and in Xydopoulos' collection of the evidence for patrons of Macedonian cities has now been published: see Nigdelis – Anagnostoudis 314-324 no 3. It does not refer, however, to the governor of Macedonia in 57-55 BC, as the inscription from Beroia, but to his homonymous son, L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 289).

**EKM I 60. Honours for emperor Claudius by the city and the local community of Romans, 41-44 AD**

(For...), grandson of gods (...), the city of Beroia and [the Romans with property rights (?)]; when [Publius Memmius Reglus was governor of the province (?) and] legatus pro praetore for Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus [Germanicus (...), by care of the superintendents Caius] Iulius Theophilos, Harpalos son of Harpalos; when [- - -] son of Kallikrates, [- - -] son of Philoxenos, [- - -] son of Aristomachos, [- - -] son of Menandros, [- - -] son of Dioskourides were politarchs, Tasoitas son of Alkimos [treasurer (?)] and Straton son of Theodotos [architect].

Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases* 306 no Claudius 77 (without reference to EKM I).

Cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 103 no 10 (on the politarchs); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); A. Rizakis, in: *Les italiens dans le monde grec* 116 n. 26; Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 61 n. 117 (on the proposed restoration [ταμιεύοντος] in l. 10); M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258, 264; P. Paschidis, in: *Rois, cités, nécropoles* 260 n. 55; Y. Kuzmin, in: *Ruthenia Classica* 125 n. 9; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 305 n. 111; M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 247 n. 21.

For the other Macedonian honorific inscription for emperor Claudius, from Tyrissa (?), see now EKM II 423. Politarchs in Beroia are consistently five after the Roman conquest (see EKM I 134, 122/1-112/1 BC and EKM I 103, early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD). For the illustrious family of the Harpaloi to which the politarch Harpalos son of Harpalos possibly belongs, see the commentary at EKM I 2-4, above.

**EKM I 61. Honours for emperor Vespasian (or Titus, or Domitian) by the *koinon* of the Macedonians and the city of Beroia, 69-84 AD**

[For emperor Caesar Vespasianus (?) Augustus], the *koinon* of the Macedonians and [the metropolis and neokoros Beroia (?), when the governor of] the province was Lucius Baebius Honoratus, [- - -] son of Amyntas [was - - -] at his expense, [- - -] son of - - -] was the priest, and [the leaders of the] synedrion were: Apellas [son of - - -], of the first district; [- - -] son of - - -, of the second district; [Sot]airos son of Kleon, [of the third district]; Ale[xandros son of - - -], of the fourth district.

Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases* 337 no Vespasian 44 (without reference to EKM I).

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); Burrell, *Neokoroi* 191 n. 4; M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258 n. 6; Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 73, 123 (on the districts under the Flavians).

L. 2: Burrell doubts the restoration [Βεροιαίων ἡ μητρόπολις καὶ νεωκόρος], considering the term νεωκόρος “unprecedented that early”, although it had become an official title at least by the reign of Domitian, as she herself explains in the next page (192). The first secure attestation of the *neokoria* of Beroia remains EKM I 116, soon after 98 AD. L. 3: The restoration [ἀγωνοθετοῦντος καὶ γυμνασιαρχοῦντος] proposed in the commentary of EKM I presupposes that there existed a gymnasiarchy of the *koinon* separate from the one at Beroia, which is not certain: see the commentary at EKM I 7, above.

A new comprehensive study of the *koinon* of the Macedonians is a research desideratum; for more recent literature on the *koinon*, and on the Macedoniarchs and high-priests of the emperor cult, see P. M. Nigdelis – A. Lioutas, *GRBS* 49 (2009) 101 n. 1.

The assumption that Ἀλε[- -], leader of the fourth *meris*, is a relative of Drakas son of Alexandros, official of the *koinon* of the Orestans (*EAM* 188) in the reign of Claudius (see Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* I 82-83 n. 6) is rather hypothetical.

#### **EKM I 62. Honours for emperor Titus, 79-81 AD**

*For emperor Titus Caesar, son of god Vespasianus, when [- -] was high-priest (...).*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258.

#### **EKM I 63. Honours for emperor Nerva by the *koinon* of the Macedonians, 98 AD**

*For god Nerva the city of Beroia, because he maintained its right to be a metropolis; Tiberius Iulius [. . .]krates, high-priest of the Augusti and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians, disbursing the funds from his own money.*

Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases* 368 no Nerva 24.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); Burrell, *Neokoroi* 192; Nigdelis – Souris, Ἀνθύπατος λέγει 40 (on the title of μητρόπολις); M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 258 n. 6; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 307 n. 120.

This inscription is the earliest certain reference of the city's status as metropolis (see, however, EKM I 61, above); see also EKM I 117, below.

#### **EKM I 64. Honours for emperor Trajan by the *koinon* of the Macedonians, 102-117 AD**

*For emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus (...) [the koinon of the Macedonians] (...), when leaders of the districts were Foulkinios [son of - - -, of the first district; - - - son of - - -], of the second; Isidoros son of [- - -, of the third; - - - son of - - -, of the fourth] and the treasurer of the councillors was (...).*

SEG XLVIII 752; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 218 no 256.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases* 386 no Trajan 95; Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 123 (on the districts).

#### **EKM I 65. Honours for emperor Antoninus Pius, 138-161 AD**

*For emperor Caesar, son of god Hadrianus, grandson of god Traianus Parthicus, Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, supreme high-priest, with tribunician power for the [-] year, consul for the [-] year (...).*

SEG XLVIII 744.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases* 493 no Antoninus Pius 185.

**EKM I 66. Honours for emperor Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna by the city of Beroia, 198-210 AD**

*For emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, supreme Parthicus, fortunate, supreme high-priest, the metropolis and neokoros Beroia.*

*For Iulia Domna Augusta, wife of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, supreme Parthicus, fortunate, supreme high-priest, and mother of the army camps, the metropolis and neokoros Beroia.*

SEG XLVIII 745.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); P. Chrysostomou, *Tekmeria* 6 (2001) 126.

For a new honorific inscription for Septimius Severus from Macedonia, see EKM II 452 (Pella).

**EKM I 67. Honours for Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, 209-212 AD**

*(...) Adiabenicus, supreme Parthicus (...), supreme high-priest (...), with tribunician power for the [- -] year, emperor for the [- -] year, consul for the [- -] year (...) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (...) of the supreme and most divine emperor Caesar Septimius Severus Geta (...).*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans).

**EKM I 68. Invitation for games in honour of emperor Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea, 229 AD, ca. June**

The height of letters is 0.02, not 0.002 as in Touratsoglou and EKM I, inadvertently.

*To good Fortune. For the health, salvation, victory and eternal permanence of our greatest, most divine and invincible lord, emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, pious, fortunate, Augustus, supreme high-priest, with tribunician power for the eighth year, consul for the third year, father of the fatherland, and for his most holy mother Iulia Mamaea, Augusta, and for the entire divine house of theirs, the holy senate, and the illustrious prefects and the sacred armies and the people of the Romans, Valerianus Philoxenos the Macedoniarch and high-priest of the Augustus and agonothetes of the common games of the Macedonians in honour of Alexander, and his wife Valeriana Ammia the high-priestess of the Augusta, will conduct in the most illustrious metropolis of Macedonia, the city of Beroia, hunting and gladiatorial games for three days. They will begin their lavish spectacles on the 7<sup>th</sup> day before the calends of July, when emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius*

*Severus Alexander, pious, fortunate, Augustus is consul for the 3<sup>rd</sup> time and Claudius Cassius Dio for the 2<sup>nd</sup> time or, in the Greek manner, in the Augustan year 260, which is also 376, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Panemos. Be fortunate.*

Bouley, *Jeux romains* 198-199 (with French translation).

Cf. W. Leschhorn, in: *Stephanos nomismatikos* 401, 403 (on the Olympia); Brocas-De-flassieux, *Béroia* 79-82, 91-92 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); Settapani, *Continuité gentile et continuité familiale* 360 n. 2 (on Cassius Dio's name); M. F. Petraccia, in: *Donna e vita cittadina* 432 (on the high-priestesses of the *koinon*); Fernoux, *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie* 469 (on the consulate of Cassius Dio); O. Salomies, *Arctos* 39 (2005) 109 (on Cassius Dio); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 148, 208-210; P. Herz, in: *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* 115-120 (with several typos in the text of the inscription); Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 223; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 120 n. 87 (on the Olympia).

L. 16: Salomies suggests that ΚΛ(αυδίω) is a mistake for {Κ}Λ(ευκίω) since the renowned historian's (and, here, consul's) name is L. Cassius Dio.

For the *invitationes ad munera* from Thessalonike (all of them later than the two Beroian ones), see *IG X 2.1 Suppl.* 1072-1076 (the *munera* announced in *IG X 2.1 Suppl.* 1073 are to be held in Beroia), in the bibliography for which the subject is exhaustively treated.

For the office of high-priestess of the *koinon* of the Macedonians, held by the wife of the Macedoniarch and high-priest of the emperor cult, see the discussion of the evidence by Petraccia. Herz assumes that Valerianus Philoxenos married a relative, since Ammia bears the same nomen.

For the term *Alexandreia* added to or supplanting the name Olympia of the main games held by the *koinon*, and for the games in general, see Leschhorn 400-405, Herz, *Eu. Albanidis – A. Anastasiou – K. Schoinas – I. Mouratidis, Makedonika* 37 (2008) 12-15, and Chrysostomou, *Μακεδονικοί τάφοι του Αρχοντικού και της Πέλλας* II 311.

For the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17.

#### **EKM I 69. Invitation for games in honour of emperor Gordian, 240 AD, ca. July**

*To good Fortune. For the health, salvation, victory and eternal permanence of the most divine, greatest and invincible emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, pious, fortunate, Augustus, supreme high-priest, with tribunician power for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, consul, father of the fatherland, and for his divine house, the holy senate, the sacred armies, the people of the Romans and the most eminent prefects of the holy praetorium, Lucius Septimius Insteianus Alexandros, Macedoniarch and high-priest of the Augusti and agonothetes of the common holy, ecumenical, eiselastic, equal to the Actian games of the Macedonians in honour of Alexander, and his wife Aelia Alexandra, the high-priestess, will conduct in the most illustrious and twice neokoros metropolis of Macedonia, the city of Beroia, hunting and gladiatorial games for three days, introducing on each day of the lavish spectacle they offer an additional couple fighting to the death besides the customary two, with the*

consent of our lord, Marcus Antonius Gordianus, pious, fortunate, Augustus. They will begin the lavish spectacle on the 7<sup>th</sup> day before the calends of July, when Suetrius Sabinus for the 2<sup>nd</sup> time and Ragonius Venustus were consuls, or, in the Greek manner, in the Augustan year 271, which is also 387, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Panemos. Be fortunate.

Bouley, *Jeux romains* 199 (with French translation); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 80, 133, 471-472 no T49.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82, 91-92 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); W. Leschhorn, in: *Stephanos nomismatikos* 401, 403 (on the Olympia); P. Herrmann, *EA* 31 (1999) 33 (using it as a parallel for *I. Perge* 203); Burrell, *Neokoroi* 197; M. F. Petraccia, in: *Donna e vita cittadina* 432 (on the high-priestesses of the *koinon*); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 148, 210; P. Herz, in: *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* 115-120; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 299 (on Lucius Septimius Insteianus Alexandros); T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 120 n. 87 (on the games).

Herz's text contains a large number of typos, ignored here. In l. 4, he follows Touratsoglou's restoration, on which see the apparatus of *EKM I*.

For a possible new attestation of this Macedoniarch, whose family originated in Styberra, see Sverkos 299-301. For the Insteii, a *gens* attested in the Greek East only in Macedonia, and obviously connected to Antony's supporter Marcus Insteius (see *EKM II* 598), see E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 72 n. 38, with previous literature.

For the second *neokoria* of Beroia, briefly established by Elagabalus, withdrawn immediately after his death, and re-established by Gordian III, see Burrell, *Neokoroi* 194-197 and Herz 118, who remarks that this inscription is its first secure attestation.

See also the commentary on the previous inscription.

#### ***EKM I 70. Honours for Caesar Saloninus by the city of Beroia, 258-260 AD***

*To good Fortune. The metropolis and twice neokoros Beroia for the greatest and most illustrious Caesar Publius Licinius Egnatius Saloninus Valerianus.*

Cf. Burrell, *Neokoroi* 197.

As Burrell correctly remarks, the honorand is not emperor Valerian, as in the commentary of *EKM I*, but his grandson Saloninus, so the inscription dates to 258-260 AD.

#### ***EKM I 71. Honours for an emperor by the city of Beroia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*The metropolis and twice neokoros city of the Beroians for emperor Caesar (...).*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 79-82 (on the topography of honorific monuments for Romans); Burrell, *Neokoroi* 197.

**EKM I 72. Honours (in Latin) for an emperor, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*For emperor Caesar (...), pious, fortunate, Augustus (...) with tribunician power (...).*

*AnnEpigr* 1998, 1215.

**EKM I 73. Honours for Aelius Theotimos, president of the *koinon*, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The synedroi for Marcus Aelius Vilianus Claudianus Theotimos, high-priest of the Augusti and agonothes of the koinon of the Macedonians.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 211 no 237.

Cf. M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 247 (on the Roman citizenship of Macedoniarchs).

This is probably the earliest of the long list of honorific altars from Beroia (for this type of monument, see the monograph of Adam-Veleni) set up by the *synedroi*, the representatives of Macedonian cities in the *koinon* of the Macedonians, for prominent members of this common council and its chief officials, who bear the title of high-priest of the emperor cult and *agonothetes* of the *koinon* (i.e. organizers of the Olympia, later Olympia Alexandria), until the late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD when the title Macedoniarch is added to or supplants the other two. For recent literature on the *koinon*, see the commentary at EKM I 61, above.

**EKM I 74. Honours for Pontia Ammia, high-priestess, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The most potent synedrion has voted that Pontia Ammia, five times high-priestess, is to be honoured. The statue was dedicated by her brother Flavius Kleotimos.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 213 no 242.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 42; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 318 n. 167 (on the Pontii).

For high-priestesses of the *koinon* of the Macedonians, see EKM I 68, above.

The *gens* of the Pontii is first attested in Macedonia in the reign of Vespasian, in the *municipium* of Stobi (see the references in Nigdelis and Tataki, *Roman Presence* 354-357 no 471). For the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17.

**EKM I 75. Honours for Claudius Lysimachos, president of the *koinon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*In accordance with the decree of the synedroi, Priskos, Nikolaos, and Antigonos for Claudius Lysimachos the Macedoniarch, their uncle.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 210 no 235.

Along with SEG XXIV 497 from Idomene (?), explicitly dated to 181/2 AD, this is one of the earliest attestations of the new title Macedoniarch (see the commentary at EKM I 73, above) for the chief official of the *koinon* of the Macedonians.

If the identification of Priskos with Tiberius Claudius Priskos, Macedoniarch a generation later (EKM I 94, below), is accepted, this would be yet another indication of the well-attested phenomenon of the concentration of power in the hands of a few prominent families within the provincial *koinon*.

**EKM I 76. Honours for Aurelius Kassianos, president of the *koinon*, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*To good Fortune. The koinon of the Macedonians for Marcus Aurelius Kassianos the Macedoniarch and agonothes of the koinon of the Macedonians.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 211 no 238.

**EKM I 77. Honours for Iulia Kassiane, high-priestess, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*To good Fortune. The koinon of the Macedonians for Caia Iulia Kassiane the high-priestess, wife of Marcus Aurelius Kassianos the Macedoniarch.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 209 no 232.

For this Macedoniarch, see the previous inscription.

**EKM I 78. Honours for Memmius Quintianus Kapiton, president of the *koinon*, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*In accordance with the decree of the most potent synedroi, Iulia Lysimache for her husband, and Quintiani Alexandra and Kapiton for their father, Publius Memmius Quintianus Kapiton, designated to be a Macedoniarch.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 213 no 243.

Cf. SEG XLVIII 736; Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 219; O. Salomies, *Arctos* 34 (2000) 115-116 n. 1; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 296-297 (on the Memmii); P. Paschidis, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 154 n. 74.

Chaniotis (SEG) plausibly suggests that the reason Kapiton, nominated by the then Macedoniarch to be his successor, did not bear the official title, is that he died before entering office.

For the important *gens* of the Memmii (counting two proconsuls and several prominent figures of the provincial elite among its members), to which the *gens* of the Quintiani apparently became connected (see also EKM I 120, below), see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 310-312 no 355; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 296-297; E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 97; P. Paschidis, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 154 and n. 75. For a prominent member of the same family, see now EKM I 120, below.

**EKM I 79. Honours for Menelaos, “father of the *synedrion*”, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The synedroi, for Menelaos son of Antigonos, father of the synedrion, by care of his son Iulius Menelaos.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 212-213 no 241; Canali De Rossi, *Filius publicus* 169-170 no 146.

Cf. J. Touloumakos, *ŽivaAnt* 47 (1997) 215 (on the names); E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 307 n. 122.

The honorific title of the honorand is unattested elsewhere, but see *EKM* I 106, below: υἱὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος; for this kind of titles, see the collection of the evidence by Canali De Rossi.

It is noteworthy that the honorand, although an illustrious member of the Macedonian aristocracy, appears not to possess Roman citizenship, while his homonymous son does (cf. also *EKM* I 83 below); this would make the latter one of the rare examples of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD Iulii who are *cives novi* (cf. the remarks of Sverkos). One wonders, therefore, whether we are dealing here with a conscious suppression of the Roman onomastic formula (see further examples in *EKM* I 84, 127, 375; cf. A. Rizakis, in: *Change in Greek Onomastics* 238-239, with examples from the Peloponnese). While the reason for such a suppression of the *tria nomina* may most often simply be brevity and convenience, the motive in this case could be ideological: both prominent members of the *koinon* who appear to follow this onomastic fashion, Menelaos son of Antigonos, a father of the *synedrion*, here and the Macedoniarch Kassandros (*EKM* I 84 and 375) bear names with strong Homeric and/or Macedonian overtones, and thus the suppression of the Roman onomastic formula may be part of a conscious strategy to emphasize a local identity.

**EKM I 80. Honours for Insteius Torkouatos (a *synedros*?), 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*In accordance with the decree of the most potent synedroi, Granius Longinos for Marcus Insteius Torkouatos, his friend.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 211-212 no 239.

Cf. Dana, *OnomThrac* 375 (on the name Τορκουᾶτος); E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 299.

For the Insteii, see the commentary at *EKM* I 69, above.

**EKM I 81. Honours for Terentianus Alexandros, a *synedros*, 177/8 AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the synedroi, for Terentianus Alexandros, a synedros, on account of his virtue; Iuliana Kleopatra his wife erected the statue, in the year 325.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 214 no 246.

**EKM I 82. Honours for Iuuentius Gaios (a *synedros*), 181/2 AD**

*For Titus Iuuentius Gaios; the synedroi decided to erect and his son Gaianos erected, in the year 329.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 256 no 370.

Iuuentii are attested in Macedonia only in Beroia, Europos (EKM II 604) and Stobi (Spomenik 71 [1931] 47 no 19); cf. also Ἰουβεντιανός in Thessalonike (IG X 2.1, 481).

**EKM I 83. Honours for Iulia Priskilla and her father Iulius Menelaos (a *synedros*),**

**2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The synedroi for Iulia Priskilla daughter of Caius Iulius Menelaos and Aelia Priskilla.*

*In accordance with the decree of the synedroi, for Caius Iulius Menelaos, on account of his virtue, Aelia Priskilla, his wife.*

Iulius Menelaos is most probably identified with the son of a prominent member of the synedrion (see EKM I 79, above).

**EKM I 84. Honours for Annia Tydda, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Annia Tydda, wife of Oueienton, the synedroi of the Macedonians, by care of the priest Kassandros.*

H. Müller, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 446–450 (*AnnEpigr* 2001, 1760; *SEG* LI 801); Canali di Rossi, *Filius publicus* 50; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 144–145 n. 135.

Ll. 1–3: Ἀννίαν Τυδδαν[ὴν (?) | γυναῖκα Οὐεῖ[βίου Οὐ]έντωνος EKM I; Ἀννίαν Τυδδαν | γυναῖκα Οὐεῖ[έντωνος Müller, correctly, since there seems to be an uninscribed space in l. 2 after the ivy leaf.

Another chronological reference to the priesthood of Kassandros (again without a gentili-cium) is attested in EKM I 375, below (where, however, he is called a high-priest). He is most probably to be identified in all three cases with Titus Flavius Kassandros (EKM I 106, below); for possible reasons for the suppression of the Roman onomastic formula, see the commentary at EKM I 79, above. The Latin *cognomen* Veiento, correctly read by Müller, is also attested in Thessalonike (see Nigdelis, who rightly rejects Müller's hypothesis on a possible relation between the two carriers of the name). The origin of the name Τυδδα (as the *cognomen* of the deceased is now established by Müller's reconstruction of the text) is difficult to determine; Müller tentatively assumes a Thracian origin (in which case one could think of the Thracian, or rather Dacian, name Tuta; see Dana, *OnomThrac* 381); the Greek name Τυδεύς (see also Τύδης and the derivatives Τυδιανός, Τυδιανή, Τυδίδης) is another possibility.

**EKM I 85. Honours for Iulius Longinos and his wife (?), 2<sup>nd</sup> (?) cent. AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the synedroi, (...) for Caius Iulius Longinos, twice (...).*

For the possibility that the woman honoured in the left stele, most probably Longinos' wife, is a priestess or the high-priestess of the *koinon*, see the apparatus of EKM I. If she is indeed a high-priestess, then Longinos served twice as Macedoniarch, and not as a gymnasiarch, as is assumed in the apparatus of EKM I.

**EKM I 86. Honours for Sextius Gaianos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*In accordance with the decree of the synedroi, for Sextius Gaianos, on account of his virtue.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 213-214 no 244.

**EKM I 87. Honours for Torkouatos (a *synedros*?), 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*In accordance with the decree of the synedroi, for Torkouatos son of Lysimachos from Ioron, by Isidora daughter of Antigonos, his wife.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 215 no 248.

Cf. A. G. Zannis, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικής* 99 (on Ioron); Dana, *OnomThrac* 375 (on the name Τορκουᾶτος); M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 247 n. 23.

As Youni points out, this is a good example of the relatively late diffusion of the Roman citizenship, even among representatives to the *koinon* of the Macedonians as late as the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD (for the diffusion of Roman *civitas* in Macedonia, see also E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 99-104). On a new epigraphic testimony for the city of Ioron see Zannis (cf. *Bull.* 2011, 423).

**EKM I 88. Honours for Aelius Lykomedes, a *synedros*, late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the most potent synedroi, for Aelius Lykomedes, a synedros, his father Aelius Isidoros.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 208 no 229.

Despite the popularity of the name Λύκος and its compounds or derivatives in Macedonia, especially in Edessa (see the commentary of EKM II 161), this seems to be the only attestation of the popular Greek name Λυκομήδης in Macedonia.

**EKM I 89. Honours for the orator Ulpius Isodemos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*The most splendid synedrion for Marcus Ulpius Isodemos, the most esteemed of the orators, on account of his virtue and his goodwill for the province; his wife Aelia Ioulia erected the statue.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 212 no 240; Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs* 323 no 146 (with French translation, without reference to EKM I).

Cf. J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268.

Contrary to Licinius Rufinus (EKM I 101, below), this orator is otherwise unknown. His name is unattested elsewhere in Macedonia.

**EKM I 90. Honours for Varianus Didianus Demetrios, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*The synedroi for Varianus Didianus Demetrios son of Varianus Dioskourides and Didiana Manto, on account of his morality; his parents erected the statue.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 216 no 250.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 141 n. 83; S. Babamova, *Živa Ant* 58 (2008) 90 (on the name Μαντώ); Dana, *OnomThrac* 209 (on the name Μαντώ); J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268.

**EKM I 91. Honours for Iunius Antigonos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the most splendid synedrion, for Iunius Antigonos, also known as Anaktorios, on account of his morality and excellent education, his mother Iunia Kale.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 209-210 no 233.

Cf. J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268 (on education as a factor conferring social prestige in Roman Macedonia).

For the altar of Antigonos' brother, see the next inscription.

**EKM I 92. Honours for Iunius Dioskourides, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the most splendid synedrion, for Iunius Dioskourides, also known as Doulkitios, on account of his morality and excellent education, his mother Iunia Kale.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 210 no 234.

Cf. J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268 (on education as a factor conferring social prestige in Roman Macedonia).

Cf. the previous inscription.

**EKM I 93. Honours for Iulius Kleanthes, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the most splendid synedrion, Iulia Klea for her brother, Iulius Kleanthes.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 256 no 371.

**EKM I 94. Honours for Claudia Kointiane, daughter of a president of the *koinon*, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*In accordance with the decree of the most splendid synedrion, for Tiberia Claudia Kointiane, daughter of Tiberius Claudius Priskos the Macedoniarch and Flavia Isidora the Macedoniarch, her mother for her daughter.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 215 no 247.

For the Macedoniarch Priskos, see EKM I 75, above. The term μακεδονιάρχισσα, signifying the wife of the Macedoniarch and high-priestess of the *koinon*, is also attested in IG X 2.1, 153 and IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1075, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD as well.

**EKM I 95. Honours for Aurelius Bassos, son of a *synedros*, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*The synedroi for Aurelius Dionysianus Marcellianus Bassos, son of the synedros Aurelius Dionysianus Markellos and Acutia Rhabonia, on account of his morality and virtue, by care of his father Markellos.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 208-209 no 231.

Cf. J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268; R. Bouchon – B. Helly, in: *La suffixation des anthroponymes grecs antiques* 573-574 (on the name Μαρκελλιανός).

Bassos was also honoured by his brother (see next inscription).

**EKM I 96. Honours for Aurelius Bassos, son of a *synedros*, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*The synedroi for Aurelius Dionysianus Marcellianus Bassos, son of the synedros Aurelius Dionysianus Markellos and Acutia Rhabonia, on account of his morality and virtue, by care of his brother Aurelius Dionysianus Marcellianus Markellos.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 208 no 230.

Cf. J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268; R. Bouchon – B. Helly, in: *La suffixation des anthroponymes grecs antiques* 573-574 (on the name Μαρκελλιανός).

**EKM I 97. Honorific epigram of Poseidippos, expert on Roman law, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*This bronze statue of Poseidippos the Emathians have erected, both as a favour to his mother Ioulia and bestowing honour to him, since he was most wise and expert in the Ausonian laws.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 215-216 no 249; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 126 (with Greek translation).

Cf. C. P. Jones, *CRAI* 151 (2007) 1347 no 3; M. Youni, *The Legal History Review* 78 (2010) 330-331 (on knowledge of Roman law in Roman Macedonia); J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268.

**EKM I 98. Honours for Septimius Orestes, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*In accordance with the decree of the synedrion, for Septimius Pomponius Proclianus Orestes, on account of his morality and excellent education, his parents Proclianus Orestes and Pomponia Arkaria, also known as Hegesilla.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 217 no 253.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 141 n. 83; J. Bartels, in: *Social Dynamics* 268 (on education as a factor conferring social prestige in Roman Macedonia).

**EKM I 99. Honours for Aelius Potamon, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*In accordance with the decree of the most potent synedroi, Honoratianus Polycharmos erected this statue for his father Aelius Potamon, a man excellent in everything and well-behaved.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 216 no 251.

**EKM I 100. Honours for Septimia Silvana Kellerine, daughter of a president of the *koinon*, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*The synedroi for Septimia Silvana Kellerine daughter of Septimius Silvanus Keler the Macedoniarch and Lucia Aurelia Trebonia Nikomacha the high-priestess.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 214 no 245; M. Stankovska-Tzamali, *REA* 111 (2009) 120 n. 10 (following Walter's edition).

Cf. M. F. Petracchia, in: *Donna e vita cittadina* 432 (on the high-priestesses of the *koinon*).

Kellerine belonged to an illustrious senatorial family (counting at least three Macedoniarchs and two high-priestesses among its members), probably originating in Styberra, where Kellerine was also honoured (*SEG* LIX 701). Other members of the family received honours at Stobi (*I. Stobi* 34), Styberra (*IG* X 2.2, 133), Beroia (*EKM* I 107, below), and Thessalonike (*IG* X 2.1, 172). For the stemma of the family, see the commentary of *I. Stobi* 34 (without the new inscription from Styberra).

**EKM I 101. Honours for the jurist Licinius Rufinus, 254 (?) AD**

*To good Fortune; in accordance with the decree of the most splendid synedrion, the Macedoniarch Domitius Eurydikos, at his own expense, for Licinius Rufinus, consular, who pleaded along with the province on the subject of the financial contribution of the Thessalians.*

F. Millar, *JRS* 89 (1999) 94-95 no 5 (following Robert's edition); Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 210-211 no 236; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 126.

Cf. F. Papazoglou, in: *Studia in honorem Christo Danov* 138 (on ἐπαρχεία); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 88 n. 288, 89 n. 292 (on Domitius Eurydikos); C. P. Jones, in: *Senatores Populi Romani* 268; Fournier, *Entre tutelle romaine et autonomie civique* 530 n. 106 (on Licinius Rufinus); Biedermann, *Licinius Rufinus* 9-29 (on the career of Licinius Rufinus); A. Magioncalda, in: *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, 30 anni dopo* 486-492 (on Licinius Rufinus); S. L. Sørensen, in: *Kaiserkult in den provinzen des römischen Reiches* 342; F. Lozano, in: *Empire and Religion* 154 n. 30; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 292; I. Xydopoulos, *AW&E* 17 (2018) 102-103.

For the famous jurist Licinius Rufinus from Thyateira, see now *SEG* XLVII 1656 and the full analysis of his career and works by F. Millar, *JRS* 89 (1999) 90-108; cf. also Jones, Biedermann and Magioncalda, with previous bibliography. The precise nature of the dispute over the financial contribution (συντέλεια) of the Thessalians which Rufinus helped settle is not clear: see the hypotheses of Millar, Sørensen and Lozano.

The relationship of the *koinon* with the province –here explicitly mentioned (ἐπαρχεία)– remains unclear: the ethnic terms usually associated with the *koinon* (ἔθνος, Μακεδόνες) and the provenance of relative documents led Papazoglou (138-139) to conclude, as in the commentary of EKM I, that the *koinon* of the Macedonians was not co-extensive with the province of Macedonia, but retained its ‘ethnic’ connotations, at least initially, and that the *koinon* did not encompass the non-Macedonian parts of the province (Bull. 2000, 439); *contra* P. Adam-Veleni – E. Sverkos, in: *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικῆς* 20-22 (Bull. 2011, 416).

**EKM I 102. Honours for the high-priests of the *koinon* Aelianus Alexandros and Avidia Ammia, late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.**

*For the high-priest of the Augusti and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians Tiberius Claudius Aelianus Alexandros son of Parmenion, from Aistrea, the city of Aistrea on account of his virtue and his goodwill toward it.*

*For the high-priestess of the Augusti Avidia Ammia daughter of Philon, wife of Alexandros, from Aistrea, the city of Aistrea on account of her virtue.*

*AnnEpigr* 1994, 1559.

Cf. A. Antonaras – P. M. Nigdelis, *ZPE* 121 (1998) 285; Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 148 n. 650; M. F. Petraccia, in: *Donna e vita cittadina* 432 (on the high-priestesses of the *koinon*).

The precise location of Aistrea in Paionia remains unknown. For a new epigraphic testimony of the ethnic in a Latin military diploma from Macedonia, see Antonaras – Nigdelis (*AnnEpigr* 1998, 1628), with discussion of the ethnic in 285-286.

For the *gens* of the Avidii, see the references in Tataki, *Roman Presence* 145 no 93. For the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17.

**EKM I 103. Honours for Iulius Theogenes, 29/8 BC – 28/9 AD.**

*(...) in the Augustan year [...]. The city for Caius Iulius Theogenes, who administered public affairs excellently; when Alexandros son of Theophilos and Alexandros son of Philokrates were gymnasiarchs, and the politarchs were Adaios son of Diodoros, Kleandros son of Zopyros, Demetrios son of Dionysios, Dion son of Alexandros, Diogenes son of Amyntas.*

Cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 103 no 9 (on the politarchs); Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 89; Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 43-44; M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 264; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 305 n. 110 (on early Iulii in Macedonia); idem, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 101 n. 372 (on the lack of Roman civitas of the politarchs).

The fact that two gymnasiarchs had to serve (most probably each for six months) during the same year, due to the exorbitant costs of the office, became a regular feature of Late Hellenistic and Roman cities (including Macedonia: cf. already Gauthier – Hatzopoulos,

Loi 147, 164, 166). For the number of the politarchs in Beroia after the Roman conquest, see EKM I 60, above.

**EKM I 104. Honours for the agonothetes of the *koinon* and gymnasiarch Claudius Ptolemaios, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.**

*The Council and the people of Beroia for Tiberius Claudius Ptolemaios, agonothetes of the Augusti and gymnasiarch.*

Cf. E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 306 n. 117.

For the shortened title of the honorand (“agonothetes of the Augusti” instead of “high-priest of the Augusti and agonothetes of the *koinon* of the Macedonians”) see the analogously abbreviated title “high priest of the *koinon* of the Macedonians” (EAM Suppl. 32), with the discussion by E. Kefalidou -P. M. Nigdelis, *Hermes* 128 (2000) 155-156. Claudius Ptolemaios was not necessarily gymnasiarch of the *koinon* (so Kennell, *Ephebeia* 32 n. 22); he may simply have been gymnasiarch of Beroia, an office apparently implicated in the festivities of the *koinon* (see the commentary at EKM I 7, above).

**EKM I 105. Honours for Domitia Ioulia, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The Beroians for Domitia Ioulia wife of Titus Flavius Caesennianus Eulaios, by care of Tiberius Claudius Eulaios.*

Cf. Nigdelis – Souris, Ἀνθύπατος λέγει 75 (on the name Εὐλαῖος); P. Nigdelis, *Egnatia* 13 (2009) 29.

Nigdelis considers the connection between the honorand’s husband and the consul L. Caesennius Paetus (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 173), tentatively proposed by Tataki (cf. also the bibliography and references of Tataki, *Roman Presence* 158 no 117), as unwarranted.

**EKM I 106. Honours for Flavius Kassandros, president of the *koinon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The Council and the people of Beroia for Titus Flavius Kassandros, high-priest and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians, son of the Macedonians and of the fatherland, the first who was honoured by this title since all time, friend of the Caesars and friend of his fatherland, who held public office most excellently at all times, with every thought and action, compassionately and to the benefit of the nation and of his fatherland, by care of Decmus Publicius Philotas.*

Canali De Rossi, *Filius publicus* 49-50 no 26.

Cf. Nigdelis – Souris, Ἀνθύπατος λέγει 61 (on the term φιλόπατρις); Nigdelis, Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια I 42 (on the terms φιλόπατρις and φιλοκαῖσαρ); N. Giannakopoulos, in: *Pathways to Power* 264 n. 51 (on the title υἱὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος).

For the honorand (and his onomastic choices), see *EKM I* 84, above, and 375, below. The title υἱὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, awarded “for the first time ever”, has its parallels in other honorific titles in the context of the *koinon*: *EKM I* 79, above (πατήρ συνεδρίου), and 115-116, below (πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας); *IG X* 2.1, 172 (πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας); *SEG LVIII* 608 (πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἐπαρχείας); D. Samsaris, *Dodone* 18 (1989) 219-220 no 8 (πρῶτος τοῦ ἔθνους υἱός).

***EKM I* 107. Honours for Silvanus Nikolaos, consular, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter.**

According to Adam-Veleni and Nigdelis, the plaque, composed of six adjoining fragments, is the front part of an altar.

*To good Fortune. For Silvanus Nikolaos, most splendid consular, the metropolis Beroia on account of his many and major benefactions toward it.*

M. Karamberi – E. Christodoulidou, *AEMTh* 11 (1997 [1999]) 394, 399 fig. 4; eadem, *AEMTh* 12 (1998 [2000]) 104, 110 fig. 2α (publication of the new fragment) (*SEG XLIX* 819); Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 160 no 68 (without the new fragment); *IG X* 2, 1 Suppl. 1068 and pl. 4; I. Xydopoulos, *AW&E* 17 (2018) 111 no 33.

Cf. M. Stankovska-Tzamali, *REA* 111 (2009) 120 n. 12.

L. 1: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ[ι] *EKM I*; Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ *IG*.

For the honorand and his illustrious Upper Macedonian family, see *EKM I* 100, above, where honours are awarded to his niece (and not his daughter, as Stankovska-Tzamali understands, cf. *SEG LIX* 701, with Chaniotis’ observations). As already stated in the commentary of *EKM I*, this honorific monument, like *EKM I* 111, below, may have been initially erected in Thessalonike (so Nigdelis), or, less likely, could have been transported there from Beroia for the construction of Galerian Complex (so Robert, *Bull.* 1983, 252).

***EKM I* 108. Honours for Vetulenus Nikomedes, mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the most potent Council and the most holy people of the most splendid metropolis and twice neokoros Beroia, Vetulenus Nikomedes the registrar for his son, Vetulenus Nikomedes, who served as ambassador, provider of corn and eirenarch, on account of his moral qualities and his zeal and goodwill towards his fatherland.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 217 no 254; Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 150-151 no 105.

Cf. Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 77 n. 243 (on the provision of corn); N. Giannakopoulos, *MedAnt* 6 (2003) 885-886 (on the office of εἰρηνάρχης); Burrell, *Neokoroi* 197; Brélaz, *La sécurité publique* 116, 211, 378 no B 100 (on the office of εἰρηνάρχης); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 140; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 122 n. 95.

For the office of eirenarch, relative rare in the Greek mainland, contrary to Asia Minor and Egypt, see especially the thorough studies of Giannakopoulos and Brélaz.

For the *gens* of the Ve(t)tuleni in Macedonia, see E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 88.

**EKM I 109. Honours for Aureliana Alexandra, priestess and daughter of a high-priest, shortly after 249/50 AD**

*To good Fortune. The most revered metropolis of Macedonia and twice neokoros Beroia, the fatherland, for Lucia Aureliana Alexandra, daughter of Lucius Aurelianus Soterichos, who served as high-priest and held office in the year 393, after she served as a priestess of the goddess Artemis Agrotera in the year 397 and performed all her duties towards both the gods and men during the time of her priesthood. Be fortunate.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 218 no 255; Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 148-150 no 104.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 83; Burrell, *Neokoroi* 197; Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 41 n. 50 (on the title μητρόπολις).

It remains unclear whether Aurelianus Soterichos served as high-priest and archon of Beroia, of the *koinon*, or, perhaps, of both: he could be the high-priest of the *koinon* and an archon of Beroia, his homeland, since otherwise this would be the first use of ἄρχας for the leadership of the *koinon*.

For the cult of Artemis Agrotera in Lower Macedonia, see EKM I 49, above.

**EKM I 110. Fragmentary honorific inscription, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*In accordance with the decree of the Council and the people (...).*

**EKM I 111. Fragmentary honorific inscription, indeterminate date**

The inscription is considered lost; it has been published in *IG* with the same text and restorations as in EKM I.

*The Council and the people of Beroia (...).*

*IG* X 2, 1 Suppl. 1071.

For the origin of the inscription, see the commentary at EKM I 107, above.

**EKM I 112. Honours for Popillius Sosigenes, Imperial period**

*In accordance with the decree of the senate (?) of Beroia, for Marcus Popillius Sosigenes, on account of his (...).*

Cf. Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 67 n. 197 (on the term σύγκλητος).

The term σύγκλητος, used here most probably for the Council of Beroia, betrays Roman influence, as Sverkos rightly remarks.

**EKM I 113. Honours for Popillius Soummos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The Council and the young men for Sextus Popillius Soummos junior.*

Cf. I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 7 (on honours voted by the *neoi*).

On the *neoi*, see the commentary of EKM I 1.

**EKM I 114. Honours for Popillius Proclus Iunianus Python, gymnasiarch, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*The Council and the young men for Quintus Popillius Proclus Iunianus Python, gymnasiarch, who provided (oil for the) annointment and (timber for the) bath throughout the day, for all people.*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 61, 90 (on the gymnasium of Beroia); Kennell, *Ephebeia* 32 n. 22; Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 144; I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 7 (on honours voted by the *neoi*).

Kennell, following the analysis of Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi* 147-149, assumes that Python is a gymnasiarch of the *koinon*; cf., however, the commentary at EKM I 7, above.

**EKM I 115. Honours for Claudius Pierion, president of the *koinon*, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

The monument is described as a plaque by Touratsoglou, a stele in the commentary of EKM I, while Nigdelis understands it, as well as EKM I 116, below (which has identical lettering), as parts of statue bases; if so, could this plaque and EKM I 116 be part of the same statue base, adorned on all sides by honours voted by the four tribes of Beroia?

*The tribe Bereike, for the high-priest for life of the Augusti, agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians Tiberius Claudius Pierion, son of Tiberius Claudius Pierion, twice gymnasiarch and by decree of the synedroi of Macedonia first of the province; by care of Caius Marius Domitius and the secretary Lucius Nasidienus Ouales.*

P. M. Nigdelis, *Tekmeria* 1 (1995) 181 (SEG XLV 736).

Cf. B. Puech, *REA* (1983) 22 (on high-priesthood for life); Jones, *Public Organization* 268; Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi* 147-148; P. M. Nigdelis, *Klio* 111 (1995) 179-180; F. Papazoglou, in: *Studia in honorem Christo Danov* 139 (on ἐπαρχεία); Kennell, *Ephebeia* 32 n. 22; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 78, 117 (on high-priesthood for life), 154 (on the onomastic formula); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 126; Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* 74; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 306 (on the family and its Roman citizenship).

For the tribes of Beroia (A[- -], Bereike, Peukastike, and Paionike (see also EKM I 116, 117 and 120, below), see Touratsoglou's remarks in the first publication of the inscription and Jones 268-269.

Claudius Pierion belongs to one of the most notable families of Roman Beroia. His sister owned large tracts of land on the slopes of Mount Bermion and dedicated an aqueduct and a water reservoir (EKM I 40). He is also honoured by another Beroian tribe (EKM I 116)

and an ephebarch (EKM I 123), and he is probably to be identified with the owner of two slaves at Skydra (EKM II 120).

The text in ll. 5-6 (καὶ δις γυμνασίαρχον δόγματι συνέδρων | Μακεδονίας καὶ πρῶτον τῆς ἐπαρχείας) has received different interpretations. Touratsoglou understood δόγματι συνέδρων Μακεδονίας to refer to the title πρῶτον τῆς ἐπαρχείας, while Gauthier and Hatzopoulos take the same phrase to refer to δις γυμνασίαρχον, on the parallel of IG X 2.2 53, thus proposing that Claudius Pierion was gymnasiarch of the *koinon* (cf. also Kennell). Although their interpretation is more compatible with the syntax of the inscribed text, it is more probable that a decree of the *koinon* refers to an award of a title (πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας) rather than to a simple appointment to an office. Thus, Nigdelis (Klio), after refuting Gauthier's and Hatzopoulos' theory of two gymnasiarchs, one civic and one 'ethnic' (cf. also the commentary at EKM I 7, above), returns to Touratsoglou's interpretation and explains καὶ in l. 6 as having a merely emphatic function. An alternative solution would be to consider that the lapicide misplaced the second καί, inscribing it in l. 6 after δόγματι συνέδρων Μακεδονίας instead of in l. 5 before it, i.e. that the correct order was καὶ δις γυμνασίαρχον καὶ δόγματι συνέδρων Μακεδονίας πρῶτον τῆς ἐπαρχείας.

For the title διὰ βίου of high-priests of the *koinon*, see EKM I 117, below. The two Beroian bearers of this title in Macedonia may have served in succession to one another (so Puech 22 n. 28). The third Macedoniarch for life, Claudius Rufrius Menon (IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1075) from Thessalonike, served in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. For the honorific title πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας, see EKM I 106, above.

#### **EKM I 116. Honours for Claudius Pierion, president of the *koinon*, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*[The tribe (...)], for the high-priest for life of the Augusti and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians Tiberius Claudius Pierion, son of Tiberius Claudius Pierion, and twice gymnasiarch, by decree of the synedroi, and first of the province (...).*

See the bibliography and the commentary of the previous inscription.

#### **EKM I 117. Honours for Popillius Python, president of the *koinon*, soon after 98 AD**

*The tribe Peukastike for its benefactor, Quintus Popillius Python, high-priest for life of the Augusti and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians, because he undertook an embassy to the god Nerva on behalf of his fatherland, asking that our city, and it alone, has the title of neokoros of the Augusti and of metropolis (of Macedonia), and succeeded in his petition; also, because he paid during his tenure of office as a high-priest the entire capital tax of the province, paid for repairs of roads at his own expense, declared and organized games equal to the Actian ones, having a talent for reward, with theatrical and athletic contests, paid for fights with beasts of all kinds, both local and foreign, as well as for gladiatorial games; also because he sold grain at a low price and, in dire times, alleviated the food market; because, throughout his high-priesthood, he welcomed (participants from all over) the province in every synod (of the koinon) with donations to everyone; finally, because during his*

*tenures of the office of gymnasiarch he made himself useful to everyone in public and was kind to each citizen in private. Dioskourides son of Alexandros was responsible for the erection of the monument.*

Chr. Schuler, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* 262-264 (with English translation); I. Xydopoulos, *AW&E* 17 (2018) 93, 110 no 23.

Cf. Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 95 (on *koina* implicated in tax collection); M. Wörrle, in: *Myra* 292 (on *koina* implicated in tax collection); B. Puech, *REA* (1983) 22 (on high-priesthood for life); Freis, *Historische Inschriften* 170 no 91; Jones, *Public Organization* 268; Quaß, *Die Honoratiorenschicht* 175, 177, 218 n. 805, 265, 307-308 (on Python's various benefactions); Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 53 n. 15 (on the date of Beroia's *neokoria*); P. M. Nigdelis, *Tekmeria* 1 (1995) 182; idem, *Klio* 111 (1995) 174, 175; Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* 24 n. 33, 105-106 (on the term *μητρόπολις*); W. Leschhorn, in: *Stephanos nomismatikos* 404-405 (on the games); F. Papazoglou, in: *Studia in honorem Christo Danov* 138 (on *ἐπαρχεία*); Schwarz, *Soll oder Haben?* 364 (on the capital tax); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 77 n. 241 (on the provision of corn); Burrell, *Neokoroi* 191-192; Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 40 (on the title of *μητρόπολις*); Erdkamp, *The Grain Market* 268-269; Kennell, *Ephebeia* 32 n. 22; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 78, 117 (on Macedoniarchs for life); Eu. Albanidis – A. Anastasiou – K. Schoinas – I. Mouratidis, *Makedonika* 37 (2008) 12 (on the games); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 144, 148; P. Herz, in: *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* 117-118; F. Millar, *SCI* 31 (2012) 67 (on *μητρόπολις*); P. M. Nigdelis – A. Arvanitaki, *Chiron* 42 (2012) 280 (on direct taxation in Roman Macedonia); Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 195 n. 299 (on the *ἐπικεφάλιον*); F. Camia – A. Rizakis, in: *Quand naissent les dieux* 389 (on the imperial cult); M. Mari, in: *Come aurora* 153 (on ll. 19-20); T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 119-120 (on the celebrations); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 345 (on the gladiatorial combats).

This is justifiably one of the best-known texts concerning the provincial elites of Roman Macedonia. Popillius Python's main diplomatic achievement was the reaffirmation of the status of Beroia as (sole) *neokoros* and metropolis in Macedonia (see also EKM I 61 and 63, above). For the history of Beroia's *neokoria* and the right to be called a metropolis, an essential feature of public identity in Roman Beroia, see Burrell, *Neokoroi* 191-197, with all the numismatic and epigraphic evidence; cf. also P. M. Nigdelis, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 139-140 n. 47, and P. Herz, in: *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* 117-118.

Popillius Python was also one of the richest men in Roman Macedonia, judging by his benefactions, which included immense expenditures. Some of these expenditures were normal for a civic benefactor (selling grain at a reduced price, covering the expenses for the gymnasium); others (such as those for the lavish games of the *koinon*) were expected by his office of president of the *koinon*, an office which he kept for life (cf. below); others, finally, exceeded what was expected of either the civic or the federal offices he held: repair of roads, funding for gladiatorial and beast games, hospitality for all *synedroi*, and, above all, paying himself the entire capital tax of the province.

The ramifications of this last benefaction for the understanding of the possible role of the *koinon* in matters of taxation remain unclear. Some scholars have assumed that the reference to the ἐπικεφάλιον means that the authorities of the *koinon* were ultimately responsible for the collection of direct taxes due to the Imperial treasury from the province, while others consider that Python's benefaction is unrelated to the formal jurisdiction of the *koinon* on the matter (see Nigdelis – Arvanitaki 280-281, with older literature).

The apparent contradiction between the lifelong character of Python's priesthood and the payment of the capital tax of the province ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ in ll. 8-10 has also fueled a long discussion. According to Larsen (followed recently by Reitzenstein) it is proof of the annual character of Python's priesthood; the title διὰ βίου would thus not refer to the duration of the tenure but would be merely honorific. This theory, however, contradicts the normal interpretation of lifelong priesthoods in all other provincial *koina* and, more importantly, it is invalidated here by the alternative phrase παρ' ὅλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχιαιρωσύνης χρόνον in ll. 19-20, which points to benefactions spread over a number of years (see the commentary of Puech). Since it is, indeed, unlikely that Python paid himself the tax for the province repeatedly, we may assume that this major benefaction was performed only once (cf. Nigdelis – Arvanitaki 280 and Xydopoulos), presumably in the year he entered his office.

Kennell follows Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi* 149 in the assumption that the gymnasiarchies of Python (in plural) are not only civic but also 'ethnic'; see, however, the commentary at *EKM* I 7, above.

The honorand is also honoured by another Beroian tribe (see next inscription) and by three brothers from Euporia (*EKM* I 121, below).

For the tribes of Beroia, see *EKM* I 115, above.

***EKM* I 118. Honours for Popillius Python, president of the *koinon*, soon after 98 AD**

(...) of the province, paid for repairs of roads from his own funds, declared and organized games equal to the Actian ones, having a talent for reward, with theatrical and athletic contests, paid for fights with beasts of all kinds, both local and foreign (...).

See the bibliography and commentary of the previous inscription.

Xydopoulos (*AW&E* 17 [2018] 93 n. 54) expresses doubts over the civic body conferring honours to Popillius Python in this fragmentary inscription; the parallel of *EKM* I 115-116, however, strongly suggests that we are dealing here with another tribal decree for the same honorand as *EKM* I 117, with an identical text.

***EKM* I 119. Honours for Flavius Paramonos, president of the *koinon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

The tribe A[...], by care of Plautianus Alexandros, for Titus Flavius Paramonos son of Amyntas, high-priest of the Augusti and agonothes of the *koinon* of the Macedonians, son of the city,

twice gymnasiarch, who paid for gladiatorial games and fights with wild beasts, and during his gymnasiarchies he unhesitatingly (...).

Cf. Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 60-61 (on Flavius Paramonos), 72 (on Plautianus Alexandros); Kennell, *Ephebeia* 32 n. 22; N. Giannakopoulos, in: *Pathways to Power* 264 n. 51 (on the title υἱὸς πόλεως); E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 312 (on the Flavii).

For the tribes of Beroia, see EKM I 115, above. For Flavius Paramonos, see EKM I 7, above. Kennell understands the gymnasiarchies of Paramonos as ‘ethnic’ and not civic (on the problem see the commentary at EKM I 7, above). His titles here, however, seem to be in hierarchical order: high-priest of the emperor cult and president of the games at the level of the *koinon*, and then the civic titles follow: ‘son of the city’ and gymnasiarch.

#### **EKM I 120. Honours for Memmius Quintianus Makedon, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

a) *The synedroi for Publius Memmius Quintianus Makedon on account of his virtue. Paionis.*

b) *Paionis.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 216-217 no 252.

Cf. Jones, *Public Organization* 268 (on the tribe); O. Salomies, *Arctos* 34 (2000) 115-116 n. 1 (SEG L 576); Tataki, *Roman Presence* 311 no 355.15; P. Paschidis, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 154 n. 74.

L. 3: Μ(ᾱρκον) EKM I; Μ(έμμιον) Salomies, followed by Tataki, more plausibly (despite the fact that this abbreviation of the nomen Memmius would be rather cryptic).

The new reading of the honorand’s name means that he belongs to the same family as Memmius Quintianus Kapiton, who had been designated Macedoniarch (see EKM I 78, above). For the name Μακεδών, illustrative of the onomastic tendencies in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD Macedonia reflecting an interest in the local past (cf. the commentary at EKM I 40, above), see P. Nigdelis, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 133 n. 21 with earlier bibliography; C. Krstevski – L. Boffo, *Studi ellenistici* 19 (2006) 428 n. 64; P. Paschidis, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 155 and n. 79.

For the tribes of Beroia, see EKM I 115, above.

#### **EKM I 121. Honours for Popillius Python, president of the *koinon*, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Bastos, Tarys, and Alexandros, sons of Apollodoros, from Euporia on the mountains, for the high-priest for life of the Augusti and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians Quintus Popillius Python, their saviour.*

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Thrakika Zetemata* I 41-42; Dana, *OnomThrac* 27 (on the name Βαστος), 353 (Ταρυς); Zannis, *Le pays entre le Strymon et le Nestos* 117; I. Xydopoulos, *AW&E* 17 (2018) 93 n. 54.

For the honorand, see EKM I 117, above; for the three brothers, see EKM I 299, below. For the possible location of Euporia in Bisaltia (perhaps at Neo Petritsi in the Prefecture of Serres), see Hatzopoulos 41-42 and Zannis 116-119.

**EKM I 122. Honours for Claudia Alkestis, priestess of an unspecified cult, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*The initiates for Claudia Alkestis daughter of Iuliana Ammia and Claudius Terpnos, priestess by birth-right, descendant of Iuliana Nikolaïs and Plautiana Alkestis.*

SEG XLVIII 746.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 42; Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 131-132, 133; P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 486 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/486>).

For the priestess, see also EKM I 127, below. The priestess presents her ancestors in a way that clearly favours the matrilinear ascendants: her mother is mentioned before her father, contrary to the norm, and two more female ascendants are mentioned afterwards. The reason must be the priestly role of all female members of the family, which would explain why Alkestis is ἐκ προγόνων ἰέρεια.

**EKM I 123. Honours for Claudius Pierion, president of the *koinon*, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Tiberius Claudius Etymos, after serving as an ephebach, for the high-priest for life of the Augusti and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians Tiberius Claudius Pierion, who served for the second time as a gymnasiarch.*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 61, 89 (on the gymnasium of Beroia); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: Πιτύη 246 (on Claudius Pierion); M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 264; Kennell, *Ephebeia* 32 n. 22; E. Sverkos – K. Sismanidis, *Tekmeria* 10 (2011) 199 (on ephebarchs); I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 10 (on ephebarchs).

For the honorand, see EKM I 115, above. For ephebarchs in Macedonian gymnasia, see Arnaoutoglou 10-11. For the gymnasiarchy of Pierion, see the commentary at EKM I 115, above. Ἐτυμος is a name otherwise unattested in Macedonia.

**EKM I 124. Honours for a president of the *koinon*, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for the high-priest of the Augusti and agonothetes of the koinon of the Macedonians (...).*

**EKM I 125. Honours for Aulus Torpilius and his wife Caesia, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Torpilia Ouetylla for her mother, Caesia daughter of Sextus Caesius; Torpilia Ouetylla for her father, Aulus Torpilius son of Aulus; when Philios son of Hadymos presided over the sanctuary, and the chief superintendents of the temple were Tyrannos son of Alexandros and Nikandros son of Nikandros for the first time.*

SEG XLVIII 741.

Cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 125 (on the name *Aulus Torpilius*); *EBGR* 1998 (*Kernos* 14 [2001]) 99; M. Riel, *Belgrade Historical Review* 2 (2011) 13 n. 46 (on the *archineokoria*).

Chaniotis (*EBGR*) interprets ἀρχινεωκοροῦντος... τὸ πρῶτον as referring either to the first instance of the office of the *archineokoros* or, less probably, to the first year in a lifelong tenure of the office; the interpretation in the commentary of *EKM I*, i.e. that Tyrannos and Nikandros entered the office of *archineokoros* for the first time that year, remains more plausible, as the parallel of Leukopetra (where the priesthood was annual, but the tenure of the office of the *epimeletes* was longer) also indicates (see *I. Leukopetra* p. 44).

For Caesia and Ouettyla, see also the next inscription. For the well-known commercial *gens* of the Turpili in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 416–417 no 622 with further literature.

***EKM I 126. Honours for Ouettia, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD***

*Caesia daughter of Sextus for Ouettia (...) and Ouettyla daughter of Aulus for Ouettia; when [ - - ] presided over the sanctuary (...).*

See the previous inscription.

***EKM I 127. Honours for (Claudia) Alkestis, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*Terpnos the priest for Alkestis, his mother.*

Cf. P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 486 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/486>).

For the honorand, Claudia Alkestis, see *EKM I 122*, above. Terpnos is the grandson of Claudius Terpnos, the father of Alkestis. Unlike *EKM I 122*, an honorific monument erected by the initiates of the cult of which Alkestis (and Terpnos) was the priestess, in this more ‘private’ inscription, neither of the persons is mentioned with their Roman *gentilicia* (cf. *EKM I 79*, above).

***EKM I 128. Honours for a woman, late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***

*Tiberius Claudius Amilianos and Claudia Ouakeua for their granddaughter; when Caius Canuleius Aper was the priest.*

P. Christodoulou, *MDAI(A)* 124 (2009) 345; D. Maikidou-Poutrino, *Arys* 16 (2018) 445–446.

The absence of the name of the honorand is surprising (cf. though *EKM I 259*, below, for examples of funerary inscriptions, where the name of the deceased is missing). There is no reason to assume that this is a dedication to Isis Lochia to commemorate the safe birth of the dedicants’ granddaughter, as Maikidou-Potrino suggests.

Caius Canuleius Aper was the priest of the Egyptian gods (EKM I 35, above).

**EKM I 129. Honours for Konops, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Antigona daughter of Dioskourides for her son Konops (...) she had it made in the year (...).*

**EKM I 130. Honours for Limnaios, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Limnaios son of Xeno[- -].*

**EKM I 131. Epitaph (?) of [- -]a and Neo[- -], 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC**

According to Psarra – Lioulia, the base was found in the modern Promitheas quarter, in the western part of the city.

*[- -]a daughter of [- -]os; Neo[- -] son of Theog[- -].*

Cf. E. Psarra – St. Lioulia, *AEMTh* 20 (2006 [2008]) 816 n. 36 (on antiquities from the same quarter of Beroia).

In EKM I it is assumed that this is an honorific inscription, probably due to the interpretation of its support as a base. The early date, however, allows for the possibility that this is a simple epitaph, with two names in l. 1, followed by their respective patronyms in l. 2.

**EKM I 132. Honours, by a group residing in Beroia (?), 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) residing in (?) (...)*

**EKM I 133. Fragment of an honorific (?) inscription in Latin, Imperial period**

*(...)*

## CATALOGUES

**EKM I 134. List of ‘hunters’ of Herakles Kynagidas, 122/1-112/1 BC**

*In the twenty-seventh year, when Sextus Pompeius was the governor and the politarchs were Nikolaos son of Leontomenes, Kleandros son of Nikon, Kallimedon son of Amyntas, Sosimenes son of [. . .]on, Aristonous son of (...), the hunters were Philippos son of (...) son of Iollas, Hadylos son of (...) son of Amyntas.*

*In the twenty-eighth year the hunters were Agelaos son of Demetrios, Nikanor son of Antimachos.*

*In the 29<sup>th</sup> year the hunters were Bakchios son of (...), Epikrates son of Nikolaos, Paramonos son of Herakleides, Iolaos son of Kyton, who, having served as priests, (dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas.*

*In the 31<sup>st</sup> year the hunters were Asklepiades son of Orestes, Zanatos son of Anikantos.*

*In the 32<sup>nd</sup> year the hunters were Hybristas son of [- -]tos, Philippos son of Apo[- -].*

*In the 33<sup>rd</sup> year the hunters were Kleon son of [- -]nios, Epinikos son of [- -]ios.*

*In the 34<sup>th</sup> year the hunters were Antigonos son of Paramonos son of Peritas and Lysimachos son of Paterinos, who, having served as priest, (dedicated) to Herakles.*

*In the 35<sup>th</sup> year the hunters were Lysimachos son of Asklepiodoros, Kleitos son of Bakchides.*

*In the 36<sup>th</sup> year the hunters were Poseidonios son of Menekrates, Demetrios son of Kleon who, having served as priests, (dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas.*

*In the 37<sup>th</sup> year Boiskos son of Eukles, Kassandros son of Antigonos who, having served as priests, (dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas, at their expense.*

Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* 80-81, 191-193 no 82.

Cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 103 no 8 (on the politarchs); A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1120 (on the names and the prosopography); M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 259-260, 264; P. Paschidis in: *Rois, cités, necropoles* 257 (on Kallimedon); B. G. Intzesiloglou, in: *Inscriptions and History of Thessaly* 71 (on the cult of Herakles Kynagidas and the kynegoi in Thessaly); P. Paschidis, *Between City and King* 67 n. 5 (on Καλλιμέδων); R. Bouchon, in: *Les gouverneurs et les provinciaux* 53 (on Sextus Pompeius); H. Solin, in: *Polyphonia romana* 484 (on the name Πατερῖνος and names with the same root in Greek and Latin); P. Nigdelis – P. Anagnostoudis, *GRBS* 57 (2017) 298 n. 4 (on the letter-type); Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 106 n. 33 (on the family of Paterinos), 127, 201 (on the kynegoi), 149 (on dating formulas).

For the institution of the ‘huntsmen’ of Herakles Kynagidas, see EKM I 3, above; it is attested both immediately after the Roman conquest (see Pol. 31.29.1-5) and in the decades that followed, as evidenced by this catalogue, thus forming one of the rare examples of continuity in Beroia before and after the Roman conquest –not necessarily continuity in the role of specific elite families as in the case of the family of Harpalos (EKM I 2), but continuity in the way elite families rose to prominence in local civic institutions and forged ties with the central government.

The Roman governor Sextus Pompeius is most probably to be identified with the homonymous commander who fell fighting the Scordisci in northwestern Macedonia in 119 BC (Syll<sup>3</sup> 700; cf. MRR I 526). Although it is tempting to attribute the omission from the catalogue of the thirtieth year, i.e. precisely 119/8, to the same barbarian invasion, the fact that the entry for the preceding (twenty-ninth) year records four, instead of two, names of hunters renders more probable the assumption that the thirtieth year was omitted inadvertently and that Paramonos son of Herakleides and Iolaos son of Kyton actually served in that year (as hinted at by EKM I). For the number of the politarchs in Beroia after the Roman conquest, see EKM I 60, above.

Tataki has suggested that Kallimedon son of Amyntas, one of the five politarchs in 122/1 (l. 6), could be a descendant of the Athenian Kallimedon son of Kallikrates, who had family ties with the Macedonian court in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC and had received land in Beroia (on this

Kallimedon, see Paschidis, *Between City and King* 67-68 no A6). She also suggested that Paterinos, father of the priest Lysimachos (l. 32), may be the homonymous Beroian *tagos*, known by his epigram (EKM I 392, below); given the uncertain date of the latter (2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent BC), however, the father of the *kynegos* of 115/4 BC could also –and perhaps more probably– be an ascendant of the *tagos*. Daubner (106 n. 33) wonders if Andron son of Paterinos attested in 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC Messene (IG V 1, 1430, ll. 6 and 17) could be a member of the same prominent Beroian family, a branch of which departed from Macedonia after the battle of Pydna.

The rest of the names –as expected, no hunter has the Roman *civitas*– have been commented upon in previous publications (cf. also Daubner 201), with the exception of the genitive ANIKANTOY. It could be interpreted either as Ἀνικά{ν}του (nom. Ἀνίκατος, unattested as such in Macedonia, contrary to Ἀνίκητος), or as an alternative genitive of the name Ἀννίκας (gen. Ἀννίκαντος), attested in Chalkidike (the latter solution is proposed by the editors of LGPN IV, s.v.).

Reference to the papponym, attested in the case of at least three *kynegoi* (ll. 9, 10, 31, possibly 28), is surprising for Beroian (and, in general, Macedonian) inscriptions. Could this be a discreet reference to past members of the respective families, which were prominent under the kings (see EKM I 2, above)?

#### EKM I 135. List of ephebes, 177/8 AD

To good Fortune. In the Augustan year 209, which is also 325, I, Statius Antigonos, ephebarch, offered for the anointment 500 denarii, as publicly promised. When the city paid for the anointment, by care of Aurelianus Primos, these were the ephebes:

(col. I) Marcus Messius Maximos, Aelius Zosas, Quintilianus Epaphras, Titus Flavius Zosas, Iulius Lykarion, Statius Euboulides, Flavius Marios, Flavius Gelos, Sulpicius Kallistos, Nikandros son of Merylos, Iulius and (?) Likinios son(s?) of Kointa, Flavius Euporos, Petronius Diomedes, Aelius Leon, Skilbas son of Paramonos, Skilbas son of Skilbas, (col. II) Terentianus Aphrodisios, Geminius Gaios, Geminius Lykion, Leontiskos son of Antigenes, Philippos son of Philippa, Ancharienus Gaianos, Claudius Fabrikios, Lucius Magnius Drakon, Geminius Gaios.

Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 259 no 7.

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 88 (on the location of the gymnasium); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 58 n. 157 (on the ephebarch); Nigdelis – Souris, Ἀνθύπατος λέγει 86 (on the ἄλλειμμα); Tataki, *Roman Presence* 90-91 no 37; E. Sverkos – K. Sismanidis, *Tekmeria* 10 (2011) 198-199 (on ephebarchs), 205 n. 105 (on the introductory formula); E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 324; idem, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 83-86 (on the Roman names of the catalogue); P. Paschidis, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 145 n. 35 (on the *nomen* Ancharienus); M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 258 n. 80 (correction of names in l. 19); I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 10 (on ephebarchs); K. Chatzinikolaou in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 365 n. 5 (on Flavius Euporos).

L. 19: Ἰούλιος Λικίνιος Κοῖντας EKM I; Ἰούλιος, Λικίνιος Κοῖντας Youni (in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* ),

pointing out that it is improbable for a Roman citizen to bear a metronym. If this is accepted, the number of ephebes with a Greek onomastic formula rises from five (see ll. 18, 23, 24, 28, 29) to seven, and the number of Roman citizens decreases from twenty to nineteen. L. 30: Ἀγχαρινός EKM I; Tataki (*Roman Presence* 90-91 no 37) follows the old reading Ἀγχαρηνός.

The fact that in three of the five ephebic catalogues of Beroia (see also EKM I 136 and EKM I Suppl. 2, below) there is no gymnasiarch and the cost of the anointment is covered by public funds (supplemented, in this case, by a personal contribution by the ephebarch) is yet another indication of the perennial financial problems of the gymnasium of Beroia, which often led to the suspension of its operations, despite the concerted efforts of the Roman administration (see EKM I 7, above, where financial arrangements to address an eventual lack of a gymnasiarch are a key preoccupation of the legislator: ll. A+B 8: ἐπειδὴν γυμνασίαρχος ἐλλίπη).

For the Latin names of the catalogue, and the possible provenance of the attested *nomina*, see the relevant entries of Tataki and, more recently, the detailed commentary of Sverkos. The names Μηρύλος and Σκίλβας continue to be *hapax legomena*. For the use of metronyms (ll. 29 and perhaps 19 here) in Macedonia, see the bibliography of Sverkos 74 n. 63, to which add M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προφιλεστάτῃ* 257-261 for the Roman period.

The ephebarch Statius Antigonus is probably the grandfather of a homonymous ephebe recorded in the catalogue EKM I 136, below. Lucius Magnus Drakon (l. 32) could be connected to Lucius Magnus Valerianus, witness of a manumission act (EKM I 49). Marcus Messius Maximus could be identified with the homonymous person attested in a list of names (EKM I 144, col. I, l. 8). Finally, Flavius Euporos could be connected with the homonymous sculptor, residing in Kelle and creator of a votive relief found in Western Macedonia (SEG XLIX 772), since the latter's ethnic is Βερ[ι]αῖος (see K. Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 281-282 no 114; eadem, in: *Δινηέσσα* 601-602; eadem, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 364-365).

### **EKM I 136. List of ephebes, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter**

*In the Augustan year [- -], which is also [- -]; when the city paid for the anointment, by care of Domitius Pyrrhos, and Aurelius Eutychion was the ephebarch; he had (the names of) those who completed the ephebate engraved:*

*Flavius Euphrosynos son of Flavius Ourbanos, Rutilius Potamonianos junior, Statius Antigonus, Domitius Trophimos, Aelius Markellos, Vettius Ailianos junior (?), Petronius Nikephoros, Septimius Kopryllos, Aurelius Polycharmos, Aurelius Lykos, Vibius Nikopolianos, Vibius Eutychis, Ulpus Menneas, Petronius Alexandros, Claudius Lynkeus, Mestrius Lynkeus, Mestrius Olympis, Aurelius Homerikos junior, Flavius Sokrates, Aelius Makedon junior, Aelius Achilleus, Flavius Hyperechon (...).*

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 146 (on metronyms); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 137 n. 594 (on the name Ὀμηρικός); E. Sverkos – K. Sismanidis, *Tekmeria* 10 (2011) 198-199 (on ephebarchs); E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 324; idem, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 86-87 (on the Roman names); I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 10 (on the ephebarchs).

L. 11: Αἰλία[ν]ός υἱ[ό]ς EKM I; only ΑΙΑ[. 3-4 . .]Υ[- -] is visible on the squeeze.

For the *nomina* in this catalogue, and their possible provenance, see the relevant entries of Tataki, *Roman Presence*, and, more recently, the detailed commentary of Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά*. The *cognomina* include an interesting mixture of Latin names (Οὐρβανός, Μάρκελλος, Αἰλιανός), Greek names influenced by Latin forms (Ποταμωνιανός, Νικοπολιανός), Panhellenic names (Νικηφόρος, Πολύχαρμος, Λύκος, Μεννέας), names with mythological or cultural connotations, a category popular in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD (Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀμηρικός, Σωκράτης), names alluding to Macedonia (Ὀλύμπις, perhaps Λυγκεύς, Μακεδών), traditional Macedonian or particularly popular in Macedonia names (Ἀντίγονος, Ἀλέξανδρος), and names stemming from abstract notions and/or popular in the onomasticon of slaves (Τρόφιμος, Κόπρυλλος, Εὐτύχις, Ὑπερέχων).

Staius Antigonos may be the grandson of the ephebarch mentioned in EKM I 135, above.

### EKM I 137. List of ephebes, 251/2 AD

The height and width are recorded in inverse order in EKM I.

*To good Fortune. In the Augustan year 283, which is also 399, when Vetulenus Paramonos was gymnasiarch and Cassius Sallustius Alkaios junior was the ephebarch.*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 89 (on the location of the gymnasium); N. G. Kennell, *IJHS* 26 (2009) 335; E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 87-88 (on the Roman names); I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 10 (on ephebarchs).

The fact that no name of ephebe was inscribed in this catalogue, as well as in EKM I Suppl. 2 (235/6 AD), below, and that only one was inscribed in EKM I 138 (255/6 AD), has been explained by the assumption that the names were painted and not engraved. This is indeed probable in the first two cases. Nevertheless, EKM I 138 (engraved on the same plaque as this catalogue), warrants some caution: the name of the single ephebe whose name was inscribed is preceded by the label ἔφηβος –in the singular– and seems to have been engraved at a later stage than the beginning of the text. Therefore, one cannot *a priori* exclude that these commemorative texts were engraved even when no ephebes (as perhaps in 235/6 and 251/2) or only one (as in 255/6), managed to complete the ephebic training (cf. EKM I 136, l. 5: ἐφηβεύσαντας).

Kennell tentatively suggested that there may have been a (limited in scope) ephebate only every four years in mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD Beroia, in order to coincide with a penteteric festival.

For the Vetuleni and the Sallustii, see the detailed commentary of Sverkos. The ephebarch Κάσσιος Σαλούστιος Ἀλκαῖος is probably to be identified with the manumittor in an act of sacred manumission dated in 264/5 AD (EKM I 56, above).

**EKM I 138. List of ephebes, 255/6 AD**

*To good Fortune. In the Augustan year 287, which is also 403, when Aufidius Maximus was the gymnasiarch and Petronianus Theseus, also known as Oxyterpos, was the ephebarch, with good fortune. Ephebe: Rufinianus Nikandros, also known as Schoinas.*

Cf. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 89 (on the location of the gymnasium); N. G. Kennell, *IJHS* 26 (2009) 335; M. Ricl, in: *Onomatologos* 533 (on the nickname Σχοινᾶς); E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 88 (on the Roman *nomina*); I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 10 (on the ephebarchs).

For the engraving of only one name of an ephebe, see the comments at the previous inscription. For the *nomina* of the catalogue, see the commentary of Sverkos. The ephebarch is perhaps to be identified with the grandson of Petronianos Theseus known from his epitaph (EKM I 211, below). The nickname Σχοινᾶς is also attested in the Cayster valley (SEG LX 1161, l. 13). Ricl understands it literally ('rope-maker') and considers it a professional nickname, but both in Beroia and in the Lydian inscription it is borne by members of prominent families; since the ephebarch also carries a nickname, which alludes to his fondness for gladiatorial games, perhaps it is preferable to seek the explanation for the ephebe's nickname in the same semantic milieu.

**EKM I 139. Commemoration of a foot race, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC**

*(In the archonship?) of Phrasikleides, foot race.*

H. W. Pleket, *Gnomon* 71 (1999) 236; Hatzopoulos, *La Macédoine* 56; EKM II 419, *ad comm.*; P. Chrysostomou, in: *Ἡχάδι* 882-883.

For Hatzopoulos' interpretation of this and other similar 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC monuments from Macedonian cities (EAM Suppl. 33-35 from Petres [ancient Kelle] in Eordaia, EKM II 419 from Kyrrhos, and SEG XL 537 a and b from Lete) as commemorative monuments for youth races, dated by the name of the city's *epistates* (in the genitive or dative with ἐπί, or in the genitive without preposition), and not as monuments commemorating funeral games (for this interpretation, see Chrysostomou, with previous literature; cf. *Bull.* 2017, 315), see also the commentary at EAM Suppl. 34. Pleket proposed an alternative to Hatzopoulos' interpretation, namely that these monuments commemorate races of infantry and cavalry contingents, and not specifically youth races on foot or horse.

**EKM I 140. List of victors in games, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*(...) in the contest of cithara players; Anaxenor son of Theodoros from Laodikeia, in the boys' long course; Parmenion son of Glaukias from Phylakai, in the men's long course; (...), from Mytilene, in the boys' stadium course; (...) from Eordaia, in the (...); Zoilos (...), in the (...); (...) from Alexandria, in the (...); (...) in the boys' (...); Poseidonios son of [- -]enes from Alexandria, in the boys' boxing contest; Lakon son of Kassandros from (...), in the (...); (...), from Abydos, in the (...); (...); Dion son of (...); (...),*

from Alexandria (...); (...) in the boys' boxing contest; (...) son of Lakon from Alexandria (...); (...) from Alexandria, in the contest of the beardless; (...) from Ptolemais (?) (...); (...) from Ptolemais (?) (...); (...) in the pankration; (...) from Alexandria; Leonidas (...); (...) from Alexandria (...); from Thessalonike; Straton son of Straton from Alexandria.

Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 424 no T11.

Cf. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται* 47 no 174; Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad* 167 nos 1-2, 189 no 78; Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia* 90; Mari, *Al di là dell'Olimpo* 236-237 n. 3 (on the Basileia); Eu. Albanidis – A. Anastasiou – K. Schoinas – I. Mouratidis, *Makedonika* 37 (2008) 9-10; F. Daubner, in: *Agone im hellenistischen Nordgriechenland* 238-239; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 6 (2016) 76; eadem, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 118; St. Lioulis, in: *Τῷ διδασκάλῳ* 241-242.

The list is unanimously assumed to belong to the royal period: it is dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC in EKM I and to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> / early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC by Stephanis and Tataki, who seem to follow Makaronas' dating to the reign of Antigonos Doson or Philip V. It should be noted, however, that the only dating criteria are the absence of Roman names (although ΤΑΙΟΣ –the reading is secure– in l. 7, which must be a name or a beginning of a name, could perhaps be a mistake for <Γ>άϊος), and the letter-type, which does not allow any certainty on whether the text belongs to the period before or after the Roman conquest: Π has a protruding horizontal bar, Α has a broken middle bar, Σ has completely straight horizontal bars. A date after the Roman conquest would also be compatible with Beroia's new role –succeeding Aigai– as one of the ceremonial centres of the nation; see already Gauthier – Hatzopoulos, *Loi* 146.

#### EKM I 141. List of 47 names, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC

(...) son of Ptolemaios; (...) son of Kertimmas; (...) son of Menon; (...) son of Sotairos; (...) son of Mennidas; (...) son of Hadymos; (...) son of Teutios; (...) son of (...); (...) son of Paramonos; (...) son of Antipatros; (...) son of Admetos; (...) son of Kertimmas; (...) son of Antigonos; (...) son of (...); (...); (...); (...) son of Amyntas; (...) son of [- -]on; (...); (...) son of [- -]tichos; (...) son of [- -]nos; (...) son of [- -]pnos; (...) son of [- -]on; (...) son of [- -]aptos; (...) son of [- -]eus; (...) son of [- -]etos; (...) son of [- -]nios; (...); (...) son of Pleuratos; (...) son of Sostratides; (...); (...) son of [- -]batos?; (...) son of Monimos; (...) son of Hadymos; (...) son of Philippos; (...) son of Sitalkes; (...) son of Demetrios; (...) son of Alexandros; (...) son of Neoptolemos; (...) son of Menelaos.

Cf. Dana, *OnomThrac* 325 (on the name Σιτάλκης).

L. 7: ΙΕΥΤΤΙΟΥ: perhaps Τευ{τ}τίου EKM I, in the apparatus (the correction is perhaps not necessary: Τευττίου could be the result of spontaneous gemination).

The nature of this and the following five lists cannot be established.

On the name Κερτίμμας, attested only in Macedonia, see M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Onomatalogos* 363, with an alternative to the traditional etymology from \*Κερδιμένης: perhaps a

name associated with Aiolian κέρτος > κράτος. The name Μενν(ε)ίδας is popular mostly in Thessaly and Macedonia. The name Τεύτ(τ)ιος is also attested in *EKM* I 4, above; contrary to earlier views, the name is not necessarily Illyrian: see already O. Masson, *OGS* I 129-131; cf. A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 1118-1119 and M. Obradović, *ŽivaAnt* 52 (2002) 211-218.

***EKM* I 142. List of at least 22 names, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Paramonos son of (...); Paramonos son of (...); Limnaios son of Limnaios; Demetrios son of Nikolaos; Hyginos son of Kleon; Publius Farius (?) Okratianos; Galestes son of Galestes; Parmenion son of Kleonymos; Philippos son of Kleonymos; Lysimachos son of Derdas; Caius Lappius; Caius Lappius; Marcus Lappius; (...); (...) Logismos son of (...); Caius Ophelius; Zoilos son of Euboulos; Pontios son of Rekeptos; Apollodoros son of Manta; Philippos son of Philippos; Makedon son of Adaios; Korrhagos son of Paramonos.*

*SEG* XLVIII 740.

Cf. O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 162 (on l. 7); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 126 n. 73 (on the Favii); 318 n. 167 (on l. 10); S. Babamova, *ŽivaAnt* 58 (2008) 90 (on the name Μαντα); Dana, *OnomThrac* 206 (on the name Μαντα); P. Paschidis, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* (2018) 156 n. 79 (on the name Μακεδών); St. Lioulias, in: *Τῷ διδασκάλῳ* 246 n. 36 (on Galestes).

L. 7: Φάβιος *EKM* I; Φάριος Salomies; the letter is indeed engraved as a P, but the beginning of a curve at the ending of the vertical stroke allows for the possibility that the engraver meant to correct the P to a B. L. 10: Πόντιος Ῥέκεπτου *EKM* I; Πόντιος Ῥέκεπτος Nigdelis, interpreting the first name as a *nomen*; from the last letter the lower part of a vertical stroke is visible, excluding its reading as Σ.

Salomies prefers a date in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, on onomastic grounds.

Lappii are attested in Macedonia only in Beroia (see also *EKM* I 234, below) and Thessalonike (*IG* X 2.1, 127); cf. Tataki, *Roman Presence* 284 no 289; this is also the case of the Ofellii (on which see the references and bibliography of Tataki, *Roman Presence* 330 no 406). For both *nomina*, this is the earliest attestation in Macedonia, as is the case with the *nomen* in l. 7, whether it is the well-known *nomen* Fabius or the extremely rare Farius (on which see the commentary of Salomies).

For the name Γαλέστης, see the commentary at *EKM* I 160, below; Lioulias allows for the possibility that Galestes in our catalogue is the victor whose name is recorded in an agonistic amphora from Aigai (*SEG* L 655). The Latin name Ῥέκεπτος is also attested in *EKM* I 311 as the name of a *threptos*; interestingly, in Edessa (see *EKM* II 191 and 210, with the commentary at 191) as in Beroia, both the Greek and the Latin versions of the name are attested (see Πρόσδεκτος in *EKM* I 143, below). On metronymics in Macedonia, see the commentary at *EKM* I 135, above. For the name Μακεδών, attested as a personal name only after the Roman conquest, see at *EKM* I 120, above.

**EKM I 143. List of 83 names, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(col. I) Flavius Libianos; Iulius Leontas; Antigonos son of Gaios; Dionysios son of Gaios; Alexandros son of Leukon; Agathemeros son of Alexandros; Alexandros son of Tralis; Sossios son of Theagenes; Aelianus Roufos; Xen[ . . . . ]s son of Artemon; Aurelius (?) [- -]lios; Aelius (?) [- -]os; (...) Marsyas; (...); (...) [- -]os; (... 7 names ...); Iulius (...); Iulius Septoumos; Iulius Eutyches; Iulius Theseus; Iulius Zoilos; Claudius (...); Iulius (...); Licinius (...);

(col. II) Petronius Leontas; Popillius Akoutos; Popillius Leontolykos; Popillius Prosdektos; Popillius Lykos; Petronius Lykos; Petronius Parmenion; Rupilius Marinos; Symphoros son of Eukarpos; Sergius Demetrios; Flavius Drakas; Flavius Heraklas; Titianus Zosimos; Dionysios son of Agoraios; Claudius Terpnos; Pater(-) Sekoundos; Flavius Lykarion; Lousatios junior; Popillius Klearchos son of Soterichos junior; Moschos son of Zoilos; Philos junior son of Philoutera; Iulius Protogenes; Aurelius Ikaros; Ikaros son of Philotas; Lykoleon son of Alexandros;

(col. III) Iulius (...); Iulius Eptachrysos; Iulius Epaphras; Iulius Lysias; Iulius Lykos; Iulius Hermeias; Iulius Phaidros; Iulius Eutychos; Iulius Parmenides; Iulius Hyginos; Iulius Kointianos; Iulius Epigonos; Petronius Asklepas; Pomponius Faustion; Popillius Tryphon; Pat(-) Zoilos; Popillius Lalos; Aelius Symmachos; Popillius Nikon; Iulius Kleitos.

Cf. J. Touloumakos, *ŽivaAnt* 47 (1997) 214 (on the name Θησεύς); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 126 n. 73 (on the Rupilii); Dana, *OnomThrac* 378 (on the name Τράλις), XCIII n. 373 (on the genitive Θεαγένηους).

The fact that, only a few decades before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, there are still 17 *peregrini* in this catalogue from Beroia, one of the cities of Roman Macedonia with the highest numbers of Roman citizens, is another testimony of the relatively late spread of the Roman *civitas* in the area.

The abbreviations Πατερ( ) in l. B20 and Πατ( ) in l. C20 should probably both be expanded as Πατ(ερνιανός) –as already by Tataki–, a *nomen* attested in EKM I 144, below (cf. Tataki, *Roman Presence* 339-340 no 434). For the Rupillii in Macedonia, see *ibid.* 347-375 no 514.

The names Θησεύς and Ἰκαρος (the latter attested in the Macedonian onomasticon only in this catalogue) belong to the popular in Roman Macedonia category of mythological names (see the commentary at EKM I 40, above). On *dvandva* names such as Λεοντόλυκος and Λυκολέων, cf. the commentary at EKM II 163 with bibliography; there is a strong presence of names associated with λύκος and/or λέων in this catalogue: Λεοντόλυκος, Λύκος, Λυκαρίων, Λεοντᾶς, Λυκολέων. On the name Πρόσδεκτος, see the commentary at EKM I 142, above. The very rare name Ἐπτάχρυσος is only attested at Beroia (see also EKM I 235, below); cf. the parallel female name Πολύχρυσον in Caria (LGPN Vb, s.v.).

**EKM I 144. List of at least 25 names, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(col. I) (...) [- -]os; (...) son of [- -]os; (...) Neronianos; Aelius (or Iulius) Onesiphoros; Flavius Heraklas; Iulius Sambation; Publius Paulianus Soterichos; Marcus Messius Maximus Drosos;

(col. II) (...) son of [- -]onios; (...); (...) Philippos; [- -]des son of Zosimos; Zoilos son of Dionysios; Claudius Zosimos; Kointos son of Zoilos; Caprilius Bion; Rupilius Zosimos; Refrianus Alexandros. Freedmen: Claudius Aniketos; Popillius Agathonas; Aurelius Agathoboulos; Aelianus Lykarion; Flavius Kalokairos (...); Paulianus Chi[. . .]inos; Paternianus Perseus.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 93 (on the ἐξελευθερικοί); Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 132 n. 573 (on the name Περσεύς); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 126 n. 73 (on the Rupilii), 336-339 (on the name Σαμβατίων); E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 85 (on M. Messius Maximos, also attested at the ephebic catalogue EKM I 135).

For the possible distinction between ἐξελεύθεροι and ἀπελεύθεροι (with the latter still burdened with a *paramone* obligation to their manumittors and the former being completely free), see Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* 120-126. The seven ἐξελευθερικοί of this catalogue all have Roman names (cf. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 4.22.4: ἐξελευθερικὸν φῶλον for manumitted slaves and their descendants assigned to the four urban tribes); if, therefore, the term ἐξελευθερικοί here is coined on the Latin term *libertini* (see the commentary and the bibliography of EKM I), it could denote manumitted slaves (or their descendants) who had earned civic rights at Beroia.

On the Caprilii in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 163-164 no 136. On the name Περσεύς, see also *Bull.* 2017, 320 and Note on unpublished inscriptions, below. On the name Σαμβατίων, probably indicating Jewish origin, see the commentary of Nigdelis, with earlier literature.

#### **EKM I 145. List of 15 names, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(col. I) Eutychas son of Eutychas; Marcus Valerius Tryphon; Popillius Dionysios; Caecilius Petraios; Caecilius Zosimos; Cornelius Paideros; Iulius Artemidoros; Iulius Skeptikos;

(col. II) Popillius Kanopos; Krateros son of Hermes; Popillius Euangelos; Iulius Drosos; Niger son of Torkos; Claudius Hegesimbrotos; Maronianus Aphrodisios.

Cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 124 n. 74; Dana, *OnomThrac* 375 (on the name Τόρκος).

The *nomen* Maronianus is a derivative of Marronius, often attested at Philippi (see Salomies 115, 124). For the *gens* of the Caecilii in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 154-156 no 110, to which add IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1336 and 1661 (cf. the bibliography of E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 89 n. 243).

#### **EKM I 146. List of more than 16 names, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) Petronius (...)

## FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

**EKM I 147. Epitaph of Andreas from Osbe, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, first half***Andreas son of Andron, from Osbe.*

This is probably the oldest inscription on stone of Beroia. For the placement of Osbe, known also from the famous delimitation of Philip II (Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* II no 4), in Mygdonia (and not in Chalkidike, as I. Vokotopoulou, in: *Μνήμη Λαζαρίδη* 109-144; cf. *Bull.* 1990, 473), and for the assumption that it was one of the settlements merged into Thessalonike in 315 BC, see now also M. B. Hatzopoulos, *CRAI* 149 (2005) 201-212 [*Découvrir la Macédoine antique* 239-250].

**EKM I 148. Epitaph of Attylos and Antigona, 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC***Attylos son of Menandros, Antigona daughter of Dabreias.*

Cf. P. Chrysostomou, in: *Ἠχάδιν* 886 (on the name Δαβρείας).

For the name Δαβρείας, of unknown etymology, see now *EAM* Suppl. 34, with commentary.

**EKM I 149. Epitaph of Sadalas, Straton, and Philista, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC***Sadalas son of Nikandros, Straton son of Sadalas, Philista wife of Sadalas.*

Dana, *OnomThrac* 298 (on the name Σαδάλας).

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 245 (on the funerary formula).

**EKM I 150. Epitaph of Parmeneia and Nikylla, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC***Parmeneia daughter of Aristylla; Nikylla daughter of Hieron.*

Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 204 no 82.

Cf. A. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* V (1989 [1993]) 1468 no 42 (on the metronym).

L. 2: The text is printed in one line in EKM I, inadvertently; correctly arranged as Νίκυλλα | Ἰέρωνος by Kalaitzi.

For the use of metronyms in Macedonia, see the bibliography in the commentary at EKM I 135, above.

**EKM I 151. Epitaph of Diphilos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second half***Diphilos son of Neoptolemos.*

The comment in EKM I that this is the only attestation of the Panhellenic name Δίφιλος in Beroia is incorrect: see EKM I 4, l. 35.

**EKM I 152. Epitaph of Synesis, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second half**

Allamani-Souri (101-102) claims that the relief of the young woman is the result of a second use of the stele in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, a second use, however, that was left unfinished, since the epigraphic panel shows no trace of reworking; Kalaitzi disagrees and considers the relief contemporary with the inscription, with some traces of retouching in some of its details. Both correctly point out that the figure depicted in smaller scale to the lower right is male, and that the object to the right of the deceased is an open cist.

*Synesis daughter of Stolis.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 312 no 6; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 205 no 83.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 144-145 n. 95 (on the metronym).

For the use of metronyms in Macedonia, see the bibliography in the commentary at *EKM* I 135, above.

**EKM I 153. Epitaph of Hadymos, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Hadymos son of Nikanor (...).*

**EKM I 154. Epitaph, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*(...) son/daughter of Aristoxenos, (...) son/daughter of Adaïos.*

For the name Ἀδαῖος, see also the commentary ad *EKM* II 1.

**EKM I 155. Epitaph of Zopyros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, first half**

*Zopyros son of Amyntas.*

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Das hellenistische Gymnasium* 95-96 (on the letter type).

**EKM I 156. Epitaph of Seuthes and Ethos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, first half**

*Seuthes son of Dionysios, Ethos son of Sitalkes.*

Dana, *OnomThrac* 313, 325 (on the names Σεύθης and Σιτάλκης).

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Greek Personal Names* 114 [*Découvrir la Macédoine antique* 66] (on the name Ἡθος).

**EKM I 157. Epitaph of Chairephanes, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Chairephanes son of Artemidoros.*

**EKM I 158. Epitaph of Amyntas and Artemidoros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Amyntas son of Peukolaos, Artemidoros son of Amyntas.*

**EKM I 159. Epitaph of Zoilos, Glykinno, and Glykinno, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Zoilos son of Alexandros, Glykinno daughter of Hippokrates, Glykinno daughter of Alexandros.*

For female names in -ιννώ, which seem to be particularly popular in Aigai, see the commentary at EKM II 15.

**EKM I 160. Epitaph of Tyrios, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

a) on the altar:

*Tyrios son of Andromachos.*

b) above the niches:

*Galestes son of Tyrios, Andromachos son of Tyrios, Aspasia daughter of Galestes, Tyrios son of Andromachos.*

St. Lioulias, in: Τῷ διδασκάλῳ 246.

For the name Γαλέστης (borne by Tyrios' son), see now also the curse tablet SEG LII 617 (IIB l. 6) from Pydna and the prize amphora from Aigai published by Lioulias 239-249 (cf. SEG L 655). Lioulias proposes that the victor from Aigai could be the same as Γαλέστης Γαλέστου, attested in EKM I 142, l. 8, who might be related to the family of Tyrios, a family with possible ties to the Levant and Egypt.

**EKM I 161. Epitaph of Demetrios, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

According to Allamani-Souri, both the inscription and the relief are the result of a second use of the stele (*contra*, Kalaitzi).

*Demetrios son of Herodotos.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 332 no 28; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 212 no 97.

Allamani-Souri dates the monument to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD; Kalaitzi retains a 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC date.

For the attestations of the name Ἡρόδοτος in Macedonia, see now the entry of LGPN IV, to which add IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1454; the inscription from Beroia remains its only attestation west of the Axios river.

**EKM I 162. Epitaph of Alexandros, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, first half**

*Alexandros (...)*

**EKM I 163. Epitaph of Krateuas and Nikadas, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

Kalaitzi correctly points out that the man depicted on the right belongs to a second use of the monument (during which the right anta of the arched frame of the relief was

carved out to provide space for the additional figure), which originally depicted only the seated woman and the man standing in front of her. Since the two names were engraved by the same hand, the most likely scenario is the one Kalaitzi envisages: the clients chose a preexisting monument, to which they had another male figure added. Allamani-Souri also recognizes two uses of the stele, mainly on stylistic grounds, and dates the original relief to the early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC and the man on the right to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC or slightly later. She identifies the central figure with Krateuas and the one on the right with Nikadas.

*Krateuas son of Nikadas, Nikadas son of Ammadikos.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 354 no 50; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 209-210 no 91.

Cf. V. Allamani - K. Tzanavari, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 55, 72 fig. 20; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 365 n. 39, 360 fig. 10.

For the name Ἀμμάδικος and related names –to the ones listed in the commentary of *EKM* I, add Ἀμμάδα in *EKM* II 446–, derived from the very popular in Macedonia but of uncertain etymology name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at *EKM* II 17.

#### ***EKM* I 164. Epitaph of [- - -]enea, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

Allamani-Souri recognizes in the preserved part of the relief a depiction of Artemis Dadouchos / Phosphoros, and oscillates between labelling the monument funerary (cf. the commentary at *EKM* I 214, below) or dedicatory. Her dating of the monument on stylistic grounds to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD rather than the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC (as in *EKM* I) is also more compatible with the letter type.

*[- - -]enea daughter of Antigonos.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 380 no 78.

#### ***EKM* I 165. Epitaph of Bardias, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Bardias son of Herakleides.*

For the inscription from Mieza, mentioned in the commentary of *EKM* I as the only other attestation of the name Βαρδίας, see now *EKM* II 94.

#### ***EKM* I 166. Epitaph of Munatius Alexippos, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

Contrary to description in *EKM* I and Allamani-Souri, Kalaitzi posits that the man on the left does not hold any object, but simply holds his right arm to his front in a gesture of communication to the figure on the right.

*Publius Munatius Alexippos son of Publius Munatius.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 331 no 27; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 213 no 100.

For the *nomen* Munatius, add to Tataki, *Roman Presence* 321 no 376, an inscription from Paionia (SEG LIII 664; cf. P. M. Nigdelis, *Egnatia* 13 [2009] 35). Although Munatii are attested in Hellenistic Delos, it is probable that the few Munatii of Macedonia owe their *civitas* to Munatius Rufus, the friend of Cato the Younger who accompanied him in Macedonia (see the references of Tataki, *Roman Presence* 321 no 376.3).

**EKM I 167. Epitaph of Adaios, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Adaios son of Herakleides.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 341 no 38; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 214 no 102.

The date provided in EKM I (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD) must be corrected. On stylistic grounds, Allamani-Souri dates the monument to the early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, and Kalaitzi to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC; the letter type seems more compatible with the latter date. For the name Adaios, cf. the commentary at EKM II 1.

**EKM I 168. Epitaph of Antonius Louppos and Turpilia, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Sextus Antonius Louppos and Turpilia his wife.*

**EKM I 169. Epitaph of Terpne, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Terpne daughter of Ammia, wet-nurse and nursemaid (?) of Petronia, mother of Hermes and Karpophoros; she lived for 30 years.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 230-231 no 296; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 145-146 no B25.

Cf. Bull. 2018, 260 (on the meaning of νάννη).

L. 7: Α ἔτη EKM I and Adam-Veleni; [. ] ἔτη Spiliopoulou-Donderer.

For the possible meaning of the term νάννη in this inscription, see Bull. 2018, 260. For the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17.

**EKM I 170. Epitaph of Phila, Imperial period**

*Phila daughter of (...).*

**EKM I 171. Epitaph of Distichis, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Distichis.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 221 no 266.

The editors of LGPN IV understand this name, unattested elsewhere, as female.

**EKM I 172. Epitaph of Maskellis, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***Maskellis.*

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 245 (on the funerary formula).

**EKM I 173. Epitaph of Straton, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

The stele was found on Pythagoras Street (cf. Allamani-Souri), therefore originated in the southeastern cemetery of ancient Beroia. The faces of the three figures seem to have been intentionally chiselled off. For the workshop perhaps responsible for the relief, see Allamani-Souri 187-188.

*For Straton son of Diodoros.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 346 no 43; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 210 no 92.

Cf. V. Misailidou-Despotidou, in: *Άγαλμα* 384-385 n. 53 (on the relief).

**EKM I 174. Epitaph of Ulpius Markos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***For Ulpius Markos.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 223 no 273; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 158-159 no B38.

Οὐλί[.]. ἄρκω *EKM* I; Οὐλίπ[ι] M] ἄρκω Adam-Veleni; Οὐλίπ[ι] ο]ς [M] ἄρκο[ς] Spiliopoulou-Donderer; the Ω of the *nomen* is partly visible on the photograph and the squeeze. Below the inscription, traces of an earlier one.

**EKM I 175. Epitaph of Mnaseas, Hellenistic period (?)***Of Mnaseas.***EKM I 176. Epitaph of [- -]otos, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD***Of [- -]otos.***EKM I 177. Epitaph of Moschine, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC***Moschine daughter of Kleuas, a heroine.**SEG XLVIII 754.*

Cf. M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 266; E. Sverkos, in: *Social Dynamics* 295 n. 46 (both on the possible identification of Moschine's father with the homonymous general of king Perseus).

L. 1: Μοσχίνη{ι} *EKM* I; Μοσχίνη *SEG*; this though would entail a shift from the dative Μοσχίνηι to the nominative ἡρώισσα (cf. *EKM* I 201, below).

**EKM I 178. Epitaph of Antigona, Kleta, and Artemikleia, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Antigona daughter of Ouenetos, Kleta daughter of Alexandros, Artemikleia daughter of Ouenetos, heroes.*

SEG XLVIII 755; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 351 no 47; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 210 no 93.

Cf. V. Allamani, *ArchDelt* 38 (1983 [1989]) B2 311 (mention of the discovery); V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Μνείας χάριν* 29 n. 71 (on the relief); G. Sacco, *XeniaAnt* 10 (2001) 16 fig. 4 on the relief.

For the spelling Κλήτα, see the commentary at EKM II 37 (for the inscription from Dion mentioned in the commentary of EKM I, see now SEG XLVIII 788 [RICIS 113/0219]). The Latin name *Venetus*, rendered here as Ούένετος, is attested as Βένετος in northwestern Greece (I. Epidamnos 207) and Miletos (Milet VI 1577).

**EKM I 179. Epitaph of Artemidoros, Ophelion, and Matero, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Artemidoros son of Bilos, Ophelion son of Laandros, Matero daughter of Glykeros, heroes.*

The names of this epitaph are a mixture of common Panhellenic names (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ὀφελίων, Γλύκερος), names attested everywhere, but particularly popular in Macedonia (Λάανδρος, on which see now EKM II 42), and dialectal names attested only in Macedonia and adjacent areas (Βίλος, Ματερῶ, on which see now EKM II 200). For the dialectic type Βίλος, see also M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Die altgriechischen Dialekte* 161, with previous bibliography, and J. Méndez Dosuna, in: *Ancient Macedonia. Language, History, Culture* 65-69.

**EKM I 180. Epitaph of Artemisia, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Artemisia, a heroine.*

**EKM I 181. Epitaph of Diogenes and Dada, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*Diogenes son of Barnaios, a hero; Dada, a heroine.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 318 no 12; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 207 no 87.

Cf. S. Babamova, *ŽivaAnt* 58 (2008) 88 (on the name Δαδα).

**EKM I 182. Epitaph of Eurydike, Antigonos, and Melita, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Eurydike daughter of Biloitas, Antigonos son of Menon, Melita, heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 352 no 48; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 215 no 105.

Cf. M. Kalaitzi, in: *Visual Histories of the Classical World* 418 fig. 32.11.

The name Μελίτα is also attested in EKM I 212, below, and EKM II 63 (near Aigai).

**EKM I 183. Epitaph of Kalliche, Themison, and Kallinas, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Kalliche daughter of Kallinas, Themison son of Kallinas, Kallinas son of Molykkos, heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 353 no 49; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 208-209 no 89.

Cf. M. Kalaitzi, in: *Visual Histories of the Classical World* 418 fig. 32.10.

The name Καλλίνας is not unattested in Macedonia: one of the cavalry officers in Alexander's army was called Καλλίνης (Arr., *Anab.* 11.7).

**EKM I 184. Epitaph of Ouadea, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Heroes; Ouadea daughter of Eulaios (...).*

L. 2: The placement of the inscription at the edge of the preserved fragment of the base and the plural in the previous line lead to the assumption that at least one more name was inscribed to the right.

On the name Οὐαδέα, see C. Brixhe – A. Panayotou, *ZPE* 91 (1992) 129-135; *EKM* II 495 and *EAM* 89 Suppl., with commentary; cf. also Juhel – Nigdelis, *Un danois en Macédoine* 62.

**EKM I 185. Epitaph of Iolaos and Odeta, late 2<sup>nd</sup> - early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Iolaos son of Nika[- -], Odeta daughter of Iolaos, heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 369 no 65; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 212-213 no 98; eadem, in: *Dining and Death* 510 no 4.

For the name Ὀδέτα, see *EKM* I 1.

**EKM I 186. Epitaph of the daughter of Nikanor, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*(...) daughter of Nikanor, a heroine.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 350 no 46; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 212 no 96.

**EKM I 187. Epitaph of Lykkeia, mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Lykkeia daughter of (...), a heroine.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 106-107 no 139; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 372 no 68.

Cf. V. Allamani – K. Tzanavari, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 53, 70 fig. 17; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Φωνής χαρακτήρ ἔθνικός* 230-231 (on the name Λυκκήια); V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 359, 360 fig. 4, 366.

**EKM I 188. Epitaph of Badea and Aphrodisis, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Badea daughter of Aphrodisios, Aphrodisis son of Limnaios, heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 358 no 54; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 215-216 no 106.

Cf. V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 365 n. 39.

In the commentary of EKM I, it is assumed that Badea and Aphrodisi(o)s, depicted in the relief and identified by the inscriptions above the respective figures, are mother and son (with the son bearing his maternal grandfather's name). Kalaitzi offers an equally probable alternative, namely that the depicted couple is a daughter and her father. For the name Βαδέα, see EKM I 184, above.

**EKM I 189. Epitaph of Philotera and Kassandros, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Philotera daughter of Alexandros, Kassandros son of Paramonos, heroes.*

V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Νάματα* 155-164 (Bull. 2013, 266; SEG LXI 486); eadem, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 357 no 53; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 217 no 109.

Allamani-Souri (*Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 295-299) maintains that the stele belongs to Euandros' workshop. Both Allamani-Souri and Kalaitzi (73) date the monument to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.

**EKM I 190. Epitaph of Flavius Agathon, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Flavius Agathon, a hero.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 238-239 no 316; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 167-168 no B50.

**EKM I 191. Epitaph of [- -]los, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*[- -]los, a hero.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 246-247 no 335.

**EKM I 192. Epitaph of a man, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

According to Allamani-Souri (185, 287), the inscription was added to a pre-existing stele, which she dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.

*A hero.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 360 no 56.

It is unclear whether there was text inscribed above the relief.

**EKM I 193. Epitaph of two men (?), 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Heroes (?)*.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 344 no 41; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 213-214 no 101.

Allamani-Souri dates the stele to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.

**EKM I 194. Epitaph of the son of Damokles, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*(...) son of [Da]mokles, [a hero]; greetings.*

**EKM I 195. Epitaph of Lanika, Aineias, and Okkos, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Lanika daughter of Nikanor, Aineias son of Okkos, Okkos son of Aineias; greetings.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 355 no 51; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 211-212 no 95.

Cf. V. Misailidou-Despotidou, in: *Ἀγάλμα* 381 n. 18, 385 n. 55 (on the relief); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Φωνῆς χαρακτήρ ἔθνικός* 228-230 pl. XVIIIb (on the name Ὀκκος).

**EKM I 196. Epitaph of Agathokles, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*For Agathokles son of Philippos, a hero.*

**EKM I 197. Epitaph of Adaios, Philinna, and Hadymos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*For Adaios son of Philippos, Philinna daughter of Hadymos, Hadymos son of Adaios, heroes.*

For the name Adaios, cf. the commentary at EKM II 1.

**EKM I 198. Epitaph of Hadista, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*For Hadista daughter of Eulandros, a heroine.*

**EKM I 199. Epitaph of (...) and Lysimachos, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*For (...) and Lysimachos son of Sosipatros, heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 313 no 7; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 206 no 85.

Cf. V. Allamani - K. Tzanavari, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 54, 71 fig. 18.

The dative ἥρωσι in l. 2 is interpreted as a mistake of the engraver in the commentary of EKM I. Kalaitzi, however, correctly points out that the name of the woman depicted in the relief could have been inscribed in the upper part of the stele, now missing; in fact, Allamani-Souri recognizes traces of the missing name above the preserved text; at least a Σ and an Ο are indeed discernible on the squeeze.

The date proposed by Allamani-Souri (104-105) and Kalaitzi is followed here.

**EKM I 200. Epitaph of Philoxena, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*For Philoxena daughter of Sosigenes, a heroine.*

**EKM I 201. Epitaph of Machatas, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*For Machatas son of Antigonos, a hero.*

**EKM I 202. Epitaph of Harpalos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, second half**

*For Harpalos son of Python, a hero.*

Cf. M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 266 (on the identification of the deceased as a possible member of the well-known family of the Harpaloi of Hellenistic and Roman Beroia).

**EKM I 203. Epitaph of Dionysios and Laomaga, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, second half**

*For Dionysios son of Pantauchos, a hero; for Laomaga daughter of Peritas.*

The inscription from Pydna mentioned in EKM I has been published by M. B. Hatzopoulos (in: *Philokypros* 177-182; cf. *SEG* L 629), with extensive commentary on the name Λαιομάγα/Λαμάγα.

**EKM I 204. Epitaph of Hippostratos and Ammia, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Hippostratos son of Alexandros, Ammia daughter of Atheno, greetings.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 347 no 44; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 210-211 no 94.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 144 n. 92 (on the use of metronym); V. Misailidou-Despotidou, in: *Άγαλμα* 384 n. 49 (on the relief).

Ll. 1-2: Ἰππόστρατε | Ἀλεξάνδρου EKM I, Allamani-Souri; Ἰππόστρατε | Ἀλεξάνδρου Kalaitzi, correctly.

For the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17. For the use of metronyms in Macedonia, see the bibliography in the commentary at EKM I 135, above.

**EKM I 205. Epitaph of Gauanes and Palamandros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC**

*For the workshop perhaps responsible for the relief, see Allamani-Souri 187-188.*

*For Gauanes son of Gauanes, Palamandros son of Gauanes, heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 317 no 11; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 206-207 no 86.

Cf. Mallios, *Μύθος και ιστορία* 214 n. 730.

For the various etymologies proposed for the name Γαυάνης, borne by one the three Temenid brothers in the foundation myth of the Macedonian kingdom, see Mallios 213-214,

who proposes the attractive new alternative that the name derives from the onomatopoeic root *καυ-*, used for the names of various birds (see *καύαξ*, probably ‘seagull’, in Greek, or *cauannus* in Latin, borrowed from Proto-Celtic, ‘night-owl’; cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique* s.v. *καύαξ*). This would entail that the names of all three Temenid brothers (Περδίκκας, Ἀέροπος, Γαυάνης) derive from bird-names.

It is noteworthy that both names of this inscription (Γαυάνης, Παλάμανδρος) are extremely rare, and attested only for Macedonians (and a Thessalian in the case of Γαυάνης: see LGPN IIIb s.v. Γαυάνας; the name Γαυάνης in the Christian prayer Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte* 36 no 49, if the reading is correct [cf. SEG XLIX 2212] is probably unrelated).

Both Allamani-Souri and Kalaitzi (p. 73) date the stele to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and not to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, as EKM I.

#### **EKM I 206. Epitaph of Petronius Bassos, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Publius Petronius Bassos, a hero.*

For the Petronii in Macedonia, see the bibliography of E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 84 n. 185. The older view that the name Bassos is probably Thracian seems to be contradicted by its late attestations (not before the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC), which make a Latin origin more likely (cf. EKM II 62).

#### **EKM I 207. Epitaph of Krateuas (?), 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for Krateuas (or: Krateuas for ...), his son (?), a hero.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 236 no 310.

L. 1: Κρατεύα[ν] EKM I, but Κρατεύα[ς] is also possible. L. 2: [ύόν] EKM I, but there may be more text missing to the left and to the right.

In EKM I's text, the name of the dedicant is missing; it could, however, have been engraved above the relief. It is also possible (see apparatus) that the name missing (or engraved above the relief) is the one of the deceased.

#### **EKM I 208. Epitaph of the *threptos* Charinos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Agathon for his threptos Charinos, for remembrance sake.*

For the ambiguous legal status of the *threptoi*, see M. Rícl, in: *From Hellenism to Islam*, with previous bibliography. For other Beroian examples, see EKM I 244, 311, 317, 329, EKM I Suppl. 6 and 26.

#### **EKM I 209. Epitaph of Atheno, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*[- - -]ios for Atheno his wife, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 408 no 109.

**EKM I 210. Epitaph of Petronianus Agathemerios, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aurelia Ammia for Petronianus Agathemerios her child, at her own expense, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 219-220 no 260; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 175-176 no B60.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 139 (on the family of Ammia); F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands); E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 88.

L. 5: ἐκ τῶν ἐ[α]ϋτῆς EKM I, corroborated on the squeeze and the photograph; ἐκ τῶν ἐ[κείνου] Adam-Veleni; ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου Spiliopoulou-Donderer.

The depiction of raised hands in funerary monuments is frequently attested in Thessalonike and Beroia; it is interpreted either as an apotropaic sign against potential tomb robbers (cf. Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 406), or, as in the commentary of EKM I, as invocation for divine vengeance for a premature or violent death (cf. Graf 145-150, with previous bibliography); for other examples from Beroia, see EKM I 211, 220, 240, 249, 327, 343, 356, 388, below.

On the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17. On the possible kinship between the deceased and the ephebach Περωνιανὸς Θησεύς (EKM I 138, ll. 6-7), see the commentary of the next inscription.

**EKM I 211. Epitaph of Petronianus Theseus, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Ammia daughter of Paramonos for Petronianus Theseus her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 225-226 no 281; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 178 no B62.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 139 (on the family of Ammia); F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands); E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 88 (on Περωνιανὸς Θησεύς).

In the commentary of EKM I, it is supposed that Ammia daughter of Paramonos, married to Petronianus Theseus, could be identified with Aurelia Ammia, mother of Petronianus Agathemerios mentioned in the previous inscription; in that scenario, Ammia would have become a Roman citizen only after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and Petronianus Agathemerios was entitled to bear his father's *nomen*, since legal provisions on *matrimonia iniusta* pertained only to Italian Romans married to peregrine women and not to foreigners acquiring Roman *civitas* (see Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 139; eadem, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 253). Petronianus Theseus may be the grandfather of the homonymous ephebach in 255/6 AD (see EKM I 138 ll. 6-7, above); given, however, that Ammia and Agathemerios are common names for slaves, this Petronianus Theseus may simply be a freedman of the same family.

On the name Ἀμμία, see the commentary at EKM II 17.

**EKM I 212. Epitaph of Ammianos, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

As Terzopoulou and Allamani-Souri correctly remark, the figure on the left is Eros (not Thanatos, as described in *EKM I*) holding a bunch of grapes. For the Beroian workshop which perhaps produced this work, see Allamani-Souri 301.

*Anmianos and Melita for their child Anmianos, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 444 no 148.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 141, 152 no 95.

Terzopoulou tentatively includes this monument in her catalogue of examples of representation of the deceased in the guise of deities (on the phenomenon, see *EKM I* 214, below); Eros here, however, seems to have a symbolic function, since he is depicted next to the deceased (see Allamani-Souri 234).

For the name Μελίτα, see *EKM I* 182, above.

**EKM I 213. Epitaph of Antigonos and Antigona, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Apollonia daughter of Mestys for Antigonos her husband and Antigona her daughter, for remembrance sake.*

Cf. Dana, *OnomThrac* 219 (on the ‘west Thracian’ name Μέστυς).

**EKM I 214. Epitaph of Zosime, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Claudius Apollonis for the maiden Zosime, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 417 no 120.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 137 (on the lack of Zosime’s *nomen*); D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 132, 250 no 32.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities in Roman Macedonia, see Terzopoulou and Allamani-Souri 231-246, with previous bibliography and the various interpretations proposed. Aphrodite was the most popular goddess for this role. For other examples in the inscriptions of Beroia, see *EKM I* 244, 257, 284, 354, 508 and *EKM I* Suppl. 9 (Aphrodite); *EKM I* 228, 239, perhaps *EKM I* 236 and *EKM I* Suppl. 25 (Eros); possibly *EKM I* 164 and *EKM I* Suppl. 12 (Artemis); *EKM I* 412 (Apollo); *EKM I* 236 (Dionysos); *EKM I* 355 (Herakles).

Claudius Apollonis is identified in the commentary of *EKM I* with the homonymous dedicant of *EKM I* 356 (Youni remarks that in both cases the women are referred to without a *nomen*, perhaps reflecting intimacy); however, both the *nomen* and the *cognomen* are very common, so the identification is not secure.

**EKM I 215. Epitaph of Aurelia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Aurelia, Aurelios, for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 216. Epitaph of Iulius Aphobetos, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Iulius Aphobetos junior for Iulius Aphobetos his father, after he concluded his life.*

The name Ἀφόβητος is otherwise attested in Macedonia only in the case of a soldier in Alexander's army in the Asian campaign (Curtius 6.7.15).

For ζήσαντι, without a reference to the deceased's age, see also EKM I 309, below.

**EKM I 217. Epitaph of Eubiotos, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aphrodito for Eubiotos her husband, at his own expense, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 438 no 142.

**EKM I 218. Epitaph of Achilleus, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Achillas for Achilleus his grandson, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 220 no 262; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 170-171 no B53.

For the popularity of mythological and particularly 'Homeric' personal names in 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD Macedonia, see the commentary at EKM I 40, above.

**EKM I 219. Epitaph of Claudia Tyranna, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Claudia Bakchis for Claudia Tyranna her child, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 436 no 140.

**EKM I 220. Epitaph of Ammianos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

For the Beroian workshop which perhaps produced this work, see Allamani-Souri 301.

*Demetria for Ammianos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Die Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 48 no 36; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 443 no 147.

Cf. F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands).

For the depiction of raised hands, see the commentary at EKM I 210, above.

**EKM I 221. Epitaph of Poseidonios, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*Aelianus (rather than Iulianus) Demetrios for Poseidonios his relative, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 225 no 279; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 122-124 no B6.

L. 1: ΙΑΙΑΝΟΣ EKM I, correctly noting the two alternatives previously proposed: <A>ιλιανός or, less likely, Ἴ<ου>λιανός; [A]ιλιανός Spiliopoulou-Donderer.

The abstract family term συγγενής is rare in Macedonian inscriptions; it is attested only in Thessalonike (IG X 2.1, 189 and 211; IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1301 and 1665, in the last case as a collective term).

**EKM I 222. Epitaph of Achilleus, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Dionysia for Achilleus her husband, for remembrance sake.*

For the name Achilleus, cf. the commentary at EKM I 218, above.

**EKM I 223. Epitaph of Eugamos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Longinia Dionysia for Eugamos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

This is the only attestation in Macedonia of the name Εὐγάμος.

**EKM I 224. Epitaph of Rhode and Eutycheides, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Both Allamani-Souri and Kalaitzi correctly point out that the epigraphic field bears traces of reworking and thus the inscription is later than the relief, which on stylistic grounds belongs to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, according to Allamani-Souri (in her catalogue she dates it to the late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, but see, e.g. 164), or to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, according to Kalaitzi. Allamani-Souri dates the inscription to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC-1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, only slightly later than the relief.

*Dionysis for Rhode his wife, for his father Eutycheides, and for himself while still alive.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 337 no 33; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 216 no 107.

For names alluding to the rose in the vicinity of Mount Bermion, see the commentary of EKM II 98.

**EKM I 225. Epitaph of Dionysios and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for [- -]us Dionysios her husband and Mar[- -] her daughter and I[- -] her son-in-law and (...), (...) written above (...), for remembrance sake.*

SEG XLVIII 760.

L. 2: -ω Διονυσ[ίω] EKM I; Chaniotis (SEG) observes that -ω Διονυσ[ίου] is equally possible. L. 3: Μαρ[. . c. 4. . τῇ θυ]- EKM I; among the several names that can be restored as the one of the dedicant's daughter, the ones attested in Macedonia are Μαριανή, Μαρκιανή, and Μάρκελλα. Ll. 5-6: perhaps κ[αὶ ἐαυτῇ τῇ προ]γγεγραμμέν[ῃ] *vel sim.*, a reference to the fact that the tomb is destined for the dedicant as well (cf. EKM I 445, below)?

**EKM I 226. Epitaph of Ammianos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Allamani-Souri dates the monument to the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. There is a considerable difference in quality between the poorly executed relief and the well-crafted letters.

*Hilaria for Ammianos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 439 no 143.

**EKM I 227. Epitaph of Philotera, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Helenos for his daughter Philotera, for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 228. Epitaph of Helenos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Helenos his son, for remembrance sake; Helenos.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 423 no 126.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 138, 152 no 76.

The name Ἑλενος in l. 5 is interpreted in EKM I (see the indexes) as the name of the deceased's homonymous father. Both Terzopoulou and Allamani-Souri (but cf. Allamani-Souri 232 n. 999), on the contrary, seem to interpret it as a label inscription, repeating the name of the deceased, apparently because it is engraved above the form of Eros, which they consider an example of the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities in Roman Macedonia (see the commentary at EKM I 214, above). It should be noted, however, that, regardless of the interpretation of l. 5, there is no correspondence between the inscription and the relief, which portrays a couple, their two sons, and Eros.

**EKM I 229. Epitaph of Chryseis, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Spiliopoulou-Donderer dates the altar to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.

*Elpis for Chryseis, her sweetest daughter, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 227 no 286; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 163-164 no B45.

For mythological and particularly 'Homeric' names (such as Χρυσήϊς) in Roman Macedonia, see EKM I 40, above.

**EKM I 230. Epitaph of Phlabianos, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Annia Epigone for Phlabianos her son, also known as Pappous.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 226 no 282; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 118-119 no B2.

Cf. P. Adam-Veleni – E. Sverkos, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 17 n. 61 (on the name Παπποῦς); L. Dubois, in: *Onomatologos* 399 (on the name Παπποῦς).

On the formation of the dative with nasal infix, see now the commentary at *EKM II* 209, with further bibliography.

***EKM I 231. Epitaph of Herakleon, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*Epigonos for Herakleon his brother, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 428 no 132.

***EKM I 232. Epitaph of Epigonos and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***

*Epigonos son of (...) and Maxima and (...) his wife and Elpis daughter of Epigonos, for themselves while still alive; and for Diodora daughter of Maxima.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 234 no 305; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 127-129 no B10.

In the commentary of *EKM I* it is proposed that Maxima is the sister of Epigonos (since his wife was named at the end of l. 2) and Diodora the illegitimate child of Maxima. Given the growing number of inscriptions testifying to complex family arrangements in Roman Macedonia (see *EKM I* 310, below, and *EKM II* 125, 605, 610), one cannot exclude the possibility that Maxima was also a consort of Epigonos and that Diodora was also his illegitimate child.

***EKM I 233. Epitaph of T[- - -], Imperial period (?)***

*(...) Epigonos for T[- - -] his wife.*

***EKM I 234. Epitaph of Publicia Agathemeris (?), Imperial period***

*Caius (?) Lappius Epigonos for Publicia Agathemeris (?) (...) his (...) wife, for remembrance sake.*

Strouthopoulos' dubious transcription renders any translation and commentary rather precarious; the presence of the adjective ὥραϊος, in particular, extremely rare in epitaphs in prose, and mostly used as a synonym of καλός in much earlier paederastic inscriptions (cf. D. Rousset, *REG* 125 [2012] 27-28), is rather suspect.

For the *nomen* Lappius, see the commentary at *EKM I* 142, above.

***EKM I 235. Epitaph of Benousta, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*Heptachrysos for Benousta his (wife?), for remembrance sake.*

On the name Heptachrysos, see the commentary at *EKM I* 143, above.

**EKM I 236. Epitaph of Kalandion and Philetos, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Touratsoglou (followed by EKM I) had recognized Plouton in the figure on the left; Terzopoulou (141-142) and Allamani-Souri (239, with parallels on the iconographic type) correctly recognize Dionysos with a panther (and not Kerberos as in EKM I); Allamani-Souri also recognizes in the object Eros, on the right, holds not a torch facing down but a bunch of grapes, schematically portrayed.

*Hermione for Kalandion her sweetest child, for remembrance sake; Zosime for Philetos her child, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 426 no 129.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 141-142, 152 no 92.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities in Roman Macedonia, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above. Allamani-Souri (239 and 283) discusses the various possible solutions for the identification of the deceased with one or both of the divine figures portrayed in the relief. She concludes that the children of Hermione and Zosime (step-brothers?) are identified with the two divine figures respectively.

The name Καλανδίων is also attested in Thessalonike (LGPN IV, s.v.). For ‘Homeric’ names such as Ἑρμιόνη (which is particularly popular in Roman Macedonia), see the commentary at EKM I 40 above.

**EKM I 237. Epitaph of Hermione, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for Hermione his sweetest wife, for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 238. Epitaph of Eros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

For the iconographic type of the seated woman, see Allamani-Souri 133-134; cf. also p. 232, where she wonders if the standing male figure was Eros, making this another example of representing the deceased as a divine figure, in this case prompted by the name of the deceased.

*[- -]riane for Eros (...), for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 428 no 131.

L. 2: Allamani-Souri (232 n. 1000 and 428) restores [τῷ υἱῷ] or [τῷ ἀνδρί] before [μ]υεῖας χάριν.

**EKM I 239. Epitaph of Phortounatos, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Eros –in the description of EKM I the old label Thanatos is still used for Eros holding a torch downwards– holds a bird with his left hand on his chest, as Terzopoulou and Allamani-Souri remark.

*Euodia for Phortounatos her child, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 412 no 115.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 140, 141, 152 no 84; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 370-371 fig. 14.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities in Roman Macedonia, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above.

The name Φορτουνᾶτος is also attested in Thessalonike (*IG X 2.1*, 463 and 786; cf. also Φορτουνᾶτα in *IG X 2.1 Suppl.* 1306).

**EKM I 240. Epitaph of Arogos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

As in the relief of the previous inscription, Eros probably holds a bird with his left hand on his chest, according to the description of Terzopoulou and Allamani-Souri.

*Euodos and Zosime for their sweetest child Arogos, for remembrance sake.*

SEG XLVIII 761; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 425 no 128.

Cf. Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 406 (on the depiction of raised hands); F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands); D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 140, 141, 152 no 91.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities in Roman Macedonia, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above. For the depiction of raised hands, see the commentary at EKM I 210, above.

For attestations of the name Ἄρωγος, see now *LGPN* Va and Vb.

**EKM I 241. Epitaph of Iulianus Endemos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Gellia Zoe for Gellius Iulianus Endemos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 221 no 264; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 131-132 no B13.

For the *gens* of the Gellii in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 241 no 248. Apart from Leukopetra (where Ἰουλιανὸς Ἐνδημος is a superintendent of the sanctuary between 234 and 244 AD: *I. Leukopetra* 86-89, 91-96; 100), the name Ἐνδημος is attested in Beroia itself (EKM I 283, below).

**EKM I 242. Epitaph of Philodespotos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Zosime for Philodespotos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 227-228 no 287.

The name Φιλοδέσποτος is, understandably, often used for slaves. Its two other possible attestations in Macedonia belong to a freedman (*IG X 2.2*, 407) and a slave (*SEG XXXVIII* 716, if the word is indeed a personal name in this case). The restoration *C. Fideius Philodē[spotes]*

in *I. Philippes* 221 (Pilhofer, *Philippi* II 220) is rather uncertain: Collart alternatively proposed the restoration of the much more common name *Philodē[mus]*.

**EKM I 243. Epitaph of Petronius Amyntas, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*Zosimos son of Nikopolis for Petronius Amyntas his father, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* no 317; M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 260.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 139 (on the metronym).

Zosimos is referred to by his metronym (on the use of metronyms, see EKM I 135, above), since he is the son of a peregrine woman and a Roman citizen (see Youni).

On the Petronii in Macedonia, see the bibliography of E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 84 n. 185.

**EKM I 244. Epitaph of the *threpte* Chreste, late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Zosimos son of Triakadion for Chreste his threpte, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 246 no 333; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 148-149 no B28; M. Donderer, in: *Thiasos* 190-191 no 6.

On the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities in Roman Macedonia, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above. This is the only case in Beroia where this trend is attested for a deceased of servile or semi-servile status (see the discussion of Donderer). For the status of the *threptoi*, cf. EKM I 208, above.

In Macedonia, the name *Τριακαδίων* is also attested in Edessa and Thessalonike; see EKM II 226 with the references.

**EKM I 245. Epitaph of Paratos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Heraklea for Paratos her husband, at his own expense, for remembrance sake.*

The name *Παράτος* (Lat. *Paratus*, commonly used for slaves) is otherwise unattested in Macedonia.

**EKM I 246. Epitaph of Popillius Paramonos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Popillia Herakleia for Quintus Popillius Paramonos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 247. Epitaph of Didyme, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Heraklios for his sweetest wife Didyme, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 222-223 no 270; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 173-174 no B57.

For names such as *Ἡρακλιανός*, formed by Greek names with the Latin ending *-ianus*, see the commentary at EKM I 258, below.

**EKM I 248. Epitaph of Caestroniana Aurelia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aurelius Herakleon for Caestroniana Aurelia his sweetest wife, for remembrance sake, and for himself while still alive.*

Cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 47 (2013) 268; E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 80 n. 133 (both on the onomastic formula).

In the case of Καιστρωνιανή Αὐρηλία, Solin hesitates between considering this a case of the inversion of the order *nomen* – *cognomen* (so Sverkos, with various examples, including this one) or recognizing a *gentilicium* Caestronianus, derived from Caestronius, with Aurelia used as a *cognomen*; the fact that Caestronianus (Κεσστρωνιανός) is used as a *gentilicium* in another inscription from Beroia (EKM I 278, below, not mentioned by Solin) favours the latter hypothesis.

**EKM I 249. Epitaph of Moustianos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

For the Beroian workshop which perhaps produced this work, see Allamani-Souri 301.

*Theophila for Moustianos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 405 no 105.

Cf. F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands).

In this relief, Eros, depicted between the couple, has a decorative and symbolic function and therefore is unrelated with the trend of the representation of the deceased in the guise of gods (for which see EKM I 214, above); cf. Allamani-Souri 231-232, 239 n. 1035. For the depiction of raised hands, see the commentary at EKM I 210, above.

**EKM I 250. Epitaph of Prothoenor, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Thymele for Prothoenor her husband, for remembrance sake.*

The name Προθοήνωρ, attested in the entire Greek onomasticon only for a minor Boiotian character in the *Iliad* (2.495; 14.450 and 471) and in this inscription, is an illuminative example of the popularity in 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD Macedonia of names with mythological, and especially Homeric, connotations; cf. EKM I 40, above.

**EKM I 251. Epitaph of Pistos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Allamani-Souri recognizes an earlier use of the stele as an altar base.

*Kalemeria for her sweetest husband Pistos, for him at his expense, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 466 no 171.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 138, 152 no 94; E. Sverkos – Th. Savvopoulou, *Tekmeria* 14 (2018) 79 (on the name Καλημερία).

The depiction of Eros in the relief is symbolic, and does not serve as a depiction of the deceased in the guise of deities (for the phenomenon, see *EKM* I 214).

***EKM* I 252. Epitaph of Hermophilos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Kissos for Hermophilos his child, for remembrance sake.*

T. Gavriilidis, *Niaousta* 61 (1992) 153; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 245 no 331; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 149-150 no B29.

***EKM* I 253. Epitaph of Nike[- -], 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Lamis for Nike[- -] (...).*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 472 no 176.

The name Λάμιος is now attested at Pella, but for a Thessalian (*EKM* II 502).

***EKM* I 254. Epitaph of Leon, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*[- -]mis for Leon his (?) brother.*

Apart from Tataki's suggestions (Λάμις and Ἄμμις) mentioned in the apparatus of *EKM* I, several other restorations, including longer, mostly female, names are equally possible.

***EKM* I 255. Epitaph of Loginos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Loginos for Loginos his child, for remembrance sake.*

Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 164-165 no 122.

***EKM* I 256. Epitaph of Louperkos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Loupina for Louperkos, for remembrance sake.*

Both names are unattested in Beroia, but see Λοῦππος in *EKM* I 27, l. A7 and 168, above, and 343, below.

***EKM* I 257. Epitaph of Phoibiane, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

The monument is not lost, but in the Archaeological Museum of Veria (Λ1203); current dimensions: 0.40 x 0.33 x 0.10. Terzopoulou and Allamani-Souri (234 n. 1011) assume that the naked figure standing on a base (described as male by Edson and Cormack) should be identified as Aphrodite, due to the dolphin's head portrayed on the right, in which case this relief would be another example of the representation of the deceased in the guise of a deity (see *EKM* I 214, above).

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 416 no 119.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 132, 150 no 33.  
Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Αἴλιος Λύκος  
Φοιβι<α>νῆ τῇ θυγα-  
τρὶ μνείας χάριν.

*Aelius Lykos for Phoibiane his daughter, for remembrance sake.*

L. 2: The engraver forgot the middle stroke in the A of Φοιβιανῆ. The underlined letters, seen by Edson and Cormack, are no longer visible.

Ailios Lykos is probably –but not certainly– identified with the deceased in EKM I 288, below.

#### **EKM I 258. Epitaph of Charmosyne, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Lysiane for Charmosyne her mother, at her expense for her, for remembrance sake.*

The name Λυσιανή is unattested elsewhere; it belongs to names formed by a Greek name (Λυσίας is well attested in Macedonia, see *LGN IV* s.v.) with the Latin ending *-ianus*, probably with patronymic connotations; see E. Sverkos, *Ionios Logos* 2 (2010) 349-363; cf. R. Bouchon – B. Helly, in: *La suffixation des anthroponymes grecs antiques* 570-575. The name Χαρμοσύνη is now also attested in Edessa (see EKM II 300, with the commentary on this category of names); its male counterpart Χαρμόσυνος is now also attested in Thessalonike (*IG X* 2.1 Suppl. 1404).

#### **EKM I 259. Epitaph of Lysimache's child, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Terzopoulou and Alamani-Souri (whose date is followed here) point out that the figure in the relief is Aphrodite and, therefore, the deceased child is represented in the guise of a deity (for the phenomenon, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above).

*Lysimache for her child, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 419 no 122.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 130, 131, 150 no 17.

Λυσιμάχη can be interpreted either as a nominative (and therefore as the name of the dedicant) or as a dative (and therefore as the name of the deceased, as Terzopoulou and Allamani-Souri prefer); the former option is favoured here, as in other funerary inscriptions where the name of the deceased children is missing; see also *EKM I* 304, 323, 324, 490 (where the name of the dead husband is also missing), and perhaps 291 (see apparatus); for missing names of other deceased family members, cf. also *EKM I* 273, 321 (unless the name of the wife was inscribed in the missing part of the stele), and probably 364.

***EKM I 260. Epitaph of Biktoreinos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***

*Makrobis and Denber for Biktoreinos, a stationarius, their friend, for remembrance sake.*

Cf. Petraccia, *Gli stationarii in età imperiale* 26 n. 110, 66 no 44; Dana, *OnomThrac* 111, 120; idem, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 60, n. 248 (both on the name Δένβεϋ, probably of Thracian origin).

For the *stationarii*, see also L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 285 n. 2 and *RevPhil* 1943, 113 [OMS I 366], and Petraccia's monograph.

***EKM I 261. Epitaph of Maxima and her foster parents, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***

*Maximo for Maxima her sweetest child and for those who raised her, for remembrance sake.*

H. Solin, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 230 (*SEG LI* 804; *AnnEpigr* 2001, 1761a).

L. 1: Μαξιμὼ Μαξιμᾶ *EKM I*; Μαξιμῷ Μαξιμᾶ Solin, due to the rarity of Latin names with the ending -ῶ; however, as Chaniotis (*SEG*) rightly observes, this reading would result in an unexpected word-order.

***EKM I 262. Epitaph of Markia and of Petillius Klaudianos, 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD respectively***

a) *Markia.*

b) *Aurelia Ourbana for Petillius Klaudianos her husband.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 401 no 100.

For the *gens* of the Petillii, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 342 no 443.

***EKM I 263. Epitaph of Leonto, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*Megethios son of Demetrios for Leonto his wife, for remembrance sake.*

***EKM I 264. Epitaph of N[- - -], 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

[. . .]esis for N[- - -] her (?) brother, at her (?) expense, for remembrance sake.

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 231 no 297.

Among the several names that could be restored as the name of the dedicant, apart from [Μιλ]ήσις suggested in the apparatus of *EKM* I, the ones attested in Macedonia are Διίγησις, Ζησίς, Κρατησίς, all female; by far the most common is Ἐπίκτησις, also female in Macedonia, for which, however, there seems not to be enough space. Apart from Νέων, suggested in the apparatus of *EKM* I, another popular in Macedonia name which could be restored as the name of the deceased is Νικίας.

***EKM* I 265. Epitaph of Kallon, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Nikephoris for Kallon her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Both names, attested in various parts of the Greek world, seem otherwise unattested in Macedonia.

***EKM* I 266. Epitaph of Euporos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*Olympias for Euporos her husband, for remembrance sake, at her expense for him.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 223 no 271; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 119-120 no B3.

For names such as Ὀλυμπιάς, chosen for their local historical connotations, see the commentary at *EKM* I 40, above.

***EKM* I 267. Epitaph of Nike, Euktemon, and Dionysios, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*Cuspidius Onesas for Nike and Euktemon his parents and for Dionysios his brother, for remembrance sake.*

For the *gens* of the Cuspidii, attested in various parts of Macedonia and rare outside it, see E. Sverkos in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 92-93 with further literature. The name Ὀνησᾶς, common throughout the Greek world, is otherwise unattested in Macedonia. For the dative γονῖσι, see also *EKM* II 396, with commentary.

***EKM* I 268. Epitaph of Xenylla, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for Xenylla his wife, for remembrance sake.*

Ξένυλλα is yet another name otherwise unattested in Macedonia.

***EKM* I 269. Epitaph of Philoxenos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*Pamphila for her sweetest husband Philoxenos, at his expense, for remembrance sake.*

***EKM* I 270. Epitaph of [- -]ima, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*[- -]ima daughter of Pannychos for her daughter [- -], for remembrance sake.*

For the name Πάννυχος, see *EKM* I 52, above.

**EKM I 271. Epitaph of Aelius (?) Sokrates, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

The assumption that this fragment is part of the sarcophagus found in the same church (EKM I 370) is disproven by the differences in letter style, letter height and content.

*Licina Paramona for Aelius (?) Sokrates her husband, for remembrance sake.*

For the common *gentilicium* Licinius in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 287-289 no 299 (to which add IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1113) and E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 74.

**EKM I 272. Epitaph of Paramona, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for Paramona.*

**EKM I 273. Epitaph of a couple, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*Paramonos and Claudius Epagathos for their parents, from their own labours, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 223-224 no 274; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 124-125 no B7.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 139.

For other funerary inscriptions where the name of the deceased is missing, see the commentary at EKM I 259, above. According to Youni, the fact that only Epagathos is a Roman citizen may be explained by his having joined the army.

**EKM I 274. Epitaph of Petronios, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Petronios, for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 275. Epitaph of Klaudios, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Eutychia daughter of (?) Polydamas, while still alive, for herself and for her husband Klaudios, for remembrance sake.*

As noted in the commentary of EKM I, the syntactical errors do not facilitate the understanding of the text. The most likely explanation for the beginning of the text is to consider Πολυδάμα Εὐτυχία as one of the very rare examples in prose epitaphs of the inversion of the order name – patronym (cf. EKM I 349, below, and EKM II 1 and 56).

For the rare name Πολυδάμας (popular in Thessaly), the commentary of EKM I points to the homonymous *hetairoi* in Alexander's army (references in Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad* 70 no 13), who may, however, have been of Thessalian origin (Heckel, *Marshals* 359-361); if so, the only attestation of the name in the Macedonian onomasticon would be in the honorific decree from Delphi (Syll<sup>3</sup> 269K, late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) for Poulydamas son of Antaios from Arethousa. In any case, the survival, six centuries later, of a name which is very rare in the Macedonian onomasticon is unlikely. It is thus more likely that we are dealing here

with a name with cultural connotations –inspired by the homonymous Homeric hero or, less probably, by the famous Thessalian athlete bearing that name (Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 348); cf. EKM I 40, above.

**EKM I 276. Epitaph of Potamon and the daughter of Poseidonios, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Potamon son of [- -]nos and [- -] daughter of [Po]seidonios for themselves (?) while still alive.*

**EKM I 277. Epitaph of Arete, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Pyrrhos for Arete his daughter, for remembrance sake.*

For female names from abstract notions in Roman Macedonia, such as Ἀρέτη, see A. Tatakis, *Tyche* 8 (1993) 190-193.

**EKM I 278. Epitaph of Caestronianus Kalogennetos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aurelia Rhodogyne for Caestronianus Kalogennetos, her sweetest child.*

For the *gentilicium* Caestronianus, see EKM I 248, above. For the name Ῥοδογύνη, see also the commentary of EKM II 98.

**EKM I 279. Epitaph of Nephon, a pedagogue, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Publicius Rouphos for the pedagogue Nephon, for remembrance sake.*

Chr. Laes, *ZPE* 171 (2009) 120 no 12.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 52 (on the παιδαγωγός); P. Chrysostomou, *Eulimene* 3 (2002) 109 n. 73.

For Publicius Rufus, known also from EKM I 360, see the stemma of the family in the commentary of EKM I. Laes' conclusion about the servile status of the majority of the epigraphically attested pedagogues (116-117) seems to be valid also for this case, given that the rare name Νήφων, unattested elsewhere in Macedonia, belongs to the popular for slaves category of names expressing desired attributes.

**EKM I 280. Epitaph of Fictori[us?] (...), 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Segnounnos Zosimos for Fictori[- -] (...).*

SEG XLVIII 768; O. Salomies, *Arctos* 34 (2000) 115-117 (SEG L 584).

Cf. Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 185 (on the Fictorii).

L. 1: ΣΕΓΟΥΝΝΟΣ on the stone, engraving mistake for Σεγ<ν>οὔννος (see the commentary, below).

Salomies noticed that the same names are attested on a stele in the Museum of Istanbul (SEG L 585: Φικτωρία Πώλλα, [Τίτ]ος Σεγνοῦννος | Ζώσιμος, Τίτος Σεγνοῦννος Ἰουκοῦν|δος, Τίτος Σεγνοῦννος Πωλλιανός | ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, μνήμης χάριν, | ἥρωα), of unknown provenance,

and proposes to identify the two persons mentioned in the Beroian inscription with Τίτος Σεγνοῦννος Ζώσιμος and Φικτωρία Πώλλα, respectively. Consequently, he assumes that the stele from Istanbul came from Beroia (and not from an unknown city in Bithynia, as had been previously suggested, cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 126 n. 88); he also assumes that EKM I 280 is a votive, and not a funerary monument. The stele of Istanbul reveals that Σεγοῦννος in the epitaph of Beroia is an engraving mistake for the otherwise unattested *gentilicium* Segnunnus (probably of Celtic origin). However, the presence of a very rare *nomen* is insufficient reason to ensure that the stele of Istanbul also came from Beroia, and even less to assume that the persons mentioned in the two inscriptions are to be identified: Zosimos is a very common name, and the *gens* of the Fictorii is attested in Macedonia already since the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC (see the commentary at EKM II 439 and Daubner).

**EKM I 281. Epitaph of Alypos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Sekounda for Alypos her sweetest (...), for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 282. Epitaph of Mestrios, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Sekoundilla for Mestrios her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Cf. Dana, *OnomThrac* 217.

The probably Thracian name Μέστριος is attested as a *gentilicium* in Beroia (EKM I 136); see E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 87 with previous bibliography.

**EKM I 283. Epitaph of Endemos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Timotheos for Endemos his father, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 406 no 106.

**EKM I 284. Epitaph of Amyntiane, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Titianos for Amyntiane, his sweetest child, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 420 no 123.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 130, 131, 149 no 10; E. Sverkos, *Ionios Logos* 2 (2010) 357.

For names such as Ἀμυντιανή, see the commentary in EKM I 258, above.

**EKM I 285. Epitaph of Aurelia Zosime, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aelius Traianos for Aurelia Zosime his wife.*

**EKM I 286. Epitaph of Cominius Eutychion, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Phaustos and Noema for Cominius Eutychion their son, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 224 no 277.

It is not clear whether the deceased was the first member of the family who acquired Roman *civitas*, or his parents simply do not mention their *nomina*, for the sake of brevity (cf. EKM I 360, below; for other motives for the suppression of the Latin onomastic formula in other cases, see the commentary in EKM I 79, above).

**EKM I 287. Epitaph of Nikanor (?), 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Phila (?) for Nikanor (?) her husband, for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 288. Epitaph of Aelius Lykos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aelia Phila for Aelius Lykos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

For Aelius Lykos, see the commentary at EKM I 257, above.

**EKM I 289. Epitaph of Philonikos and Paramona, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Philonikos for Philonikos his son and Paramona his wife.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 233 no 302.

**EKM I 290. Epitaph of Achilleus, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Kinch saw the stone in 1892 in the vineyard of A. Daskalis to the northwest of the city.

*Philoumene for Achilleus her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 224-225 no 278; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 130-131 no B12; Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 164 no 121.

For the name Ἀχιλλεύς, see the commentary at EKM I 218, above.

**EKM I 291. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for (...) his/her child (...).*

L. 2: Σερή[να] or Σερή[νία] tentatively suggested in the apparatus of EKM I; we cannot exclude however, that we have a name in the nominative here, and that the name of the deceased child is either missing (see the examples gathered in the commentary of EKM I 259, above) or inscribed below the surviving text.

**EKM I 292. Epitaph of [- -]nes, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for [- -]nes her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 255 no 368.

**EKM I 293. Epitaph of a husband, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) for (...) her husband, for remembrance sake.

**EKM I 294. Epitaph, Imperial period**

(...) for (...) his/her (...).

**EKM I 295. Epitaph of Epaphroditos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aigle for Epaphroditos her son and for herself, while still alive.*

The name Αἴγλη, otherwise unattested in Macedonia, belongs to the category of mythological names that became very popular in Roman Macedonia (cf. EKM I 40, above).

**EKM I 296. Epitaph of Paramonos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Ammin for Paramonos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 238 no 315; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 162-163 no B43.

For the name Ἀμμία, of which Ἀμμιον is a diminutive, see the commentary at EKM II 17.

**EKM I 297. Epitaph of Chresimos, Chresima, and their family, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Claudius Anteros and Nikaia the mother for Chresimos the son and Chresima his daughter; Erotis, Paramonos, Nikon, while still alive, and the mother; and for Anteros.*

SEG XLVIII 762.

In the commentary of EKM I it is assumed that Erotis, Paramonos, and Nikon are the surviving children of Claudius Anteros and Nikaia, who added the name of their father in l. 6 (καὶ Ἀντέρωτα) to those of their siblings Chresimos and Chresima. The atypical syntax, however, allows for different interpretations. Thus, the expression θυγατέραν αὐτοῦ, which defines Chresima, seems to indicate that she was the daughter of Claudius Anteros (or even of Chresimos) but not of Nikaia, while the lack of a personal pronoun after ἡ μήτηρ and τὸν οἶόν may suggest that Chresimos was the son of Nikaia, but not of Claudius Anteros. Alternatively, but less likely, Nikaia (“the mother”) may have been Claudius Anteros’ mother, and not his wife. Finally, the identity of the parents of Erotis, Paramonos and Nikon, as well as of “the mother” in l. 6 remains unclear; even Anteros in l. 6 is not necessarily Claudius Anteros: the syntax would also allow the assumption that he is yet another son of Claudius Anteros.

**EKM I 298. Epitaph of Petronius Bassos, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

(...) for Petronius Bassos, Petronius Herma[- -], for his son.

For the Petronii in Macedonia, see the bibliography of E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 84 n. 185. For the name Bassos, see the commentary in EKM I 206, above.

**EKM I 299. Epitaph of Bastos and Alexandros, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*For Bastos son of Apollodoros and for Alexandros son of Apollodoros, Apollodoros their brother.*

For the three brothers, see EKM I 121, above.

**EKM I 300. Epitaph of Dionysios, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for Dionysios son of Kassandros and (...), his/her parents-in-law.*

Adam-Veleni *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 221 no 265.

Cf. Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 381 (with parallels for epitaphs erected for parents-in-law).

**EKM I 301. Epitaph of Popillius Donax and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 916.

*Popillia Euporo for Popillius Donax her husband and Eutycha her daughter while she was still alive, and for Paramona his mother, and for Epis his brother.*

E. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 747 (Bull. 2005, 319; SEG LI 803) (for the rediscovery of the stele); Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 427 no 130.

**EKM I 302. Epitaph of Chresima, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Eutychos for Chresima his mother-in-law, for remembrance sake, and for himself while still alive.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 247 no 336; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 159-160 no B39.

Cf. Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 381 (with parallels for epitaphs erected for parents-in-law).

**EKM I 303. Epitaph of Eutychos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for Eutychos (...).*

**EKM I 304. Epitaph of a son, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Popillius Helios and Daphne for their son and Popillius Helios for his brother.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 230 no 294.

For the lack of the name of the deceased, see EKM I 259, above.

**EKM I 305. Epitaph of Amerimnos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Heraklea for Amerimnos, also known as Lychnas, her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 222 no 269; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 155-156 no B34.

**EKM I 306. Epitaph of Kriton, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Allamani-Souri identifies the figure on the left with Kriton and the figure on the right with his dedicant mother.

(...) for her son Kriton (...) while still alive (?).

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 343 no 40.

L. 2: Κρίτων ΤΕΚΤΟ[- -] EKM I; if the name of the deceased is followed by a patronym, as is most likely, the attested names in Greek epigraphy that could be restored are all very rare: Τεκτο[νίδα], Τεκτο[ρος] (of Latin origin) and Τεκτο[μάρου] (Gaulish).

**EKM I 307. Epitaph of Claudia Byzantia, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Tiberius Flavius Leon for Claudia Byzantia his wife, for remembrance sake.

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 224 no 275; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 182 no B66.

**EKM I 308. Epitaph of Turianus Thallos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Turia Nikarete for Turianus Thallos her husband, for remembrance sake.

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 224 no 276.

Cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 113 n. 5 (on the Turiani).

For the equivalence between derivative *nomina* in -ianus and the *nomina* on which they are built (Turianus = Turius, in this case), see the commentary in EKM I 55, above. For the *gens* of the Turii in Macedonia, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 416 nos 620-621.

**EKM I 309. Epitaph of Syneros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Vesseius (?) and Grapte (...) for Syneros, after he concluded his life, for remembrance sake.

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 223 no 272.

L. 1: ΟΥΕΣΣΕ[. . 4-5. . .] EKM I, where Tataki's suggestion Ουέσσ[α] and the *nomen* Ουέσσε[ία] (from Vesseius / Vessius; see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 442 no 660) are noted in the apparatus as possible restorations; a vertical is visible on the photo after Ε. A restoration of a male name, presumably the husband of Γράπτη, is more probable than the restoration of a female name; perhaps Ουέσσεϊ[ος], used as a personal name rather than a *gentilicium*? L. 2: after Γράπτη, one expects either a family term qualifying her (e.g. ἡ μήτηρ), or, more probably, a phrase qualifying Συνέρως (e.g. τὸ τέκνον or τὸν ἴδιον υἱόν, *vel sim.*).

**EKM I 310. Epitaph of Pithane and Phila, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

I, [Onesi]mos, for Pithane and Phila my wives, to whom I owe gratitude, and for my children, still alive, Proklos, two Onesimoi, Ammia, while I am still alive.

SEG XLVIII 759; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 429 no 133.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 132; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 358, 359 fig. 2.

Allamani-Souri (*Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 283), following a suggestion of E. Voutiras, assumes that [Onesi]mos (the restoration is very probable, due to the presence of two children with the same name, presumably one by each wife; cf. Youni) was a slave –as was his first wife Pithane–, was later freed and, after the death of Pithane, married Phila, and dedicated a funerary monument for his two consecutive wives, because he had failed to erect a monument for the first one upon her death. Any interpretation of the cases where two consorts are recorded in epitaphs of Roman Macedonia (see also EKM I 232, above and EKM II 125, 605, 610) is somewhat problematic. Unless we think of some sort of unofficial polygamous relationship, we have to assume either that the two wives died in close succession (which is clearly not the case here, since both wives raised children), or that one of them was exhumated and reburied in the new family grave, as in Voutiras' hypothesis. What is particularly striking in this case is the husband's sentimental bond to both his wives and the lack of any hierarchical differentiation between Pithane and Phila either in the text or in the relief. The emotional expression αἴς χάριν ἔσχον is addressed equally to both and they are depicted symmetrically in the upper panel, with the same iconographic type (this is one of only two examples of two seated female figures in all funerary reliefs of Beroia; cf. also EKM I 195), while the children of both women are grouped together both in the text and in the lower panel of the relief.

**EKM I 311. Epitaph of the *threptos* Rekeptos and a woman, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) for Rekeptos his *threptos* (...) and his daughter (...).

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 483 no 188.

The name Ῥεκέπτος is also attested in EKM I 142, l. 10, above, and in Edessa (EKM II 191: Ῥεκέπτα); for Greek parallels, see EKM I 143 II l. 8 (Πρόσδεκτος), EKM II 210 (Προσδόχη, again in Edessa) and IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1166 (Προσδέκτη, in Thessalonike).

For the status of the *threptoi*, see EKM I 208, above.

**EKM I 312. Epitaph of Nike, a priestess, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Strenos for Nike his wife, who was also a priestess, for remembrance sake.*

SEG XLVIII 736; A. Bielman Sánchez, in: *Images and Gender* 362 no II.5 pl. 28.4; eadem, in: *Egypte, Grèce, Rome : les différents visages des femmes antiques* 160-161 no II.5 fig. 8; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 382 no 80.

Cf. A. Chaniotis – J. Mylonopoulos, *EBGR* 1998, 99; D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 143, 153 no 111; A. Klöckner, in: *Cities and Priests* 319 n. 58.

L. 2: τὴν κὲ ἱέρειαν EKM I; τὴν κὲ ἱέρειαν Chaniotis (SEG XLVIII and EBGR), claiming that ἱέρεια was

Nike's *signum*, because she served as a priestess. According to Bielman Sánchez, both the relief and the phrasing suggest that her husband Strenos was also a priest.

The depiction of a divine Nike on the crowning may be seen as purely decorative, symbolic (so Allamani-Souri 231 n. 994) or, more probably, as a worldplay due to the name of the deceased (so Bielman Sánchez, Terzopoulou and Klöckner). This is one of the very rare examples in the iconography of Beroian reliefs of the depiction of the deceased in their professional capacity, with the exception of soldiers and gladiators (cf. Allamani-Souri 224-225; no 83 in her catalogue –uninscribed–, also portraying someone performing a libation, may in fact be dedicatory and not funerary).

**EKM I 313. Epitaph of Aurelia Philippa, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Aurelia Philippa his (or her) sister and (...).*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 235-236 no 308.

**EKM I 314. Epitaph of a woman, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for (...) his wife.*

**EKM I 315. Epitaph for Antig[- -] and his children, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*[- -]oria for (?) Antig[- -] son of [- -]on and for the children, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 392 no 90.

Once again, the names of the children are missing (see the commentary of EKM I 259, above).

**EKM I 316. Epitaph of Daphne, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aelia Aurelia for her sister Daphne, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 243 no 326; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 126-127 no B9.

**EKM I 317. Epitaph of Domitius Isagoras, *threptos*, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Galestes son of Ariston for Domitius Isagoras his threptos, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 220-221 no 263; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 181-182 no B65.

For the status of the *threptoi*, see EKM I 208, above. For the name Γαλέστης, see the commentary at EKM I 160, above.

**EKM I 318. Epitaph of Paramona, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Hesperos for Paramona his wife, for remembrance sake, and for himself while still alive.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 41-42 no 28; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 234-235 no 306; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 120-122 no B4.

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, in: *Beyond Boundaries* 127 fig. 7.7.

**EKM I 319. Epitaph of Claudia Alexandra, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Galerianus Euktemon for Claudia Alexandra his wife, for remembrance sake.*

For the equivalence between *nomina* in *-ianus* and the ones upon which they are formed, see the commentary of O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 144-145; for the *gens* of the *Galerii*, otherwise unattested in Macedonia, see *ibid.* 157.

**EKM I 320. Epitaph, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) of Kleitos (...).*

**EKM I 321. Epitaph of Loukis' wife, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Loukis for his wife, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 409 no 111.

The name of the deceased is missing (for such cases see the commentary at EKM I 259, above), unless it was inscribed in the missing part of the stele.

**EKM I 322. Epitaph of Caecilius Paramonos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Caecilia Paramona made this for Caecilius Paramonos her son, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 228 no 289; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 125-126 no B8.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 156 n. 127.

For the *gens* of the *Caecilii*, see the commentary at EKM I 145, above.

**EKM I 323. Epitaph of Aelia Philoumene and her children, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*I, Onesimos, erected this for Aelia Philoumene my wife and for my son and daughter, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 219 no 259; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 152-153 no B31.

The name of the two deceased children of Onesimos and Aelia Philoumene are missing (see the commentary of EKM I 259, above).

**EKM I 324. Epitaph of a family, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) for (...) his wife (?) and the children.

Once again, the names of the children are missing (see the commentary of EKM I 259, above).

**EKM I 325. Epitaph of Kominia, 234 AD, ca. June**

[- -]los for Kominia his wife, for remembrance sake, in the Augustan year 265, which is also the three hundred and eighty-first, on Panemos 25.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 403 no 103.

**EKM I 326. Epitaph of Soterin and the rest of Lalos' family, 133 AD, ca. February**

Lalos the doctor for Soterin his wife, for his parents and for his children while they were still alive, for remembrance sake; in the year 164, in Dystros.

SEG XLVIII 758; Samama, *Médecins* 184 no 082; Mavroudis, *Μακεδονική ιατρική προσωπογραφία* 248 no 28.

Cf. P. Chrysostomou, *Eulimene* 3 (2002) 109 n. 72.

For other doctors in Beroian epitaphs, see EKM I 360 and 407. For the omission of the names of some of the deceased, see the commentary at EKM I 259, above.

This is one of the rare examples in Beroia where the date without the qualification σεβαστόν is still the Actian one (see also EKM I 327, below, EKM II 386, 417, 540, and EAM 71 Suppl.; cf. possibly also EAM Suppl. 22).

Mavroudis and Chrysostomou misinterpret Tataki's reference to Πο(πίλλιος) Λάλος in EKM I 143, col. III l. 21 and discuss the presumed *nomen* of the doctor.

**EKM I 327. Epitaph of Caepianus Helenos, 177 AD, ca. September**

Caepiana Ophelima for Caepianus Helenos her son, for remembrance sake, in the two hundred and eighth year, on Hyperberetaios 13.

K. Fittschen, *MDAI(A)* 113 (1998 [2000]) 249-252, pl. 40-41 (on the relief and its affinities with contemporary Roman sculpture); Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 47-48 no 35; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 231 no 298; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 176-177 no B61.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 156 n. 127; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 406 (on the depiction of raised hands); F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands).

On the era (the Augustan one despite the absence of the term σεβαστόν), see the comments of the previous inscription.

Caepianus is a *gentilicium* unattested elsewhere, a derivative of Caepius (for the phenomenon, cf. the commentary of EKM I 55, above).

For the depiction of raised hands, see the commentary at EKM I 210, above.

**EKM I 328. Epitaph, 128 AD, ca. December**

*In the Augustan year 160, on Audnaios (...).*

**EKM I 329. Epitaph of the *threptos* Gregorios, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Alexis and [- -], his parents, for their threptos Gregorios, seven years and two moons old, for remembrance sake.*

SEG XLVIII 763.

As noted in the commentary of EKM I, the use of the term σεληναί for the measurement of time is a *hapax* in Macedonia. Moreover, such precision in the recording of the deceased's age for those older than a year is rare in Macedonia (see, e.g. IG X 2.1, 666 and 897; IG X 2.2, 223 and 397).

Chaniotis (SEG) remarks that the name Γρηγόριος suggests a Christian milieu; if so, this would be the earliest inscription pertaining to the Christian community in Beroia (the other –equally doubtful– candidate, EKM I 362, is slightly later). Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that names that become popular Christian names from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD onwards (such as Γρηγόριος) are not necessarily Christian names in previous periods; cf. also EKM I 362, below, for the similar case of the name Παρασκευή.

For the status of the *threptoi*, see EKM I 208, above.

**EKM I 330. Epitaph of Phabios, Symphorion, and Pothine, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Symphoros and Phabia for their children, for remembrance sake, and for Phabios, while he was still alive. Symphorion, aged 24, Pothine, the sister, aged 4. Symphoros, Phabia.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 233-234 no 304.

**EKM I 331. Epitaph of Popillia Hagne, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Aelius Perigenes for Popillia Hagne, his wife, who lived with him virtuously for 13 (or 33 or 51) years, for remembrance sake; and for himself while he was still alive; a heroine.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 225 no 280.

**EKM I 332. Epitaph of Paramonos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Epigone for Paramonos her son, who died while in a foreign land, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 222 no 268; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 180-181 no B64.

Cf. Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 150 (on the phrase ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ).

**EKM I 333. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) [- - -]ema for [- - -], her child, at her expense, for remembrance sake, who died while in a foreign land.

Cf. Nigdelis, *Επιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 150 (on the phrase ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ).

**EKM I 334. Epitaph of Primillianus Kourtios, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*Primilliana Dionysia for Primillianus Kourtios her patron, a hero, and for herself while she was still alive.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 248-249 no 340; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 179-180 no B63; H. Solin, *Arctos* 38 (2004) 181.

Cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 113 n. 5; idem, *Arctos* 53 (2019) 197 (both on the *nomen* Primillianus).

For the unattested *gentilicium* Primillianus, see the comments of Solin and Salomies; cf. Tataki, *Roman Presence* 362-363 no 478.

**EKM I 335. Epitaph of Marius Markellos, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Lucius Marius Markellos, a hero, his parents Cornelius Dionysas and Maria Sympherousa.*

SEG XLVIII 756.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 133.

In the commentary of EKM I (see also Youni), it is assumed that Markellos is the offspring of Sympherousa and another man, since he bears his mother's and not Dionysas' *gentilicium*; Chaniotis (SEG) objects that both Dionysas and Sympherousa are called parents of Markellos, and assumes that the latter was born while Dionysas was still a slave (or simply a peregrine who later received Latin *civitas*, one may add) and, accordingly, he was assigned his mother's *nomen*.

For the Marii in Macedonia, see E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 83, with further literature.

**EKM I 336. Epitaph of Agathophoros and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

The upper right fragment of the stele, reported as missing in EKM I, is also in the Archaeological Museum of Beroia (as pointed out by Allamani-Souri).

*Euporia for Agathophoros, for remembrance sake, a hero, and for her husband, and for the children while they were still alive.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 388 no 86.

Ll. 1-2: The reading of the previous editors for the end of the lines is confirmed in the photograph of the upper right fragment.

The text does not seem to correspond to the relief (cf. Allamani-Souri 282). Agathophoros was presumably the son of Euporia; if so, it is noteworthy that not only the names of the other children are missing (for the phenomenon, see EKM I 259, above), but also the one of her husband.

**EKM I 337. Epitaph of Aphrodeisios, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

According to Iliadou (58) and Adam-Veleni (81), the rider holds a club with his left hand; accordingly, they identify him with Herakles and include this relief among the examples of mortals depicted in the guise of gods (see EKM I 214, above), a hypothesis which is rightly rejected by Terzopoulou (134, n. 73).

*For the hero Aphrodeisios, his sister.*

Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* 202 no 86; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 238 no 314; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 140 no B19; Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 147 no 102.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 134, 151 no 52.

This is one of the few certain examples where the name of the dedicant is missing (for missing names of the deceased, see the commentary at EKM I 259, above); see EKM I 354 and 368, below; cf. also EKM I 207, 389.

**EKM I 338. Epitaph of Nikandros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Caius Valerius Hermas the father, Tertia the mother –and Maxima the sister– dedicated for their son Nikandros, a hero.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 391 no 89.

Cf. M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 252 n. 53.

Youni assumes that Hermas is a freedman, and, less plausibly, that his wife was of local origin.

**EKM I 339. Epitaph of Scirtius Agathon and Scirtia Zosime, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Euporos son of Ammia for Caius Scirtius Agathon his son and Scirtia Zosime his wife, who lived virtuously; heroes.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 256 no 372.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 132-133; O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 169-170 (on Σκίρτιος, Σκιρτία).

Adam-Veleni (who follows Dimitzas in the assumption that the monument is an altar) considers the inscription complete on the left, transcribes Πόρος, υἱόν, ζήσαντας at the beginning of the three lines respectively, and arranges the text in five lines.

On the *gens* of the Scirtii, see the commentary of Salomies and E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 72-73. On the use of metronyms, see the commentary at EKM I 135, above. According to Youni, Euporos is the second husband of Scirtia Zosime (and step-father of Scirtius Agathon).

**EKM I 340. Epitaph of Serapous, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Allamani-Souri (120) dates the relief to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD and rightly remarks that the original inscription must have been engraved on the broad canon inside the relief panel; indeed, this zone bears traces of erasure of a previous text.

*Euprepes for Serapous his wife for remembrance sake, and for himself while still alive; heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 366 no 62; Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 147-148 no 103.

L. 2: αὐτοῦ Kinch instead of μνήμης χάριν.

For names in -οῦς, see especially L. Dubois, in: *Onomatologos* 398-421.

**EKM I 341. Epitaph of Lyka and Oualeris, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Heliophon for Lyka his wife, for remembrance sake, and for Oualeris his son, a hero.*

E. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 747 (Bull. 2005, 319; SEG LI 803); Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 387 no 85.

**EKM I 342. Epitaph of Leontiskos and Philippa, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*Aurelius Leontogenes for [Aurelia] Graphis his wife and for himself while they were still alive and for Leontiskos his son and for Philippa his daughter, heroes.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 400 no 99.

For the popularity of names associated with the lion, see the commentary at EKM I 143, above.

**EKM I 343. Epitaph of Louppos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Iliadou (58) wrongly identifies the rider in one of the sides of the altar with Herakles (see Terzopoulou 134); cf. also EKM I 337, above, and 349, below.

*For the hero Louppos, Lucius Iavolenus Maximos and Flavia Sambatis for their son.*

Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* 203-204 no 88; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 239-240 no 318; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 133-136 no B15.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 130; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 337 (on the name Σαμβατίς), 406 (on the depiction of raised hands); F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the

depiction of raised hands); D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 134, 151 no 53; M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 249 n. 35 (on the name Σαμβατίς).

For the name Σαμβατίς and related names, and on the probable Jewish origin of persons bearing them, see the commentary of Nigdelis 336-339.

For the depiction of raised hands, see the commentary at *EKM* I 210, above.

***EKM* I 344. Epitaph of Menandros, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Attia Kointa for her husband Menandros son of Hadymos, a hero.*

M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 251.

For the *gens* of the Attii, attested in Macedonia since the mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 109 no 81. Youni remarks that this is one of the earliest examples of mixed marriages in Macedonia.

***EKM* I 345. Epitaph of Kalleas, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Tiberius Flavius Onesimos for Kalleas his friend, for remembrance sake, a hero.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 257 no 374.

The only other attestation of the Panhellenic name Καλλέας comes from Styberra (*IG* X 2.2, 326, l. 44).

***EKM* I 346. Epitaph of Polybios, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Front side: *Pantauchos for his father and Danae for her husband, for remembrance sake; a hero.*

Right side: *Pantauchos for his father and Danae for her husband Polybios, for remembrance sake; a hero.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 229 no 292; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 144-145 no B24.

Cf. J. Touloumakos, *ŽivaAnt* 47 (1997) 214 (on the name Δανάη).

This is the only attestation in Macedonia of the Panhellenic name Πολύβιος. For mythological names such as Δανάη, cf. the commentary at *EKM* I 40, above.

***EKM* I 347. Epitaph of Iulius Perikles from Herakleia, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Markia for her sweetest husband Iulius Perikles from Herakleia, greatly fond of hunting and in all aspects perfect towards her, a hero.*

Sverkos, *Συμβολή* 103, 139; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 228 no 288; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 132-133 no B14.

Cf. J. Touloumakos, *ŽivaAnt* 47 (1997) 224 (on the name Περικλής).

According to Sverkos (following the interpretation of φιλοθηρότατος by Tataki, *Beroea* 483), the deceased was a gladiator or rather a *venator*, and a freedman; it is, however, more likely that φιλοθηρότατος is meant here literally (cf. the φιλοκυνηγοί of Philippi [Pilhofer, *Philippi* II2 142, 144] or the φιλοπαίκτορες of Thessalonike [IG X 2.1, 1211] with Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 179-180 and 194, respectively).

**EKM I 348. Epitaph of Akte and Dikaïos, late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Allamani-Souri dates the stele on stylistic grounds to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.

*Synetos and Photis for Akte their daughter, a hero, and for Dikaïos their son, a hero.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 35-36 no 21; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 367 no 63.

**EKM I 349. Epitaph of Hermas, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Iliadou (58) wrongly identifies the rider in one of the sides of the altar with Herakles (see Terzopoulou 134); cf. also EKM I 337 and 343, above.

*Phausta daughter of Lykophron while still alive for Hermas, her son, a hero. Iole wife of Hermas for herself, while still alive.*

Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* no 202-203 no 87; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* no 25; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 244-245 no 330; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 136-138 no B17.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 136 fig. 7, 151 no 70.

This is one of the rare examples of the inversion of the order name – patronym in prose; see the commentary at EKM I 275, above. For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities (in this case, of Hermes, a choice obviously prompted by the name of the deceased), see the commentary at EKM I 214, above.

**EKM I 350. Epitaph of Anthos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Phila and Hilaros her husband for Anthos, her brother, a hero.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 432 no 136.

**EKM I 351. Epitaph of a son, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) for their son, a hero.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 240 no 320.

**EKM I 352. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Hero.*

**EKM I 353. Epitaph of Claudia Kouarta, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter**

*Tiberius Claudius Philetos for himself and for his wife Claudia Kouarta, a hero.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 39-40 no 27; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 232-233 no 301; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 171-172 no B54.

Cf. K. Tzanavari, in: *Γλυπτική και κοινωνία στη ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα* 151-152 fig. 6-8 (stylistic comparison with a bust of a priest from Beroia).

For the Latin name Κουάρτα, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 508-509 no 135; it is also perhaps attested in Edessa (see EKM I 195: Τουάρτα).

**EKM I 354. Epitaph of Alexandra, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

For the Beroian workshop which perhaps produced this work, see Allamani-Souri 301.

*For Alexandra their sweetest sister, her brothers, for remembrance sake; greetings passer-by.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 48-49 no 37; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 418 no 121.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 130 fig. 2, 131, 149 no 16.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above. For other examples of the names of the deceased missing, see EKM I 337, above.

**EKM I 355. Epitaph of Alketes, late 2<sup>nd</sup> - early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

According to Allamani-Souri (300), this is the work of the same artist who produced EKM I Suppl. 12.

*Alketes and Artemis for their son Alketes, for remembrance sake; greetings, passers-by.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 435 no 139; Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 165-166 no 103.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 134, 151 no 51.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above; Herakles was a divine figure very popular for the representation of young boys, especially in Upper Macedonia; in Beroia, on the contrary, this is the only certain example (cf. EKM I 337, 349, above).

**EKM I 356. Epitaph of Beronike, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

For the Beroian workshop which perhaps produced this work, see Allamani-Souri 301.

*Claudius Apollonis for Beronike his wife, for remembrance sake; greetings, passers-by.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 437 no 141.

Cf. G. Panayotou-Charalampous, *Archaiognosia* 5 (1987-1988) 45 n. 90 (on the relief); P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 96 n. 45 (on the letter type); F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands).

For Claudius Apollonis, cf. *EKM I* 214, above. For the depiction of raised hands, see the commentary at *EKM I* 210, above.

***EKM I 357. Epitaph of Botrys, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*Kleagora for Botrys her son, at her expense, for remembrance sake; greetings, passer-by.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 229 no 291; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 142 no B22.

***EKM I 358. Epitaph of [- -]on (?), late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***

*Nikanor son of N[- -] for his brother [- -]on (?), for remembrance sake; greetings, passer-by.*

Ll. 2-3: There is no reason to recognize in NI a dative ending with nasal infix, as suggested in the apparatus of *EKM I*; this is more probably a name in -ων, with a regular dative in -[ω]vi.

***EKM I 359. Epitaph of Attia Eirene, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half***

*Aurelius Attius Petronius for Attia Eirene his wife, for remembrance sake; greetings, passer-by.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 220 no 261; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 168-170 no B52.

For the Attii, see *EKM I* 344, above.

***EKM I 360. Epitaph of the family of the doctor Hermeias, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***

*Greetings; for Publicii Rouphos and Sempronille, his children, and for Aelia Rouphine, his wife, and for himself, the doctor Hermeias.*

Samama, *Médecins* 184-185 no 083; Mavroudis, *Μακεδονική ιατρική προσωπογραφία* 349 no 40.

Cf. P. Chrysostomou, *Eulimene* 3 (2002) 109 n. 73.

For other doctors in Beroian epitaphs, see *EKM I* 326 and 407. For Publicius Rufus, see *EKM I* 279, above, and for the dedicant, who omits his *gentilicium* here for the sake of brevity (cf. *EKM I* 286, above), but uses it for his children, see *EKM I* 500, below.

***EKM I 361. Epitaph of Hermione, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*Achilleus and the children for Hermione, at her expense for her, for remembrance sake; greetings, passer-by.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 226-227 no 284.

L. 4: ΑΙΚΙΝΙΗΣ on the stone; αἰκίνις EKM I; αἰκίν<ι>ς Adam-Veleni. In the commentary of EKM I, it is assumed that the whole word αἰκίνις was repeated by mistake; it is also possible, however, that the engraver meant to inscribe ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης ἐκείνη and repeated the ending of the genitive influenced by the preceding word, i.e.: αἰκ τῶν αἰκίνης αἰκίνις{ΗΣ}.

**EKM I 362. Epitaph of [- -]os and Artemidora, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Paraskeue had this made at her expense for [- -]os and for her child Artemidora. –Greetings Paraskeue. – Greetings to you too.*

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 249 (on the funerary formula); Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 282-283 n. 52 (on the name Παρασκευή); Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 94.

The fact that the name Παρασκευή may point to the Jewish community does not ensure that the dedicant was a Jew, let alone a Christian (as assumed in the commentary of EKM I, based on a suggestion by Tataki, cf. *SEG* XLVIII 763 at commentary). The name is attested in Macedonia already in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD in Edessa (EKM II 201), in a clearly pagan context (relief of funerary banquet); it is also attested in Thessalonike (*IG* X 2.1, 449 and *IG* X 2.1 Suppl. 1423), again in contexts which do not allow any certainty on religious affiliation (cf. the commentary of Nigdelis). For a similar case, see EKM I 329, above.

The phrase χαῖρε καὶ σύ is typical of Thessalonican epitaphs; see Kalaitzi 93-94 with earlier bibliography.

**EKM I 363. Epitaph of Metrodoros (below an earlier dedicatory inscription to Aphrodite?), 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Ep[- -] to (?) Aphrodite.*

*You, Metrodoros son of Ailianos, be fortunate, truly.*

If this is a single text, Ἀφροδίτη in l. 2 would be the name of the second dedicant in the nominative. However, even if one disregarded the perplexing syntax (two nominatives in ll. 1-2 followed by the name of the deceased in the vocative), this would be the only attestation of the theonym Aphrodite used as a personal name in Macedonia (the relevant entry in *LGPN* IV lists Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαί* 47 under Ἀφροδίτη, but the name of this *threpte* is Ἀφροδειτώ). It is, therefore, more probable that the first two lines of this lost monument record an earlier dedication to Aphrodite, as already suggested in EKM I, especially if Orlandos is right that the the last three lines are the work of a different engraver.

**EKM I 364. Epitaph, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Ioulios had this grave made, for remembrance sake.*

For other examples where the name of the deceased is missing, see the commentary at EKM I 259, above.

**EKM I 365. Epitaph of Eumekion, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*I, Pieris, had this small stele made for my wife Eumekion, for remembrance sake; greetings, passers-by.*

For names such as Πιέρι(ο)ς, alluding to Macedonian history or geography, see the commentary at EKM I 40, above. The name Εὐμήκειον remains a *hapax*.

**EKM I 366. Epitaph of a wife, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) [- -]eros had this stele made for his wife (...), for remembrance sake.*

**EKM I 367. Epitaph of Artemidoros, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Caecilius Ber[imos?] and Caecilia Tryphaina for Artemidoros their sweetest child, for remembrance sake. Whoever removes this altar shall pay to the treasury 2,500 denarii.*

SEG XLVIII 764; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 249 no 341.

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 264 (on the formula against potential tomb-robbers); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 121 (on the fine); M. Amandry – S. Kremydi, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 97 (on the fine).

L. 1: The older suggestion for the restoration of the name of the male dedicant, Βῆρ[ος], mentioned in the apparatus of EKM I, is too short, judging by the space available to the right and the disposition of the line; more probable is the restoration Βήρ[ιμος], a name now attested in the territory of Edessa (see EKM II 398, with commentary).

For the Caecilii of Macedonia, see the commentary at EKM I 322, above.

For comparative evidence for funerary fines in Roman Macedonia (cf. also the next two inscriptions), see I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 121-122 n. 94.

**EKM I 368. Epitaph of Sosibia, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*For my bewailed wife, for remembrance sake; I erected this altar for Sosibia; if anyone puts bones (of anyone else in this grave), he shall pay to the imperial treasury 500 denarii and 1,500 to the city.*

SEG XLVIII 765; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* no 323.

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 264 (on the formula against potential tomb-robbers); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 121 (on the fine); M. Amandry – S. Kremydi, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 97 (on the fine).

The compounds of the adjective κλαυ(σ)τός (ἄκλαυστος, ἀείκλαυστος, πάνκλαυστος, πολὺκλαυστος) are attested in epigrams, but the plain adjective is very rare (cf. *IGLSyr* 5.2485).

For other cases where the name of the dedicant is missing, see EKM I 337, above.

**EKM I 369. Epitaph of Xanthion's wife, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Xanthion for [- -] his wife, at his expense, for remembrance sake; greetings, passers-by. If anyone destroys this, removes it (?) or takes it away (?), he shall pay to the treasury one thousand pounds (of silver?).*

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 264 (on the formula against potential tomb-robbers).

**EKM I 370. Epitaph, late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

Contrary to the commentary in EKM I, this inscription seems unrelated to EKM I 271, above.

*(...) forever; if anyone dies (...) one thousand and five hundred; and if anyone wishes to (...) he shall pay to the treasury the same fine, and besides (...). Greetings, passer-by.*

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 264 (on the formula against potential tomb-robbers); I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 121 (on the fine).

**EKM I 371. Epitaph of Gemellos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Ammia his wife and Kouartion his son for Gemellos, for remembrance sake; and the members of the association under Poseidonis the leader.*

Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* IV 215 no 19; T. Rajak – D. Noy, *JRS* 83 (1993) 93 no 5; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 44 no 31; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 433 no 137; A. Ovadiah, *Gerión* 33 (2015) 218.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 119; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 160-161 (on the association); P. Paschidis, in: *Associations in Context*.

It is possible, but hardly certain, that this association, contributing to the burial costs for one of its members as is so often the case in Roman Macedonia, is a religious association of Zeus Hypsistos (see P. Paschidis in *CAP Inv.* 478 [<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/478>]), and certainly not a Jewish synagogue (pace Brooten and Ovadiah).

For the names Ἀμμία and Κουαρτίων see EKM II 17 and EKM I 353, above, respectively. For the name Γέμελλος, see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 488 no 60.

**EKM I 372. Epitaph of the muleteer Aelius Orestes, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Aelius Orestes, the association of muleteers, for remembrance sake.*

Kloppenborg – Ascough – Harland, *Graeco-Roman Associations* 302-305 no 64; P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 479 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/479>).

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 117.

For muleteers and their association, very often attested in Roman Macedonia due to the success of the *Via Egnatia* as a major passageway for commerce, see Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 187 and D. Terzopoulou, in: *Horses and Wagons in the Ancient World* 299-310; cf. *IG X 2*, 1 Suppl. 1219 and 1499.

For mythological names (such as Ὀρέστης) in Roman Macedonia, see the commentary at *EKM I* 40, above.

**EKM I 373. Epitaph of the vocal artist Spedius (?) Satyros from Nikopolis, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**  
*I, Spedius (?) Satyros from Nikopolis, vocal artist, lie here. (within a girdle:) Actian games.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 43-44 no 30; K. Melidis, in: *Poesia, musica e agoni nella Grecia antica* 775-776 no 1, 778, 779 fig. 1 (*SEG LXI* 1693); Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 381 no 79.

Cf. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται* 392 no 2234 and fig. 12; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 123 n. 100 (on the thymelic games).

L. 1: Σπέ<δ>ιος *EKM I*; Σπέλιος Melidis, but the *nomen* Spelius, contrary to Spedius (see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 400-401 no 577), is unattested in the Roman East (cf. Chaniotis [*SEG*]).

Φωνασκός / *phonascus* can denote a teacher of declamation or a vocal / musical trainer (cf. A. Bélis, *RPh* 62 [1988] 246-247 and Melidis). The wreath from the Actian games here means either that Spedius Satyros competed himself (in rhapsodic declamation, according to the commentary in *EKM I* and Giannou; as a professional singer, according to Melidis), or that someone whom he trained won there, as in the agonistic inscriptions where the φωνασκός is referred to (ὕπὸ φωνασκόν) alongside the winner.

**EKM I 374. Epitaph of the gladiator Xiphias, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Allamani-Souri mentions five victory girdles, but there was obviously a sixth one in the damaged left side of the stele.

*Aphrodito for her husband Xiphias, for remembrance sake, at his expense.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 313 no 74; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 256; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 193 no 27; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 455 no 160.

Cf. V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 368 fig. 13.

Mann mistakenly understands the name in l. 1 as the name of the dead gladiator in the dative and the name in ll. 2-3 as the name of the dedicant in the nominative.

Along with the new and a few unpublished finds, there now exist 29 (Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 227-228) funerary monuments for gladiators from Beroia (all dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD). This is a significant ensemble, which testifies to the importance of the gladiatorial games held in the metropolis of Roman Macedonia. The inscribed monuments are EKM I 374-390, 495, 497 and EKM I Suppl. 13-19; for a new, unpublished gladiatorial relief, see in the Note on unpublished inscriptions no 17, below.

The relief on the stele of Xiphias is one of the thirteen gladiatorial monuments which represent a funerary banquet, a Beroian peculiarity for this kind of monument (Allamani-Souri 226).

**EKM I 375. Epitaph of the gladiator Nympheros from Ephesos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Zmaragdus for Nympheros from Ephesos, for remembrance sake, when Kassadros was high-priest.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 313 no 68; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 253; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 241 no 321; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 154-155 no B33; Canali De Rossi, *Filius publicus* 50; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 191 no 22.

Cf. P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 89 n. 9 (on the letter type); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 352 (on the name Νυμφέρως), 355 (on the gladiator's origin).

L. 3: ΚΑΣΣΑΔΡΟΥ on the stone; the spelling is maintained in EKM I, where it is explained as a phonetic phenomenon; Κασσά<v>δρου Carter, Bouley, Adam-Veleni, Mann; Κασσάνδρου Spiliopoulou-Donderer.

For the high-priest of the *koinon* of the Macedonians Titus Flavius Kassandros, see EKM I 84 and 106, above.

**EKM I 376. Epitaph of the gladiator Pasinikos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Zoilos for Pasinikos, at his expense, for remembrance sake.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 313-314 no 75; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 256; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 194 no 28.

Cf. D. Papanikolaou, *Tekmeria* 14 (2017-2018) 208 n. 17 (on the pseudonym); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 355.

**EKM I 377. Epitaph of the gladiator Thourinos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*The comrades in arms for Thourinos, for remembrance sake.*

SEG XLVIII 766; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 241 no 322; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 199 no 43.

Cf. Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 462 (on the term συνοπλᾶς); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 354.

On the possibility that the dedicants belong to a *familia* of gladiators, see the commentary at EKM I 383, below.

**EKM I 378. Epitaph of the gladiator Iason, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Iason for himself.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 315 no 83; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 256; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 197 no 36; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 451 no 156.

**EKM I 379. Epitaph of the gladiator Platanos, late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Iouanaria for Platanos her father, for remembrance sake.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 314 no 79; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 242 no 324; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 183-184 no B67; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 195 no 32.

Cf. Bouley, *Jeux romains* 256; M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 354.

**EKM I 380. Epitaph of the gladiator Melanippos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Alexandra for Melanippos, also known as Kauma, 18 years old.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 313 no 72; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 256; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 256 no 373; Bouley, in: *Esclavage antique* 205 no 5 II; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 192-193 no 25.

L. 1: ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΩ in the copy of Wace; Μελανίπω EKM I; Μελανίπω Carter, Adam-Veleni; Μελανίπ<π>ω Bouley, Mann.

**EKM I 381. Epitaph of the gladiator Nikephoros, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Nikephoros at his own expense for himself, for remembrance sake.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 314 no 78; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 239; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 195 no 31; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 452 no 157.

Cf. P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 93 n. 28 (on the letter type), 100 n. 59 (on the category of the gladiator); M. Carter, *ZPE* 134 (2001) 113 (on the weapon depicted in the relief).

**EKM I 382. Epitaph of the gladiator Ouales, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Polydeukes for Kestillos, for remembrance sake; the mother of Ouales; gladiator of the first order.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 314 no 76; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 244 no 329; E. Bouley, in: *Routes et marchés d'esclaves* 101 n. 25; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 150-152 no B30; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 194 no 29.

Cf. M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du Nord Égéen* 352 (on the pseudonym).

**EKM I 383. Epitaph of the *summa rudis* Pouplios, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter**

*The undersigned for Pouplios, of summa rudis, for remembrance sake: Eklektos, of summa rudis; Onesimos, of secunda rudis; Achaikos; Klassikos; Lucius Puficius; Restitutos; Karios; Demetrios; Athiktos; Peridion; Agathon; Lucius Naevenus; Spatalos, praeco; Eutychas, trumpeteer.*

E. Bouley – N. Proeva, in: *Poikila epigraphica* 83-85 (SEG XLVII 894); Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 115-116, 313-314 no 70; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 39 no 26; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 227; eadem, in: *Routes et marchés d'esclaves* 99 n. 13; K. M. Coleman, in: *Valuing Others* 424-425; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 200 no 45; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 445 no 149; AGRW #942 (<https://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=942>); P. Paschidis, *CAP Inv.* 512 (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/512>); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 351.

Cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 120 (on the *nomen* Naevenus); P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 100 n. 59 (on the term *συμμαρούδης*); P. M. Nigdelis, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 140-141; M. Carter, *BICS* 61 (2019) 129.

According to the commentary in EKM I (following the established interpretation of L. Robert for the *summa rudis*), this is the second attestation in Beroia of a professional *familia* of gladiators (cf. the *συνοπλᾶνες* in EKM I 377, above), honouring the deceased Pouplios, their retired fellow colleague and umpire. Following the parallel of an inscription from Stobi mentioning a *secunda rudis* as president of a *collegium* (*I. Stoborum* 100), Bouley and Proeva (for a crucial correction in the text they publish, see D. Feissel at *AnnEpigr* 1997, 1353, and Nigdelis), followed by Coleman and Ducros, consider this instead a *collegium* of various professionals associated with the gladiatorial games, and refute Robert's theory that the judges were retired, and often manumitted, ex-gladiators. If this is indeed an association, which is far from certain (cf. Paschidis), there is no reason to deny the possibility that it was an association of gladiators, as Nigdelis remarks.

The *nomina* of the two manumitted gladiators –Puficius (Tataki, *Roman Presence* 367 no 488) and Naevenus (ibid. 323 no 383)– are unattested elsewhere in Macedonia.

**EKM I 384. Epitaph of the gladiator Mariskos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, third quarter**

*Silbane for Mariskos her husband at his expense, for remembrance sake.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 314 no 77; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 110 no 147; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 256; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 194-195 no 31; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 448 no 153.

Cf. M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 354.

**EKM I 385. Epitaph of a gladiator, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) for her husband, for remembrance sake.

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 315 no 82; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 242 no 325; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 196-197 no 35.

Cf. Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 184 no B68; M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 354-355.

**EKM I 386. Epigram of the gladiator Alexandros, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Greetings, oh passer-by, from Alexandros who just died; I lie here at the age of twenty, having succumbed to my own fate. Ammia for Alexandros, at his expense, for remembrance sake. (Eight times victor in) a fight.

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 313 no 73; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 269; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 243 no 327; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 153-154 no B32; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 193 no 26.

Cf. M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 353 (on the deceased's age); K. Coleman, *G&R* 66 (2019) 15.

**EKM I 387. Epigram of the gladiator Soulpikis from Pautalia, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Pautalia is my homeland; (I died) by weapon at the age of seventeen; my name is Soulpikis. Media and Ioulianos from Nikaia, at his expense, for remembrance sake.

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 312 no 69; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 256; eadem, in: *Esclavage antique* 204 no 1; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 191-192 no 23; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 454 no 159.

Cf. P. M. Nigdelis – A. Tzelepidou, *Tekmeria* 13 (2015-2016) 72 (on the relief); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 348 (on the gladiatorial equipment), 352 (on the gladiator's name), 355 (on the gladiator's origin); K. Coleman, *G&R* 66 (2019) 13.

Bouley and Ducros follow earlier editions of the text and therefore record the name of the gladiator as Sulpicius Media.

**EKM I 388. Epitaph of the gladiator Zosimos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

I, Phlammeates, previously known as Zosimos, retiarius of the first order in 20 fights, unbeaten since childhood, lie here, oh passer-by, dying not by an opponent, but by violence; having received seven crowns, I was defeated not by an adversary but by violence. Hermione for Phlammeates, previously known as Zosimos, her husband, at her own expense, for remembrance sake. If anyone destroys this small stele or causes it any damage, he shall pay to the treasury 2,500 denarii.

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 313 no 71; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 289; eadem, in: *Esclavage antique* 205 no 8; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 192 no 24; M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 353-354.

Cf. P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 100 n. 59 (on the *retiarii*); A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 264 (on the formula against potential tomb-robbers); M. Carter, *Phoenix* 57 (2003) 91 (on the gladiator's rank); F. Graf, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 148 (on the depiction of raised hands); D. Papanikolaou, *Tekmeria* 14 (2017-2018) 208 n. 18 (on the pseudonym); K. Coleman, *G&R* 66 (2019) 14.

For the depiction of raised hands, see the commentary at *EKM I* 210, above.

### ***EKM I* 389. Epitaph of a gladiator, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Daldiane (?) for (...) her husband (or: For (...) her husband from Daldis), for remembrance sake.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 315 no 81; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 243-244 no 328; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 160-161 no B40; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 196 no 34.

L. 3: The editors of *EKM I* propose in the apparatus to recognize the dative of the deceased's ethnic (Δαλδιαν[ῶ]ι); this, however, would mean not only that the dative ends in *iota adscriptum*, which would be rather surprising in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, but also that the name of the dedicant is missing. Thus, it would be more plausible to recognize the name of the wife (Δαλδιανή).

### ***EKM I* 390. Epigram of a gladiator, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) wrestler's art (...) desire for Enyalios conquered him (...) in the amphitheatres to both (...) urged now by (?) the battle-din (...).*

SEG XLVIII 767; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 199-200 no 44.

### ***EKM I* 391. Epigram of Hadea, late 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC**

The object held on Hadea's left arm is correctly interpreted as a sceptre by Allamani-Souri, Kalaitzi and Palagia, and not as a distaff as in *EKM I*; the object on her right hand has been tentatively interpreted as a spindle (*EKM I*), a small trident (Allamani-Souri in: *Μύρτος* and Palagia) or a key (Chrysostomou and Allamani-Souri, in: *Μνείας χάριν* and *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα*); Kalaitzi merely describes its form and refrains from identifying it.

a) *Hadea daughter of Kassandros.*

b) *To Hermes Chthonios.*

c) *Notice beneath me the grave of Hadea, whom the terrible Hades took hold of by disease while she was still a maiden, before her time to die; with her death she left forever great grief for her mother, Kynnana, who gave her birth, and great grief for Kassandros her father.*

V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Μνείας χάριν* 17-31 (Bull. 1999, 341); Kuzmin, *Aristokratija Beroi* 102-107 (*non vidimus*; SEG LXIII 423); Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 94-96, 309 no 3; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 205-206 no 84.

Cf. Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs* 32 n. 189; Chrysostomou, *Εν(ν)οδία* 135-137; E. Voutiras, in: *ΚΤΜΘ* I 70 no 53 n. 2; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Μύρτος* 489-493 (SEG XLVIII 753); E. Sverkos – K. Sismanidis, *Tekmeria* 6 (2001) 55 n. 2 (on the letter type), 58 n. 16 (on epigrams mentioning disease); A. Avagianou, in: *Λατρείες στην περιφέρεια του αρχαίου ελληνικού κόσμου* 75 fig. 9; O. Palagia in: *Macedonian Legacies* 195-214 (SEG LIX 655); M. Kalaitzi, in: *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité* I 333-334 fig. 6; O. Palagia, in: *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 492-493; M. Kalaitzi, in: *Visual Histories of the Classical World* 415.

This fine and characteristic product of the Beroian Hellenistic relief workshops has received a number of different interpretations. Chrysostomou, Allamani-Souri and Kalaitzi (in: *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité*) identified the deceased as a priestess holding a scepter; Chrysostomou, who identifies her with a daughter of Kynanna, priestess of Enodia (EKM I 23, above), assumes that Hadea is also a priestess of the same goddess; Allamani-Souri oscillates between Enodia and Isis Pelagia (*contra*, for the latter deity, Bull. 1999, 341), due to the objects portrayed in the relief.

Palagia (in: *Macedonian Legacies*) proceeded to a radical reinterpretation of the stele: it is dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC; the figure on the left is identified not with Hadea, but with the earliest personified representation of Macedonia (with the parasol representing an "Achaemenid symbol of authority, reintroduced by the Macedonians in that spate of Orientalism that engulfed Macedonia after Alexander's conquest of the East"); Hadea is identified with the young girl on the right, holding a sacred book of initiation to the Orphic mysteries; Kynnana is identified to an otherwise unattested daughter of Amyntas IV and Kynnana, Alexander's sister; she was presumably married to king Kassandros. All this is summarily dismissed by Chaniotis (SEG LIX) and Kuzmin, on good –archaeological, religious and historical– grounds.

On the name Ἀδέα, cf. EKM I 184, above.

### **EKM I 392. Epigram of Paterinos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Paterinos son of Antigonos, a hero. This dust from the fatherland covers Paterinos with the discreet soul, after he completed five continual decades of life, the renowned son of Antigonos of old repute, whom his fatherland made leader twice; when her father went to the somber chambers of the pious, Agatha, of noble descent, erected this monument.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 348-349 no 45; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 207-208 no 88.

Cf. Helly, *L'état thessalien* 27 (on the term ταγός); V. Allamani – K. Tzanavari, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 55, 71 fig. 19; A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1999) 1120;

M. B. Hatzopoulos, CRAI 142 (1998) 1197-1198 [*Découvrir la Macédoine antique* 268-269]; V. Misailidou-Despotidou, in: *Ἀγάλμα* 382; G. Sacco, *XeniaAnt* 10 (2001) 15 fig. 3 (on the relief); E. Sverkos – K. Sismanidis, *Tekmeria* 6 (2001) 57-58 (on epigrams mentioning the age of the deceased); M. Sève, in: *Citoyenneté et participation* 264, 266; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Νάματα* 157-158 fig. 3; M. Hamiaux, in: *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 66 fig. 18; Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, in: *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* 566; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 358 fig. 1, 359; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Mediterraneo antico* 19 (2016) 212; A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, in: *Beyond Boundaries* 121 fig. 7.1; Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen* 105; B. Helly – M. Mari, in: *Munus Laetitia* I 262; M. Kalaitzi, in: *Visual Histories of the Classical World* 419.

L. 3: ψυχῃ EKM I, Allamani-Souri; ψυχῇ Kalaitzi, correctly.

Paterinos was one the leading members of the Beroian aristocracy in the Republican period, as can be inferred not only from his holding twice the charge of ταγός (on which see below), but also from the reference to his father's high status and to his daughter's noble ascendance. He is probably identified with the father or the son of Lysimachos son of Paterinos, *kynegos* of Herakles Kynagidas in 115/4 BC (see EKM I 134, l. 32, and the commentary there). His funerary stele is another fine specimen of the Hellenistic Beroian workshop. The 'Agathe type', the standard iconographic type for seated women throughout Late Hellenistic and Roman Macedonia (see Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 114-135 and Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 68-69 with the earlier bibliography), is named after his daughter, the dedicant of this stele.

The inscription has mostly been discussed on account of the term ταγός, a traditional civic term in Macedonia, parallel to (so Hatzopoulos, CRAI) or borrowed from (so Helly, tentatively) the homonymous Thessalian office. The term was still in official use in Hellenistic Mieza (EKM II 93) and Tyrissa (EKM II 425) in the form ταγῶν ἀτῶν (cf. Helly – Mari for an alternative interpretation, with the objections put forward in *Bull.* 2019, 249), which originally denoted the chief archons forming a *synarchy* along with the *epistates*. It remains doubtful in this case whether the term is used (or if it was ever used in Beroia) as a technical term, or, rather, if it is used with poetic licence as a synonym of *archon* (so Helly) or *politarches* (so Hatzopoulos and Sève, as already Touratsoglou), simply in order to denote Paterinos' rise to the highest civic office of Beroia twice.

### EKM I 393. Epigram, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC

*While still alive I made this; I made a memorial for those still present, after my death.*

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 258, 262 (on the funerary formula).

Due to the multiple uses of this stele (see the description of the monument in EKM I 148), it is unclear where, and if, the name of the deceased was engraved.

**EKM I 394. Epigram of the musician Antigona, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*A servant of the Muses who played the lyre is buried here, Antigona, who already as a child showed her worth; she left behind in lament her husband Myrismos, who always honoured her and delivered her to the grave when she faded away.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 232 no 300; E. Voutiras, in: *Κερμάτια φιλίας* II 44-45 no 2 (Bull. 2011, 410; SEG LIX 656).

Cf. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοί τεχνῖται* 55 no 203; S. Le Bohec-Bouhet, *Studi ellenistici* 31 (2017) 49-50; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 123 n. 100, 124.

The text is disposed in metrical lines in SEG LIX. Ll. 2-3: Voutiras (following Robert) convincingly argues that we should not understand Ἀντιγόνα χρηστή, παῖς ἔτι φαινομένη (“worthy Antigona, still resembling a child”), but as Ἀντιγόνα, χρηστή παῖς ἔτι φαινομένη (“Antigona, who already as a child showed her worth”), since Antigona was already a married woman and could therefore not be described as looking still like a child. Ll. 3-4: ἀφῖ|σα EKM I, Adam-Veleni; ἀφ[εῖ]|σα Voutiras, returning to earlier readings and restorations. L. 4: <δ>ς πάντοτε κοσμεῖ EKM I, following the correction by Robert and Peek; ὡς πάντοτε κοσμεῖ Adam-Veleni; ὡς πάντοτ' ἐκόσμηι Voutiras, understanding ἀφείσα γόοις, ὡς πάντοτ' ἐκόσμηι as “left (Myrismos) in lament, because he always honored her”; although πάντοτ' ἐκόσμηι and attaching γόοις to ἀφείσα is indeed preferable, the correction <δ>ς still provides a better syntactical connection both with the previous phrase and with the following one.

Voutiras argues that λυροκτύπος does not denote a professional musician participating in contests (since the lyre was not part of thymelic competitions), but simply a cultivated woman. Given, however, the parallel of the mime Kyrilla, who prides herself in winning crowns (whether literally or metaphorically) in thymelic performances (EKM I 399), and of other artists in paratheatrical activities (cf. Giannou 123-124), one cannot exclude that Antigona was, indeed, a performer.

**EKM I 395. Epigram of Antigonos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Leuke had this grave constructed and erected for Antigonos her spouse, a compound of temperance and affection.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* no 283; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 146-147 no B26.

**EKM I 396. Epigram of Kleinos from Amastris, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*The land of Macedonia hides here in the depths of the grave Kleinos from Amastris, the spouse of Bassile, interpreter of Phoibos' phorminx, skilled in all the songs played in a theatre, but inexperienced in crowds.*

Bouley, *Jeux romains* 222; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 227 no 285; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 117-118 no B1.

Cf. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται* 259-260 no 1424; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 123 n. 100 (on the thymelic games).

For theatrical and paratheatrical activities in Roman Macedonia, see Giannou 123-124. Kleinos makes an interesting distinction between performances in a theatre (i.e. for distinguished audiences), over which he prides himself, and other shows fit for the ignoble crowds.

**EKM I 397. Epigram of S[- -], 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*The father who begot him was Dionysios; the one who gave birth to him was Chrysarin; he was only sixteen years of age; his homeland was Beroia; and his name was S[- -], if you want to know the answer to the golden question. (...) Dionysis.*

SEG XLVIII 757; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 165-166 no B47.

**EKM I 398. Epigram of the baker (?) Kaikilis, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*I, wretched Kaikilis the baker (?) lie here dead; twelve times a spectator of the stadium race of Pisa (i.e. of the Olympic games), but by fate and disease (...).*

Cf. E. Sverkos – K. Sismanidis, *Tekmeria* 6 (2001) 58 n. 16 (on epigrams mentioning disease); Bartels, *Städtische Eliten* 121, 123; F. Daubner, in: *Athletics in the Hellenistic World* 234; idem, in: *The Polis in the Hellenistic World* 131; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 122.

In the commentary of *EKM I*, the possibility is raised that Kaikilis may not have been a mere baker but a liturgic official of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Another possible interpretation is that the reference to twelve Olympic games is not meant to portray the deceased as a sports fan (so Bartels, Giannou and Daubner), or a liturgic official at Olympia, but merely to poetically refer to his age (48 years old). For examples of word-play with the age of the dead in funerary inscriptions from Macedonia, see Sverkos – Sismanidis 57-58.

**EKM I 399. Epigram of the mime Kyrilla, early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Klaudianos who raised me and Kastor my husband had my funerary monument built, in remembrance of their affection. I am the mime Kyrilla, who once received many crowns of glory in thymelic performances, but now the thread of the Moirai has snatched me and I sing no more. I lie in the sacred metropolis of Beroia.*

Bouley, *Jeux romains* 224; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 228 no 290; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 143-144 no B23; P. Grandinetti, in: *Epigrammata: iscrizioni greche e comunicazione letteraria* 194.

Cf. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται* 279 no 1522; W. J. Slater, *Phoenix* 56 (2002) 324-325; Ch. Mauduit – J.-Ch. Moretti, in: *Fronts de scène et lieux de culte dans le théâtre antique* 19; G. Tedeschi, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 11 (2002) 140 n. 252; R. Webb, in: *L'organisation des spectacles dans le monde romain* 235-236; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 123-124.

For theatrical and parathreatical activities in Roman Macedonia, see Giannou 123-124; for the evidence on competitions in mimes in the Greek East in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, see Webb 235-236, with previous bibliography. It remains unclear if the crowns mentioned by Kyrilla refer to actual victories in official competitions, or simply allude metaphorically to her success as a performer. In any case, the inscription is characteristic of the semantic enlargement of the term θυμέλη, which came to denote all performances and contests (see Mauduit – Moretti). For a much earlier mime performer in Macedonia, see SEG LV 723 (Amphipolis, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC).

**EKM I 400. Epigram of Krispinos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Here lies the grave marker of prudent Krispinos, who met with an early death; he will leave no line of descendants (...) behind, for the deadly fate has previously tamed both his children; for this reason, Sozomene his wedded wife had this stele engraved, for the mortals, and for those to come, to know.*

**EKM I 401. Epigram of Leontios, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*This tomb holds a good and prudent man, one of the first in our city, Leontios, whom prominent citizens and all compatriots alike (...).*

Cf. Nigdelis – Souris, *Ἀνθύπατος λέγει* 49 (on the term πρῶτος).

**EKM I 402. Epigram of the acrobat Am[. . .]on, late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) having been crowned (...) sports (...) rope walker and then acrobat (...) Am[. . .]on the renowned collaborator of his adoptive father, the great and amazing of all times Maximos; he lived with glory for twenty-seven years and lies here no longer with a debt to death.*

Bouley, *Jeux romains* 215; eadem, in: *Routes et marches d'esclaves* 98; W. J. Slater, *Phoenix* 56 (2002) 324-325.

Cf. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται* 18 no 9, 292 no 1604; EBGR 1998 (*Kernos* 14 [2001]) 99; T. Giannou, *Logeion* 8 (2018) 123 n. 100.

Ὀξυβάτης being an acrobatic term unattested elsewhere, it is not clear what the deceased's second skill was; Slater, followed by Giannou, assumes that the term refers either "to a 'quickstep' expert, or someone who 'climbed on a point'". For the third skill he suggests tentatively, and despite metrical difficulties, [σκανδα]λιστής, an acrobat performing on a trapeze instead of [κοτυ]λιστής, which had been proposed in SEG XXVII 266 and is retained in EBGR.

The phrase τῷ θανάτῳ μηκέτ' οφειλόμενος occurs also in the famous Edessaian epigram for a pig (EKM II 264), to which E. Voutiras (in: *Δινήεσσα* 563-567) also attributes acrobatic abilities.

**EKM I 403. Epigram, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*Parthenope's father (...) Kleops (...), for remembrance sake.*

For the mythological names, see the commentary at EKM I 40, above.

**EKM I 404. Epigram of Parthenope, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Persephone has received beautiful Parthenope, gifted with a splendid appearance, in the land of the pious. Oh Envy and Pluto, you who plundered the golden flower and cut short the noblest hopes of her parents! Although she has died, it is impossible for me to believe how bitter Fate touched her divine beauty; had her number of years reached old age, you would still be able to take the soul of the one whom now you have before her time; for Parthenope was everybody's child and she inspired the same love to all; now, Hades, you are the only one who takes hold of her. Achilles for Parthenope, his daughter, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 229-230 no 293; E. Sironen, in: *L'épigramme dans tous ses états* 30-31 no 4 fig. 4.

Cf. J. Touloumakos, *ŽivaAnt* 47 (1997) 214 (on the names); A. Chaniotis, in: *Ancient Emotions* I 356 n. 26 (on ll. 10-11).

For the mythological names, see the commentary at EKM I 40, above.

**EKM I 405. Epigram of Phileremos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*I, Phileremos, lie here dead, whom lady Tyche desired and daemons kidnapped from life, so I became inseparable from this death. Hermione, my wife, erected me in (...). Greetings, passer-by.*

**EKM I 406. Epigram, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) doom (...) painful (...) grave (...) chambers (...).*

**EKM I 407. Epigram of a doctor, date impossible to determine**

*(...) to the limits (?) (...) praise (...) and showing cures for diseases (...) left (...) of his art.*

P. Chrysostomou, *Eulimene* 3 (2002) 109 n. 74; Mavroudis, *Μακεδονική ιατρική προσωπογραφία* 162-163 no 9.

L. 1: [τέχ]νης Mavroudis.

**EKM I 408. Epigram (?) of Soummos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) Emathia (?) (...) Symphoros for Soummos.*

For the poetic term Emathia, used as a synonym for Macedonia in the Roman period, see also *EKM I 97*, above.

***EKM I 409. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*(...) at his / her / their expense, for remembrance sake.*

***EKM I 410. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*[. . .]andros (...) for remembrance sake.*

Cf. Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 252 no 352.

***EKM I 411. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*(...) for remembrance sake.*

***EKM I 412. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*(...) for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 414 no 117.

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 141, 153 no 102.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities in Roman Macedonia, see the commentary at *EKM I 214*, above. This is the only instance of Apollo used in the group of reliefs from Beroia following this trend.

***EKM I 413. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*(...) for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 251 no 349.

***EKM I 414. Epitaph (?), 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD***

The date in Allamani-Souri's catalogue (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC) is a typo: see *ibid.* 255, where it is dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.

*(...).*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 461 no 166.

Cf. E. Papagianni, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 385 n. 3.

***EKM I 415. Epitaph, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD***

*(...) [- -]theos son of (?) Apoll[- -] (...).*

**EKM I 416. Epitaph (?), 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**  
(...).

**EKM I 417. Bilingual epitaph of Furia (?) Secunda, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**  
(in Latin:) (...) *Secunda* (...) years. (in Greek:) *daughter Secunda* (...), a maiden (...).

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132.

For the *gens* of the *Furii* in Macedonia (according to Cormack's reconstruction of the text), see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 237-238 no 236, P. M. Nigdelis, *Egnatia* 13 (2009) 33 and IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1135, 1401, 1408.

**EKM I 418. Epitaph of Lucius Octavius and his family, in Latin, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

*To the divine Manes. For Lucius Octavius Rufus, son of Lucius, of the tribe Aemilia, and for his family.*

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 131.

**EKM I 419. Epitaph of Caesernius Apronianus, in Latin, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Sacred to the divine Manes. Titus Caesernius Eros and Publicia Aproniane daughter of Titus, for Titus Caesernius Apronianus, their sweetest son.*

*AnnEpigr* 1998, 1216; M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 249 n. 32.

Cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* 115 n. 13; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132-133, 138 fig. 3.

Youni uses this inscription as an example of mixed marriages between freedmen and freeborn.

**EKM I 420. Epitaph of Publicius Severus and Domitia Ammia, in Latin, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Titus Publicius Severus son of Titus Publicius Nepos and Domitia Ammia daughter of Gnaeus Domitius Menelaus.*

*AnnEpigr* 1998, 1217; M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 249 n. 36.

Cf. Youni, *Provincia Macedonia* 129-130; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132.

Youni points out that the *cognomina* (and patronyms) of this couple make it a typical example of a marriage between an Italicus (T. Publicius Severus) and a Roman citizen of local origin (Domitia Ammia).

## INSCRIPTIONS OF LATE ANTIQUITY

**EKM I 421. Building inscription, dedicated by the *secretarius* Strymonios, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Ex-voto (...) for the most magnificent prefects; Strymonios the secretary dedicated.*

J. R. Martindale, in: *PLRE* III B 1204 s.v. Strymonius.

Cf. C. Snively, in: *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* 560; J. M. Ogereau, in: *Authority and Identity* 223 n. 26.

L. 1: TCXTCINI EKM I, reproducing the facsimile of the anonymous correspondent; perhaps κ(αί) σωτηρίας Martindale.

For the name Στρυμόνιος, apart from the attestations gathered by Feissel, see *IGBulg* IV 2056 with *SEG* XLVI 864 (Pautalia, Thrace).

**EKM I 422. Epitaph of Bitilianos, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Bitilianos.*

For the term μημόριον, ubiquitous in Late Antique Macedonia, see also M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 134 and S. Destephen, in: *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique* 141.

**EKM I 423. Epitaph of the presbyter Eugenios, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of presbyter Eugenios.*

**EKM I 424. Epitaph of the presbyters Theodoulos and Eutropios, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Theodoulos and Eutropios, presbyters.*

**EKM I 425. Epitaph of Martyrios, tailor and sub-deacon, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Martyrios, tailor, sub-deacon.*

Petkos – Karagianni, *Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Βέροιας* 55 with photograph.

**EKM I 426. Epitaph of Polykarpos, sub-deacon, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Polykarpos, sub-deacon, which he made at his expense; if anyone dares to (...).*

*SEG* XLVIII 774.

Cf. *Bull.* 2000, 799.

L. 3: [ὁ ἐ]ποίησεν EKM I; [τὸ ἐ]ποίησεν Sverkos (*SEG*), alternatively.

**EKM I 427. Epitaph of Silbinos, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Silbinos.*

Cf. S. Destephen, in: *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique* 141 n. 38 (on the abbreviation μημ(όριον) as an influence of Latin epigraphy).

**EKM I 428. Epitaph of Stephanos and Sabina, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Stephanos and Sabina.*

SEG XLVIII 777.

Cf. Bull. 2000, 799; S. Destephen, in: *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique* 141 n. 38 (on the abbreviation μημ(όριον) as an influence of Latin epigraphy).

**EKM I 429. Epitaph of Apostolios the weaver and Kyrillos the presbyter, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Resting place of Apostolios, weaver, and Kyrillos, presbyter (...).*

SEG XLVIII 778.

Ll. 2-3: τριμ[ιταρίου (?) | [- -] OY EKM I, but, since the right edge of the plaque is preserved, the letters in l. 3 must belong to the ending of the word: τριμ[ι][ιταρί]ου. L. 4: The abbreviation sign after Σ renders the restoration [πρ]εσ[βυτέρου] suggested in the commentary of EKM I fairly certain.

**EKM I 430. Epitaph of Nan[- -] and [- -]on, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Resting place of Nan[- -]; [- -]on lies here.*

L. 2: There seems to be no text missing to the right.

From the many names beginning with Ναν- (most of them onomatopoeic and/or derived from νάννη, and very popular in Asia Minor), the ones attested in Macedonia are all female: Ναννίς, Νανοῦς, Νανώ (see the relevant entries of LGPN IV).

**EKM I 431. Epitaph of Theopompos (?), 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Resting place of Theopompos (?) (...).*

SEG XLVIII 773.

Cf. Bull. 2000, 799.

Ll. 1-3: κυμητ[ήριον (?) | ΗΩΝΕ[- -] | ΠΟΝΠ[- -] EKM I, suggesting alternatively κυμητ[ήρ]ηων in ll. 1-2; Feissel (Bull.) agrees and further restores Θ[εο]πόνπ[ου] in ll. 2-3.

**EKM I 432. Epitaph of Petros, soldier, and Demetria, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Monument of Petros the soldier and his wife Demetria.*

**EKM I 433. Epitaph of slaves working in a guild, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Tomb of the slaves of the patron Theodoros.*

**EKM I 434. Epitaph of Sophia, 5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Tomb of Sophia (...). In the year (?) (...).*

**EKM I 435. Epitaph of Hagne, a deacon, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Of Hagne the deacon.*

SEG XLVIII 775.

Cf. Bull. 2000, 799.

For female deacons in early Christian churches, see also the study of Eisen, *Amtsträgerinnen im frühen Christentum* 154-192.

**EKM I 436. Epigram, 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) no one should shed a tear here. Enjoy the company of the saints.*

**EKM I 437. Epitaph of [- -]eskos and Ioannes (?), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*(...) and of the most glorious [- -]eskos and of Ioannes (...), of [- -]os the count -blessed be his memory- and of his wife (...).*

**EKM I 438. Epitaph of Balentinos and Theodoule, December 545 AD**

*Memorial of Balentinos, imperial bodyguard and count, and of his wife Theodoule. He was buried here in the month of December, in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the indictio, in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of the most divine emperor Flavius Iustinianus.*

SEG XLVIII 776.

Cf. Bull. 2000, 799.

Ll. 1-2: προτί[κ]τορ[ο]ς κόμ(ητος) EKM I; προτί[κ]τορ(ος) (καὶ) κόμ(ητος) Feissel (Bull.); nothing is visible in l. 2 on the squeeze or the photograph between TOP and KOM.

Feissel (Bull.) remarks that retired officers often received the title of *protector*, so Valentinus need not have actually served in the imperial bodyguard.

**EKM I 439. Epitaph of Ioannes, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Here lies Ioannes junior, son of Zenobios, the venerable defensor civitatis (or the defensor civitatis of Edessa). He died at the age of 8, in the 6<sup>th</sup> of the month of March, in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the indictio.*

Cf. D. Feissel, in: *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity* 481, 491 no D10 (on the office of *defensor civitatis*).

L. 2: Ἐδέ(σσης) or ἔδε(σίμου) EKM I; ἔδε(σιμωτάτου) Feissel.

**EKM I 440. Epitaph of Patrikios, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial belonging to Patrikios, one of the former defensores civitatis of Diokletianoupolis; he was deposed here on the first of the month October, in the [. ] year of the indictio.*

Th. Papazotos, *ArchDelt* 43 (1988 [1995]) A 198.

Cf. C. Snively, in: *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* 547 n. 5; D. Feissel, in: *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity* 481, 491 no D11 (on the office of *defensor civitatis*).

Ll. 2-3: ἀπὸ ἐκδ(ίκων) [.].AM EKM I; ἀπὸ ἐκδ[ίκ(ων) γεν]αμ(ένω) Feissel.

It is still unclear whether Diokletianoupolis is Pella or the Diokletianoupolis of Orestis; the latter is now securely identified with the site of Armenochori near Argos Orestikon after the excavations of Papazotos; see D. Damaskos, *AEMTh* 20 (2006 [2008]) 914 and Petkos, *Διοκλητιανούπολις*.

**EKM I 441. Epitaph of count Phatalios and his family, September 1, 492 AD**

*Memorial of the most magnificent count Phatalios and his most splendid wife Kelerine and their grandson, the most splendid Silbanos, who was buried here at the calends of September, in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the indictio, when the consuls were our lord Anastasios for the first time and the most splendid Roupchos.*

Petkos – Karagianni, *Βυζαντινὸ Μουσείο Βέροιας* 50 with photograph.

Cf. S. Destephen, in: *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique* 141 n. 38 (on the abbreviation μημ(όριον) as influence of Latin epigraphy); J. M. Ogereau, in: *Authority and Identity* 223 n. 27.

**EKM I 442. Epitaph of Dometianos and Rhodope, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Dometianos and Rhodope; she lived with her husband for twenty years.*

SEG XLVIII 772; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 221-222 no 267.

Cf. *Bull.* 2000, 799.

For the names associated with the rose in the vicinity of Mount Bermion throughout antiquity, see the commentary at EKM II 98.

**EKM I 443. Epitaph of the soldier Arias, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Resting place by Christ of Arias, who served splendidly in the bravest military corps of the holy archers for 36 years, 6 months and 15 days; the Creator knows the total number of years of my life.*

Martindale, *PLRE* III A 114-115 s.v. Arias; A. Goutzioukostas, *Byzantiaka* 32 (2015) 39-43.

Cf. S. Destephen, in: *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique* 141 n. 38 (on the abbreviation κυμ(ητήριον) as influence of Latin epigraphy).

L. 2: λαμ(προτάτου) EKM I; λαμ(πρῶς) Martindale, Goutzioukostas (see commentary).

Goutzioukostas, following a suggestion by Martindale, discusses the scant testimonies of the title λαμπρότατος for soldiers and concludes that a soldier of Arias' rank would be

unlikely to carry such a prominent title. He therefore supports the alternative expansion of the abbreviation λαμ(πρῶς), proposed by Mardindale and, accordingly, dates the inscription to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, following Feissel.

**EKM I 444. Epitaph with an adjuration for the protection of the monument, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*In the name of the almighty holy God and of the fortune of the invincible kingdom, oh man, do not break or remove this pillar or the stones.*

G. A. Souris, in: *Κερμάτια φιλίας* II 127; J. M. Ogereau, in: *Authority and Identity* 227.

For the rare (only five examples) invocation of the emperor's fortune in Macedonia, see Souris. For parallels of the double adjuration, to God and the emperor's fortune, see Ogereau 227 n. 63.

**EKM I 445. Epitaph of the family of Aurelia Ariane, 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

M. Riel, *SCI* 20 (2001) 97-104 (new edition) (*Bull.* 2003, 358; *SEG* LI 806); Petkos – Karagianni, *Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Βέροιας* 59 with photograph.

Cf. *Bull.* 2000, 799; *Bull.* 2013, 260; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 121 (on the fine); K. Lempidaki, *Δίκαιο και Ιστορία* 3 (2018) 146 (on the fine); J. M. Ogereau, in: *Authority and Identity* 225 n. 47 (on the fine); E. Sverkos – Th. Savvopoulou, *Tekmeria* 14 (2018) 82 (on the *threptoi*).

- [Αὐρ]ηλία Ἀριανή [δούλη τοῦ θεο]ϋ [ + + [ . . ] ζῶ]-  
 σα καὶ παρο[ῦ]σα καὶ φρον[ῶ]σα τὸν γλυκύτατόν  
 μου ἄνδρα ν' Ἀρεστίδην τὸν κὲ Οὐαλ[. . .<sup>5-6</sup>. . . ]  
 βετρανῶν ν' καὶ τὴν γλυκ[υτά]την μου θυγατέ-  
 5 ρα Ἀγροτέρην καὶ τὸ γλυκύτατόν μ[ο]υ θρεπτάρην,  
 ὃ ἐγ[ὼ] ἀνέθρεψα ὑπ[ὸ] τὰς ἐμὰς μάλας, Γερόντιν ἰδοῦσα  
 ὅτι [ἀπ(?)]έσωσε Γερόντ[ιν] ἔτ<η>, ἐποίησα τοῦτο τὸ  
 κοιμ[ητ]ήρην ἐκ τῶν ιδείων μόχθων ἐπὶ τὰ  
 παιδά[ρι]α ποιήσασα καὶ μηδὲ ἐνὸς τῶν θυγατέ-  
 10 ρων μου μὴ θελουσῶν συνκαταθέσθαι τὴν δα-  
 [πάν]εξ τοῦτο οὖν μαρτύρομε τὸ ἀγιώτατον  
 [δίκαι]ον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς <ς> ἐκκλησί-  
 [ας ὡστ]ε μετὰ τὴν ἐν μὴν τελευτήν, ΚΑΙΚ[.]-  
 [. . .<sup>6-7</sup>. . .]ης ἐμοῦ τῆς προγεγραμμένης  
 15 [Γεροντ]ίου, εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κοιμητήρην ἢ τι[ς]  
 [ἐνθάψη (?)], ἢ τῶν θυγατέρων μου ἢ ἕτερός τις,  
 [δώσει τῇ ἀγί]ᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Βέροϊαν  
 [προστίμου χ]ρυσοῦ λίτρας πέντε καὶ  
 [τῇ πόλει -----].

Right face, perpendicularly:  
Γεροντίου[υ].

*I, Aurelia Ariane, servant of God, while still alive and present and of sane mind, for my sweetest husband Arestides, also known as Oual[- -], an army veteran, and for my sweetest daughter Agrotérin, and for Gerontin, my sweetest foster child, which I raised in my arms. Seeing that Gerontin had completed (?) her life, I had this resting place made from my own earnings making it for my children, not even one of my (other) daughters consenting to contribute to the costs. I invoke therefore as a witness the most holy clergy (?) of the holy catholic church, so that, after my death and after I (...) the aforementioned Gerontin, if anyone, whether one of my daughters or any other, buries another in this resting place, he shall pay to the holy church at Beroia a fine of five ounces of gold and to the city (...). Of Gerontin.*

L. 1: [Αὐρ]ηλία Ἀριανή [δούλη τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ < I ζῶ]- EKM I (using brackets only for the letters in the rasura after Θ which are not legible; [Αὐρ]ηλία Ἀρι[... 9. ...]ΥΘΥ[... 7. ...] ζῶ- Ricl, who proposes to recognize the name of the deceased as Ἀριά[γνη], followed by a patronym ending in [- - ο]υ, and the word θυ[γάτηρ]; however, N and H are discernible on the photograph and the squeeze after APIA, and the horizontal line above ΘΥ renders the restoration Θ(εο)ῦ secure. After the two crosses, perhaps [κ]αί? L. 2: καὶ παροῦσα καὶ παροῦσα EKM I, followed by Ricl, but no letter after Υ is discernible in the rasura (what looks like a four-bar sigma must be misleading since all other sigmas in the inscription are lunar-shaped) and there seems to be no rasura at ΟΥ before ΣΑ; Hatzopoulos' later suggestion (*Bull.* 2013) of recognizing the formula ζῶσα καὶ παροῦσα καὶ φρονοῦσα (cf. the phrase ζῶσα καὶ φρονοῦσα in EAM 130 and SEG LXI 497) is thus very plausible. L. 3: Οὐά[εντα] Feissel; Οὐάλ[έριον?] EKM I; Οὐάλ[έριον] or Οὐάλ[εριανόν] Ricl; Οὐάλ[έριν] Chaniotis (*SEG LI*), pointing to Ἀγροτέρην and Γερόντιν later in the text. L. 7: ὅτι[...]. ἔσωσε Γερόντιν[ιν] ἔτ<η> EKM I, where [ἀπ]ἔσωσε is tentatively proposed in the apparatus; ὅτι[ἐβ]ίωσε Γερόντιν[ιν] ἔτ(η) <ε'> Ricl, which is more compatible with the number of letters before ΩΣΕ, but the traces of the two letters immediately before ΩΣΕ seem to be lunar; the meaning of ἀποσώζω preserved in modern Greek ('to complete, to end'), is already attested by the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. in the form ἀποσώνω (see Kriaras, *Λεξικό* vol. III s.v. and *LBG* s.v.). Ll. 10-11: τέξ δα[πάν]ες, restored by Ricl; see the commentary. L. 12: [...].ον EKM I; [δίκαι]ον Ricl, adducing papyrological parallels for τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας designating the corporate body governing a specific Christian congregation. L. 13: restored by Ricl. Ll. 13-15: From the last letter of the line only a slightly slanted lower stroke is visible; καικη[δευμένης] ἐμοῦ EKM I; καὶ κη[δομένης] ἐμοῦ τῆς προγεγραμμένης | [Γεροντ]ίου Ricl ("since I am now taking care of [burying] the aforementioned Gerontin"), but the present tense would be difficult to explain; perhaps καὶ κε[κηδομένης] ἐμοῦ τῆς προγεγραμμένης | [Γεροντ]ίου, "and since I have buried the aforementioned Gerontin", with κήδομαι in the sense 'to bury', *LSJ* s.v., IIb. If the restoration in EKM I is maintained, then the missing word in l. 15 must be an adjective qualifying Aurelia Ariane. Ll. 15-16: Feissel, followed by EKM I, interprets ἢ τις [τολμήσ]η τῶν θυγατέρων μου ἢ ἕτερός τις as: εἴ τις ἕτερος τῶν θυγατέρων μου [τολμήσ]η ("if anyone other than my daughters dares"), but the assumption is unwarranted: see the commentary for a more plausible interpretation of the passage. Ricl restores in the beginning of l. 16 ἢ τις | [βιάσεται], ἢ τῶν θυγατέρων μου ἢ ἕτερός τις; we follow Chaniotis' suggestion (*SEG LI*) ἐνθάψει.

In the thoroughly convincing reinterpretation of Riel (some of whose textual emendations, however, are not followed here), this text, copied from the will of Aurelia Ariane, testifies to the wrath of Aurelia Ariane against her surviving daughters, not one of whom consented to contribute to the cost of the funerary monument constructed for another daughter, Agroterin, and a foster-child, Gerontin; accordingly, the surviving daughters were strictly forbidden from also using the tomb, along with other possible trespassers.

**EKM I 446. Epitaph of Maximos, 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Isidora had this small stele made for her sweetest husband Maximos; and if anyone dares to open this grave, he shall be liable to the Lord.*

**EKM I 447. Epigram of the mother superior Theodora, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Christ born by Mary. A gift from God, a teacher of purity, recipient of our Lord's blessing, mother superior of pious virgins –I am speaking about Mygdonia and Gratissima, the noblest branches of a holy root–, Theodora by name, forever a virgin, after delivering her spirit to the God our Lord, and after abandoning her body for this grave to guard. Pray on their behalf.*

Eisen, *Amtsträgerinnen im frühen Christentum* 102-106.

Cf. C. Snively, in: *Shaping Community* 62, 63; eadem, in: *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* 563; J. M. Ogereau, in: *Authority and Identity* 237.

For female officeholders in early Christian churches, see the study of Eisen. The name Μυγδονία is a late survival of the fashion of names pertaining to Macedonian history and geography in 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD Macedonia (see the commentary at EKM I 40, above).

**EKM I 448. Epigram of the deacon Paula and another person, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*If you wish to know, oh stranger (?), for whom this tomb was built, learn that (...); she was merciful, a mother for widows (?) and orphans who had suffered (...), and, so that I may not seem to say too much, a refuge for all people. Her name was Paula the deacon; she rested in the month of August, in the [- -] year of the indictio (...). Also rested (...) Makedonia (?) (...).*

For female deacons in early Christian churches, see Eisen 154-192. It is not clear if Μακεδονία is here used as a personal (so EKM I) or a geographical name; in the former case, see the commentary of the previous inscription.

**EKM I 449. Epitaph (?), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Be fortunate, you too.*

As pointed out in the commentary of EKM I, the erasing of the crosses and the pagan greeting are surprising at such a late date.

**EKM I 450. Epitaph of Abundantia and Thermantia (in Latin), 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of two young virgin Roman girls, Abundantia and Thermantia.*

R. Scharf, *Historia* 47 (1998) 418-419 no 3 (*AnnEpigr* 1998, 1220).

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132.

Building on the rarity of the names, already commented upon by Feissel, Scharf argues that Abundantia and Thermantia were the daughters of Flavius Abundantius, general of the emperor Theodosius I (*PLRE I*, s.v.), and Thermantia, the emperor's niece (*PLRE II*, s.v.). Appealing as the hypothesis may seem at first glance, it is both rather speculative (nothing connects these members of the court with Beroia) and contradicted by the quality of the monument, as well as by the content: if the two young women were the offspring of such an illustrious family, the absence of reference to their family ties would be rather surprising (see also the commentary of *AnnEpigr*).

**EKM I 451. Epitaph of Aquilina (in Latin), 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*In the name of the Lord, memorial of lady Aquilina, wife of Innocentius.*

M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132, 133, 139 fig. 4.

**EKM I 452. Epitaph of the military officer Flavius Belisarius and Gerontia (in Latin), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Flavius Belisarius, candidatus and ex-tribune, and of Gerontia.*

J. R. Martindale, in: *PLRE III A* 224 s.v. Belisarius 2 (following Feissel's edition).

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132, 133.

**EKM I 453. Epitaph of Lupercia (bilingual), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

(in Latin:) *Memorial (?) of Lupercia (...)*. (in Greek:) *Our Lord Christ (?)*.

*AnnEpigr* 1998, 1218; H. Solin, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 231 (*AnnEpigr* 2001, 1761b); M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132, 133.

L. 1: [*Memoria?*] *Lupercia* I *EKM I*, where the failure to use the required genitive is commented upon; [*Memoria?*] *Luperciae* or [*Memoria?*] *Lupercian[us]* (typo for *Lupercian[i]?*) Solin, with commentary on the name. L. 2: Feissel and Sève (*AnnEpigr* 1998) propose to recognize *Megiste*.

**EKM I 454. Epitaph of Ioses from Alexandria, a Jew, 5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Memorial of Ioses from Alexandria, son of Paregorios.*

*JIGRE* 236-237 no 143 (following Feissel's edition); *IJudO I* 76-78 Mac 6; *CIJG* 98-99 no 33.

Cf. A. Koukouvou, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998-1999) 15; A. Panayotov, in: *Negotiating Diaspora* 58 (on the name Ioses).

L. 2: Ἀλεξαδρέου[ς] EKM I; Ἀλεξα<v>δρέου(ς) IJudO I; Ἀλεξα<v>δρέου CIJG.

Παρηγόριος is the Greek equivalent of the Jewish name Menachem (see IJudO I with bibliography).

#### **EKM I 455. Epitaph of Maria, a Jew, 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

*Grave of pious Maria, daughter of Tertius and Leontios; I, Alexandros her son-in-law, had this engraved, in memory of her benefactions. If anyone opens this grave, he shall give to the most holy synagogue one ounce of silver.*

IJudO I 78-81 Mac 7; CIJG 100-103 no 34.

Cf. Ch. Koukouli-Chrysantaki, in: *Philippi at the Time of Paul* 27 n. 127, 32 n. 151; A. Koukouvou, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998-1999) 15; A. Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, in: *Acta XII Congressus* 1088; M.-F. Baslez, in: *Le judaïsme ancien* 49 n. 74, 55 n. 107; J. M. Ogereau, in: *Authority and Identity* 225 n. 48.

L. 10: CAH CIJG, preserving the reading of the stone, which has been corrected into <ἐάν> by EKM I and the other editors. L. 13: ΣΥΝΑΓΩ on the stone; συναγω(γῆ) EKM I, CIJG; συν<α>γω(γῆ) IJudO, incorrectly.

On the term ὁσιος in Jewish inscriptions, see the commentary of IJudO.

For new inscriptions pertaining to the Jewish community of Beroia, see EKM I Suppl. 20-23, below.

### **INSCRIPTIONS OF INDETERMINATE NATURE**

#### **EKM I 456. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*To good fortune (...).*

#### **EKM I 457. Incertum, 90/91 AD**

*In the Augustan year 122 (...).*

#### **EKM I 458. Incertum, 139-148 AD**

*In the Augustan year 17[.], in the month of Xandikos (...).*

#### **EKM I 459. Incertum, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*(...)*

#### **EKM I 460. Dedication to Artemis Boethos (?), Imperial period (?)**

*Altar (?) of Artemis (?) Boethos (?).*

Despite Baege's literary parallels, Βοηθός as a cult epithet seems unattested, the invocation to a deity as a βοηθός is rare (cf. *SEG* XLV 1441) and the invocation to a deity's βοήθεια is usually attested much later (especially in a Christian context). Given that the stone is missing, caution for the restorations is warranted.

***EKM* I 461. Fragment of a monumental inscription, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

***EKM* I 462. Incertum, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

***EKM* I 463. Incertum, Imperial period**

(...)

***EKM* I 464. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) *Kointos* (?) (...) *Phlaouios* (?) (...).

***EKM* I 465. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

***EKM* I 466. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

***EKM* I 467. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

***EKM* I 468. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC**

(...)

***EKM* I 469. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

***EKM* I 470. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

***EKM* I 471. Incertum, Imperial period (?)**

(...)

***EKM* I 472. Incertum, date impossible to determine**

(...)

**EKM I 473. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

**EKM I 474. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

**EKM I 475. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)

L. 1: ΟCΑΝ ΩΔΕΤΙ ΕΚΜ Ι; perhaps ὁς ἄν ὤδε, part of a clause for the protection of a grave?

**EKM I 476. Incertum, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...) no one (...) man (...).

**EKM I 477. Incertum in Latin, Imperial period**

(...)

**EKM I 478. Incertum in Latin, Imperial period**

(...)

**EKM I 479. Epitaph (?) in Latin, Imperial period**

(...)

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TERRITORY OF BEROIA

### MILESTONES

**EKM I 480. Milestone in Latin, 216/7 AD**

*Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus pious, fortunate, Augustus, the greatest Parthicus, the greatest Britannicus, the greatest Germanicus, great high-priest, with tribunician power for the 20<sup>th</sup> year, emperor for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, consul for the 4<sup>th</sup> year, father of the fatherland, proconsul, restored this. One mile.*

*AnnEpigr 1998, 1219.*

**EKM I 481. Milestone, 239 AD**

*To good Fortune. For emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, pious, fortunate, Augustus, great high-priest, with tribunician power for the 2<sup>nd</sup> year, consul, father of the fatherland, the metropolis and twice neokoros Beroia.*

Cf. Burrell, *Neokoroi* 197.

**EKM I 482. Milestone with various texts between 239 and 367 AD**

- a) *To good Fortune (...).*
- b) *To good Fortune (...). With good fortune.*
- c) (in Latin:) *Emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus pious, fortunate, invincible, Augustus, and emperor Caesar Licinianus Licinnius (...)*
- d) *For Flavius Valerius Constans.*
- e) *Iulianus Augustus.*
- f) (in Latin:) *For our lords Valentinianus and Valens, Augusti.*

K. Dietz, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 837 n. 265 (SEG L 577bis); F. Mottas, in: *Roman Roads* 293-296 (revision of the text after autopsy).

Cf. *Bull.* 2000, 799; B. Salway, in: *Emperor and Author* 143-144 n. 52 (on the milestones of Julian).

Mottas returns to the theory of Touratsoglou that texts b (written above and below text c) and c are part of the same text. Moreover, he joins text a with texts d and text e, and produces the following composite text: [‘Ο] κ[ύρ]ιο[ς] ἡμῶν ὁ εὐανθέ[στ]ατος Αὔγουστος | (texts b and c) | Φλ(άβιος) Βα(λέριος) Κών|σταντας (sic) (the line Ε\_τυχες in his text seems to be a typo for Εὐτυχῶς in text b). The reconstruction of the text and his further assumptions on the different stages in which this text was engraved are highly speculative. The restoration proposed by Dietz for text e ([νικ]ᾶ[ν ἐγε]νῆθ[ης, εἰς Ἰουλιανὸς Αὔγουστος] does not take into account EKM I’s text (and the separation of text a from text e in honour of Julian). Incidentally, the correct reading in ll. 1-2 in EKM I’s text e is not Ἰο[υλιαν]ο[ς]ΝΟΣ}νός, but Ἰο[υλιαν]ο[ς]ΝΟΣ}νός.

**EKM I 483. Milestone, 239 and 408-432 AD**

a) *For emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus pious, fortunate, Augustus, great high-priest, with tribunician power for the 2<sup>nd</sup> year, consul, the metropolis and twice neokoros Beroia.*

b) *For Honorius and Theodosius, Augusti.*

SEG XLVIII 747.

Cf. *Bull.* 2000, 799.

**EKM I 484. Milestone, 238-244, 293-311, 363-364 AD**

- a) (...) Gordianus (...).
- b) To good Fortune. For our lord emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus, the metropolis Beroia.
- c) For Flavius Iovianus.

**EKM I 485. Milestone, various texts between 239 and 364-367 AD**

- a) To good Fortune. For emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, pious, fortunate, Augustus, great high-priest, with tribunician power for the 2<sup>nd</sup> (?) year, consul, father of the fatherland, the metropolis and twice neokoros Beroia. 9 (miles).
- b) For our lord emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus, the metropolis Beroia.
- c) To good fortune (...). With good fortune.
- d) For our lords, the most eminent Caesars Claudius Crispus and Licinianus Licinius and Claudius Constantinus.
- e) Of Flavius Claudius Iulianus Augustus.
- f) For our lords Valentinianus and Valens, Augusti.

Cf. Bull. 2000, 799; Burrell, Neokoroi 197.

**EKM I 486. Milestone, 286-305 AD**

To good fortune. For our greatest and invincible lord emperors Caius Valerius Diocletianus and Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus (...).

**EKM I 487. Milestone (in Latin), 141 AD**

Of emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, great high-priest, with tribunician power for the 4<sup>th</sup> year, consul for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year. 18 (miles).

ASOMATA

**EKM I 488. Imperial letter (in Latin) to the *koinon* of the Macedonians, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Koukouvou agrees that the origin of the imperial letter was not Asomata (for a detailed account of the history of the area and its archaeological record, see eadem 123-134).

(...) we shall confirm our will (...) we owed (...) this questioning (?) (...) conspicuous (?) provoked (...) our severity (?) (...).

(in Greek:) (...) Aelius Kyetos the most distinguished (...) Macedoniarch (?), and Turranius Ailianos (...) the most distinguished Macedoniarch (...) Isidoros.

Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 131; Nigdelis – Souris, Ἀνθύπατος λέγει 87 (on the term ἀξιολογώτατος); Koukounou, Λίθων λατομεῖν 128 n. 182; I. Arnaoutoglou, Δίκαιο και Ιστορία 3 (2018) 124.

The content of the imperial letter, one of the few surviving specimens from Roman Macedonia (see Arnaoutoglou), is impossible to establish with any degree of certainty from its meagre remains. The most interesting aspect of this inscription, therefore, is the list of officials to whom the letter was addressed and who convey it to the community (or to local authorities in Macedonia). Kanatsoulis (followed by EKM I) assumes that Aelius Kyetos was also a [Μακεδονιάρχ]ης, along with the Macedoniarch mentioned in l. 10, due to his qualification with the term ἀξιολογώτατος. He interprets the two Macedoniarchs as the current leader of the *koinon* of the Macedonians and his predecessor, while the editors of EKM I wonder if the list of officials here represents the leaders of all four *merides* (as in EKM I 61, above), all of whom were perhaps termed Macedoniarchs.

Although the titulature in l. 10 renders very probable the assumption that more than one Macedoniarchs are recorded here, it should be noted that the term ἀξιολογώτατος, often used for Macedoniarchs (and high-priests and high-priestesses of the *koinon*) and their families, is not necessarily their exclusive privilege. It is doubtful (*pace* the editors of *I. Leukopetra* and Tataki, *Beroea* 92 no 76) that the ἀξιολογώτατος superintendent of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Leukopetra in *I. Leukopetra* 107 was a Macedoniarch, and we have no reason to assume that the ἀξιολογώτατος Aurelius Statilius Theodoros in Thessalonike (*IG X 2.1*, 207), or the ἀξιολογώτατη Domitia Iusta in Pieria (J. M. R. Cormack, in: *Μελετήματα Λαούρδα* 113 no 1), were chief officials of the *koinon* or members of their families. This is made clear by the ἀξιολογώτατος C. Mestrius Servilianus, a member of the equestrian class and a cavalry officer (*IG X 2.1*, 207), who was certainly not a Macedoniarch. On the term, see more recently G. Mouratidis, *Arctos* 52 (2018) 119-135, with previous bibliography.

The cognomen Κυῆτος (Quietus) is otherwise unattested in Macedonia. For the gens of the Turranii (otherwise attested in Macedonia only in Lynkos: *IG X 2.2*, 75), see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 417 no 623.

**EKM I 489. Epitaph of Onesiphoros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Ake for Onesiphoros her husband, for remembrance sake.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 398 no 97.

Cf. Koukounou, *Λίθων λατομεῖν* 128 n. 182.

**EKM I 490. Epitaph of father and son, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*For her husband, for remembrance sake, and for her child, a hero; of Epigo.*

SEG XLVIII 771; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 394 no 92.

Cf. Koukounou, *Λίθων λατομεῖν* 128 n. 182.

For other cases of funerary inscriptions where the name of the deceased is missing, see the commentary at EKM I 259, above.

#### KOMNINIO

**EKM I 491. Epitaph of Aeliana Olympias, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Aeliana Olympias, a heroine.*

For names pointing to the royal Macedonian past in Roman Macedonia, see the commentary at EKM I 40, above.

**EKM I 492. Epitaph of Zoiche, wet-nurse, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

*For Zoiche (his?) wet-nurse, Demetrios.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 379 no 77.

For another funerary monument of a wet-nurse, see EKM I 169, above. The name Ζωΐχη seems to be attested only in Macedonia; see also EAM 116-117 and I. Leukopetra 117; for diminutives in -ιχος / -ίχη in Macedonia, see A. Panayotou, *Μελέτες για την ελληνική γλώσσα* 5 (1984) 11-12.

#### KORYPHI

**EKM I 493. Epitaph of Aelianus Terpnos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Titus Marius Aelianus Terpnos, while still alive.*

For the Marii in Macedonia, see E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 83, with further literature.

#### LAZOCHORI

**EKM I 494. Epitaph of Doris and Apollodoros, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*For Doris and Apollodoros, their parents.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 254 no 364 (dating the altar to the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD).

#### MAKROCHORI

**EKM I 495. Epitaph (?) of the gladiator Pekouliaris, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

*Pekouliaris; one game.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 315 no 85; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 446 no 151.

Cf. Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 130 n. 74 (on the name).

**EKM I 496. Incertum, Hellenistic period**

(...)

**EKM I 497. Epitaph of the gladiator Mariskos, late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*I, Poplis, also known as Mariskos, from Arpi, having suffered much, defeated by no man, but by fate, lie here, oh passer-by. Alexandra for Mariskos, for remembrance sake.*

Carter, *Gladiatorial Spectacles* 314-315 no 80; Bouley, *Jeux romains* 253; eadem, in: *Esclavage antique* 204 no 8 I; Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 195-196 no 33; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 447 no 152.

Cf. Chr. Mann, in: *Sports in the Cultures of the Ancient World* 133, 143 n. 30 (on the gladiator's origin); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 355 (on the gladiator's origin); K. Coleman, *G&R* 66 (2019) 13 n. 24.

NEA NIKOMEDEIA

**EKM I 498. Epitaph of Amyntas, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> quarter**

*Amyntas son of[. .<sup>3-4</sup>. .]ton.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 314 no 8; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones* 204 no 81.

Cf. Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides* 50-51.

L. 2: [Στράτ]ωνος EKM I, but many other restorations are possible (e.g. [Αρίσ]τωνος, [Κρί]τωνος, to limit mention to popular names attested in Beroia itself).

Hatzopoulos (in the commentary of EKM I and in more detail in: *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides*) dates the monument before Philip II's cavalry reforms, since the horseman's squire is depicted with a horse of his own, contrary to all other later representations of squires. Allamani-Souri (106), on the contrary, assumes that the figure depicted in smaller scale is not a squire but the deceased's son, arguing that squires are usually depicted behind the main figure and never potentially on horse. This is probably the earliest figured tombstone of Beroia (Kalaitzi 46).

**EKM I 499. Honours for Claudius Plotinos, son of the president of the *koinon* Claudius Menon, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, probably after 230**

*The synedroi for Claudius Plotinos, son of Claudius Menon the Macedoniarch, for consolation of the father; the erection of the monument was supervised by Iulianus Menandros.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 218-219 no 257; Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 469-470 no T48.

L. 8: τοῦ πατρός EKM I; τοῦ [πατρός] Adam-Veleni, but the restored letters are discernable, despite the erosion of the surface.

For the Macedoniarch Claudius Menon and his family, apart from IG X 2.1, 142-143 and 183-185, see now SEG LV 719 (from Tiberiopolis), and, especially, IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1073-1075 (see in detail Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 76-78). For 'consolation decrees' and related honorific inscriptions, see J. H. M. Strubbe, AC 67 (1998) 45-75, especially 51-52.

**EKM I 500. Epitaph of Kastor, a freedman, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Greetings; Publicius Hermeias for Kastor his freedman.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 255 no 366; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* 156-157 no B36.

Cf. P. Chrysostomou, *Eulimene* 3 (2002) 109 n. 73; Mavroudis, *Μακεδονική ιατρική προσωπογραφία* 349.

For the doctor Publicius Hermeias and his family, see EKM I 279 and 360, above.

**EKM I 501. Epitaph of the soldier Iulius Aufidius (in Latin), early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*To good fortune. Iulius Aufidius, soldier of the 16<sup>th</sup> legion Flavia firma; he was 27 years old; he served in the army for 9 years. Greetings.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 377 no 75.

Cf. A. Rizakis – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchEph* 139 (2000 [2001]) 249 (on the funerary formula); Bishop – Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment* 173; J. Coulston, in: *The Impact of the Roman Army* 558 fig. 9; M. B. Hatzopoulos, in: *Bilinguisme* 132; E. Papagianni, in: *Sepulkrana skulptura* 798, 802 fig. 4.

For the Aufidii in Macedonia, see E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 88.

NISI

**EKM I 502. Epitaph of Cornelius Theodotos, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

*Malia Elp[- -] for Maleius Cornelius Theodotos her child, for remembrance sake.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 254-255 no 365.

Cf. P. M. Nigdelis, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 135 n. 9 (on the name Cornelius); N. Poulakakis, in: *Θρεπτήρια* 585 (on antiquities from Nisi).

As a consequence of the new restoration of EAM 34 (see now EAM 34 Suppl.), this is now the only occurrence of the gens of the Malii in Macedonia.

**EKM I 503. Incertum, indeterminable date**

(...)

Cf. N. Poulakakis, in: *Θρεπτήρια* 585 (on the antiquities from Nisi).

PATRIS

**EKM I 504. Epitaph of Iouliane, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

(...)[- - -]on for Iouliane, my sweetest wife.

RACHI

**EKM I 505. Dedication of part of a temple of Ma, 173/4 AD**

*Kassandros son of Kleo[- - -] had the dedicated structures constructed for Ma; in the Augustan year 205.*

Cf. *I. Leukopetra* p. 205.

For the possibility that the sanctuary of Ma recorded here is in fact the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Leukopetra, although it would be the first time that the Mother of the Gods there is called Ma, see also *I. Leukopetra* p. 205. Rachi is less than six km on a straight line from the sanctuary of Leukopetra, and although the existence of two distinct sanctuaries of two hypostases of the same deity in such close proximity cannot be excluded, it is more probable that the stone was carried from the site of Leukopetra.

**EKM I 506. Epitaph of Perdikkas, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Perdikkas son of Laos, a hero.*

**EKM I 507. Epitaph of a man and Philinna, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

*Heroes; [- - - son of - - -]chos, Philinna daughter of Dionysios.*

SKYLLITSI

**EKM I 508. Epitaph of Aelia Eutychis, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Torpilius Lykos for Aelia Eutychis his wife, in recognition of her morality and demeanour, at his expense, for remembrance sake.*

For the gens of the Turpili, see EKM I 125, above.

## STAVROS

**EKM I 509. Dedication of an aqueduct (?), 250/51 AD**

*To good fortune. Aurelios Rhomanos had this constructed for his fatherland, the most splendid metropolis Beroia and twice neokoros, after his tenure of the office of water-inspector, in the Augustan year 282. With good fortune.*

Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* 219 no 258.

Cf. A. Chaniotis – J. Mylonopoulos, *EBGR* 1998, 99; Turcan, *Liturgies de l'initiation bacchique* 72 (on the term ὕδροσκοπήσας); Burrell, *Neokoroi* 197; Boehm, *City and Empire in the Age of the Successors* 163 n. 78; P. Paschidis, in: *Associations in Context*.

For water management in ancient Beroia, see the commentary at EKM I 7, above. For the term ὕδροσκοπήσας, see Paschidis: the term has been interpreted both in this inscription and in *IG X 2.1*, 503 as referring to Dionysiac religious ritual (after the bibliography in EKM I, see also Turcan), most probably hydromancy, but it is more likely that it denotes a civic office responsible for water management (cf. EKM II 596).

## TRILOPHOS

**EKM I 510. Dedication to Poseidon, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC**

*[- -] son of Amyntas, to Poseidon.*

N. Poulakakis – E. Psarra, *Makedonika* 39 (2010-2012) 189.

Cf. Chatzinikolaou, *Λατρείες* 60 n. 209.

For the cult of Poseidon in Macedonia, see EKM II 90, with further literature. As remarked there, it is probably no accident that the only two certain (cf. EKM II 83) epigraphic attestations of the cult in Lower Macedonia were located in two neighbouring settlements (mod. Trilophos and mod. Stenimachos), both near the slopes of Mount Bermion with its many watercourses, and on either side of one of the largest streams of the area (Skrop), which was probably the boundary between the territories of Mieza and Beroia. An important 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC-4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD settlement has recently been excavated almost halfway between Trilophos and Stenimachos, at the site of Bas Karter; see Poulakakis – Psarra 178-184, and *idem*, *ArchDelt* 61 (2006 [2014]) B2 897-901.

## PHYTEIA

**EKM I 511. Epitaph of Alexandros and his family, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

*Alexandros, Polla and their children, while still alive.*

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 431 no 135.

For other cases of funerary inscriptions where the names of the children are missing, see the commentary at *EKM* I 259, above.

***EKM* I 512. Epitaph of Ophelion, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

For the Beroian workshop which perhaps produced this work, see Allamani-Souri 301.

*Eutychos and Klaudianos for Ophelion their brother, for remembrance sake.*

Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* 49 no 38; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 442 no 146.

Cf. V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 361, 362 fig. 6.



PART II  
INSCRIPTIONS AFTER *EKM* I



## DEDICATIONS

### **EKM I Suppl. 1. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, 2<sup>nd</sup> (?) cent. AD**

Known only from a copy by K. F. Kinch, made during one of his journeys in Macedonia in 1898 (?), and presumed lost. Small column located in Beroia, “in the barracks (...) near the obelisk (?), at the centre of the court”.

Juhel – Nigdelis, *Kinch* 142-143 no 97 (*Bull.* 2015, 430; *SEG* LXV 440).

Διὶ  
Ἑψίστῳ  
Ἐπαφρᾶς  
Ἑρμιόνης  
5 κατ’ εὐχίν.

*To Zeus Hypsistos, Epaphras son of Hermione, in fulfilment of a vow.*

For the cult of Zeus Hypsistos in Beroia, see *EKM I* 25-28 and 371, above. Both names are attested in Beroia (for Ἑρμιόνη, see the commentary at *EKM I* 40, above). For the use of metronyms in Macedonia, see the bibliography of E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 74 n. 63, to which add M. Youni, in: *Τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ* 257-261.

## CATALOGUES

### **EKM I Suppl. 2. Ephebic catalogue, 235/6 AD**

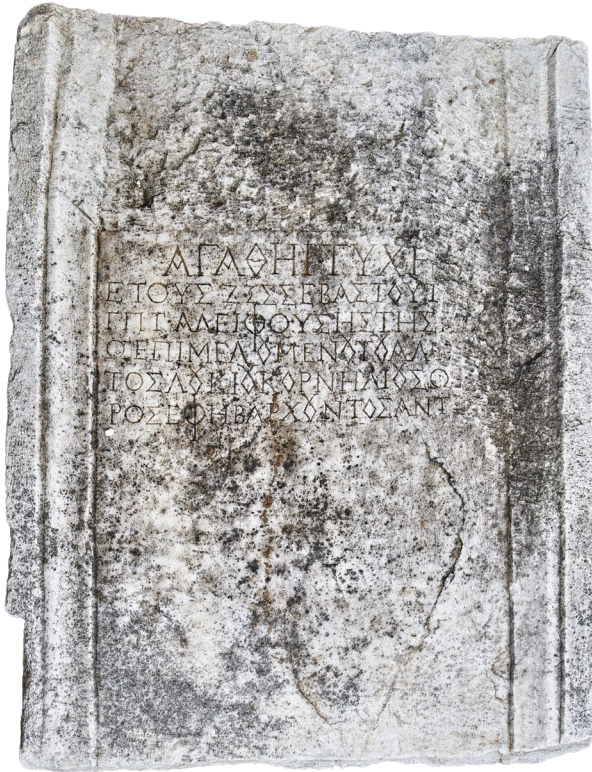
Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 943. Found in 1997, reused as a building block in the church of Hagios Basileios, in the eastern sector of the ancient city.

Marble plaque broken above and below. Dimensions: 0.84 x 0.64 x 0.19. The inscribed surface is framed by a moulding. Height of letters: l. 1: 0.033-0.035; ll. 2-5: 0.018-0.022 (ligature OY: 0.03). Interline: 0.01.

P. M. Nigdelis, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 133-135 no 1 (*AnnEpigr* 2000, 1302; *Bull.* 2002, 260; *SEG* L 577); A. Koukouvou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 747 pl. 272a (*AnnEpigr* 2002, 1279; *Bull.* 2005, 323; *SEG* LI 802).

Cf. E. Sverkos – K. Sismanidis, *Tekmeria* 10 (2011) 199; E. Sverkos, in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 87, 94-95; I. Arnaoutoglou, in: *Dike* 10 (on ephebarchs).

Autopsy, photograph (2019)



Ἀγαθῇ τύχη[ι]  
 ἔτους ζξς' σεβαστοῦ τ[οῦ καὶ]  
 γπτ', ἁλειφούσης τῆς πόλ[ε]-  
 ως, ἐπιμελουμένου τοῦ ἀλίμ[μα]-  
 5 τος Λουκίου Κορνηλίου Σωτ[ῆ]-  
 ρος, ἐφηβαρχοῦντος Ἀντιπᾶ.

*vacat*

*To good Fortune. In the Augustan year 257, which is also 383, when the city provided and Lucius Cornelius Soter supervised the anointment, and Antipas (?) was the ephebarch.*

The right edge of the inscribed panel has been eroded. L. 1: Ἀγαθῇ τύχη Nigdelis, Koukouvou; Ἀγαθῇ τύχη Sverkos (*SEG*); Ἀγαθῇ ΤΥΧΗ on the stone. The adscribed iota at the end of the line, if it existed, is no longer visible. L. 3: π[όλε]- Nigdelis; [πόλε]- Koukouvou; only the last letter is not visible. L. 5: Σω[τῆ]- Nigdelis; Σω[- -]- Koukouvou; the T is discernible, despite the erosion. L. 6: Ἀντιγ[.] Nigdelis, who proposes Ἀντιγ[όνου] or Ἀντιγ[ένους], for which there is no space; Ἀντ[ι- -] Koukouvou; the faint traces and the available space are most compatible with the name Ἀντιπᾶ.

This is the fifth known ephebic catalogue of Beroia; see also *EKM* I 135 (177/8 AD), 136 (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, second quarter), 137 (251/2 AD), and 138 (255/6 AD). As in *EKM* I 137, the reason that the names of the ephebes have not been engraved here is usually explained by the assumption that they were painted (cf., however, the commentary at *EKM* I 137, above). For the omission of the name of the gymnasiarch, see the commentary at *EKM* I

135, above; for the financial problems of the gymnasium of Beroia, see the commentary of Nigdelis, Sverkos (in: *Βορειοελλαδικά* 94-95) and EKM I 7, above.

The fact that the *nomen* is omitted in the nomenclature of the ephebarch should probably be explained by the casual omission of the *nomen* Aurelius soon after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (see the commentary of Nigdelis). The name Ἀντιπᾶς (or Ἀντίπας), diminutive of the very popular in Macedonia name Ἀντίπατρος, is also attested in the ephebic catalogue of Sisani in Upper Macedonia (EAM 187).

## FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

### SIMPLE EPITAPHS

#### **EKM I Suppl. 3. Epitaph of Nikeso from Thebes and her family, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second quarter**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 744. Found before 1991 (and probably before 1987) on block 323 in the property of the Karadoumanis family, in the area of the southeastern cemetery, near two adjoining pit graves, one of which contained relics of three different burials, dating from the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC to the end of the century.

Pedimental stele of greyish marble. In a recessed panel with architectural framing, relief of a *dexiosis*: to the left, seated woman to the right holding her himation with her left hand and greeting a standing bearded male figure facing left with her right; to the right of the man, three standing figures (two female, one male) in smaller scale: the two girls face each other (the one on the left holding a bird with her right hand against her chest), while the boy plays with a dog. Dimensions: 1.22 x 0.455-0.505 (shaft)–0.47 (crowning) x 0.09 (shaft)–0.10 (crowning). Inscription between the crowning and the relief panel. Height of letters: 0.008-0.012 (P: 0.015). Interline: 0.01-0.015.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 98-101, 311 no 5 (*Bull.* 2018, 267).

Cf. K. Tzanavari, in: *Hellenistic Pottery from Macedonia* 80.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Νικησὼ Θηβαία, : Ἀσπασία,  
Φιλωτέρα, : Νικάνωρ Κέρδωνος.

*Nikeso from Thebes; Aspasia, Philotera, Nikanor children of Kerdon.*

If the three figures of children in the relief correspond to the three names in the inscription, as is most probable, then the patronym Kerdon refers to all three. The precise connection between the burials of this family grave and the persons named and portrayed on the stele is not clear. Allamani-Souri (101) assumes that at least two of the children (the one holding a bird and the one playing with the dog) were already dead by the time the stele was erected for their mother.

All names were already attested in the onomasticon of Beroia (Ἀσπασία, Νικάνωρ, Φιλωτέρα), or Macedonia in general (Νικησὼ, Κέρδων).

**EKM I Suppl. 4. Epitaph of Philotas, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, second half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria, without inventory number. Discovered in 1997 in a chamber tomb on an alley off Stadiou Street, near the Municipal Stadium, in the area of the ancient northern cemetery.

Rectangular funerary urn of poros stone, with white plaster on all sides, a decorative zone of painted meanders above (preserved only on the front, inscribed side, but possibly covering all sides originally, if one judges by a carved ruler line on all sides), and a lower decorative zone of a painted leave garland on the front, and possibly also on the other sides. Dimensions: 0.42 x 0.52 x 0.43. Inscription with red paint below the meander zone. Height of letters: 0.02-0.028 (O: 0.014-0.019).

V. Allamani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 731 pl. 266α (*Bull.* 2005, 320; *SEG* LI 805).

Autopsy, photograph (2019)



Φιλώτας Νικάνορος.

*Philotas son of Nikanor.*

Hatzopoulos (*Bull.*) remarks that this is the earliest example of cursive script in Beroia.

**EKM I Suppl. 5. Epitaph of Euandros, late 2<sup>nd</sup> - early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 782. From the area of the southeastern cemetery according to Allamani-Souri (probably found ca. 1987).

Upper fragment of a pedimental stele of white marble, broken to the bottom right. In a recessed panel, relief of a funerary banquet; to the left, seated woman facing right in the Agathe type; in front of her, a standing female figure in smaller scale presents a box to the seated woman; the largest part of the relief is occupied by a reclining male figure facing left, wearing only a himation and holding a horse-shaped rhyton with his raised right hand; behind him, a tree. Dimensions: 0.58 x 0.45-0.50 x 0.07. Inscription immediately below the crowning. Height of letters: 0.015 (Ω: 0.012). Interline: 0.025. Allamani-Souri

(250) considers the relief a product of the workshop responsible for the stele of Paterinos (EKM I 392).

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 368 no 64 (Bull. 2018, 267).

Cf. M. Kalaitzi, in: *Dining and Death* 510 no 5 and passim.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Εὐάνδρος<sup>vac</sup> Μελίσσου  
ἦ ρ ω ς.

*Euandros son of Melissos, a hero.*

For the theme of the funerary banquet, see Kalaitzi and Allamani-Souri 247-253. This is one of the earliest –if not the earliest– Beroian examples.

Both names are Panhellenic; Εὐάνδρος was already attested in Beroia, while Μέλισσος occurs for the first time in the onomasticon of the city.

#### **EKM I Suppl. 6. Epitaph of the family of T. Asinius Sekoundos, 102/3 (?) AD**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 907. Found in 1997 on Stadiou Street, block 271, in the area of the ancient northern cemetery.

Pedimental stele of white marble in two joining fragments, with two relief panels with busts on the shaft of the stele (upper panel: a male and three female busts; lower panel: a male and two female busts) and a shield-shaped ornament on the tympanum of the crowning. Dimensions: 0.66 x 0.38-0.41 x 0.055. Inscription above the upper panel (ll.

1-3), between the two panels (l. 4), and below the lower panel (ll. 5-8). Height of letters: 0.01-0.015 (ll. 1-3, 5-7), 0.02-0.025 (ll. 4 and 8). Interline: 0.003-0.005.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 473 no 177 (*Bull.* 2018, 267).

Cf. M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 3 (*Bull.* 2005, 322; *SEG* LI 803).

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Τ(ίτος) <Α>σί(νιος?) · Σεκοῦνδος · Ἐπιγόνην τὴν  
γυναῖκα, Γλυκέραν, · Σανβῶν τὰς ἀδε-  
λφάς, ζῶντες. <sup>vacat</sup>

[<sup>vac.</sup> Ἔτ]ους · ΝΓ Ϟ. <sup>vac.</sup>

- 5 Τ(ίτον) <Α>σί(νιον?) Σεκοῦνδον, · Φλ(αβίαν) Ἀγαλ[μ]άτιν  
τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς · Δομετίαν  
θρεπτήν.  
Ἡρώες.

Titus Asinius (?) Sekoundos for Epigone his wife, Glykera and Sambo his sisters, while still alive. In the year 250 (?). For Titus Asinius (?) Sekoundos and Flavia Agalmation, his parents; for Dometia the threpte; heroes.

Ll. 1 and 5: The middle bar of the A in the abbreviated *nomen* of Sekoundos has not been engraved. L. 1: ΣΕΚΟ<ũ>νδος Allamani-Souri, but the Y has been added forming a ligature with the following N. L. 4: ΝΓ on the stone; the second digit must be corrected either to Σ (but all the other sigmas of the text are four-bar sigmas), as proposed in Bull. 2018, or to Τ; see commentary. L. 5: ΑΓΑ[ . . . ]ΑΤΙΝ Allamani-Souri, but there is clearly not enough space for five missing letters, only for two or three, of which the first is a triangular one (both oblique strokes are discernible).

The date of the monument is difficult to establish. The reading is unambiguously ΝΓ, which should be corrected either to Ν<Σ> (250) or to Ν<Τ> (350); assuming that this is a provincial dating, this would correspond either to 102/3 or 202/3 AD. Alternatively (but less plausibly), one could assume that the term σεβαστόν is missing too (see EKM I 326, above), which would result in an Augustan date corresponding either to 218/9 or to 318/9, but both these dates seem too late for the relief and the letter type. Allamani-Souri dates the monument to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD on stylistic grounds (especially the hair-styles).

In the upper part of the inscription, Strasser's (Bull.) interpretation of Σανβών as an accusative of a female name Σανβώ (with final -v by analogy with the accusatives of the first and second declension, cf. Στρατών in EKM II 387) provides the likeliest understanding of family relationships: T. Asinius Sekoundos dedicates the funerary monument to his wife Epigone and to Glykera and Sambo, his sisters. This hypothesis is also compatible with the representation of a male and three female busts and results in a more regular syntax. As for ζῶντες, which would seem to require more than one dedicant, it most probably refers to all persons mentioned in the upper part of the inscription. If Σανβών is understood as a nominative (so Allamani-Souri and Paschidis [Bull.]), Glykera and the co-dedicant Sanbon would be Epigone's siblings. The second inscription (and panel) is dedicated to the dedicant's parents, T. Asinius Sekoundos (homonymous to his son and depicted as an elderly man) and Flavia Agalmation, and also to the *threpte* Dometia.

The abbreviated *nomen* in ll. 1 and 5 is probably Asinius (for the presence of this *gens* in the East and especially for the spelling of the name in Greek, cf. O. Salomies, *Arctos* 41 [2007] 59-74); the only known member of the *gens* related to Macedonia is the proconsul C. Asinius Pollio, governor of the province in 40/39 BC (see Tataki, *Roman Presence* 104 no 66 with references). Other possibilities among *nomina* attested in Macedonia are Asilius (SEG LIII 664, from Neine in Sintike: Γ(άϊος) Ἀσεΐλιος Καπ[ίτ]ων; cf. P. M. Nigdelis, *Egnatia* 13 [2009] 27), and the *hapax legomenon* Asinatius (*ILJug* 1239, from modern Mrzen Oreovec, southwest of Stobi: *Asinatia Secunda*; cf. Tataki, *Roman Presence* 104 no 65). Allamani-Souri (202) considers T. Asinius Sekoundos a freedman, which is probable, given the onomastic milieu (see below), but not certain.

Σάνβων (if the name is male) or Σανβώ (if it is female) are either variants of the ‘west Thracian’ name Σάνβοϛ (for which see Dana, *OnomThrac* 303) or diminutives belonging to the family of names such as Σαμβατίων (so Nigdelis, *Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια* I 336 with bibliography for Σαμβώ, attested at Thessalonike, *IG* X 2.1, 539, 540). For the name Ἀγαλμάτι(ο)ν (if the reading and restoration are accepted), see O. Masson, *Arctos* 21 (1987) 75 [*OGS* II 575] and *MusHelv* 47 (1990) 135 [*OGS* III 99], with references; the fact that it is attested as a slave name (e.g. *IGUR* II 425; *IG* XIV 19) may be significant for the status of Flavia Agalmation (a freedwoman?).

**EKM I Suppl. 7. Epitaph of the family of Alypos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 942. Discovered in 1997, during construction work on Seferi Street, south of the southwestern corner of the walls, near a tomb.

Rectangular pedimental stele, surviving almost intact (with only the face of the third bust systematically chiseled away), with a deeply recessed panel with architectural framing, figuring six busts: from left to right, young female, male, female, young male, and two female. On the crowning, a rider hero facing right advances towards an altar, followed by a dog; from the right, a snake also advances towards the altar. Dimensions: 0.65 x 1.28 x 0.18. Inscriptions on the narrow taenia below the crowning, in minuscule letters (text a), and immediately below respective busts, arranged in two lines (texts b-g). Height of letters: texts b-g: ~ 0.02 (O: ~ 0.017); text a: ~ 0.007. Interline: 0.01.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 470-471 no 175 (*Bull.* 2018, 267).

Cf. A. Koukouvou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 731.



On the taenia:

a) Γάιος <sup>vv</sup> Α[. . ]ος.

Below the busts:

b) Παμφίλαν | Ἀλύπου θυγατέρα.

c) Ἄλυπος Φιλίπου.

d) Σελήνην | ἥρῳει.

e) Ἑρμῆς | ἥρῳς.

f) Ἐνδημίαν | ἀδελφήν.

g) Εὐπορίαν | ἀδελφήν.

*Caius A[. . ]os.*

*For Pamphila, daughter of Alypos; Alypos son of Philippos; for Selene, a hero; Hermes, a hero; for Endemia, his sister; for Euporia his sister.*

Text a: The letters are almost extinct. Γάιος Ἄλυπος Allamani-Souri, hesitantly, which, however, would be onomastically highly irregular; neither the name nor the identity of the person named here can be established with certainty. Text c: Φιλίπ<π>ου Allamani-Souri, unnecessarily.

The funerary inscriptions commemorate Alypos, his daughter Pamphila, his two sisters, Endemia and Euporia, and Selene and Hermes, who are not identified as Alypos' children and are therefore probably illegitimate ones (as suggested by the fact that both names are common slave names). Notable is the absence of a wife. The name Ἐνδημία seems to be attested only in the northern confines of the Roman province of Macedonia (SEG XXXVIII 716 and XL 564). Ἄλυπος, Παμφίλα, Ἑρμῆς and Εὐπορία were already attested in the onomasticon of Beroia.

Noteworthy is the shift from nominative in both male names to accusative in all four female names, as well as the confusion between oblique cases (not unusual in inscriptions of this period), as attested by the epicene form ἥρῳει, in dative, accompanying the accusative Σελήνην.

#### **EKM I Suppl. 8. Epitaph of Petronia, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 780. Found on Kolokotroni Street (near the southwestern walls of the ancient city), in second use as building material of a modern house, perhaps ca. 1987.

Pedimental stele of greyish marble, with damage surface on the right edge; immediately below the crowning, two sockets with traces of lead for fixing objects on either edge; two uneven holes in the relief area are related to the monument's second use. According to Allamani-Souri, there are traces of red colour in various parts of the surface. On the crowning, relief of a horseman galloping to the right. On the shaft of the stele, in a recessed panel, relief of a standing female figure facing front, with the himation covering her head,

and a standing male figure facing front, and holding a scroll with his left hand; between them, two standing draped figures in smaller scale, a girl next to the woman and a boy next to the man. Dimensions: 1.07 x 0.67 x 0.08 (Allamani-Souri). Inscription below the crowning, poorly arranged and executed. Height of letters: 0.02 (Allamani-Souri).

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 383 no 81 (Bull. 2018, 267).

No autopsy



Ἡγουμένος Πετρωνία  
τὴν θυγατέρα μνήμης χάριν.

*Hegoumenos for Petronia his daughter, for remembrance sake.*

The name Ἡγουμένος was hitherto unattested in Macedonia. In L. 2 we have yet another example of confusion between oblique cases (cf. the previous inscription).

#### **EKM I Suppl. 9. Epitaph of Trophimion, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half.**

Archaeological Museum of Veria A 886. Found in 1997 on Ipirou Street, probably originating in the southeastern cemetery of the ancient city.

Lower half of a stele of white marble, in three joining fragments, with surface damage to the top right. Relief in a framed panel of Aphrodite in the Venus Pudica type, holding with her left hand a himation loosely covering her waist and with her right hand her breasts; in front of her, a dolphin. Dimensions: 0.50 x 0.35 x 0.05 (Allamani-Souri). Inscription below the relief panel. Height of letters: 0.02-0.025 (Allamani-Souri).

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 422 no 125 (Bull. 2018, 267).

Cf. V. Allamani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 1 (Bull. 2005, 321; SEG LI 803B); D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 130, 149 no 11.

No autopsy



Ἐρωτὶς τῷ ἰδί-  
ῳ Τροφίμῳ  
μνείας χάριν.

*Erotis for her Trophimion, for remembrance sake.*

L. 2: τροφίμ{ι}ῳ or Τροφίμ{ι}ῳ Strasser (Bull. 2018), but see commentary.

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities, see the commentary at *EKM* I 214, above.

The name Ἐρωτὶς was already attested in the onomasticon of Beroia (*EKM* I 297, above). Τροφίμιον is a neutral diminutive of Τροφίμη, a name often attested in Beroia (including Leukopetra). The fact that it is a diminutive does not necessarily imply that the deceased died young (*pace* Allamani-Souri 280), nor does the fact that the name Τροφίμη is once attested as a slave name in Beroia (*I. Leukopetra* 19, where the slave is homonymous with her owner) necessarily imply that Τροφίμιον was a slave (*pace* Allamani-Souri 235, 245, 276, 280). Strasser's proposal to recognize the common or personal name τρόφιμος / Τρόφιμος is invalidated by the representation of the deceased as Aphrodite, which requires a female name.

**EKM I Suppl. 10. Epitaph of Agatheia, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Α 1205. Unknown finding context.

Lower fragment of a stele of white marble, broken to the left. In a recessed panel with architectural framing, relief with four figures, one seated and three standing and facing front: to the left, seated woman to the right; in front of her, female figure on a smaller scale with a chiton folding at her waist, resting her right hand on the seated woman's knees; beside her, also on a smaller scale, Eros holding a bunch of grapes with his right hand and a bird with his folded left hand; to the right, draped female figure on a scale similar to the one of the seated woman. Dimensions: 0.645 x 0.61 x 0.07. Inscription below the relief. Height of letters: 0.03-0.04. Interline: 0.005.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 402 no 101 (*Bull.* 2018, 267).

Cf. D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 128, 149 no 9.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Ἡροῦς Ἀγαθέα  
τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ  
[θ]υγατρὶ μνίας χά-  
[ρ]ιν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης.

*Herous for Agatheia her sweetest daughter, for remembrance sake, at her expense.*

L. 1: [- -]ΗΡΟΥΣ Allamani-Souri; there is space for one letter in the beginning of the line, but Ἡροῦς is the most likely interpretation (see already *Bull.*). The A at the end of the line seems to have been only partly engraved (only the upper part is discernible).

Allamani-Souri (234 and especially 236), hesitantly followed by Terzopoulou (128), interprets the smaller figure next to the seated woman as Aphrodite, in the guise of which the deceased Agatheia would be represented (for this theme, see the commentary at *EKM I* 214, above), mainly because she describes the figure as holding with her right hand a fold of her himation, in the type of Aphrodite Fréjus, which is not accurate.

Ἀγάθεια is attested in Macedonia (*LGPN IV*, s.v.). Ἡροῦς (for names in -οῦς, see L. Dubois, in: *Onomatologos* 398-421) is mostly, but not exclusively, used as a male name, when we can ascertain the sex. In this case, if the inscription corresponds to the relief the name should be understood as female, contrary to all other attestations of the name in Macedonia and neighbouring Thrace: *SEG XLII* 580, l. 80 from Kalindoia; Pilhofer, *Philippi II*<sup>2</sup> 544, l. 6, from Gazoros, where the genitive Ἡροῦνος probably corresponds to a nominative Ἡροῦς, and not Ἡρών as in *LGPN* (see D. Dana, *ZPE* 157 [2006] 135); perhaps Pilhofer, *Philippi II*<sup>2</sup> 602, l. 12 (dat. Ἡ[ρ]ουινί); *IGBulg IV* 2072, l. 8 (genitive Ἡροῦ). The remaining attestations of the name are concentrated in Judaea, Syria, and Egypt: *SEG XLVI* 2012 no 11 from Jerusalem, genitive Ἡροῦτος; *IGLSyr XIII* 1, 9391 (where the name is female); *I. Deir el-Bahari* 125, l. 3 a (cf. *Bull.* 2007, 551) from Upper Egypt; *SEG XX* 582 and *SEG XXX* 1755 (where the name is again female, but could be a genitive of the name Ἡρώ), from Terenouthis in Lower Egypt.

#### ***EKM I Suppl. 11. Epitaph of Artemidoros, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, after 212***

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 888. Chance find from Veria, handed over to the Archaeological Service in 1997.

Stele of greyish marble without crowning, with two recessed panels with reliefs of busts, two male ones above, a male and a female below. Dimensions: 0.68 x 0.47 x 0.08. Inscription below the reliefs (ll. 1-3), continued (probably by the same hand, but with larger and more irregular letters) at a later stage in l. 4, which ends in the right margin of the stele. The first word of l. 1 –Αὐρηλία– has also been engraved at a later stage. Height of letters: ll. 1-3: 0.012-0.02; l. 4: 0.03 (the first four letters) and then 0.02-0.025. Interline (ll. 1-3): ~0.005. For possible other works of the same workshop, see Allamani-Souri 301.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 480 no 185 (*Bull.* 2018, 267).

Cf. V. Allamani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 4 (*Bull.* 2005, 321).

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Αὐρηλ[ί]α Εὐφροσύνη Ἀρτεμιδώρ τῷ  
 τέκνῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μείας  
 χάριν  
 {Α} καὶ αὐτῆς κέ τῶν τέκνων ζώντων.

*Aurelia Euphrosyne for Artemidoros her child, at her expense, for remembrance sake; and for herself and for the (rest of her) children, while they were still alive.*

L. 1: Αὐρηλ(ία) Allamani-Souri; after H, two triangular letters are discerned; the engraver, who added the *nomen* after the engraving of the first three lines, probably meant to engrave the complete *nomen* in a limited space and had to resort to a crude ligature meant to represent ΛΙΑ. L. 4: the large Α at the beginning of the line is probably unrelated to the text.

If the relief corresponds to the inscription, Aurelia Euphrosyne dedicated this funerary monument to Artemidoros and her other two –unnamed– sons, who were still alive.

### **EKM I Suppl. 12. Epitaph of Epiktesis, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 887. Found in 1997, during works on a road leading to the modern cemetery of Veria, therefore probably originating in the northern cemetery of the ancient city.

Upper fragment of a stele of greyish marble with arched crowning. On the crowning, relief of two small standing figures: Eros holding a bunch of grapes, and Aphrodite in the Venus Pudica type. On the shaft of the stele, relief in a recessed panel of a seated woman to the right and of Artemis the Huntress to the right, with a deer in front of her. Dimensions: 0.41 x 0.42 x 0.04. Inscription on the crowning, on either side and between the standing figures (ll. 1-4), as well as on the taenia above the main relief panel (l. 5). The engraving of l. 5 seems to have postdated a surface damage, a fact which could point to a second use (see in the commentary). Height of letters: 0.015-0.025. Interline: irregular, 0-0.005. According to Allamani-Souri (300) the artist responsible for the lower relief also produced EKM I 355.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 415 no 118 (*Bull.* 2018, 267).

Cf. V. Allamani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 3 (*Bull.* 2005, 321); D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 130, 136, 151 no 60.

Autopsy, photograph (2019)



Αἴλιος  
 Ζώσιμος Ἐπι-  
 κτήσι τῇ εἰδείᾳ γυνε-  
 κεῖ  
 5 μνεῖ'ας ὕ χα'ν'ριν. ☩

*Aelius Zosimos for Epiktesis his wife, for remembrance sake.*

For the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities, see the commentary at EKM I 214, above. Allamani-Souri (237-238, 282-283; cf. also Terzopoulou 136) interprets the figure of Artemis as the deceased daughter of Aelius Zosimos, for whom the monument was originally intended; Zosimos, in her view, commissioned the engraving of the inscription on the crowning, with Aphrodite representing his wife, at a later stage (cf. also the differences in quality and hair-styles between the main relief and the one on the crowning). This is one of the possible interpretations; what seems certain is that the inscription on the crowning (crammed in the little available space and probably postdating an already damaged surface; see the description) does not belong to the original design of the stele.

#### GLADIATORIAL EPITAPHS AND EPIGRAMS

##### **EKM I Suppl. 13. Epitaph of the gladiator Aigialos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 903. Found during construction work in the property of Em. Kotoulas on Ploutarchou Street (block 304), immediately to the north of the northern walls, in 1996. The fact that four more gladiatorial funerary monuments (EKM I Suppl. 14, 15, 17, 18, below) were found in second use on a block where no graves were

found (Nigdelis – Stephani 87) suggests that the steles were transported from the nearby northeastern ancient cemetery, probably from a sector reserved for gladiators (see *ibid.* 104, with parallels).

Stele of white marble with inscribed crowning (decorated with lunar-shaped ornaments), with surface damage to the bottom right. In a slightly recessed panel with architectural framing, reclining male facing front, clad with chiton and himation, and resting on his left hand; food-table in front of the couch; behind the couch, defensive weaponry: rectangular shield and helmet; to the left, palm branch; on the background a framework in relief, presumably a schematic representation of a tent. Above the relief, a zone with four victory crowns. Traces of red colour on the pillow and the palm branch. Dimensions: 0.69 x 0.50 x 0.06. Inscription below the relief. Height of letters: 0.02-0.025. Interline: 0.005-0.015.

P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 96-97 no 4 (*AnnEpigr* 2000, 1299; *Bull.* 2002, 258d; *SEG* L 581); Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 198 no 40; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 458 no 163.

Cf. L. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 523.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Πρόκλα Ἐγιάλῳ τῷ κέ Ἡρώδη  
ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μνίας χάριν  
χῆρε, παροδίτα. ☞

*Prokla for Aigialos, also called Herodes, at his own expense, for remembrance sake; greetings, passer-by.*

Ἡρώδης is a name attested in Macedonia (LGPN IV s.v. Ἡρωίδης), contrary to Αἰγιαλός; see the commentary of the first editors. For the possibility that the gladiator is the dedicant of a funerary monument for another gladiator, see EKM I Suppl. 14, below.

**EKM I Suppl. 14. Epitaph of the gladiator Antiochianos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 904. For the context of its discovery, see EKM I Suppl. 13, above.

Stele of white marble with triangular ending, damaged only on the edges. In a recessed panel, relief of a reclining man facing front, wearing only a himation covering his waist and legs; food-table in front of the couch, depicted with its top surface facing the viewer; behind the couch, the defensive weaponry of the gladiator: rectangular shield and helmet with 'grilled' visor; to the top left of the panel, four victory crowns and two palm branches. Dimensions: 0.43 x 0.39 x 0.06. Inscription between the legs of the couch. Height of letters: 0.008-0.013. Interline: ~0.005.

P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 97-98 no 5 (*AnnEpigr* 2000, 1300; *Bull.* 2002, 258e; *SEG* L 582); Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 198-199 no 41; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 459 no 164.

Cf. L. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 524; M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 348 (on the types of gladiators attested in the province).

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Αἰγιαλὸς Ἀντιο-  
χιανῶ τῷ καὶ Κλα-  
υδιανῶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκεί-  
νου ἐκείνῳ μνεία<ς>  
5 χάριν.

*Aigialos for Antiochianos, also called Klaudianos, at his expense for him, for remembrance sake.*

L. 2: τῷ is actually engraved as a ligature ΓΩ. L. 4: The upper diagonal stroke of K in ἐκείνῳ was not engraved; in μνείας, the lunar E was engraved as an O and then corrected by a horizontal stroke, while the Σ was originally engraved correctly as a lunar Σ and then mistakenly corrected to an O.

As Nigdelis – Stephani remark, monuments for gladiators were erected not only by their wives but also by their colleagues, which means that the dedicant here may be the gladiator Aigialos of EKM I Suppl. 13, above, or, in any case, another gladiator (see, e.g. EKM I 375, 377, 382, 383) by the same name. The name Ἀντιοχιανός was already attested as a gladiatorial name (Robert, *Gladiateurs* 153-154 no 122).

**EKM I Suppl. 15. Epitaph of the gladiator Archimedes, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Α 900. For the context of the discovery, see EKM I Suppl. 13, above.

Stele of white marble with inscribed crowning (the entire tympanon of which is occupied by a rosette with lunar-shaped ornaments on either side). The largest part of the stele is occupied by a recessed panel with a relief of a standing gladiator, wearing a *balteus* on his waist, a *subligaculum* covering his loins, protective gear on his breast and right arm, and an *ocrea* and a shoe on his left foot, while protective stripes are probably wrapped around his right, shoeless foot. With his right hand, the gladiator holds a palm branch, while his left hand rests on his protective weaponry (rectangular shield and helmet). Sporadic traces of red colour in various parts of the surface. Dimensions: 0.60 x 0.44 x 0.065. Inscription within the panel, to the right of the gladiator. Height of letters: 0.0120-0.015. Interline: 0.003.

P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 87-91 no 1 (*AnnEpigr* 2000, 1296; *Bull.* 2002, 258a; *SEG* L 578); Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 197 no 37; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 450 no 155.

Cf. L. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 523; M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 348 (on the types of gladiators attested in the province).

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Ἀρχιμήδης  
 ἐνθάδε κῆμε·  
 οὐκ ἤμην κέ  
 ἐγενόμην,  
 5 οὐκ ἰμὶ κέ οὐ  
 μέλι μοι· χεῖ-  
 ρε, παροδίτα.

*I, Archimedes, lie here; I was not, and I became; I am not and I do not care; greetings, passer-by.*

L. 2: The engraver miscalculated space and had to engrave the last letter on a much smaller scale.

For the philosophical phrase of Epicurean origin, popular in Latin epitaphs and especially among gladiators (*non fui, fui, non sum, non curo*), see Nigdelis – Stephani, with parallels and bibliography.

Nigdelis – Stephani wonder if the professional name of the gladiator, Ἀρχιμήδης (hitherto unattested in Macedonia), is a reference to his ingenuity.

**EKM I Suppl. 16. Epitaph of the gladiator Hermes, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Α 917. Chance find from the area of the modern cemetery (blocks 269-271), north of the northwestern ancient walls.

Lower fragment of a stele of white marble. In a recessed panel, reclining male figure facing front, wearing only a himation covering his waist and legs and fastened to the shoulder; in front of the couch, food-table with its top surface depicted as facing the viewer, and small dog; behind the couch, the gladiator's defensive weaponry, a rectangular shield and a helmet; to the left, seated female figure; Nigdelis – Stephani and Allamani-Souri describe the woman as seated on the deceased gladiator's couch, and the object on the far right of the scene as a cylindrical altar; alternatively, the object may be simply a stool on which the woman is seated (as Allamani-Souri describes it on p. 248). Dimensions: 0.72 (including the 0.135 high tenon) x 0.52 x 0.05. Inscription below the relief (a label inscription below the couch identifies the dog). Height of letters: 0.02-0.03 (Ω: 0.015). Interline: 0-0.01.

P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 98-103 no 6 (*AnnEpigr* 2000, 1301; *Bull.* 2002, 258f; *SEG* L 583); Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 199 no 42; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 460 no 165.

Cf. S. Le Bohec-Bouhet, in: *Philologos Dionysios* 503 (on the dog's label); M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 354 (on wives of gladiators).

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Main text:

Οὐαλερία Ἑρμῆτι μορ-  
μίλ<λ>ωνι ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ πάλῳ πρ-  
ώτῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐκίνου ἐκείνῳ  
μνήμης χάριν· χαῖρε, πα-  
5 ροδίτα.

Label inscription,  
identifying the dog:

Δοῦλος.

*Oualeria for Hermes, her husband, a murmillo of the first class, at his expense for him, for remembrance sake; greetings, passer-by.*

*Doulos.*

L. 2: ΜΟΡΜΙΛΛΩΝΙ *lapis*; Nigdelis – Stephani (100 n. 57) allow for the possibility that this may not be a mistake of the engraver (a common confusion between triangular letters) but a phonological phenomenon, which is highly implausible (cf. already *AnnEpigr* and *SEG*).

For the common gladiatorial name Ἐρμῆς, the *murmillones*, and the gladiators designated as first class, see the detailed commentary of Nigdelis – Stephani. For a Macedonian parallel of naming the depicted dog, see now *SEG* XLIX 700 from Dion.

The dative Ἐρμῆτι, otherwise unattested in Macedonia, where nasal infixes are, on the contrary, quite common, is noteworthy. For parallels of a dental infix in the genitive and dative of theonyms or personal names derived from theonyms (including Ἐρμῆτι) in inscriptions from Asia Minor, see L. Bricault, in: *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II 132.

**EKM I Suppl. 17. Epitaph of the gladiator Maron, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Α 902. For the context of its discovery, see EKM I Suppl. 13, above.

Stele of white marble with inscribed crowning (of which only traces of lunar-shaped ornaments survive), broken away at the top. In a framed recessed panel, relief of a reclining male figure occupying the centre of the scene; he faces front, clad in chiton and himation, resting on his left hand and perhaps holding a folded crown with his right hand; food table in front of the couch; behind the couch, his defensive weapons: an oval shield and a helmet; to the left, seated woman in a simplified rendering of the Agathe type. Dimensions: 0.56 x 0.45 x 0.08. Inscription below the relief. Height of letters: l. 1: ~0.012; l. 2: ~0.015. Interline: 0.005.

P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 94-95 no 3 (*AnnEpigr* 2000, 1298; *Bull.* 2002, 258c; *SEG* L 580); Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 198 no 39; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 457 no 162.

Cf. L. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 523; M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 354-355.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Αὐγούστα Μάρωνι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ  
ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου μνείας χάριν.

*Augusta for Maron her husband, at his expense, for remembrance sake.*

L. 1: Judging by the half-erased traces, the engraver originally incised the Ω of Μάρωνι as a ligature with P, but then proceeded to a ligature of Ω and N.

On the names, both unattested in Macedonia, see the comments of Nigdelis – Stephani; the name Μάρων is now also attested in Maroneia: *IThrakAig* 189.

**EKM I Suppl. 18. Epitaph of the gladiator Podenemos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Α 901. For the context of its discovery, see *EKM I Suppl.* 13, above.

Stele of white marble with inscribed crowning (decorated by a series of lunar-shaped ornaments), broken away to the top right. In a recessed panel, reclining male figure facing left, wearing a chiton and himation and holding an object (probably a folded crown) with his right hand; in front of him, small food table; in the background, a Π-shaped taenia in relief, possibly alluding to a tent; behind the couch, the gladiator's pole weapon (probably a trident, in which case the deceased would be a *retiarius*), of which only the shaft and the butt-spike are preserved; to the right, winged Eros on a pedestal, holding a bunch of grapes with his right hand, while his left is bent below his chest. Dimensions: 0.735 x 0.61

x 0.07. Inscription below the relief, with traces of red letter. Height of letters: 0.025-0.03 (Ω: 0.02-0.03; O: 0.015-0.02). Interline: 0.01-0.015.

P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, *Tekmeria* 5 (2000) 91-94 no 2 (*AnnEpigr* 2000, 1297; *Bull.* 2002, 258b; *SEG* L 579); Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten* 197-198 no 38; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 456 no 161.

Cf. L. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 523.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Βασιλική Ποδηνέμω τῷ  
καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτῳ ἐκ τῶν  
ἐκίνου μνείας χάριν. ☪

*Basilike for Podenemos, also called Asklepiodotos, at his expense, for remembrance sake.*

As Nigdelis – Stephani remark, Ποδήνεμος (“quick-footed like the wind”) is an apt gladiatorial nickname, already attested in Aphrodisias (Robert, *Gladiateurs* 171 no 162; see more recently A. Hrychuk-Kontokosta, in: *Aphrodisias Papers* 4, 214-215 no 19 and fig. 20, with further bibliography). Βασιλική was unattested in Macedonia, contrary to the gladiator’s original name, Ἀσκληπιόδοτος (*pace* Nigdelis – Stephani): see *LGPN* IV, s.v.

#### **EKM I Suppl. 19. Epigram of the *venator* Tillorobos, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 948. Found during rescue excavations in the area of the modern cemetery, close to the findspot of EKM I Suppl. 13, above, in second use as construction material for a later Roman tomb.

Plaque of greyish marble without crowning, broken to the bottom left, bearing an unframed relief of a *venator* facing right; he wears a short chiton and protective gear on his left arm and holds back with his spear a charging beast (bear according to Jones, bear or some feline –tiger or panther– according to Koukouvou, lioness, according to Allamani-Souri); between the two, a dog, a whip (?) and a piece of cloth (?). Dimensions: 0.80 x 0.55 x 0.07. Inscription above and on either side of the relief of the *venator*. Height of letters: 0.12-0.02. Interline: ~0.005.

A. Koukouvou, AAA 39 (2006) 161-174 (*AnnEpigr* 2006, 1263; *SEG* LVI 702); C. P. Jones, *ZPE* 163 (2007) 45-46 (*AnnEpigr* 2007, 1267); Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 449 no 154.

Cf. A. Koukouvou, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 524; A. Cooley – B. Salway, *JRS* 102 (2012) 240 (on the gladiator's nickname).

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



- Ὁ πολλὰ πέρ[Α]σας θηρίων φρικτῶν  
γέννη καὶ τὴν ἄπληστον χορτάσας τύχην  
φόνων, πόλεις τε πλείστας εἰσιδὼν  
οἰκουμένης, τύχη βαρεῖα καὶ ἀπαρετήτω  
5 μόρω Τιλλόροβος οἰκτρῶς εἰς πάτραν  
ἐὴν μολῶν γονεῖς τε κατιδὼν καὶ φίλο-  
υς καὶ συγγενεῖς κείμε ἐν πα<sup>-vac.</sup>  
τρῶα προσφιλεστάτῃ<sup>vac.</sup>  
10 Μαρκιανῇ Τιλ- χθονί. ☞  
λο- ☞  
ρόβου το-  
ῦ ἀνδρὸς  
ἐποίη-  
15 σεν μ-  
νεῖα-  
ς χά-  
ριν.

*I, Tillorobos, who have slain many kinds of terrible beasts, satiated voracious Tyche with killings, and admired most of the cities of the whole world, lie here in the ground of my beloved fatherland, after having returned in a pitiful state to his (?) homeland –(subdued) by the unbearable destiny and the fate which heeds to no entreaty– and having seen my parents, friends and relatives. Markiane had this made for Tillorobos her husband, for remembrance sake.*

L. 1: ΠΕΡΑΣΑΣ lapis; περάσας, participle of περάω or of πειράω Koukounou; πέρ{A}σας, participle of πέρθω, Jones, pointing to Eur., *Heracles* 700, for metrical reasons (although this would not be the only problematic part of the text metrically; see Jones 45). Ll. 5-6: εἰς πάτρα γλέην Koukounou; εἰς πάτραν | ἔην Jones, which seems preferable because it is more compatible with the discernible traces of the last letter of l. 5 (a vertical stroke without a trace of an upper horizontal), because in the metrical part of the text the engraver usually respects syllabic cut (with the exception of l. 6) and finally because πάτρα γαίην would necessitate the assumption that the noun πάτρα is used here as an adjective; the reading πάτραν ἔην, however, entails a shift from first person to third. Ll. 13-14: Jones convincingly posits that the Σ at the end of l. 14 is not the sigma of ἐποίησεν, which is duly engraved at the beginning of l. 15, but actually the final sigma of ἀνδρός missing from l. 13.

As Koukounou already remarked, the epigram (ll. 1-10) consists of seven iambic trimeters. The epigram for the *venator* proudly emphasizes the appetite for blood and for gruesome spectacles characterizing beast fights, which were particularly popular in Roman Macedonia (cf. EKM I 117-119 and IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1074-1075, 1516, with bibliography). Tillorobos returned to die in his homeland Beroia badly wounded, presumably during one of his performances.

The *venator* bears as his professional name the name (probably of Pisidian origin) of a notorious bandit active in Bithynia (Luc., *Alex.* 2, mentioning a work of Arrian on his life). As Jones (46) points out, all epigraphic attestations of the name verify that the correct version in Lucian's text is Τιλλόροβος (Τιλλόβορος mss., alternatively).

The fact that Τιλλόροβος is a Beroian is one of the indications that there existed a local gladiatorial school in Beroia (Koukounou 171; Allamani-Souri 229-230; M. Ducros, in: *Les communautés du nord égéen* 351); cf. EKM I 383, above.

## JEWISH EPITAPHS AND EPIGRAMS

### **EKM I Suppl. 20. Epitaph of Theodosios, designated presbyter of the Jewish synagogue, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 872. Found in 1995 on Aspasia Street, very close to block 319 in the southeastern part of the city, outside the walled area; EKM I Suppl. 22-23 were found on the same spot, and EKM I Suppl. 21 nearby. Nine tombs were excavated in this block, but none of the steles can be safely associated with any of them.

Stele of white marble without crowning, chipped away on the left side. Dimensions: 0.935 x 0.23 x 0.115. Inscription on the upper half of the stele; perhaps the engraving takes into consideration a preexisting damage of the stone. Height of letters: 0.02-0.03 (Φ: 0.035). Interline: ll. 1-2: 0.01; ll. 2-7: 0.007-0.01.

A. Koukounou, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998-1999) 16-20 no 1 (*Bull.* 2000, 467.1; *SEG* XLIX 685); *IJudO* I 82-84, Mac8; *CJG* 104-105 no 35.

Cf. A. Koukouvou, *ArchDelt* 50 (1995 [2000]) B2 562-563; R. Gordon – J. Reynolds, *JRS* 93 (2003) 270 n. 374 (on the term μελ(λ)οπρεσβύτερος); P. van der Horst, *JSJ* 36 (2005) 70-71 (on the term μελ(λ)οπρεσβύτερος and on ll. 5-7); SEG LIV 594 comm. (on ll. 5-7); Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire* 199.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Τάφος  
 Θεοδοσί-  
 ου Έβρέου  
 μελοπρεσ-  
 5 βυτέρου, ΤΡΙ-  
 ΤΟΥ ΝΙΑΣ  
 [v v (?) ]CTΟΥ.

*Tomb of Theodosios, Jew, designated to become a presbyter (...).*

L. 6: As Koukouvou rightly observes, the only visible trace in the beginning of the line is an upper horizontal stroke with traces of rasura, probably a T erased because it was engraved too close to l. 5, and then repeated further to the right. L. 7: The space at the beginning of the line, now chipped away, may not have been originally engraved. Ll. 5-6: τρι[έ]του or τρι[[ς] τοῦ *IJudO* I, but see commentary.

Koukouvou (*Tekmeria* 26-28) remarks that the findspot of this and three other Jewish epitaphs in the area of the ancient southeastern cemetery suggests that members of the Jewish community of Beroia were not buried separately, and were thus apparently fully integrated in local society (on the Jewish communities of Macedonia, see also A. Ovadi-ah, *Gérion* 33 [2015] 211-227, with bibliography), hence the need for Theodosios' religious affiliation to be explicitly mentioned, which is rare in mainland Greece. For the term

Ἑβραῖος, see the commentary of Koukouvou (*Tekmeria*), *IJudO* I, and van der Horst, with further bibliography; when it is used, why it is used, and why (and in what contexts) it is preferred to Ἰουδαῖος are still matters open to debate.

The term μελλοπρεσβύτερος means that Theodosios had been designated to become a presbyter (on this office of the synagogue, see also the commentary in *IJudO* I Thr3); it does not, however, necessarily mean either that he was designated to become a presbyter in the following year, or that the office was elective as Koukouvou assumes (*Tekmeria* 17-18), especially since even children may be described as μελλάρχοντες in Jewish inscriptions (see *IJudO* and van der Horst). The reason for Theodosios' description as someone designated to become a presbyter in the future is obviously that he died before entering office (cf. also EKM I 78, above, for Memmius Quintianus Kapiton, ἐν προβολαῖς μακεδονιαρχικαῖς γενόμενον).

No cogent explanation has been offered for ll. 5-7. The restoration τρι[έ]του ΝΙΑΣ[<sup>vv</sup>] ΣΤΟΥ in *IJudO* I, which would make the deceased a three-year-old boy, is improbable epigraphically (see apparatus, l. 6) and grammatically (cf. Chaniotis *ad SEG* LIV 594). The alternative restoration offered by *IJudO* I, τρι[ς] τοῦ followed by an ethnic, which would mean that the deceased had been three times designated to become presbyter, is also improbable syntactically and semantically. Koukouvou (*Tekmeria* 19-20) points out that the ending -ιαστής does not conform to an ethnic (for the combination of the term Ἑβραῖος with an ethnic, see e.g. *CIJ* I 370); she suggests that the term in ll. 5-7 may record the deceased's profession or his membership in a professional association (perhaps from *tritura*, grinding wheat). Alternatively, one may think of some other religious office held by Theodosios, before he was designated to join the presbyters. For other liturgical titles in the Jewish synagogue, see, e.g., *hazan*, ἀζανίτης in Epiph., *Panarion* 30.11, and ἀζζανα / διάκονος in *IJudO* III Syr58, a term which designated a religious official of lower order than the presbyters and the cantor (cf. van der Horst 74-75).

**EKM I Suppl. 21. Epitaph of Ioustinos (also called?) Gogornis, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, second half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 941. Found in 1999, very close to block 319 (where EKM I Suppl. 20, 22-23 were found), in the southeastern part of the city, outside the walled area.

Small column of white marble, damaged below and at the top. Dimensions: 0.88 x 0.125-0.195. Height of letters: 0.025-0.04 (Σ: 0.02). Interline: 0.005-0.01.

A. Koukouvou, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998-1999) 23-25 no 4 (*Bull.* 2000, 467.4; *SEG* XLIX 688); *IJudO* I 86-87 Mac11 (Mitchell – French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara* II, commentary at no 358); *CIJG* 108-109 no 38.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



Μημώριων  
Ἰουστήνου,  
Γωγώρνι.

*Memorial of Ioustinos, (also called?) Gogornis.*

L. 1: Μημώριον previous editions; μημώριων *lapis*. L. 3: Γωγώρνι *SEG*, inadvertently.

Γωγώρνι is unanimously interpreted as representing the name Γογγόνι(ο)ς, attested in the Jewish onomasticon (see Mitchell – French), as is Ἰουστῖνος. The form should be understood as a genitive: Γογγόνι or Γογγονί(ου); Koukouvou (*Tekmeria*) also allows for the possibility of a dative due to the confusion between oblique cases. The editors of *IJudO* understand the name as the patronym of Ioustinos, while Chaniotis (*SEG*) and Koukouvou (*CJG*) as the second name of Ioustinos rather than the name of a second man buried in the same grave.

#### **EKM I Suppl. 22. Jewish epitaph, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 874. Found in the same context as *EKM I Suppl. 20*, above.

Fragment of the upper part of a stele of white marble with inscribed pediment, preserving only part of the crowning, with *menorah*, *ethrog* and *loulab*, and a small part of the

shaft, with four letters of the inscription. Dimensions: 0.265 x 0.12 (Koukouvou). Height of letters: 0.034-0.038 (Koukouvou). Interline: 0.02-0.025 (Koukouvou).

A. Koukouvou, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998-1999) 22-23 no 3 (*Bull.* 2000, 467.3; *SEG* XLIX 687); *IJudO* I 86 Mac10; *CIJG* 108-109 no 37.

No autopsy



[----- ο]υ μη[μόριον ----]  
 [-----]ΙΘ[-----]  
 [-----]

*Memorial of (...).*

L. 1: The word before μημόριον is probably the genitive ending of the deceased's name. L. 2: The stroke before Θ is incorrectly read as a cross by the editors of *IJudO* I.

#### **EKM I Suppl. 23. Epigram of a cantor of the Jewish synagogue, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, first half**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 873. Found in the same context as EKM I Suppl. 20, above.

Stele of white marble, in two joining fragments, broken above, with a large recessed panel without traces of decoration. Dimensions: 0.65 x 0.40 x 0.05. Inscription in the upper part of the recessed panel. Height of letters: 0.018-0.035. Interline: 0.005-0.015.

A. Koukouvou, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998-1999) 20-22 no 2 (*Bull.* 2000, 467.2; *SEG* XLIX 686); *IJudO* I 84-86 Mac9; *CIJG* 106-107 no 36.

Cf. A. Koukouvou, *ArchDelt* 50 (1995 [2000]) B2 562-563; R. Gordon – J. Reynolds, *JRS* 93 (2003) 270 n. 374.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



[-----]  
 [...<sup>ca. 6</sup>...π]ροφερέ-  
 <σ>τατος ὕμνοις,  
 Ἑβρέων γέρας  
 5 ἐνθάδε κίτε.<sup>v</sup>

(...) *excellent in hymns, a gift for the Jews, lies here.*

L. 2: [πρ]οφερέ- Koukouvou, but the lower part of the vertical stroke of P is visible. L. 4: For the possible meaning and syntax of γέρας, see the commentary.

This is one of the relatively rare Jewish epigrams and one of the very rare Jewish inscriptions referring to psalms sung in the synagogue, as Koukouvou comments. Προφερέστατος ὕμνοις is a poetic reference to the cantor of the synagogue, who is also qualified as a γέρας Ἑβραίων, meaning that the deceased constituted an honour for the community with his presence. See van der Horst 71 for a rebuttal of the assumption of the editors of *IJudO* I, who interpret ὕμνος as hymn and translate “most renowned in hymns of the Jews”, i.e. assume that the deceased was praised in religious songs sung by members of the community. The various alternative interpretations of γέρας offered in *IJudO* I (a female personal name Γέρ(ρ)α mistakenly put in the genitive, an unattested male personal name Γέρας in the nominative, or the noun γῆρας, meaning here “an old man”) are all highly implausible. For the term Ἑβραῖος, see *EKM* I Suppl. 20, above.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TERRITORY OF BEROIA

## NISI

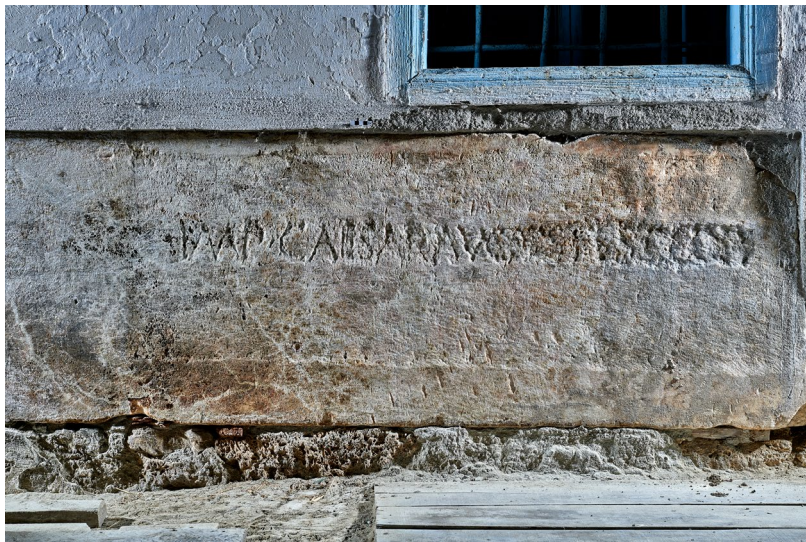
***EKM I* Suppl. 24. Statue base for an emperor, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD**

Nisi, encased in the southern wall of the old church of Hagioi Anargyroi. It was located in 2007 by N. Poulakakis.

Rectangular marble block, most probably from a large statue pedestal, broken to the right (see below). Dimensions (visible): 0.70 x 2.66. According to Poulakakis, its thickness must be less than 0.80, since the stone is not visible from the inside of the 0.80 thick southern wall of the church, but more than 0,25, as determined during cleaning. The inscription, almost indiscernible today, is set in a slightly recessed zone (1.55 x 0.50), asymmetrically placed towards the right edge of the surviving part of the block. There is a further slight recession in the right part of the inscribed zone. Since the inscribed panel must have been placed in the centre of the original block, as Poulakakis rightly observes, and has no discernible end to the right, part both of the stone and perhaps of the text to the right must be missing; Poulakakis estimates the original width of the block to ca. 3.69 m. The size of the block rules out architectural use, and so must have belonged to a large statue pedestal, of a size comparable to the statue base for emperor Claudius (*EKM I* 60, above). Poulakakis further assumes that this was an equestrian statue, but the editors of *AnnEpigr* object that on equestrian statue bases the inscription is consistently engraved on one of the narrow sides and not on one of the long ones, as in this case. Height of letters: 0.08-0.010.

N. Poulakakis, in: *Θρεπτήρια* 572-591 (*AnnEpigr* 2012, 1296; *Bull.* 2013, 267).

Autopsy, photograph (2019)





ὕ Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus [ . . <sup>ca. 4</sup> . . ] ὕ

*Emperor Caesar Augustus (...).*

After *Augustus*, there are 4 letters even more badly worn than the rest, most probably due to deliberate erasure. Poulakakis very hesitantly suggests X (or V), N, A and S (or I); we were unable to confirm or refute these readings during autopsy. Poulakakis assumes that the text after *Augustus* was added later, due to the further recession in the inscribed zone after it.

Poulakakis argues that the stone cannot have been carried from Beroia, due to its exceptional size and weight, and that its original provenance was thus probably a settlement nearby (for the antiquities found in the area of Nisi, see Poulakakis 584-586); it is however difficult to envisage a honorific monument for an emperor in the rural hinterland of the Macedonian metropolis.

As for the identity of the emperor, Poulakakis claims that the surviving imperial titles can only point to Augustus (for evidence for Augustus from Macedonia, see Poulakakis 578-580), perhaps in the context of his journeys to the East between 22 and 19 BC. Even if we discard the absence of *Divi filius*, which should have been part of Augustus' official nomenclature on a statue base after 27 BC, the problem of the erasure after *Augustus* warrants caution.

## RACHI

**EKM I Suppl. 25. Epitaph of Lykoleon, Theonoe, and Neon, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second-third quarter**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 947. Found in 2000 at Rachi, in second use as building material for a later tomb.

Pedimental stele of white marble, with two recessed panels with relief; in the upper panel, busts of an aged couple; in the lower panel, winged Eros reclining on a mattress, holding a poppy fruit in his left hand; to the left, draped female standing figure; to the right, standing male figure. On the crowning, two winged Erotes hold an *imago clipeata* of a male bust (for this decorative motif, unique in Beroia, see the comments of Allamani-Souri 264). Dimensions: 1.45 x 0.72 x 0.185. Inscriptions on the antefixes and between the two panels. Height of letters: 0.012-0.02. Interline: 0.01 (left antefix), 0.005 (right antefix).

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 411 no 114 (Bull. 2018, 267).

Cf. A. Koukounou, *ArchDelt* 55 (2000 [2009]) B2 816; D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 140, 152 no 89; V. Allamani-Souri, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* 367, 368 fig. 12.

Autopsy, photograph, squeeze (2019)



## a) left antefix:

Λυκο-  
λέων  
ζῶν  
ἐαυτῷ.

## b) right antefix:

Θεον-  
όη ζ-  
ῶσα.

## c) between the two relief panels:

Νέονα Δεν[. .<sup>4-5</sup> . .] οἱ συνήθεις.

*Lykoleon, while still alive, for himself. Theonoe, while still alive. The familiars for Neon son of Den[tous (?)].*

Text c: Δεν[το]ῦς Allamani-Souri, on a suggestion by E. Sverkos; the Y is doubtful and the circular trace before οἱ συνήθεις could belong either to a letter (an omikron or a lunar sigma mistakenly engraved as a circle) or to an ivy leaf.

The understanding of the relationship between the persons named in the text and depicted in the reliefs is not entirely clear (the possibility of a second use should be discarded, since all the inscriptions were engraved by the same hand). Lykoleon and Theonoe are undoubtedly identified with the aged couple portrayed in the upper panel, and Lykoleon declares that he had the monument erected for himself (while still alive). Neon, the only deceased, is depicted in the lower panel as Eros (for the representation of the deceased in the guise of deities, see *EKM* I 214, above). Since he is called a son of another woman, Den[tous?], he is most probably an illegitimate child of Lykoleon, a *threptos*, or a son from another marriage. Finally, Neon is honoured by οἱ συνήθεις. Allamani-Souri (280-282) cautiously assumes that the monument was co-funded by the couple and an association, of which Neon was a member. The term οἱ συνήθεις is indeed a common term for the members of an association in Macedonia; moreover, associations often contributed to the burial costs for their members, sometimes in conjunction with the deceased's family (for a Beroian example, see *EKM* I 371). Nevertheless, a reference to an association without any mention of its identity (e.g. with a name of a god, a reference to the association's leader, or through context) would be surprising. Accordingly, συνήθεις could be used here with its non-technical sense, 'familiars', 'friends'.

Λυκολέων is a popular name in Lower Macedonia, including Beroia (*LGPN* IV s.v.); for this category of names, see the commentary at *EKM* II 163. Θεονόη, attested at neighbouring Edessa (*EKM* II 214), belongs to the popular in Macedonia female names with νοῦς as the second compound (see the commentary at *EKM* II 214 and *EAM* Suppl. 17; cf. P. Paschidis, *ZPE* 212 [2019] 118). Δεντοῦς is a 'west Thracian' name, attested at Aigai (*EKM* I 51 with commentary and bibliography). For names in -οῦς, see especially L. Dubois, in: *Onomatologos* 398-421.

#### ***EKM* I Suppl. 26. Epitaph of the *threpte* Prokla, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, second half**

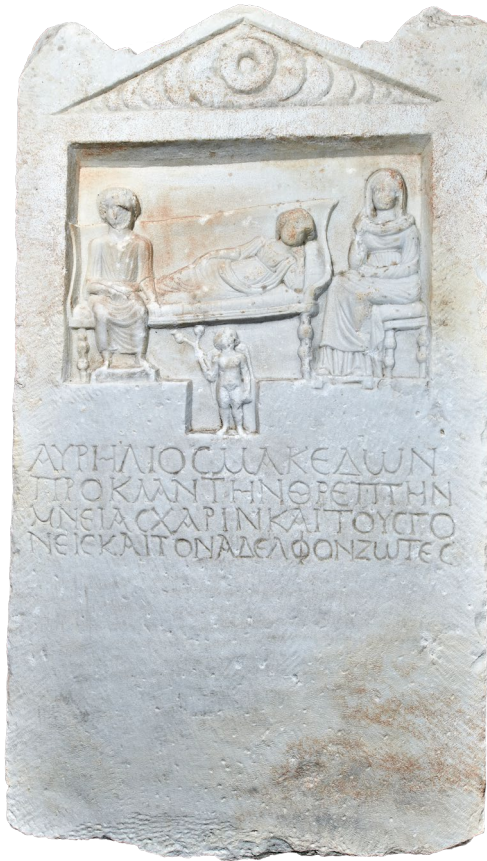
Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 946. Found in the same context as *EKM* I Suppl. 25, above.

Pedimental stele of white marble. On the crowning, disc at the centre surrounded by lunar-shaped ornaments. Relief in a recessed panel: at the centre, reclining female figure; to the left, male figure seated on the couch, with his feet on a foot-stool; to the right, draped female figure seated on a stool behind the couch; below the central figure, small Eros holding two poppy fruits with his right hand. Dimensions: 1.33 x 0.73 x 0.16.

Inscription below the relief. Height of letters: l. 1: 0.037-0.04; ll. 2-4: 0.03-0.035. Interline: 0.005.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 434 no 138 (Bull. 2018, 267).

Cf. A. Koukouvou, *ArchDelt* 55 (2000) B2 816; D. Terzopoulou, *Egnatia* 14 (2010) 141, 153 no 100.



Αὐρήλιος Μακεδὼν  
Πρόκλαν τὴν θρεπτὴν  
μνείας χάριν καὶ τοὺς γο-  
νεῖς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ζῶτες.

*Aurelius Makedon for his threpte Prokla, for remembrance sake, and for his parents and his brother, while they were still alive.*

L. 4: ζῶ<v>τες Allamani-Souri, unnecessarily.

Prokla, the only member of the family of Aurelius Makedon mentioned in the text by name, dominates the relief, despite being a mere *threpte*; she clearly matters greatly and is held in high esteem by the dedicant. For the status of *threptoi* in families in the Roman period, see the commentary at EKM I 208 with the Beroian examples and bibliography.

Since the rest of the family are still alive, the small Eros below the couch should not be interpreted as representing the brother (for the depiction of the deceased in the guise of deities, see EKM I 214, above), but simply as a symbolic representation of eternal sleep (Allamani-Souri 250).

TRIPOTAMOS

**EKM I Suppl. 27. Epitaph of a young man, early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD**

Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 868. Confiscated near Tripotamos in 1995.

Upper fragment of a stele of white marble with triangular ending. Unframed relief of a young man with chiton and toga; to the right, standing draped female figure in a niche, to the left, similar niche, where a male figure probably stood; behind the main figure, bust of a horse to the right. Dimensions: 0.84 x 0.56 x 0.22. Inscription below the left niche. Height of letters: 0.026-0.03. Interline: 0.012.

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα* 378 no 76.

Cf. V. Allamani-Souri, *ArchDelt* 50 (1995 [2000]) B2 582-583.



[ - - ]AI  
[ - - ]ON  
*vacat*

(...)

L. 1: [ - - - - ]A Allamani-Souri; AI on the stone. The inscription probably continued below the right niche.





# APPENDIX

## CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS ON MATERIAL OTHER THAN STONE

As in *EAM Suppl.*, we provide here a summary catalogue of published inscriptions on material other than stone. Since such inscriptions were only partially indexed in *EKM I*, earlier material is also included.

### A. INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION OF *EKM I*

1. Plate (late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) inscribed on its base: Ζωί[λου]. Found in 1982 on Pythagoras Street in the area of the southern cemetery of ancient Beroia.  
K. Tsakalou-Tzanavari, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982 [1989]) B2 301 (*SEG* XXXIX 576).
2. Ceramic fragment (Hellenistic) inscribed: [ΑΛ]έξαν|δ[ρος (?)]. Found in 1977 in a Hellenistic building in block 219, near the ancient civic centre.  
P. Pantos, *ArchDelt* 32 (1977 [1984]) B2 227.
3. Ceramic fragment (Hellenistic) inscribed (before firing): Ἀμυντίχο[υ]. From a salvage excavation in 1965, opposite the 2<sup>nd</sup> Elementary School, in the area of the ancient civic centre.  
Ph. Petsas, *ArchDelt* 20 (1965 [1967]) B2 427-429 pl. 481δ (*BCH* 92 [1968] Chron. 886, 890 fig. 6; *SEG* XXIV 522).
4. Base of a mould-made skyphos (Hellenistic), inscribed: Βίβοϋς. Found in a Hellenistic building in block 137, near the ancient civic centre.  
P. Pantos, *ArchDelt* 32 (1977 [1984]) B2 226 (*SEG* XXXVI 609.2).

5. Base of a mould-made skyphos (Hellenistic), with embossed inscription: Δαμονίκου. Found in a Hellenistic building in block 137, near the ancient civic centre.

P. Pantos, *ArchDelt* 32 (1977 [1984]) B2 226 (*SEG* XXXIV 618, apparatus; *SEG* XXXVI 609.1).

6. Thin silver sheet (0,073 x 0,058) folded inside a bronze tube which served as an amulet, reportedly from Beroia. It was acquired by Robinson from a private collection. The date is 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC – 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, according to Kotansky, and not 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, as it was dated by Robinson.

Ανοχ ΑΙ[- -] | Ακραμμαχαμαρι | Βαρβαθιαωθ | Λαμψουηρ |<sup>5</sup> Λαμηηρ | Λαμορη Ἰάω |  
Αβλαναθαναλ|βα, κύριοι ἄγγελοι | σώσετε τὸν ἐγέν<sup>10</sup>νη<σ>εν Ἀταλάντη | Εὐφίλητον  
(*voces magicae*, *lord angels*, *save Euphiletos*, *to whom Atalante gave birth*).

D. M. Robinson, in: *Studies Rand* 245-253 (*Bull.* 1939, 11); Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells* 226 no 121 (with English translation); Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets* 211-215 no 39.

Cf. Tataki, *Beroea* 119 no 248, 159 no 502, 476; R. Kotansky, in: *Magika Hiera* 120.

On the names of the demons, see the commentaries of Robinson (who, however, reflects the older *communis opinio* that the angel names betray heavy Jewish influence; *contra*, G. Bohak, in: *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars* 71-72) and Kotansky. Ἀταλάντη was already attested in Macedonia as the name of the sister of Alexander's officer Perdikkas son of Orontes (*Diod.* 18.37.2) –and not of “king Perdikkas” as Kotansky inadvertently writes; Εὐφίλητος is also attested in Olynth (*SEG* XXIX 626).

7. Copper strigil inscribed with punctured letters: δῶρον (*gift*). Found in a grave (Imperial period) of the eastern cemetery of the ancient city.

Ch. Makaronas, *Makedonika* 2 (1941-1952) Chron. 628 no 66.

8. Golden ring (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD) inscribed: εὐτύχι | Ἀκάκιν (*be fortunate*, *Akakin*). Found in a grave in block 45, outside the Euian gate, in the area of the extended southern cemetery of ancient Beroia.

Aik. Rhomiopoulou – I. Touratsoglou, *Makedonika* 14 (1974) 173-174 and pl. III; cf. G. Daux, *BCH* 101 (1977) 347 (on the name Ἀκάκι(ο)ν).

9. Painted inscription on the wall of a cist tomb (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, second half) excavated in 1978 outside the western walls of the ancient city: above a cross: Χ(ριστ)ἔ | ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ καταφύγι|ον (*Christ, our hope and refuge*); on either side of the cross: ΕΛΙΑΝΟΥ; inside the cross: ὁ Θε(ὸς) ἄρχ(ων) | οὐράνιος (?) κυβερνήτης (?) (*God our lord, captain in heaven*).

Th. Pazaras, *Makedonika* 24 (1984) 237-238; idem, *ArchDelt* 33 (1978 [1985]) B2 279 fig. 9 and pl. 135β (*Bull.* 1987, 435; *SEG* XXXV 733).

ΕΛΙΑΝΟΥ is tentatively interpreted as a personal name by Pazaras and (also tentatively) as an invocation in Jewish by Feissel (*Bull.*)

10. Painted inscription on the wall of a cist tomb (same context and date as the previous one) between the representation of a woman and a candlestick: Κυρά, | δός μοι τιτθὶν | Ἀλεξάν[δρ]ω (Lady, give me breast, to me, Alexandros). Above the female figure's head, traces of her name (?): ΝΗΟ[. .]ΛΙΤ[- - -].  
Th. Pazaras, *Makedonika* 24 (1984) 239-240; idem, *ArchDelt* 33 (1978 [1985]) B2 279 fig. 9 and pl. 135β (*Bull.* 1987, 435; *SEG* XXXV 734).
11. Painted inscription on another wall of the previous cist tomb: Γλα[ῦκος] or Γλα[ύκη].  
Th. Pazaras, *Makedonika* 24 (1984) 242; idem, *ArchDelt* 33 (1978 [1985]) B2 279 pl. 135γ (*Bull.* 1987, 661; *SEG* XXXV 734).
12. Mosaic inscription (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD) from a secular building near Raktivan Square and the Euian gate (block 87): ☸ Ἀγαθ[ - - ] | εὖτ[υχῶς χρῶ] (May you live here in good fortune).  
Aik. Rhomiopoulou – I. Touratsoglou, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970 [1973]) B2 381, dr. 5-6, pl. 319α-β; Spiro, *Critical Corpus* I 560 no 192, II fig. 624; Feissel, *Recueil* 56bis; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα* I 252-254, cat no. 1.18, II pl. 63β.
13. Ceramic fragment (undated) inscribed: AXIO. Found in 1977 below the mosaic of a room in the Late Roman building adjacent to Mitropoleos Street (block 80).  
P. Pantos, *ArchDelt* 32 (1977 [1984]) B2 221 (*SEG* XXXIV 618, app.).

## B. INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED AFTER *EKM* I

14. Base of a black-glazed kantharos (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), with owner's inscription scratched after firing: Ἑρμῶν. Chance find from Loutros, ca. 20 km to the northwest of Beroia.  
P. Chrysostomou, in: *Α΄ Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Ἐπιγραφικῆς* 196-198 fig. 14 (*Bull.* 2002, 263; *SEG* LI 807).
15. Clay sealing (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC), inscribed: Βεροΐας | πολιταρχῶν (of the politarchs of Beroia), with relief of a club between the two lines. Found at Kallipetra, in a room of the building complex tentatively identified by L. Stephani as the original sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, less than 1 km from the well-known Roman temple of the goddess at Leukopetra. The complex has a destruction phase in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.  
L. Stephani, *AEMTh* 15 (2001 [2003]) 561-562 (*Bull.* 2003, 359); eadem, *ArchDelt* 56-59 (2001-2004 [2012]) B3 365 (*Bull.* 2014, 46; *SEG* LIX 678); eadem, *Makedonika* 39 (2010-2012 [2013]) 108, 122 fig. 10.  
The find, apart from being the sixth epigraphic attestation of the politarchs of Beroia (see also *EKM* I 1, 7, 60, 103, 134, above), is important because it corroborates the assumption

that the settlement at Kallipetra / Leukopetra belonged to the territory of Beroia (see already *EKMI* p. 50). For similar sealings from the public archive of Pella, with the inscription Πέλλης πολιταρχῶν, see I. Akamatis, in: *Το αρχαιολογικό μουσείο Πέλλας* 105.

16. Artist signature, inscribed on the back of four terracotta statuettes of Aphrodite removing her sandal (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC): Ἀλε(ξάνδρου) (ligature ΛΕ).

V. Allamani – K. Tzanavari, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 50-51; Tsakalou-Tzanavari, *Πήλινα ειδώλια* 67-68, 262 nos 271-274, pl. 77 (*SEG* XLIX 689; *SEG* LII 593); eadem, in: *Ειδώλιο* 117 fig. 1, 119.

17. Artist signatures, inscribed on the back of three terracotta statuettes of Aphrodite with a girl beside her and Eros on her shoulder (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC): behind the statuette's head, inscribed: Δι(ονυσίου); near the base, stamped (perpendicularly): Μη(νᾶ), followed by a stamped symbol in the form of a reverse angular sigma.

*The Search for Alexander. An Exhibition* 173-174 no 142; V. Allamani – K. Tzanavari, *Ancient Macedonia* VI (1996 [1999]) 50-51; Tsakalou-Tzanavari, *Πήλινα ειδώλια* 68-69, 256 nos 227, 228, 231, pl. 61 (*SEG* XLIX 689; *SEG* LII 593); eadem, in: *Ειδώλιο* 119 fig. 4.

18. Mould-made skyphos (Hellenistic), found in 2002 in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Leukopetra, with scenes a) from the sacking of Troy and b) from the sacrifice of Polyxene. Label inscriptions: a) Κ<έ>λαδος, Ἐπειός, Νεοπτόλεμος, Ἴλιον, Κασσάν[δρα], [ναός Ἀθ]ηνᾶς; b) ἴδω[λον?], [Τεῦ]κρ[ος], [- - -]η, Νεο[πτ][ό]λεμος.

G. Mallios, in: *Τῷ διδασκάλῳ* 251-262.

Mallios (257-261, with earlier literature) comments on the popularity of reliefs representing the sacking of Troy in Late Hellenistic Macedonian ceramic production, perhaps a symbol of a Macedonian 'cultural resistance' against the Roman conquerors of the land (and descendants of the Trojans).

19. Stamped amphora handle of the 'Parmeniskos group' (Hellenistic), found in 2006 in an important 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC-4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD settlement at the site of Bas Karter (on which see the commentary at *EKMI* 510, above): Θεοδ[ό]του.

N. Poulakakis – E. Psarra, *ArchDelt* 61 (2006 [2014]) B2 901 fig. 86 (*SEG* LXII 413).

20. Artist signature (stamped) on the base of a clay mould-made lamp with relief of Eros holding a torch: Ἐπιδηφόρου. The lamp is a local copy of the homonymous Attic workshop of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. Found in 2006 in a bath complex at the Promitheas quarter of western modern Veria.

E. Psarra – St. Lioulis, *AEMTh* 20 (2006 [2008]) 813 fig. 10 (*SEG* LVIII 563).

## NOTE ON UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS

As in *EAM Suppl.*, we provide here a list of the inscriptions known to us through bibliographical references, but which were unpublished at the time this *Supplement* was completed.

1. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 841. Unspecified finding context. Inscribed altar, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD. See E. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 48 (1993 [1998]) B2 378 (*Bull.* 2002, 261).
2. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 892. Found in 1996, on Akropoleos Street in the modern Promitheas quarter in the western part of the city. Funerary altar; dimensions: 1.10 x 0.45. See E. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 523; E. Psarra – St. Lioulas, *AEMTh* 20 (2006 [2008]) 816 n. 38. Perhaps this is in fact *EKM* I 403 (same year of discovery, same findspot, similar dimensions, the inventory number is given as Λ 898 in *EKM* I).
3. Archaeological Museum of Veria. Found in 1996 in an unlooted rock-cut tomb (3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC) on Ploutarchou Street, block 305, in the northeastern cemetery of ancient Beroia. Three pedimental funerary steles, two of which bear painted decoration. Three of the persons named bear the same patronym, making clear that this is a family grave. See A. Koukouvou, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996 [2001]) B2 524.
4. Archaeological Museum of Veria; unspecified finding context. Opisthographic stele (55 lines on one side and 40 on the other) with horizontal crowning, containing accounts of the priests of Asklepios (cf. *EKM* I 16) from the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC to the high Imperial period. See V. Allamani, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 5 (*Bull.* 2005, 321; *SEG* LI 799).
5. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 905. Found in 1997 on Stadiou Street, block 271, in the area of the ancient northern cemetery. Funerary stele; dimensions: 0.59 x 0.49 x 0.05. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 1 (*Bull.* 2005, 232; *SEG* LI 803).
6. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 906. Same context of discovery as the previous one. Pedimental funerary stele; dimensions: 0.69 x 0.54 x 0.07. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 2 (*Bull.* 2005, 232; *SEG* LI 803).
7. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 908. Same context of discovery as the previous one. Funerary stele; dimensions: 0.725 x 0.48 x 0.04–0.09. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 4 (*Bull.* 2005, 232; *SEG* LI 803).
8. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 909. Same context of discovery as the previous one. Fragmentarily preserved funerary stele; dimensions: 0.54 x 0.32 x 0.05. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 746 no 5 (*Bull.* 2005, 232; *SEG* LI 803).
9. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 912. Found in 1997 on Vermiou Street, in the area of Beroia's civic centre. Fragmentarily preserved funerary stele (Imperial period); dimensions:

0.65 x 0.39 x 0.05. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997 [2003]) B2 747 no 1 (*Bull.* 2005, 232; *SEG* LI 803).

10. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 921. Found in 1998, in block 350 (Ipirou and Avdiron Street), in the area of the southern cemetery of the ancient city, in the fill of a tiled tomb. Funerary stele with inscribed crowning and a relief of a male and a female standing figures; dimensions: 0.78 x 0.60 x 0.08. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998 [2004]) B2 661.
11. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 922. Same finding context as the previous one. Lower fragment of a funerary stele with relief of Eros and a dog; dimensions: 0.50 x 0.40 x 0.10. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998 [2004]) B2 661.
12. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 923. Same finding context as the previous ones. Funerary stele with relief of a male and a female figure and a dog; dimensions: 0.70 x 0.55 x 0.10. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998 [2004]) B2 661.
13. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 924. Same finding context as the previous ones. Fragment of a funerary stele; dimensions: 1.07 x 0.78. See M. Apostolou, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998 [2004]) B2 661.

#### TERRITORY OF BEROIA

14. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 840. Fragment of a funerary stele (Imperial period), found at Kouloura. See E. Stephani, *ArchDelt* 48 (1993 [1998]) B2 378 (*Bull.* 2002, 261).
15. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 1244. Lower fragment of a funerary stele, preserving two lines of the inscription (which was probably engraved below a relief). Found 3-4 km north of Nisi and handed over to the authorities in 2010. See N. Poulakakis, *ArchDelt* 65 (2010 [2016]) B2 1411 no 2 and fig. 145 (*SEG* LXV 504); idem, in: *Θρεπτήρια* 585 (antiquities from Nisi).
16. Archaeological Museum of Veria MB Λ 1326. Altar in two joining pieces, dated to 163/4 AD. Found in 2010 near Nisi, in the vicinity of a Roman bath complex. See N. Poulakakis, *ArchDelt* 65 (2010 [2016]) B2 1430 and fig. 177 (*SEG* LXV 505); idem, in: *Θρεπτήρια* 585 (antiquities from Nisi). Text read from the photo:

Αἰλία Νεικ[ο]-  
νόη · καὶ ὁ  
γαμβρὸς Ἀ-  
λέξανδρος <sup>[1-2]</sup>

5 ΛΣΩ Κρίσπω τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ · μνεί-  
 ας · χάριν.<sup>vac.</sup>  
 Ἦτους εἰς σέβ(αστοῦ)  
 τοῦ καὶ ιατ'  
 Ἀπελλαίου κέ'.

Ll. 4-5: [Αἰ]λίῳ Chaniotis (SEG); [Κέ]λῳ (a common *cognomen*, attested –albeit rarely– also as a *gentilicium*) seems more compatible with the traces on the photo.

17. Archaeological Museum of Veria Λ 1245. Found near Tagarochori and handed over to the authorities in 2010. Upper fragment of a pedimental stele in two joining fragments (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD). In a recessed panel, relief of a reclining, bare-chested male figure facing front and a female figure to the left. Judging by the helmet and the palm branch behind the reclining man, this is a funerary monument for a gladiator. Dimensions: 0.32 x 0.42. Inscription inside the relief. See N. Poulakakis, *ArchDelt* 65 (2010 [2016]) B2 1411 no 3 and fig. 146 (*Bull.* 2017, 320; SEG LXV 441). Text read from the photograph (see also *Bull.*):

Ἡράκλεια Περσῖ τῷ  
 ἰδίῳ συ-  
 βίῳ ἐκ τ-  
 ῶν  
 [- -].



# INDEXES

## A. CHANGES TO THE INDEXES OF INSCRIPTIONS INCLUDED IN *EKM* I

The first section (*Addenda*) contains new entries due to new readings, interpretations, and restorations. The inscriptions on material other than stone have been consistently indexed in this section, in order to include the reference to the entry number of each inscription in the corresponding Appendix. The second section (*Delenda et corrigenda*) contains entries that either need to be removed from the indexes of *EKM* I, or modified.

## ADDENDA

### Names in Greek

Ἀκάκιν: App. 8.

Ἀλέξαν[δρ]ος: App. 10.

[Ἀλ]έξανδ[ρος]: App. 2.

Ἀμύντιχος: App. 3.

Ἀταλάντη, mother of Εὐφύλητος: App. 6.

Βήρ[ιμος] (?), Καικίλις: 367 (instead of Βήρ[ος]).

Βιβώ: App. 4.

Γλα[ῦκος] (or -η): App. 11.

Δαλδιανή: 389 (instead of Δαλδιανός, ethnic).

Δαμόνικος: App. 5.

Εὐφύλητος son of Ἀταλάντη: App. 6.

Ζωΐ[λος]: App. 1.

Θεόπομπος (?): 431 (Θ[εο]πόνπ[ου] ?).

Ἰούλιος, son of Κοῖντα: 135 l. 19 (instead of Ἰούλιος Λικίνιος).

Λικίνιος, son of Κοῖντα: 135 l. 19 (instead of Ἰούλιος Λικίνιος).

Λίκκυρος: 4 l. 22 (Λικύρρου instead of ΑΙΚΚΥΡΟΥ).

Οὐειέντων: 84 (instead of Οὐέντων).

Τυδδα: Ἀννία Τυδδα (instead of Τυδδανή), 84.

[Φρόν]των, Καυ[άριος] (?) (consular): 13, ll. 16-17.

### **Praenomina, nomina, supernomina**

#### *Nomina*

Cavarius (?): Καυ[άριος Φρόντ]ων (?), 13, ll. 16-17.

Farius (?): 142 (instead of Fabius).

Memmius: Π(όπλιος) Μ(έμμιος) (instead of Μ(ἄρκος)) Κυῖντιανὸς Μακεδών, 120.

Popillius: [Ποπ]ιλλίου (instead of [- -]ιλλίου) Ἄπιον καὶ Σευῆρον, 7 l. A+B 72.

Segnunnus: Σεγ<v>οῦννος Ζώσι[μος], 280.

### **Theonyms and Christian divine names and epithets**

The names of angels in App. 6 have not been indexed.

Θεός: ὁ Θε(δ)ς ἄρχ(ων) | οὐράνιος (?) κυβερνήτης, App. 9.

Χριστός: Χ(ριστ)ὲ ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ καταφύγιον, App. 9.

### **Toponyms and ethnics**

*Aegyptus*: 15 l. 14.

### **Greek vocabulary**

ἄγγελος: κύριοι ἄγγελοι σώσετε, App. 6.

αἰδέσιμος: Ζηνοβίου τοῦ ἐδε(σιμωτάτου) ἐκδ(ίκου), 439.

ἄν: ὅς ἄν ᾧδε (?), 475.

ἀνάκρισις: [τὴν δὲ ἀ]νάκρισιν (instead of [τὴν δὲ] κρίσιν) αὐτῶν [γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ (?) τῶ]ν ἀρχόντων, 13 l. 10; ἢ μὴ ἀνά[κρι]σιν [ποιῆται], 13 l. 13 (instead of ἢ μὴ ἀν[άγ]η [τὴν] [ὠνήν (?)]).

ἄρχων: ὁ Θε(δ)ς ἄρχ(ων) οὐράνιος (?) κυβερνήτης, App. 9.

γεννώ: τὸν ἐγέννη<σ>εν, App. 6.

γίγνομαι: ἀπὸ ἐκδ[ί]κ(ων) γεν[α]μ(ένω), 440.

δαπάνη: συνκαταθέσθαι τέξ δα[πάν]ες, 445 l. 10-11.

δίδωμι: κυρά, δός μοι τιτθίν, App. 10.

δίκαιον: τὸ ἀγιώτατον [δίκαι]ον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς <ς> ἐκκλησί[ας], 445 l. 12.

δῶρον: App. 7.

ἐγώ: κυρά, δός μοι τιτθίν, App. 10; Χ(ριστ)ὲ ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ καταφύγιον, App. 9.

ἐλπίς: Χ(ριστ)ὲ ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ καταφύγιον, App. 9.

ἐνθάπτω (?): εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κοιμητήριον ἢ τι[ς] [ἐνθάψῃ (?)], 445 (instead of ἢ τις [τολμήσῃ]).

ἐπί: [ἐ]πὶ Αὐρηλίας, 50 l. 1.

ἐπικρίνω: καθὼς ... [ἐπέκ]ρεινεν, 13 l. 18 (instead of [ἐκ]ρεινεν).  
 εὐτυχῶ: App. 8.  
 εὐτυχῶς: εὐτ[υχῶς χρῶ], App. 12.  
 ἐφηβαρχία (?): [ἐφηβαρ]χίας τόπον, 7 ll. A+B 44-45.  
 θιασίτης (?): τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασ[ι]τῶν (instead of θιασ[ω]τῶν), 22.  
 θρέμμα (?): τὰ σῶ[ματα καὶ τὰ θρέ]μματα (?), 13 l. 4.  
 καταφύγιον: Χ(ριστ)ὲ ἡμῶν ἢ ἐλπίς καὶ καταφύγιον, App. 9.  
 κυβερνήτης: ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἄρχ(ων) οὐράνιος (?) κυβερνήτης, App. 9.  
 κυρία: κυρά, δὸς μοι τιτθίν, App. 10.  
 κύριος: κύριοι ἄγγελοι σώσετε, App. 6.  
 λαμπρῶς: λαμ(πρῶς) (instead of λαμ(προτάτου)) στρατευσαμένου, 443.  
 νομός: ἐφύλαξε νομόν, 37 (instead of ἐφύλαξεν νόμον).  
 ὅς: ἅ τε (instead of ἄτε), 37; ὅς ἄν ᾧδε (?), 475.  
 οὐράνιος: ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἄρχ(ων) οὐράνιος (?) κυβερνήτης, App. 9.  
 πᾶς: κτεάνων <πάντων> ἀτελὴς δόμος, 37 l. 7.  
 πόλισμα: μεικροτέρων καὶ ἀνακεχωρηκότων πο[λισμάτων], 7 l. A+B 3.  
 πρέσβυς: [πρ]εσ(βυτέρου), 429.  
 προγράφω: κ[αὶ ἐαυτῇ τῇ προ]|γεγραμμέν[η] (?), 225 l. 6.  
 σῶζω: κύριοι ἄγγελοι σώσετε, App. 6.  
 σωτηρία (?): ὑπ(ἐρ) εὐχ(ῆς) κ(αὶ) σωτηρ(ίας) (?), 421 (instead of ὑπ(ἐρ) εὐχ(ῆς) TCXTCINI).  
 τιτθίον: κυρά, δὸς μοι τιτθίν, App. 10.  
 τότε: θῆκε <τό>τε (instead of θῆκέ γέ τε), 37 l. 4.  
 φρονῶ: [[ζῶ]]σα καὶ παρο[[ῦ]]σα καὶ φρον]]οῦσα 445 l. 2 (instead of παρο[[ῦ]]σα καὶ παρο[[ῦ]]σα).  
 χρῶ: εὐτ[υχῶς χρῶ], App. 12.  
 ᾧδε: ὅς ἄν ᾧδε (?) 475.  
 ὥστε: [ῶστ]ε μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτήν, 445 l. 2.  
 [- -]εῖον: 13 l. 2.

### Latin vocabulary

*ab*: [ab Ae]gypto (instead of [- -] capto) *emere permiti*, 15 ll. 13-14.  
*calumnia*: *kalumniam poterit*, 14 l. 24.  
*coarto*: [pro]vincia *peteret coartare* (instead of *coa<c>ta<m>*), 14 l. 7.  
*credo*: *credimus* (instead of *redimus*) *adiuvandum*, 14 l. 17.  
*de*: *de metallis auri vel argenti quit*, 14 l. 21.  
*locus*: *ut locum* (instead of *ut <h>oc cum*) *beneficii adripere*, 14 l. 14.  
*metallum*: *de metallis auri vel argenti quit*, 14 l. 21.  
*non*: [n]on *sine indulgentia*, 14 l. 8.  
*quia*: *ut quia est etiam iste titulus*, 14 l. 22.  
*quis*: *de metallis auri vel argenti quit*, 14 l. 21.

*sancio*: [s]ancimus, 14 l. 2 (instead of [- -]incimus).  
*sine*: [n]on sine indulgentia, 14 l. 8 (instead of *ne indulgentia*).  
*sum*: ut quia est etiam iste titulus, 14 l. 22.  
*unusquisque*: unicuique, 14 l. 4.  
*ut*: ut quia est etiam iste titulus, 14 l. 22.  
*vindico*: partibus vindicabit (instead of indicabit) quitquit, 14 l. 25.

## DELEND A ET CORRIGENDA

### Names in Greek

ΑΙΚΚΥΡΟΥ: 4, see Λίκκυρος in the Addenda, above.  
 Βῆρ[ος]: 367, see Βήρ[ιμος] in the Addenda, above.  
 Λικίνιος, Ἰούλιος: 135 l. 19, see Ἰούλιος, son of Κοῖντα.  
 Οὐέντων: 84, see Οὐειέντων in the Addenda, above.  
 Σεγοῦννος: 280, see Segnunnus (*nomen*) in the Addenda, above.  
 [Στράτ]ων: 498, many other restorations are possible.  
 Τυδδανή (?): 84; see Τυδδα in the Addenda, above.

### Praenomina, nomina, supernomina

#### *Praenomina*

Marcus: 120; see Memmius (*nomen*) in the Addenda, above.

#### *Nomina*

Fabius: 135 l. 7; see Farius (?) in the Addenda, above.  
 [- -]ίλλιος: 7; see Popillius in the Addenda, above.

### Names of kings, emperors and Roman officials

Valerianus: 70 refers to Caesar Saloninus, not to emperor Valerianus.

### Toponyms and ethnics

Δαλδιανός (?): 389, see Δαλδιανή (personal name) in the Addenda, above.

### Greek vocabulary

ἀνάγω: 13, see ἀνάκρισις in the Addenda, above.  
 ἄτε: 37, see ὅς in the Addenda, above.  
 γράφω: 225 l. 6, see προγράφω in the Addenda, above.  
 ἑβδομος: ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους (instead of ἔτους ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ), 45 ll. 2-3.

εἰκοστός: ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους (instead of ἔτους ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ), 45 ll. 2-3.  
 ἐκεῖνος: αἶκ τῶν αἰκίνης αἰκίνι{HΣ}, 361.  
 ἔτος: ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους (instead of ἔτους ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ), 45 ll. 2-3.  
 θιασώτης: 22, see θιασίτης in the Addenda, above.  
 κρίνω: 13, see ἐπικρίνω in the Addenda, above.  
 κρίσις: 13, see ἀνάκρισις in the Addenda, above.  
 λαμπρός: 443, see λαμπρῶς in the Addenda, above.  
 νόμος: 37, see νομός in the Addenda, above .  
 πάρειμι: 445 l. 2, see φρονῶ in the Addenda.  
 τολμῶ: 445, see ἐνθάπτω in the Addenda, above.  
 φυλάττω: ἐφύλαξε νομόν (instead of ἐφύλαξεν νόμον), 37.  
 ὦνή: 13, see ἀνάκρισις in the Addenda, above.

### Latin vocabulary

*alius*: *provincia aliud* (instead of *aliu[.]*), 14 l. 11.  
*capio*: 15 l. 14; see *ab* in the Addenda, above.  
*cogo*: 14 l. 7; see *coarto* in the Addenda, above.  
*cum*: 14 l. 14; see *locus* in the Addenda, above.  
*hic*: 14 l. 14; see *locus* in the Addenda, above.  
*indico*: 14 l. 25; see *vindico* in the Addenda, above.  
*possum*: *kalumniam poterit et hoc*, 14 l. 24.  
*redeo*: 14 l. 17; see *credeo* in the Addenda, above.  
*titulus*: *ut quia est etiam iste titulus*, 14 l. 22.

## B. INDEXES OF INSCRIPTIONS AFTER *EKM I*

These indexes also include the new inscriptions on material other than stone, which are listed in the Appendix, above, with the exception of the label inscription App. 18.

## NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

### Names in Greek

Ἀγάθεα, daughter of Ἡροῦς; Suppl. 10.  
 Ἀγαλμάτιν, Φλαβία, mother of Τ(ίτος) <Ἀ>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος; Suppl. 6.

- Αἰγιαλός: Suppl. 14; see also Ἐγιαλός.  
 Ἀλέ(ξανδρος): App. 16.  
 Ἄλυπος, son of Φίλιπος: Suppl. 7.  
 Ἀντιοχιανός, ὁ καὶ Κλαυδιανός, gladiator: Suppl. 14.  
 Ἀντιπᾶς: Suppl. 2.  
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος, son of Αὐρηλία Εὐφροσύνη: Suppl. 11.  
 Ἀρχιμήδης, gladiator: Suppl. 15.  
 Ἀσκληπιόδοτος; Ποδήγεμος, ὁ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος, gladiator, Suppl. 18.  
 Ἀσπασία, daughter of Κέρδων (?): Suppl. 3.  
 Αὐγούστα, wife of Μάρων: Suppl. 17.  
 Ἀ[. . .]ος, Γάϊος: Suppl. 7.  
 Βασιλική: Suppl. 18.  
 Γλυκέρα, sister (?) of Τ(ίτος) <Α>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος: Suppl. 6.  
 Γοργόνιος: see Γωγώρνις.  
 Γωγώρνις: Ἰουστῖνος (ὁ καὶ ?) Γωγώρνις, Suppl. 21.  
 Δεν[τοῦς?], mother of Νέων: Suppl. 25.  
 Δι(ονύσιος): App. 17.  
 Δομετία, *threpte*: Suppl. 6.  
 Δοῦλος, dog: Suppl. 16.  
 Ἐγιαλός, ὁ καὶ Ἡρώδης, gladiator: Suppl. 13; see also Αἰγιαλός.  
 Ἐλπιδηφόρος: App. 20.  
 Ἐνδημία, sister of Ἄλυπος: Suppl. 7.  
 Ἐπαφρᾶς, son of Ἑρμιόνη: Suppl. 1.  
 Ἐπιγόνη, wife of Τ(ίτος) <Α>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος: Suppl. 6.  
 Ἐπίκτησις, wife of Αἴλιος Ζώσιμος: Suppl. 12.  
 Ἑρμῆς, son (?) of Ἄλυπος: Suppl. 7.  
 Ἑρμῆς, husband of Οὐαλερία, gladiator: Suppl. 16.  
 Ἑρμιόνη, mother of Ἐπαφρᾶς: Suppl. 1.  
 Ἑρμων: App. 14.  
 Ἑρωτίς: Suppl. 9.  
 Εὐάνδρος, son of Μέλισσος: Suppl. 5.  
 Εὐπορία, sister of Ἄλυπος: Suppl. 7.  
 Εὐφροσύνη, Αὐρηλία, mother of Ἀρτεμίδωρος: Suppl. 11.  
 Ζώσιμος, Αἴλιος, husband of Ἐπίκτησις: Suppl. 12.  
 Ἡγουμενός, father of Πετρωνία: Suppl. 8.  
 Ἡροῦς, mother of Ἀγαθέα: Suppl. 10.  
 Ἡρώδης: Ἐγιαλός ὁ καὶ Ἡρώδης, gladiator, Suppl. 13.  
 Θεοδόσιος, Jew: Suppl. 20.  
 Θεόδοτος: App. 19.

- Θεονόη, wife of Λυκολέων: Suppl. 25.  
 Ἰουστῖνος, (ὁ καὶ ?) Γωγώρνης, Jew: Suppl. 21.  
 Κέρδων, father of Νικάνωρ: Suppl. 3.  
 Κλαυδιανός: Ἀντιοχιανός ὁ καὶ Κλαυδιανός, gladiator, Suppl. 14.  
 Λυκολέων, husband of Θεονόη: Suppl. 25.  
 Μακεδών, Αὐρήλιος: Suppl. 26.  
 Μαρκιανή, wife of Τιλλόροβος: Suppl. 19.  
 Μάρων, husband of Αὐγούστα, gladiator: Suppl. 17.  
 Μέλισσος, son of Εὐάνδρος: Suppl. 5.  
 Μη(νᾶς): App. 17.  
 Νέων, son of Δεν[τοῦς?]: Suppl. 25.  
 Νικάνωρ, son of Κέρδων: Suppl. 3.  
 Νικάνωρ, father of Φιλώτας: Suppl. 4.  
 Νικησώ, from Thebes: Suppl. 3.  
 Οὐαλερία, wife of Ἑρμῆς: Suppl. 16.  
 Παμφίλα, daughter of Ἄλυπος: Suppl. 7.  
 Πετρωνία, daughter of Ἡγουμενός: Suppl. 8.  
 Ποδήνεμος, ὁ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος, gladiator: Suppl. 18.  
 Πρόκλα: Suppl. 13.  
 Πρόκλα, *threpte* of Αὐρήλιος Μακεδών: Suppl. 26.  
 Σαμβώ (?), sister (?) of Τ(ίτος) <A>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος: Suppl. 6.  
 Σεκοῦνδος, Τ(ίτος) <A>σί(νιος), son of Τ(ίτος) <A>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος: Suppl. 6.  
 Σεκοῦνδος, Τ(ίτος) <A>σί(νιος), father of Τ(ίτος) <A>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος: Suppl. 6.  
 Σελήνη, daughter (?) of Ἄλυπος: Suppl. 7.  
 Σωτήρ, Λούκιος Κορνήλιος: Suppl. 2.  
 Τιλλόροβος, husband of Μαρκιανή, gladiator: Suppl. 19.  
 Τροφίμιον: Suppl. 9.  
 Φίλιπος, father of Ἄλυπος: Suppl. 7.  
 Φιλώτας, son of Νικάνωρ: Suppl. 4.  
 Φιλωτέρα, daughter of Κέρδων (?): Suppl. 3.

### **Praenomina, Nomina, Supernomina**

#### *Praenomina*

- Caius: Γάϊος Α[. .]ος, Suppl. 7.  
 Lucius: Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Σωτήρ, Suppl. 2.  
 Titus: Τ(ίτος) <A>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος: Suppl. 6.

#### *Nomina*

- Aelius: Αἴλιος Ζώσιμος, Suppl. 12.  
 Asinius: Τ(ίτος) <A>σί(νιος) Σεκοῦνδος: Suppl. 6.

Aurelius: Αὐρηλία Εὐφροσύνη, Suppl. 11; Αὐρήλιος Μακεδών, Suppl. 26.  
Cornelius: Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Σωτήρ, Suppl. 2.  
Flavius: Φλ(αβία) Ἀγαλ[μ]άτιν, Suppl. 6.

### **Names of kings, Roman emperors and Roman high magistrates**

Augustus: *Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus*, Suppl. 24.

### **Theonyms, cult epithets, names of festival and sanctuaries**

Ζεύς: Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ, Suppl. 1.  
Ὑψιστος: Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ, Suppl. 1.

### **Toponyms, ethnic and geographical adjectives**

Βέροια: Βεροίας πολιταρχῶν, App. 15.  
Ἑβραῖος: τάφος... Ἑβρέου μελοπρεσβυτέρου, Suppl. 20; Ἑβρέων γέρας, Suppl. 23.  
Θηβαῖος: Suppl. 3.

### **Greek vocabulary**

ἀγαθός: ἀγαθῇ τύχη[ι], Suppl. 2.  
ἀδελφή: τὰς ἀδελφάς, Suppl. 6; ἀδελφὴν, Suppl. 7.  
ἀδελφός: καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν ζῶτες, Suppl. 26.  
ἄλειμμα: ἐπιμελουμένου τοῦ ἀλίμ[μα]τος, Suppl. 2.  
ἀλείφω: ἀλειφούσης τῆς πόλ[ε]ως, Suppl. 2.  
ἀνὴρ: ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί, Suppl. 16; τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί, Suppl. 17; τοῦ ἀνδρό<ς>, Suppl. 19.  
ἀπαραίτητος: τύχη βαρεία καὶ ἀπαρετήτῳ μόρῳ, Suppl. 19.  
ἄπληστος: τὴν ἄπληστον χορτάσας τύχην φόνων, Suppl. 19.  
αὐτός: καὶ αὐτῆς κὲ τῶν τέκνων ζώντων, Suppl. 11.  
βαρύς: τύχη βαρεία καὶ ἀπαρετήτῳ μόρῳ, Suppl. 19.  
βλώσκω: οἰκτρῶς εἰς πάτρην ἐὴν μολών, Suppl. 19.  
γένος: ὁ πολλὰ πέρ[ε]σας θηρίων φρικτῶν γένη, Suppl. 19.  
γέρας: Ἑβρέων γέρας, Suppl. 23.  
γίγνομαι: οὐκ ἤμην κὲ ἐγενόμην, Suppl. 15.  
γλυκύς: τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ [θ]υγατρί, Suppl. 10.  
γονεὺς: τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς, Suppl. 6; καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν ζῶτες, Suppl. 26;  
γονεῖς τε κατιδὼν καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, Suppl. 19.  
γυνή: τὴν γυναῖκα, Suppl. 6; τῇ εἰδείᾳ γυνεκεῖ, Suppl. 12.  
ἑαυτοῦ: ἑαυτῷ, Suppl. 25; τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς, Suppl. 6; ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, Suppl. 13.  
ἐγώ: οὐ μέλι μοι, Suppl. 15.  
εἰμί: οὐκ ἤμην κὲ ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἰμὶ κὲ οὐ μέλι μοι, Suppl. 15.  
εἰς: οἰκτρῶς εἰς πάτρην ἐὴν μολών, Suppl. 19.  
εἰσορῶ: πόλεις τε πλείστας εἰσιδὼν οἰκουμένης, Suppl. 19.

- ἐκ: ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης, Suppl. 10; ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου, Suppl. 17; Suppl. 18; ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐκείνω, Suppl. 14; Suppl. 16; ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, Suppl. 11; ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, Suppl. 13.
- ἐκεῖνος: ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης, Suppl. 10; ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου, Suppl. 17, Suppl. 18; ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐκείνω, Suppl. 14; Suppl. 16.
- ἐν: κεῖμε ἐν πατρώᾳ προσφιλεστάτῃ χθονί, Suppl. 19.
- ἐνθάδε: ἐνθάδε κῖμε, Suppl. 15; ἐνθάδε κῖτε, Suppl. 23.
- ἐός: οἰκτρῶς εἰς πάτραν ἐὴν μολών, Suppl. 19.
- ἐπιμελοῦμαι: ἐπιμελουμένου τοῦ ἀλίμ[μα]τος, Suppl. 2.
- ἔτος: ἔτους ζξσ' σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ γπτ', Suppl. 2; [ἔτ]ους ΝΓ, Suppl. 6.
- εὐχή: κατ' εὐχὴν, Suppl. 1.
- ἐφηβαρχῶ: ἐφηβαρχοῦντος, Suppl. 2.
- ζῶ: ζῶν, Suppl. 25; ζῶσα, Suppl. 25; ζῶντες, Suppl. 6; ζῶτες, Suppl. 26; κὲ τῶν τέκνων ζώντων, Suppl. 11.
- ἥρως: ἥρως Suppl. 5, Suppl. 7; ἥρωες, Suppl. 6; ἥρωει, Suppl. 7.
- θηρίον: ὁ πολλὰ πέρ[Α]σας θηρίων φρικτῶν γέννη, Suppl. 19.
- θρεπτή: θρεπτήν, Suppl. 6; τὴν θρεπτήν, Suppl. 26.
- θυγάτηρ: θυγατέρα, Suppl. 7; τὴν θυγατέρα, Suppl. 8; τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ [θ]υγατρί, Suppl. 10.
- ἴδιος: τῷ ἰδίῳ, Suppl. 9; ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί, Suppl. 16; τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί, Suppl. 17; τῇ εἰδείᾳ γυνεκεῖ, Suppl. 12; ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, Suppl. 11.
- καθορῶ: γονεῖς τε κατιδὼν καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, Suppl. 19.
- κατά: κατ' εὐχὴν, Suppl. 1.
- κεῖμαι: ἐνθάδε κῖμε, Suppl. 15; ἐνθάδε κῖτε, Suppl. 23; κεῖμε ἐν πατρώᾳ προσφιλεστάτῃ χθονί, Suppl. 19.
- μελλοπρεσβύτερος: Ἐβρέου μελλοπρεσβυτέρου, Suppl. 20.
- μέλω: οὐ μέλι μοι, Suppl. 15.
- μημόριον: μημώριον, Suppl. 21; μη[μόριον], Suppl. 22.
- μνεῖα: μνεῖας χάριν, Suppl. 9; Suppl. 10; Suppl. 11; Suppl. 12; Suppl. 13; Suppl. 14; Suppl. 17; Suppl. 18; Suppl. 19; Suppl. 26.
- μνήμη: μνήμης χάριν, Suppl. 8; Suppl. 16.
- μορμίλλων: μορμίλ<λ>ωνι ... πάλῳ πρώτῳ, Suppl. 16.
- μόρος: τύχη βαρεῖα καὶ ἀπαρετήτῳ μόρῳ, Suppl. 19.
- οἰκουμένη: πόλεις τε πλείστας εἰσιδὼν οἰκουμένης, Suppl. 19.
- οἰκτρῶς: οἰκτρῶς εἰς πάτραν ἐὴν μολών, Suppl. 19.
- οὐ: οὐκ ἤμην κὲ ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἰμὶ κὲ οὐ μέλι μοι, Suppl. 15.
- πᾶλος: πάλῳ πρώτῳ, Suppl. 16.
- παροδίτης: χαῖρε, παροδίτα, Suppl. 13; Suppl. 15; Suppl. 16.
- πάτρα: οἰκτρῶς εἰς πάτραν ἐὴν μολών, Suppl. 19.
- πατρώος: κεῖμε ἐν πατρώᾳ προσφιλεστάτῃ χθονί, Suppl. 19.
- πέρθω: ὁ πολλὰ πέρ[Α]σας θηρίων φρικτῶν γέννη, Suppl. 19.

ποιῶ: ἐποίησεν, Suppl. 19.  
 πόλις: ἀλειφούσης τῆς πόλ[ε]ως, Suppl. 2; πόλεις τε πλείστας εἰσιδὼν οἰκουμένης, Suppl. 19.  
 πολιτάρχης: Βεροίας πολιταρχῶν, App. 15.  
 πολὺς: ὁ πολλὰ πέρ[Α]σας θηρίων φρικτῶν γένη, Suppl. 19; πόλεις τε πλείστας εἰσιδὼν οἰκουμένης, Suppl. 19.  
 προφερίης: [π]ροφερέ<σ>τατος ὕμνοις, Suppl. 23.  
 προσφιλής: κεῖμε ἐν πατρώᾳ προσφιλεστάτῃ χθονί, Suppl. 19.  
 πρῶτος: πάλῳ πρώτῳ, Suppl. 16.  
 σεβαστός: ἔτους ζξς' σεβαστοῦ, Suppl. 2.  
 συγγενής: γονεῖς τε κατιδὼν καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, Suppl. 19.  
 συνήθης: οἱ συνήθεις, Suppl. 25.  
 τάφος: Suppl. 20.  
 τέκνον: τῷ τέκνῳ, Suppl. 11; κὲ τῶν τέκνων ζώντων, Suppl. 11.  
 τύχη: ἀγαθῇ τύχη[ι], Suppl. 2; τὴν ἄπληστον χορτάσας τύχην φόνων, Suppl. 19; τύχη βαρεῖα καὶ ἀπαρετήτῳ μόρῳ, Suppl. 19.  
 ὕμνος: [π]ροφερέ<σ>τατος ὕμνοις, Suppl. 23.  
 φίλος: γονεῖς τε κατιδὼν καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, Suppl. 19.  
 φόνος: τὴν ἄπληστον χορτάσας τύχην φόνων, Suppl. 19.  
 φρικτός: ὁ πολλὰ πέρ[Α]σας θηρίων φρικτῶν γένη, Suppl. 19.  
 χαίρω: χαῖρε, παροδίτα, Suppl. 13; Suppl. 15; Suppl. 16.  
 χάρις: μνήμης χάριν, Suppl. 8; Suppl. 16; μνείας χάριν, Suppl. 9; Suppl. 10; Suppl. 11; Suppl. 12; Suppl. 13; Suppl. 14; Suppl. 17; Suppl. 18; Suppl. 19; Suppl. 26.  
 χθών: κεῖμε ἐν πατρώᾳ προσφιλεστάτῃ χθονί, Suppl. 19.  
 χορτάζω: τὴν ἄπληστον χορτάσας τύχην φόνων, Suppl. 19.

### Latin vocabulary

*imperator*: *Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus*, Suppl. 24.

### Thematic catalogue

calendar and measurement of time: ἔτος, σεβαστός.  
 family life and naming formulas: ἀδελφή, ἀδελφός, ἀνὴρ, γονεύς, γυνή, ἥρως, θρεπτή, θυγάτηρ, συγγενής, τέκνον.  
 funerary terms: μνημόριον, τάφος.  
 gladiatorial games: θηρίον, μορμίλλων, πᾶλος.  
 imperial adjectives and offices: σεβαστός, *imperator*.  
 institutions and public life: ἄλειμμα, ἀλείφω, ἐπιμελοῦμαι, ἐφηβαρχῶ, πόλις, πολιτάρχης.  
 religion: εὐχή, ἥρως, μελλοπρεσβύτερος, ὕμνος.

*sermo poeticus*: ἀπαραίτητος, ἄπληστος, βαρύς, βλώσκω, γένος, γέρας, εἰσορῶ, θηρίον, κεῖμαι, μόρος, οἰκουμένη, οἰκτρῶς, πάτρα, πατρῷος, πέρθω, πόλις, προσφιλής, προφερέης, τύχη, ὕμνος, φόνος, φρικτός, χθών, χορτάζω.

### Catalogue of dated inscriptions

102/3 (?) AD: [ἔτ]ους ΝΓ, Suppl. 6.

235/6 AD: ἔτους ζξς' σεβαστοῦ τ[οῦ καὶ] γπτ', Suppl. 2.

### Catalogue of previous editions of new inscriptions on stone

SEG	2018, 267: Suppl. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 25, 26
XLIX 685: Suppl. 20	
XLIX 686: Suppl. 23	
XLIX 687: Suppl. 22	<i>AnnEpigr</i>
XLIX 688: Suppl. 21	2000, 1296: Suppl. 15
L 578: Suppl. 15	2000, 1297: Suppl. 18
L 579: Suppl. 18	2000, 1298: Suppl. 17
L 580: Suppl. 17	2000, 1299: Suppl. 13
L 581: Suppl. 13	2000, 1300: Suppl. 14
L 582: Suppl. 14	2000, 1301: Suppl. 16
L 583: Suppl. 16	2000, 1302: Suppl. 2
LI 802: Suppl. 2	2006, 1263: Suppl. 19
LI 805: Suppl. 4	2012, 1296: Suppl. 24
LVI 702: Suppl. 19	<i>ArchDelt</i>
<i>Bull.</i>	52 (1997 [2003]) B2 731: Suppl. 4
2000, 467.1: Suppl. 20	A. Koukouvou, <i>Tekmeria</i> 4 (1998-1999)
2000, 467.2: Suppl. 23	16-20 no 1: Suppl. 20
2000, 467.3: Suppl. 22	20-22 no 2: Suppl. 23
2000, 467.4: Suppl. 21	23-25 no 4: Suppl. 21
2002, 258a: Suppl. 15	22-23 no 3: Suppl. 22
2002, 258b: Suppl. 18	
2002, 258c: Suppl. 17	P. M. Nigdelis, <i>Tekmeria</i> 5 (2000)
2002, 258d: Suppl. 13	133-135 no 1: Suppl. 2
2002, 258e: Suppl. 14	
2002, 258f: Suppl. 16	P. M. Nigdelis – L. Stephani, <i>Tekmeria</i> 5 (2000)
2005, 320: Suppl. 4	87-91 no 1: Suppl. 15
2005, 323: Suppl. 2	91-94 no 2: Suppl. 18
2013, 267: Suppl. 24	94-95 no 3: Suppl. 17
2015, 430: Suppl. 1	96-97 no 4: Suppl. 13

97-98 no 5: Suppl. 14

98-103 no 6: Suppl. 16

*IJudO I*

82-84 Mac8: Suppl. 20

84-86 Mac9: Suppl. 23

86 Mac10: Suppl. 22

86-87 Mac11: Suppl. 21

A. Koukouvou, AAA 39 (2006) 161-174:  
Suppl. 19

Mann, *Gladiatoren im Osten*

197 no 37: Suppl. 15

197-198 no 38: Suppl. 18

198 no 39: Suppl. 17

198 no 40: Suppl. 13

198-199 no 41: Suppl. 14

199 no 42: Suppl. 16

N. Poulakakis, in: *Θρεπτήρια* 572-591:  
Suppl. 24

Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και  
ανάγλυφα*

311 no 5: Suppl. 3

368 no 64: Suppl. 5

378 no 76: Suppl. 27

383 no 81: Suppl. 8

402 no 101: Suppl. 10

411 no 114: Suppl. 25

415 no 118: Suppl. 12

422 no 125: Suppl. 9

434 no 138: Suppl. 26

449 no 154: Suppl. 19

450 no 155: Suppl. 15

456 no 161: Suppl. 18

457 no 162: Suppl. 17

458 no 163: Suppl. 13

459 no 164: Suppl. 14

460 no 165: Suppl. 16

470-471 no 175: Suppl. 7

473 no 177: Suppl. 6

480 no 185: Suppl. 11

Juhel – Nigdelis, *Un danois en Macédoine*  
142-143 no 97: Suppl. 1

*CIJG*

104-105 no 35: Suppl. 20

106-107 no 36: Suppl. 23

108-109 no 37: Suppl. 22

108-109 no 38: Suppl. 21

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