Istituto Papirologico
«G. Vitelli»

TEXT, LAYOUT, AND MEDIUM

Documents from the Greco-Roman World
between Epigraphy and Papyrology

a cura di

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FIRENZE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

EDIZIONI DELL'ISTITUTO PAPIROLOGICO «G. VITELLI»
ISSN 2533-2414 (PRINT) | ISSN 2612-7997 (ONLINE)
– 16 –

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FIRENZE UNIVERSITY PRESS
2024

Text, Layout, and Medium : Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology. edited by Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia. – Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2024.
(Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» ; 16)

https://books.fupress.com/isbn/9791221504569

ISSN 2533-2414 (print)
ISSN 2612-7997 (online)
ISBN 979-12-215-0455-2 (Print)
ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9 (PDF)
ISBN 979-12-215-0457-6 (XML)
DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

Graphic design: Alberto Pizarro Fernández, Lettera Meccanica SRLs

Published by Firenze University Press
Firenze University Press
Università degli Studi di Firenze
via Cittadella, 7, 50144 Firenze, Italy
www.fupress.com

This book is printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Italy

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FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

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Part 2. Trends, Habits, and Strategies

Introduction

This volume arose out of two different but complementary initiatives: the online panel *Layout and Materiality of Writing in Ancient Documents from the Archaic Period to Late Antiquity: A Comparative Approach*, held at the Conference in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Coimbra (June 22nd–25th, 2021), and the workshop *Documenti, supporti, layout. Giornata fiorentina fra papirologia ed epigrafia*, organized by the Istituto Papirologico "Girolamo Vitelli" (University of Florence) on May 27th, 2022. The chapters collected here are revised versions of some of the papers given on those occasions.

The motivation behind these initiatives was the need to analyze at a deeper level the interplay between text, layout, and medium in ancient documents, bridging the traditional boundaries between papyrology and epigraphy and fostering a fruitful interdisciplinary approach to the subject. We therefore brought together contributors from different scholarly traditions in order to shed light from various angles on issues of layout, scribal and inscriptional practices and conventions, and document types.

This approach accords with a renewed interest in the materiality of writing in documents from the Greco-Roman past. Papyrology has progressively developed an attention to the material and formal aspects of writing and their interplay with the content of texts,[1] but in the field of epigraphy scholars have only recently begun to consider how these aspects contribute to a deeper understanding of inscribed documents and their context. To name only a few examples, the recent book by Irene Berti and others (2017)[2] examines how the presence and materiality of written documents interacted with their spatial context, while the volume edited by Andrej and Ivana Petrovic, together with Edmund Thomas (2018),[3] highlights the materiality of

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[1] For a concise survey of this aspect, see F. Maltomini and S. Perrone, "Greek Literary Papyri in Context: Methodological Issues and Research Perspectives", in F. Maltomini and S. Perrone (eds.), *Greek Literary Papyri in Context* (*TiC* 15, 2023), 245-251.

[2] I. Berti, K. Bolle, F. Opdenhoff, and F. Stroth (eds.), *Writing Matters: Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Berlin - Boston 2017; the volume arose out of the research project *Materiale Textkulturen* conducted at the University of Heidelberg from 2011 to 2023 (<https://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/index.php>), which resulted in more than thirty volumes about a large variety of text-bearing artifacts across various disciplines and cultures.

[3] A. Petrovic, I. Petrovic, and E. Thomas (eds.), *The Materiality of Text: Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden - Boston 2018.

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Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, © 2024 Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

epigraphic texts and how it impacted on their audiences. The very recent collection edited by Erica Angliker and Ilaria Bultrighini (2023)[4] applies a similar approach to a wide variety of inscribed artifacts, including small portable objects.

This increased focus on the materiality of texts has created fertile ground for cross-disciplinary study of the mutual influence of ancient writing practices, as shown, for instance, by the contributions of Lucio Del Corso and Michele Faraguna on the interplay between documents on perishable and durable materials.[5] In the same spirit, contributors to this volume were asked to engage with some general issues, such as: the relationship between document types, format, and media; the degree of format standardization in specific categories of documents; what strategies, if any, were adopted by ancient scribes and letter-cutters to improve documents' legibility; cases in which epigraphic documents and texts on perishable media influenced each other in their writing and layout; whether and to what extent inscriptions allow us to gauge the nature of archival records and preservation practices; in what ways did the occurrence of abbreviations, symbols, and lectional signs relate to document types and media, and what was their function within the different contexts.

The chapters span from the Archaic Age to Late Antiquity, and are arranged in two thematic sections that nonetheless engage in dialogue with each other.

The chapters in the first part, titled "Document Types and their Layout", address the topic of layout in relation to different categories of documents, in both public and private spheres.

Examining the inscribed building accounts of classical Athens, Cristina Carusi shows that their epigraphic layout, while clearly influenced by contemporary uses of writing on non-stone media, nonetheless differs from them in significant respects. Their layout was not derived directly from the actual administrative accounts, but was expressly designed for financial documents inscribed on stone, with the goal of maximizing their visual impact on viewers. Visual devices to aid readability were initially prominent features of this layout; over the course of the Classical Age, however, these seem to have gradually lost their importance relative to other considerations; this development went hand in hand with a change in the way the polis

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[4] E. Angliker and I. Bultrighini (eds.), *New Approaches to the Materiality of Text in the Ancient Mediterranean. From Monuments and Buildings to Small Portable Objects*, Turnhout 2023.

[5] L. Del Corso, "I documenti nella Grecia classica tra produzione e conservazione", *QS* 56, 2002, 155-189; L. Del Corso, "Scritture epigrafiche e scritture su papiro in età ellenistico-romana. Spunti per un confronto", in A.B. García and I. Pérez Martín (eds.), *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting*, Turnhout 2010, 3-16; L. Del Corso, "Segni e *layout* delle iscrizioni greche in Egitto. Un sondaggio sui testi esposti in prosa", in G. Nocchi Macedo and M.C. Scappaticcio (eds.), *Signes dans les textes, textes sur les signes. Érudition, lecture et écriture dans le monde gréco-romain*, Liège 2017, 43-59; M. Faraguna, "Interplay between Documents on Different Writing Materials in Classical Greece: *Paragraphoi* and Columnar Formatting", *ZPE* 214, 2020, 115-128.

celebrated its building initiatives. Nonetheless, a multicolumn format remained an inextricable aspect of building accounts inscribed on stone.

The so-called "family-tree stelae" from Classical Athens show how hard it could be to adapt to new circumstances an epigraphic layout originally devised for a different type of genealogical gravestone, one characterized by monolinear, ascending catalogues of ancestors. As Daniela Marchiandi demonstrates, the list-like format was so ingrained in Greek genealogical thinking that it was maintained also for funerary inscriptions on family tombs that emphasized descent rather than ancestry. Stonecutters were forced to come up with new strategies – not always successful – to accommodate possible collateral branches as well as the names of family members who did not die in the same order as they were born.

For the accounts of the Cyrenaean *damiergoi*, Emilio Rosamilia's analysis reveals that these documents, due to their selectivity, were clearly designed for publication, and, as such, differed significantly from their administrative counterparts. In layout, there is an evolution from an early phase with continuous text, with only a few examples that attempt to isolate some elements in the headings and make them more visible, to the adoption, in the final phase, of the two-sub-column format, which made the structure of the document more discernable and the crop lists more intelligible. The shift from the local acrophonic numeral system to the Milesian numerals in the 260s BCE and the swift abandonment of abbreviations for crop names (which were probably implemented originally under Ptolemaic influence) also suggest an effort to make the text comprehensible to a local audience.

Focusing on Hellenistic royal correspondence inscribed on stone, Alice Bencivenni presents a glaring case in which it was not the author but the recipients of a text who took the initiative to monumentalize it on stone and design its layout in the new medium, often in conjunction and in dialogue with other documents inscribed on the same stone, such as letters from officials, petitions from individuals or groups, and civic decrees. Recipients appropriated the king's words and reframed them in line with local epigraphic habits and, most importantly, according to their own needs and goals, often absorbing them into the civic sphere. In some cases, layout devices appear to have been adopted with a view to epigraphic publication of the royal letters, while in others they seem to have belonged to the original letters on perishable material. Moreover, some features of the epigraphic format (e.g., headings, dating formulae, annotations) may shed light on local archival practices. These observations may pave the way for a closer comparative study, in Ptolemaic Egypt, of royal letters on stone and royal epistles and ordinances on perishable material.

The field of correspondence is tackled also by Yasmine Amory, who treats the phenomenon of multiple private letters penned on a single writing medium. Her analysis reveals that, within the standard layout adopted for letters in the Roman and Byzantine periods, there were variants that could accommodate the case of an individual addressing a group of closely related people, or a group of closely related people addressing the same individual, using the same sheet of papyrus, ostracon, or wooden tablet. Most of the layout arrangements adopted for this practice seem to have had a functional role specific to the selected medium and the expected modes of reading, and allowed the recipient(s) to grasp at first sight that there were different letters on the same carrier. A more intriguing case is when multiple letters were combined into what appeared, visually, to be a single text, in a type of layout – the "shell letter" – that seems to reflect the close familial and social bond shared by the correspondents. Strategies to guide the recipient through the structure of the document and aid legibility (i.e., the use of *ekthesis*, *eisthesis*, *paragraphoi*, and blank spaces) were nonetheless used. In recent decades, the corpus of private letters on lead and ceramics from the rest of the Greek world has been steadily growing, so the comparative study of layout in letters written on different materials may be pursued further.[6]

A different topic, Roman wills from Egypt, provides a welcome opportunity to consider documents from different stages of a single procedure, from templates and preliminary drafts, to original wills written on wax tablets, to papyrus records of opening of wills, as well as copies and translations of them. Lucia Colella's survey allows us to appreciate how analysis of material features, paleography, and *mise en page* is crucial for understanding the nature of each of the documents involved. Layout devices seem to have featured in the templates that *nomikoi* likely used to draft wills in Latin in accordance with the requirements of Roman law, of which testators, heirs, legatees, and witnesses were often ignorant; scribes often reproduced them in the original wills and in the opening records and translations. Interestingly, after 235 CE, when a constitution of Severus Alexander permitted Roman citizens to write their wills in Greek, documents seem to make less use of layout strategies, as if the abandonment of Latin templates made them become less standardized, or, in our view, a more familiar language made the use of legibility aids unnecessary. Along the same lines, abbreviations are mostly used in Latin texts for formulaic phrases and technical terms, whereas they are usually resolved both in Greek translations and in post-235 wills, since Greek speakers would hardly have understood them.

Finally, Francesca Maltomini and Francesca Murano show us that in the earliest examples of Greek texts of applied magic, layout strategies, when present, follow basic criteria of textual arrangement – such as the columnar format of lists of names – rather than specifically "magical" criteria, which probably indicates that magical knowledge had not yet been codified and systematized. On the other hand, magical handbooks from the well-established Greco-Egyptian tradition, in

[6] Important insights can be found in M. Dana's book, *La correspondence grecque privée sur plomb et sur tesson: corpus épigraphique et commentaire historique*, Munich 2021. See also A. Sarri, *Material Aspects of Letter Writing in the Graeco-Roman World: c. 500 BC – c. AD 200*, Berlin - Boston 2018. The comparative analysis is complex because the use of different material media and the layout choices that inevitably followed do not directly overlap in their chronology.

which the use of semantically non-specific elements such as *voces magicae*, vowel sequences, and *charakteres* became standard features, did prescribe layout strategies, often figurative ones, precisely for these semantically non-specific-elements of the spells. Clearly, the use of layout strategies was not aimed at readability but at enhancing the effectiveness of spells, in which the semantically non-specific elements were believed to be the actual carriers of magical power. Interestingly, however, in the few cases where it is possible to compare different renditions of the same magical text, often involving the transition from one material medium to another, it appears that practitioners could choose not to comply entirely with the handbooks' instructions, especially when faced with practical obstacles such as a lack of space on the writing surface.

This group of case studies show that there was often a close link between the type of document and the format adopted, and between the format and the medium employed. On the one hand, samples of accounting documents from Athens and Cyrene as well as royal epistles and related documents on stone feature some layout elements and lectional signs that appear to persist within the same type of document from one medium to another. But, on the other hand, quite often epigraphic versions have their own specific characteristics expressly designed for the stone medium and with a view to their publication. Similarly, the *mise en page* of multiple letters and Roman wills changes according to the material aspects of the chosen medium. The physical constraints of different media may also explain to a certain extent why, in the case of magical texts, the use of layout strategies often varies between handbooks on papyrus and actual magical objects.

Despite the specificities just noted, an interaction between documents written on perishable and durable materials remains significant in several cases, and for certain types of documents it may contribute to our knowledge of archival practices.

There is usually a high degree of standardization within each category of documents, so much so that, in the case of the family-tree stelae, the traditional "genealogical" format is not abandoned even when it proves less effective and needs to be reworked. Similarly, in the Athenian building accounts, the columnar arrangement remains an essential element even when the format has evolved relative to the original purpose. The "shell letter" itself reproduces the format of individual letters from the Roman and Byzantine periods. Likewise, once magical knowledge was systematized in handbooks from the Greco-Egyptian tradition and reliance on semantically non-specific elements became a standard feature of spells, the use of layout strategies spread as a common technique to increase the efficacy of the parts of the text that were believed to have the greatest magical power. When we can follow the trajectory of a type of epigraphic document over a long period, such as the more than two-hundred years of the Cyrenaean *damiergoi*'s accounts, we see an interesting evolution in the layout, but it still seems to be characterized, in its various stages, by a standardization in format.

Readability is always a crucial factor in shaping layout, though admittedly this takes different forms depending on the medium and the intended audience. While in some instances there is an effort to make documents more intelligible in their political and cultural context – as in the case of the Cyrenaean *damiergoi*'s accounts – in others readability may take second place behind other needs – as in the case of later Athenian building accounts and of multiple letters combined in a "shell letter" – or may lose its importance when cultural barriers are removed – as in the case of Roman wills from Egypt after 235 CE. In magical texts, where efficacy trumps readability, its importance may yield to practical needs.

Ultimately, it appears that the authors of written documents had a clear awareness of the different recipients implied by different types of documents, intended for different media, in a constant tension between adherence to standard formats and the need to modify them according to circumstance, due to cultural as well as social and political factors.

The chapters of the second part of the volume, titled "Trends, Habits, and Strategies", deal with the way that layout choices, including the use of lectional signs and abbreviations, affected the processes of writing, inscribing, or re-inscribing documents across time, space, and genres.

Davide Amendola's extensive analysis of *paragraphoi* in inscriptions from the Archaic Age to the late Hellenistic period throughout the Greek world reveals that their occurrence in epigraphic documents, starting as early as the late sixth century, is neither isolated nor sporadic. Moreover, *paragraphoi* are not redundant or superfluous elements preserved only residually in the transition from perishable to durable media, since they tend to crop up systematically in certain types of documents, especially those composed of several clauses. Rather, *paragraphoi* are often conceived as functional signs that helped readers or viewers to navigate the epigraphic text (at times in conjunction with other layout devices such as various types of dots and indentations), and some of their graphic variants seem to have been expressly designed for epigraphic use. These observations prompt reflections on the identity of those who designed the layout of epigraphic texts, but also lead to a reconsideration of the relationship between documents on perishable media and inscriptions, which did not necessarily run in only one direction.

The layout strategies adopted in the *Leukophryena* epigraphic dossier from the agora of Magnesia on the Maeander are explored by Flavio Santini. The spatial setting of the dossier in Magnesia's public landscape, its overall design, and the presence of visual devices (*ekthesis*, vacats, long dashes) all converge to indicate not simply that the layout of the dossier was carefully planned, but more importantly that all these aspects were intended to improve its readability, probably with a view to public readings that took place in a cultic context. In this case too, lectional signs seem not to have been residual (i.e., carried over from documents on perishable materials) but to be consistently and inherently functional for the epigraphic rendering of the dossier. In general, the meticulous planning of the dossier by the Magnesian editors was not determined by the political actors who recognized the new Panhellenic games for Artemis and the inviolability of the city, but served the celebratory goals of the local community, and may have been related to the redesign and monumentalization of Magnesia's civic center at a crucial moment in the city's history.

To investigate layout choices, Leon Battista Borsano focuses on the phenomenon of re-engraving older dedicatory inscriptions at a later point in time. He shows that, even when the production of a new epigraphic version of the same text was motivated by the need to replace the original inscription and re-enact its function and content, there was a general departure from the initial layout. In particular, features that were perceived as outdated in a new or different cultural context were abandoned. Cases where the new version acknowledges the existence of the previous one and explicitly quotes it - mostly belonging to the religious sphere (e.g., hymns, ritual norms, lists of priests) - are rarer and harder to evaluate. Most importantly, when there was a significant spatial distance between the original and its subsequent version(s), the text was likely transmitted via perishable media; as a result, it is impossible to determine to what extent subsequent versions retained the features of the original epigraphic layout. At any rate, when stonecutters were able to interact with the previous text that they had to reproduce in a new version, they – unsurprisingly – show a keen awareness of the ways layout choices would affect their audiences' perception of the monument. Future research should investigate, where possible, the relationship between the type of document and the ways its layout and other features may have been readjusted when it was re-engraved.

Still on the topic of re-engraving older inscriptions, Abigail Graham discusses the two epigraphic versions of Hadrian's letter to Aphrodisias on exemption from nail taxes, inscribed in two different locations in the city some fifty or a hundred years apart. Her analysis allows us to assess how far stonecutters and/or the commissioners of monumental inscriptions were guided by the context, location, and purpose of the monument as well as by the expectations of the intended audience when they reshaped the visual arrangement of a text. The earlier version of the letter is part of a small epigraphic dossier that probably attested the emperor's continued support for the city while at the same time honoring prominent local figures; the later version, in contrast, is part of a massive dossier of imperial correspondence from over three-hundred years, inscribed in one of the most prominent places in the urban space, as a kind of giant manifesto attesting the city's special status. Differences in layout and letterform, the choice of visual devices, such as blank spaces, lectional signs, *hederae distinguentes*, and *litterae notabiliores*, and even editing of the text all reflect the function and meaning of each version: they set different emphases as they make the writing visually engaging and accessible. Just as importantly, this case study shows how far the attitudes of epigraphists have changed: discrepancies and changes from one text to another that in the past used to be labeled as accidental mistakes or inaccuracies are now recognized as deliberate choices determined by the medium, context, and function of each version of the text.

On a different note, Bianca Borrelli treats examples of publicly displayed writing on perishable materials, which have survived only from ancient Egypt, namely some papyri written for temporary display or as exercises by scribes training to write documents for display. Direct and indirect evidence for the use of large letters in displayed writing on perishable media confirms that it was a graphic choice determined by the need to make the text as visible as possible even at a distance. Not unexpectedly, the types of documents in which large letters were used (or for which their use was prescribed) were tax-farming laws and royal ordinances meant for temporary display and placards for temporary notices and dedications. In addition to other devices for improving the visibility of the text (e.g., the *chiaroscuro* effect, wider spacing between letters and lines, and, in one case, the reproduction of a *tabula ansata*), the typically epigraphic form of some letters reveals that the format of these documents was influenced by that of inscriptions displayed on durable media.

Moving to Late Antiquity, Nicola Reggiani's treatment of abbreviations shows, from the evidence of Greek post-Constantinian documentary papyri from Egypt, that the Christian use of the monogram *chi-rho* (⳩) was rather limited, and that the name Χριϲτόϲ was usually abbreviated according to the rules of *nomina sacra*. Byzantine documents, too, feature the simple cross (*stauros*, †), or the staurogram (⳨) rather than the *chi-rho*. The well-established secular use of the *chi-rho* in the documentary evidence may have prevented its Christian meaning from being applied in non-literary papyri. In Ptolemaic papyri, it was frequently, though not systematically used to abbreviate common words beginning with χρ-; in Roman papyri its use appears to decrease before and particularly after 313 CE, but it persists as an abbreviation for some new words and technical terms. Clearly there was no fixed rule, and personal habits and local administrative customs played the main role. Only in medical papyri does the monogram appear frequently, mostly in the second and third centuries CE, to express the term χρῷ, the imperative "use", in prescriptions and recipes, where it gradually lost its syntactic function and became a semiotic device. Given the widespread use of monograms with both symbolic and aesthetic value in late antique epigraphy, intersections between documents on different kinds of media in the use of this feature are certainly worth further study.

About Greek documents inscribed on architecture, Anna Sitz observes that from the Archaic to the Roman imperial period lengthy documents or dossiers of documents carved on walls were usually arranged in columns in a neat and orderly layout, often featuring reading aids. Yet case studies from Asia Minor show that in Late Antiquity this layout was abandoned in favor of continuous, elongated texts that occupied all the available wall space. Epigraphic documents thus created a new relationship with their writing medium, in which the ornamental function of writing became prominent and the synergy of text and architecture – planned for by architects and stonecutters in the design of buildings – obviously aimed at aesthetic effects. Some paleographical elements that were clearly derived from the papyrus drafts of the inscriptions also seem to have been employed not just for functional purposes but also for decorative ones. In the same way, monograms integrated into the decorative apparatus of churches conveyed messages that went beyond their textual content.

Finally, Lucio Del Corso shows how a different perception of writing across the late antique Greek East, in which script and letters came to be regarded primarily as images of symbolic value, can be traced in both public and private uses of epigraphy in Egypt. In public epigraphy, the need for self-representation by the local elites who gained prominence through the Severan reforms produced inscriptions in which, despite local variations in script and lettering, the layout was generally designed to communicate all relevant information to a public with differing levels of literacy. From the Tetrarchic period onward, by contrast, visual devices to aid legibility were abandoned, and writing seems to have been conceived primarily as a decorative element, in which the geometrical arrangement of the letters was emphasized and lectional signs were employed for ornamental purposes. It seems that the authorities no longer felt the need to disseminate relevant information to a wider audience and were instead using writing as a self-celebratory manifestation of power. Similarly, in funerary epigraphy, the neatly arranged writing and lectional signs that oriented readers gave way to a deconstruction of the layout, aiming to display the script as a mere sequence of strokes and signs. The erection of funerary inscriptions no longer signaled adherence to a social and a cultural milieu, but became a purely symbolic gesture, in which writing expressed a message beyond its literal meaning.

This group of case studies shows that, when creating a written document on perishable or durable material, scribes and stonecutters took into account the type of document, its context, purpose, and intended recipients in the design of its layout and visual features. Adaptations and changes, be they detectable or reasonably assumed, concerned not only the transfer from a perishable medium to a durable one, but also different versions made for the same or a similar type of medium, as the instances of re-inscribed dedicatory inscriptions and Hadrian's letters to Aphrodisias reveal.

Lectional signs, such as *paragraphoi*, and other visual devices attested in the epigraphic evidence may, up to a point, serve as clues to help us visualize the formatting of original records written on perishable media. Yet the deeper we delve into the analysis, the more we discover that their epigraphic renderings are not necessarily residual elements carried over in the transition from one medium to the other, but rather have their own function and sometimes even a specific graphic shape. In fact, the way the interaction between perishable media, particularly papyri, and durable media has traditionally been perceived should sometimes be reversed: as the example of publicly displayed writing on perishable media from Egypt shows, significant influences between the two spheres could run both ways.

The case studies on public epigraphy in this volume prompt us to reflect more generally on the complexity of the process that led from written to inscribed texts. It becomes inevitable that we acknowledge the role played by the various documentary steps – not only the administrative records but also the preparatory drafts for the engraving – and the different writing materials involved in each stage, as well as that of the people who, in different capacities, authored the original records, compiled the drafts, and engraved the actual inscriptions.

As for layout strategies, if we take a broader spatial and temporal perspective it becomes even more evident that standard formats were usually bent, adapted, or outright abandoned according to cultural, social, and political circumstance. The case studies from Late Antiquity examined here are particularly instructive in this regard, and show how the altered function of writing in a completely changed cultural and political context brought with it not only an evolution from previous layout arrangements, but also an entirely different approach to the issue of readability. Against this background, the analysis of monograms conducted here reveals that abbreviations could lose their textual content, which was superseded by the symbolic value they expressed as images. Similarly, paleographical elements and lectional signs in epigraphic contexts appear to have been repurposed for decorative rather than practical needs.

From these observations it is clear to us that each document, regardless of its medium and writing technique, needs to be investigated as an object in its own right, that is, as a product of the specific cultural, political, and social dynamics within which it was conceived. As the chapters collected in this volume show, the conventional but constraining boundaries between papyrology and epigraphy need to be overcome. Only by doing so can we effectively investigate the interplay between text, layout, and medium in ancient documents.

Davide Amendola
Cristina Carusi
Francesca Maltomini
Emilio Rosamilia

Part 1
Document Types and Their Layout

On the Format and Layout of Athenian Building Accounts (Again)

Cristina Carusi

1. The Evolution of Building Accounts in Classical Athens

In a recent article on the format and layout of building accounts in classical Athens, I argued that this typology of epigraphic documents underwent a gradual evolution. The first preserved specimens, dating to the third quarter of the fifth century, adopted a "list-like format", with a strong emphasis on concise receipt and expenditure entries, each with its relevant monetary figures. In the last quarter of the same century, by contrast, building accounts began to accommodate many more details, attaining a decidedly more "narrative format".[1]

The earliest example of this category of inscriptions comes from a stele containing at least eight annual accounts of an unknown work that, based on letterforms, can be dated to the mid-fifth century (*IG* I³ 433).[2] Each year's section, which always starts on a new line, names the secretary and the *epistatai* (overseers) of the work in office that year, followed by only two entries: one for total receipts, the other for total expenditures (e.g., ll. 31-40). Within each section, entries are mostly written continuously with monetary figures incorporated into the body of the text.

However, the next set of building accounts, conventionally known as the Athena Promachos' accounts and probably dating to the early 440s, inaugurates a new format with more extensive lists of entries organized in multiple columns (*IG* I³ 435).[3]

[1] See Carusi 2020. All dates in this chapter are BCE.

[2] The stele (1.39 x 0.45 x 0.22 m) was found in Monastiraki. The most recent edition is Pitt 2015.

[3] For the most recent edition of the eleven fragments of these accounts, see Foley and Stroud 2019. According to the two authors, there is no conclusive link between the literary and archaeological evidence for the bronze statue of Athena Promachos and the extant fragments of the accounts (Foley and Stroud 2019, 141-150). As for dating, Stephen Tracy's analysis of fifth-century Athenian lettering shows that the letter-cutter who inscribed this text was active at least from 440 to 432, and possibly for more years before and after this time range (Tracy 2016, 93-101).

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Cristina Carusi, *On the Format and Layout of Athenian Building Accounts (Again)*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.04, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 3-25, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

Here, each annual section, separated from the previous one by a blank line, opens with a statement of how much money the *epistatai* received from the *kolakretai* and how much was left over from the previous accounting year. Each section then lists several expenditures entries, followed by a statement of how much money was spent as a whole and how much was left over for the next accounting year (e.g., ll. 36-61 and 63-85). Within each column, the text is divided into two sub-columns, with the prescript and list of items occupying the right-hand sub-column and the relevant monetary figures occupying the left-hand one. In addition to each entry starting on a new line, we can also posit – despite the fragmentary state of the original stele (or stelae) on which the accounts were inscribed – that *paragraphoi* systematically separated monetary figures from each other (Fig. 7).[4] Entries consist of general categories of material (i.e., copper and tin talents, charcoal and firewood), plus workers' wages and the salaries of public officials.

The fifteen annual accounts of the Parthenon (*IG* I[3] 436-451), dated to the 440s and 430s, were inscribed on the four sides of a large marble stele set up on the Acropolis, of which only twenty-five fragments survive.[5] Within each column of text, each annual section is separated from the previous one by a blank line and opens with a dating prescript running for the entire width of the column. Following the prescript, the receipt entries are arranged in two sub-columns, with monetary figures on the left and items on the right. The heading ἀναλόματα is then inscribed before the expenditure entries, again with monetary figures on the left and items on the right, followed by the remaining balance (e.g., ll. 344-364). While each entry starts on a new line, *paragraphoi* are used only to separate entries in the accounts for the year XIV (434/3), which were inscribed on the right narrow side of the stele (Fig. 1). Unlike in previous samples, lists of receipts and expenditures in the Parthenon accounts are more detailed and workers' wages are not gathered together under the same item but are rather broken down according to the different operations and the different categories of workers paid for.[6]

[4] The stele could have included up to four columns of text and up to a total of eleven annual accounts. In addition, it is possible that a second stele, bearing the continuation of the accounts, adjoined the first stele on the right side (Foley and Stroud 2019, 134-139).

[5] The Parthenon is securely dated to 447/6-433/2; however, because several letter-cutters were at work on the accounts, with one of them possibly responsible for the years I-VI (see Tracy 2016, 43 n. 5), inscribing on stone may have started a few years after the project began. According to Dinsmoor 1921, 233-245, the stele was a parallelepiped of 1.60 x 1.80 x 0.20 m; the first six annual accounts were inscribed in three columns on the obverse, the following seven in three columns on the reverse, the year XIV on the left side, and the year XV on the right side.

[6] Judging by format and content, a small fragment of building accounts from Eleusis, probably concerning the construction of the "Periclean" phase of the Telesterion, must also be dated to the 440s (*I.Eleusis* 23; *IG* I[3] 395). Receipt and expenditure entries were most certainly listed in columns, each of which was divided into two sub-columns, with items on the right and monetary figures, now lost, on the left. Both receipt and expenditure entries include a series of different items, recalling the Parthenon accounts (see Shear 2016, 170-174, and Clinton 2008, 44-45).

Whereas the accounts of the Propylaea (*IG* I³ 462-466) closely resemble the Parthenon accounts in both format and content,[7] the accounts of the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos – although ideologically and physically intertwined with the same construction program – deserve a separate mention (*IG* I³ 453, 455-458). In fact, these accounts register only the money that the treasurers of Athena allocated each year to the purchase of gold and ivory for the statue, with no mention of other material or of payments for any workers. Therefore, they constitute a sort of inventory that show how much of the goddess's wealth was channeled into the statue, rather than proper building accounts; nonetheless, the entries in these inscriptions are also broken down into two sub-columns, with items on the right and monetary figures on the left.[8]

The only exception is the summary account of the entire project, dated to 438 and inscribed on a monumental and carefully polished stele, of which only two portions survive (*IG* I³ 460). As far as we can tell from the extant fragments of the text, the account, arranged in a single column, first registered how much money and gold the *epistatai* had received (ll. 1-9), then broke down the expenses into a few general categories (ll. 10-19). Entries are separated from one another by a *paragraphos*, and monetary figures always begin on a new line. The beauty and large size of the script – especially the numerals, which are larger and occupy a two-letter space – add to the conspicuous grandeur of the monument (Fig. 2). There is no doubt that the monetary figures, despite not being emphatically isolated in sub-columns, are the most striking feature of this inscription.

Almost two decades later, the accounts of the bronze statues of Athena and Hephaestus (*IG* I³ 472), dated to the years 421-416, present an interesting development. They were inscribed on a stele, set up in the sanctuary of Hephaestus in the agora, of which only three portions survive. After the prescript and a blank line, the text lists, year after year, the sums of money allocated to the project by the treasurers of the Other Gods (ll. 1-20). While the prescript and the list of receipts run across the entire width of the stone surface, the expenditure entries are arranged in columns,

[7] The five annual accounts, dated to 437/6-433/2, were inscribed on both sides of a marble stele, probably 1.23 m wide and 0.111-0.186 m thick, set up on the acropolis, of which only twenty-three fragments survive. The text was arranged in four columns (each of which was divided as usual into two sub-columns), two on the front and two on the back of the stele (see Dinsmoor 1913). For the conception of the Parthenon and Propylaea accounts as a unitary monument, see Marginesu 2010, 33.

[8] The chryselephantine statue accounts were inscribed on separate stelae, probably set up inside the Parthenon. I do not include *IG* I³ 459 and *IG* I³ 454 in the series because the former is a rejected and incomplete attempt to inscribe the same text as *IG* I³ 458, while the latter has been recognized as a fragment of the Samian War expenses contained in *IG* I³ 363. On the peculiar features of these accounts, see Marginesu 2010, 34, and Shear 2016, 70. As for the so-called accounts of the Golden Nikai (*IG* I³ 467-471), in reality they are inventories of the golden parts of each statue with their respective weight, with numerals incorporated into the text.

each of which is divided into two sub-columns, with monetary figures (now lost) on the left and the relevant items on the right (ll. 138-160). *Paragraphoi* separate the entries (Fig. 3). Despite the total amount being inscribed in larger letters on the front face of the stone (l. 166), the expenditure entries continue on the left side, arranged in a single column with monetary figures incorporated into the text and following rather than preceding the relevant items (ll. 173-191). The content of some of these entries is similar to those of the Parthenon accounts, mentioning materials and categories of workers paid for. In general, however, they tend to be more descriptive, almost narrative, as is the case with one concerning the purchase of wood, whose intended use is accurately spelled out (ll. 155-160).[9]

This level of detail represents a sort of prelude to the Erechtheum accounts, which themselves mark a new stage in the evolution of building accounts. The construction of this temple probably began in 421 and halted in 413. When work resumed in 409/8, a decree of the assembly ordered the *epistatai* of the project and the architect to prepare a report on the progress of the work. This report was inscribed on the front face of an opistographic stele set up on the Acropolis (*IG* I³ 474).[10] Inscribed after the prescript, which runs across the entire width of the stone surface (ll. 1-7), the report itself is arranged in columns, listing the unfinished parts of the temple (ll. 8-92) and the stone blocks lying on the ground at the building site (ll. 93-237). Again, each column is divided into two sub-columns, where the description of each entry on the right side takes up most of the space, while the figures on the narrow left-hand sub-column indicate the number of architectural elements of that kind. Each entry begins on a new line and, as is the case in the accounts for the bronze statues, a *paragraphos* separates each entry from the previous one, although not with the same consistency (Fig. 4).

The accounts proper, preserved in fragments, were inscribed on separate stelae and cover the works completed in 409/8 (*IG* I³ 475) and 408/7 (*IG* I³ 476).[11] Unlike previous accounts, they are organized per prytany. Each new section opens with the mention of the tribe holding the prytany and of how much money the treasurers of Athena allocated to the *epistatai*. The list of expenditure entries follows, first detailing the purchases of various materials and then the payments for different operations and different categories of workers. Each entry and each prytany section ends with the total amount of money spent (e.g., *IG* I³ 476, ll. 183-281). However, entries do not only mention individual items; they rather describe them with a lev-

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[9] On the "narrative flavor" of these accounts, see Marginesu 2009, 463-468.

[10] On this stele (1.835? x 0.505 x 0.139 m), see Caskey 1927, 280-321. The reverse of the stele, of which only two small portions of text survive, contains building specifications for the remaining work (ll. 238-258). On this, see Carusi 2006, 13-14.

[11] See Caskey 1927, 322-416. Construction continued for at least three further years, but only small fragments of these accounts survive (on which see Lambert 2016).

el of detail never reached up to that point. These details include the name of every single worker, his civic status, the exact content of his work, and the payment he received for it. The text is arranged in columns, but figures are not set apart in a different sub-column; on the contrary, they are incorporated into the body of the text and flagged by means of punctuation marks, although this is not done systematically. Each prytany section usually begins on a new line or after a short blank space on the same line, sometimes flagged by a *paragraphos* or by other graphic dividers. As for expenditure entries, however, only occasionally do they begin on a new line or after a short blank space on the same line; most often there is no break between one entry and the next (Fig. 5).

After the Erechtheum works, it becomes difficult to follow the evolution of building accounts, because this category of inscriptions seems almost to disappear from the Athenian epigraphic record.[12] Nevertheless, expenses for building works are occasionally found within some examples of general accounts. The most notable of these are the accounts of the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis, dated to 329/8 (*I.Eleusis* 177).[13] These accounts were inscribed on a large stele set up in the Eleusinian sanctuary, of which the upper and lower portions survive, with a substantial lacuna between them. The text is arranged in two wide columns. The accounts list receipts and expenditures on a prytany-by-prytany basis (e.g., ll. 176-198). Each prytany section begins on a new line or is separated from the previous one by a couple of blank lines. Each entry, however, follows the previous one without interruption; monetary figures are incorporated into the body of the text and mostly flagged by means of punctuation marks (Fig. 6). The level of detail is similar to that found in the Erechtheum accounts, but they are not as accurate as the latter (e.g., the identity and civic status of individual workers are often overlooked). Despite this, the layout of the text is even more crammed than in the Erechtheum accounts, especially given the breadth of the columns (78 to 81 letter spaces) and the

[12] Among the few exceptions, there are some peculiar, short inscriptions concerning work to the Athenian fortification system, covering the years 395/4 to 392/1 and inscribed on separate blocks or stelae, which were probably set up in different locations (Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 1-9; *SEG* XIX 145; *SEG* XXXII 165). Despite their fragmentary state, it is possible to observe that in most of these inscriptions monetary figures are incorporated into the body of the text and contractors are often mentioned by name, in a similar manner to the Erechtheum accounts. Equally peculiar are some fragmentary accounts, stemming from the construction of an Ionic temple in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos in the 340s, found in both Delos and Athens (on which, see Chankowski 2008, nos. 52-55).

[13] Building expenses are also recorded in the Eleusinian accounts dated to 336/5 or 333/2 (*I.Eleusis* 159), of which only three fragments of the right portion of the stele survive. Their format is similar to *I.Eleusis* 177. The portion of a stele edited as *IG* II^2 1669 and dated to the second half of the fourth century contains some building expenses related to the sanctuary of Zeus Soter at Piraeus; despite their poor state of preservation, their format appears similar to that of the Eleusinian accounts.

remarkably small size of the letters (only 4 mm high, compared with the average letter height of 8 mm for most fifth-century accounts).

This brief survey shows that, in the 440s and 430s, building accounts consisted of concise lists of receipts and expenses, displayed in an extremely user-friendly layout, in which particular visual devices immediately drew attention to the main sources of money and items of expenditure with the relevant monetary figures. These visual devices include: blank lines separating one annual section from another; each entry beginning on a new line; the (unsystematic) use of *paragraphoi*; and, in particular, the arrangement of items and monetary figures in separate and parallel sub-columns. These accounts adopt what I call a "list-like format". The Parthenon accounts represent the most mature form of this type of account and, with their large stele set up on the Acropolis, its most monumental outcome. By contrast, a couple of decades later, the Erechtheum accounts – partly foreshadowed by the accounts for the bronze statues of Athena and Hephaestus – reached an unsurpassed level of detail in meticulously describing the individual jobs performed. In doing so, however, they abandoned many of the visual devices adopted before, thus making it less straightforward for any passers-by to identify the various items of expenditure and the relevant monetary figures at first glance. This typology of accounts, whose main characteristics persist in the few extant samples from the fourth century, adopt what I call a "narrative format".

2. Functionalism vs. Symbolism

The evolution in the format and layout of building accounts outlined above prompts us to question the purpose of accounts inscribed on durable media and exposed to public attention and, in doing so, leads us once again to address any supposed dichotomy between functionalism and symbolism.

It is well known that building accounts stemmed from the work of ad hoc appointed boards of public officials called *epistatai*, who were in charge of supervising the financial and technical aspects of public projects.[14] In this role, *epistatai* handled substantial amounts of public money (as the inscriptions themselves attest) and likely kept accurate records of all sorts of transactions in order to ensure the proper financial management of projects. Their day-to-day operations no doubt involved the production of various types of written documents on perishable media, partly intended for temporary practical use and partly for permanent storage in public archives.[15]

[14] On the appointment and function of the Athenian *epistatai*, see Marginesu 2010, 57-65.

[15] Scholarship on public archives and archival practices in the Greek world is extensive: for a recent bibliographical overview, see Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 3-20; see also 29-40 for a discussion of how the concept of archive should be understood in the Greek world (and beyond).

In addition, in Athens (as well as in other cities), documents of public interest were temporarily posted in prominent locations within the civic space in order to give citizens the opportunity to examine them. Such locations included the base of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the agora or a wall in the *bouleuterion*, or other locations chosen depending on the occasion; the media used for writing were usually wax-covered wooden tablets or whitewashed boards.[16] In the case of the *epistatai*, it is likely that the temporary display of the documents resulting from their work occurred in conjunction with the statutory and legally mandated scrutiny of their conduct.

This scrutiny was held in several stages: Michele Faraguna has convincingly argued that as early as the fifth century the examination of public officials at the end of their annual term of office first involved the audit of their financial accounts (strictly speaking the *logos*), followed by a general review of their conduct (the actual *euthynai*, although the term could be used to indicate the entire procedure). In the fourth century, the financial audit was conducted by public officials called *logistai*, who then transmitted it to court, while the general review pertained to members of the council, called *euthynoi*, who received complaints from citizens within three days of the examined official rendering his financial accounts in court. In the fifth century, both phases were probably presided over by *euthynoi*.[17] Moreover, according to the *Constitution of the Athenians* (48.3), a committee of members of the council, also called *logistai*, reviewed public officials' accounts each prytany (i.e., each of the ten months of the Athenian administrative calendar).[18]

We must assume that, in view of the *logos* and *euthynai*, the *epistatai* gathered and summarized all the information derived from the transactions carried out during their tenure so as to present their work to the citizens and relevant officials in the most comprehensive manner. It is possible – but not certain – that this document was the same one temporarily displayed to the public at some prominent site. We do not know, however, whether the accounts of the *epistatai* were displayed to the public on a monthly or annual basis.

In any case, it is clear that all these procedures led to the production of a large number of written documents, which made use of a variety of writing materials. The

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[16] On the temporary display of public documents, see the seminal article by Wilhelm 1909, esp. 229–238 with Klaffenbach's clarifications (1960, 21–28), Rhodes 2001, esp. 33–36, Sickinger 2009, 88–90, and Faraguna 2021a, 193–199. The disclosure formula σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ, ordering the public display of documents so that any citizen who wished to do so could scrutinize them, was employed precisely in relation to legislative and financial texts written on perishable media (see Lasagni 2018 with references to previous bibliography).

[17] See Faraguna 2021a, 237–245, and Faraguna 2021b, 229–235, with relevant sources and further bibliography. For the fourth-century procedure, see Arist. *Ath.* 48.4–5 and 54.2 with Rhodes 1981, 561–564, 597–599. On the *euthynai* see also Oranges 2021, 206–208.

[18] See Rhodes 1981, 560.

Erechtheum accounts offer us some indication in this regard: in the eighth prytany of 408/7, the *epistatai* bought *sanides*, "writing tablets", for transcribing the accounts, at the price of one drachma each; then, in the ninth prytany, they bought *chartai*, "sheets of papyrus", for registering the copies of the accounts, at a total price of two drachmas and four obols. It is possible that *biblia*, "papyrus rolls", were bought in the last prytany of 409/8, even though the context in which this word is found is so fragmentary that the presence and function of the word itself are far from certain.[19] It is usually assumed that *sanides* were meant for notes and preliminary drafts (i.e., temporary and practical documents), whereas the final and cumulative version of the accounts intended for archival record was written on papyrus.[20]

In fact, Véronique Chankowski's study of bookkeeping practices in independent Delos (314–167) shows that this distinction was not necessarily valid and that the hierarchy of writing media could be much more complex. According to the testimony of the annual accounts of the Delian sanctuary, the administrators regularly bought sheets of papyrus on which they produced preliminary drafts before the annual accounts themselves were inscribed on stone; a *deltos* (a wooden panel of cypress), however, was bought each year so that the text already engraved on the stele could be copied on to it, possibly as a document intended for archival record. At the same time, *leukomata*, "whitewashed boards", were used for the display of monthly accounts on the agora (i.e. those expenses for which the *hieropoioi* did not need to ask the authorization of the assembly) and *peteura*, "planks" (also bleached for writing), were used for registering documents other than the annual accounts, such as lists of contracts and securities.[21] The complexity revealed by the Delian accounts confirms that public officials could elaborate their final accounts by making use of the many different categories of drafts and documents produced during their tenure. These were written on a variety of different media, some of which were meant for separate, temporary display and/or for independent archival record.

However, not all financial documents and accounts ended up inscribed on stone. Just as was the case for all categories of public documents, publication on stone involved selection. In fact, the documents that the Athenians decided to inscribe on stone were a limited and select number in relation to the overall set of public documents that were regularly being produced. Moreover, in terms of content, most of

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[19] See *IG* I³ 476, ll. 188–192: σανίδες δύο hες ἃς τὸν λόγον hαναγράφομεν, δραχμε̂ς hεκατέραν ⊢⊢; ll. 288–291: χάρται hεονέθεσαν δύο hες ἃ τὰ ἀντίγραφα hενεγράφσαμεν, ⊢⊢IIII. The purchase of a χάρτης also appears in a fragment belonging to the third prytany of 405/4 (see *IG* I³ 477, l. 1 with Lambert 2016, no. 2, 5–10), apparently at a cost of three drachmae and three obols. The word βιβλία is mentioned in the verso of a fragment attributed to the sixth and last column of the 409/8 accounts (*IG* I³ 475, l. VI 19).

[20] See Del Corso 2002, 174–180.

[21] See Chankowski 2020.

the time the text on stone was a selected and redacted version of the document (or documents) from which it had been drawn.[22]

It is precisely in relation to this selection process that the dichotomy of functionalism and symbolism comes into play. Scholars have often questioned whether epigraphic documents, such as accounts and inventories, were, on the one hand, intended to provide an accurate overview of the officials' conduct, corresponding in all respects to what had been presented for the *logos* and *euthynai*; or whether, on the other hand, they had no practical purpose, being instead mere excerpts intended to symbolically represent whatever political or religious principles the city wished to affirm.[23] More specifically, the evolution from a "list-like format" to a "narrative format" could suggest, from a strictly functional perspective, that inscribed accounts reflected how the actual accounts presented for the *logos* and *euthynai* developed from a more rudimentary form of accounting to one showcasing an increased level of accountability and transparency required of public officials. Alternatively, the increased level of detail could signal a shift from inscribed accounts in which the symbolic value is most important to accounts that embrace a distinctly functional purpose.[24] Conversely, one could even argue that the user-friendly layout and greater readability of earlier accounts speak in favor of their adherence to functionality, in contrast to narrative and crammed accounts, from which it would have been more difficult to extract meaningful information.[25]

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[22] On the selection of text and content, see, in addition to Wilhelm 1909, 249-250, 271-280 and Klaffenback 1960, 1-20, 26-36, Sickinger 1999, 62-92, Rhodes 2001, 37-41, Davies 2003, 328, and Faraguna 2021a, 218-221 (with references to previous bibliography and a rebuttal of contrary arguments).

[23] Recently this dichotomy has been explored by Scott 2011, Faraguna 2021b, 236-248 (to be read with the remarks of Kantor 2021), and Marginesu 2022, where one can find references to previous bibliography.

[24] In order to explain the greater level of detail displayed by the Erechtheum accounts, scholars have invoked the increased need for tighter control over the conduct of public officials generated by the difficult political, military, and financial situation Athens was facing in the last decade of the fifth century. For Davis (1948, 485-486), for instance, the accounts were meant to counteract possible political opposition to the project; for Wittenburg (1978, 72-73), they were intended to demonstrate the principles of a more radical form of democracy; for Feyel (2006, 16-17), they responded to the concerns created by the dire financial situation. Epstein (2013, 134-137), however, links them to a simple evolution in the accounting practices required of public officials.

[25] The point has been raised mainly with regard to lengthy inventories, but in principle it can also concern accounts (see especially Linders 1992, 31-32, and Scott 2011, 240-241 for references to further bibliography). In the introduction to *GHI*, R. Osborne and P.J. Rhodes observe: "though in theory the purpose of a published text is that it should be available to be read, some texts were published in a way that they were not easy to read" (p. xv). They go on to say that texts such as lengthy inventories may have had a symbolic rather than a functional value, while other texts were clearly designed in ways that aided intelligibility. In any case, they conclude that "it would be a mistake to make too much of the symbolic aspect of inscription and too little of the notion that texts were published so that they could be read".

I believe, however, that, in the terms outlined above, the question is ill defined. If emphasizing the symbolic value of financial documents inscribed on stone is tantamount to saying that they were solely monuments, so much so that their text was not relevant and thus not even consulted, I cannot agree.[26] As Michael Scott has aptly observed (with regard to inventories, but the argument applies also to accounts), "the symbolic potential of these lists rests upon their grounding in functional reality", i.e., they must have offered reliable information to whomever read them (or at least had the potential to do so) in order to remain meaningful symbols of the values they intended to convey.[27]

In my view, there is no doubt that accounts inscribed on stone were meant to be read and thus that they served a functional purpose; however, their function was not merely informative and did more than simply provide the general public with details of the *epistatai*'s conduct. In fact, this function was already being fulfilled, and in a much more effective and timely manner, by the use of perishable media to temporarily display the *epistatai*'s accounts in view of the *logos* and *euthynai*, when it was crucial for them to be checked out by whoever wished to do so. Conversely, as I have argued elsewhere, the decision to inscribe accounts on stone, making them potentially everlasting, went beyond the immediate circumstances; instead, it served to celebrate and perpetuate the memory of building achievements that were deemed particularly significant to the city of Athens for political or religious reasons, or both.[28]

In this respect, the shift from a "list-like format" to a "narrative format" must be seen not as a swing between symbolism and functionalism, but rather as a change in the ways in which the city decided to celebrate its achievements. The Parthenon accounts (*IG* I³ 436-451), as well as other mid-fifth-century inscribed accounts, are too concise and omit too many relevant details to allow us to assume that they correspond to the same documents the *epistatai* submitted for the *logos* and *euthynai*. The *epistatai* certainly composed their final accounts as comprehensive summaries of the

[26] For Hedrick 1994, inscriptions were not meant to be read so much as recognized, functioning as mnemonic devices that confirmed what people already knew; this belief is based on the premise that, in a society characterized by an agrarian, conservative economy, little exposure to written texts, and no publicly subsidized education, only a minority of Athenian citizens were able to read properly. See, however, Missiou 2011 for the view that in Athens extensive functional literacy was acquired through informal learning processes owing to the peculiar social and political context: in short, it was the very functioning of the democracy that required and motivated ordinary citizens to learn to read and write in order to manage the procedures of a political system that was inherently literate. Furthermore, Pébarthe 2006 argues that there was a significant degree of literacy among the Athenian population and emphasizes the widespread use of writing and written communication by the city in order to ensure the functioning of its political and imperial system.

[27] The quotation is from Scott 2011, 241.

[28] See Carusi 2020, 86-89.

data drawn from the various sets of documents they had produced during their tenure, as the Delian example suggests.[29] However, in this case, unlike in fourth-century Delos, the inscribed text represents a further stage in the process of selection, emphasizing the elements deemed most functional to its celebratory and commemorative intent. There is no doubt that the layout of these types of accounts emphasizes the magnitude and prominence of the monetary figures – not only of the expenditure items, but also, as Marginesu points out, of the receipt entries.[30] Evidently, it was the financial means deployed by the city to express its piety for the patron goddess and to assert its own political and military roles in the Greek world that the city authorities decided to emphasize in parading their building enterprise.

This is not to say that any other ideological meanings should be discarded. Stelae set up in sacred spaces and concerning buildings of a sacred nature also served as dedications intended to please and honor the gods.[31] At the same time, even though these stelae were not primarily erected so that the public could examine the actual accounts of the *epistatai*, they still embodied the democratic principles on which the Athenian political and administrative system was based, i.e., transparency and accountability.[32] As mentioned above, however, for these meanings to have any value it was necessary for the text to be firmly grounded in real and verifiable data.[33]

As regards later inscribed accounts, the increasing level of detail at the expense of some visual devices signals that the ways in which the city celebrated its building enterprises were changing. In these epigraphic documents, more space is given to the description of the various works that were performed and the workers who performed them rather than to the sums of money spent in the process. Monetary figures no longer occupy a prominent position and, despite the signs of punctuation meant to flag them, they are not particularly discernible but almost obscured and "swallowed up" by the abundance of the surrounding details. In this case, in view of the publication on stone, a different choice was made, resulting in the selection of those elements of the original documents produced by the *epistatai* that best served

[29] See, among others, Boffo 1995, 117-118 (who recommends that we do not confuse inscribed texts with written documents), Sickinger 1999, 67-68, Epstein 2013, 132, and Marginesu 2022, 98-99.

[30] See, to cite only some of the most recent contributions, Epstein 2013, 132-133, Carusi 2020, 86-87, and Marginesu 2022, 96.

[31] This religious dimension is emphasized by Meyer 2013.

[32] See Davies 1994, 211 on the affirmation of the democratic principles (this aspect is also emphasized by Marginesu 2022, 106). As Rhodes (2001, 140-141) argues, the celebration of Athens' power was manifested in parading not only the city's endeavors and financial prowess but also the democratic principles that made such achievements possible.

[33] Epstein (2013, 132) is right in stating that "it would be pointless to check the rectitude of the officials who underwent their audits several years ago"; however, the very fact that whoever wished could still do so was a powerful reminder of the democratic principles that were the foundation of the city's power.

the celebratory purpose. In my view, beginning with the bronze statues of Athena and Hephaestus (*IG* I³ 472) and reaching their peak with the Erechtheum (*IG* I³ 475-476), later accounts increasingly focused on describing how a building project had been completed rather than on showing how much money had been spent to complete it. The purpose was still to celebrate those achievements and the effort the city had made to realize them, but by pointing less to the financial aspects and more to the deployment of the human and technical resources necessary to accomplish it. Perhaps it is no coincidence that this change occurred when the sums of money involved became less important than they had been previously.

This trend could also explain why inscribed accounts seem to go out of fashion in the fourth century and are gradually replaced, in the epigraphic record, by a different category of inscriptions, namely building specifications (*syngraphai*). These documents – mostly arranged in the continuous-line format and lacking the visual devices typical of accounts – usually contain lengthy narrative descriptions of the work to be performed and, as such, seem better suited to serve the new manner of celebrating the city's building enterprises.[34]

This being the case, the change in format of inscribed accounts should be attributed neither to an evolution in accounting practices nor to an increased concern for the accountability of the *epistatai* – which scholars usually link to the political crisis that had led to the abolition and subsequent restoration of democracy in 411-410 and to the dire financial situation of the last phase of the Peloponnesian War.[35] Proof that neither of these factors is responsible for changes in inscribed accounts lies in the fact that the format of the Erechtheum accounts (409-407) is somewhat anticipated by certain "narrative" elements already present in the accounts of the bronze statues of Athena and Hephaestus (421-416), accounts that arise from a completely different political, military, and financial situation.[36]

The greater presence of details makes it likely that these inscribed accounts were closer to the version the *epistatai* submitted for the *logos* and *euthynai*. However, we should not necessarily assume that the two perfectly overlapped, when we recall that the two types of documents were created in response to different functions.[37]

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[34] See Carusi 2020, 87-89. On building specifications, see Carusi 2006 and Carusi 2010.

[35] See n. 24 above for bibliographical references.

[36] This is not to say that there was no evolution of accounting practices over time, only that inscribed accounts do not necessarily bear a trace of it.

[37] Although certain inscribed accounts, such as those of the *epimeletai* of the dockyards from the fourth century (on which see Faraguna 2021b, 243-248), were presumably closer, if not identical, to the end-of-year accounts submitted by the officials themselves, the reason for their inscription on stone, which is not always easy for us to reconstruct, should not be confined to the desire to provide the general public with details of the *epistatai*'s conduct. It remains true that, selective or not (and more or less recent), all inscribed accounts imply the existence of archival documentation that was far more extensive in quantity, as well as more varied and articulated in typology, than is traditionally assumed

Here as well, we cannot rule out some kind of reorganization, selection, or greater emphasis accorded to certain elements over others, of course without drastically altering the content of the accounts presented by the *epistatai* and without foregoing accuracy.[38] For instance, one cannot help but notice the prominence that single workers assume in the Erechtheum accounts, where they are recorded individually by name and civic status, while previously they had remained an anonymous collective, identified only by their trade or the type of work they had performed.[39] I do not believe that the Erechtheum accounts were inscribed on stone as votive inscriptions of some sort, to commemorate the names of the individuals who had made the completion of the project possible.[40] However, I agree with Daniela Marchiandi that, when inscribing these accounts on stone, the decision was probably taken not so much to emphasize the financial prowess of the city but more to highlight the collective dimension of the city's enterprise as well as the cooperation among the diverse components of the civic body.[41]

Ultimately, when dealing with accounts as well as with all categories of inscriptions, it is crucial to retain the distinction between written document and inscribed text. While recognizing the potential of inscribed texts in helping us reconstruct the administrative procedures and written documents – now lost – that were behind

(see Faraguna 2021a, 264); in this respect, they cannot be considered merely symbolic monuments, nor were they devoid of any legal value. I agree with Kantor (2021, 259-260) that because the "rhetoric of accountability" was expressed by inscribing accounts on stone, these inscriptions are a valuable source for the *euthynai* process; however, "the practical use of monumental inscriptions remains a more intractable question".

38 As Marginesu (2022, 101-108) rightly points out, inscribing accounts on stone was always the result of a decision made at the institutional level, which had to state clearly the manner and content of the publication; authorial responsibility for inscribed accounts, however, still belonged to the *epistatai*, so much so that they often expressed themselves with first-person plural verbs in them (see, e.g., *IG* I^3 476, ll. 110-111, 115-116, 120-121; *I.Eleusis* 159, l. 73, etc.).

39 To appreciate the difference, one need only compare expenditure items recorded in the Parthenon accounts (e.g., λιθοτόμοις, λιθαγογίας, λιθολκίας, τέκτοσι, ἀγαλματοποιοῖς, etc.) with just one entry of the Erechtheum accounts (e.g., *IG* I^3 475, ll. 20-28: "On the east wall close to the altar: to Simias living in Alopeke, for placing one block six feet long, two feet high, one foot thick, 7 dr. 3 ob.; to Simias living in Alopeke, for placing two backing-stones for this, from the stoa, four feet long, two feet wide, three quarters of a foot thick, 6 dr.; to Simias living in Alopeke, for dressing the top surface of these, four feet and a half, 7 dr.").

40 On the idea that the Erechtheum accounts were meant to commemorate the workers, see Burford 1971. However, as Epstein (2013, 137) notes, if that had been the case, the purpose would have been more easily achieved by inscribing a list of names, as in the format adopted by casualty lists. Moreover, the Erechtheum accounts also register some groups of workers who remain anonymous (e.g., *IG* I^3 475, ll. 272-285).

41 See Marchiandi 2018, esp. 118-127. Meyer (2017, 244-248) also remarks that in the final years of the fifth century, the Athenian epigraphic record is marked by an increasing focus on individual names, thus signaling a shift in the Athenian democratic culture from a major emphasis on the role of the collectivity to a greater acknowledgment of the individual's role within the community.

them, scholars must always explore why the decision was made to publish certain texts permanently on stone and what the nature and emphasis of the selection they display can tell us about that reason.[42]

3. The Columnar Format

A prominent feature of the layout of our building accounts is their arrangement in the columnar format – a type of layout they share with other categories of Athenian inscriptions.

Elizabeth Meyer has recently tackled the origin of this format, which she defines as "the inscription of information (often one item of information, such as a name, per line) in relatively narrow left-aligned columns, with spaces left blank between them to set the columns off against each other and emphasize their verticality". Meyer notes that the columnar format was not common in Athens between 500 and 410 and was used consistently only in casualty lists, the so-called Athenian tribute lists, building accounts, and the Attic stelae, namely the inscriptions listing the properties seized from those convicted in the religious scandals of 415 and auctioned off by the *poletai*. In the last decade of the fifth century, this format was extended to other categories of inscriptions, i.e., the re-inscription on stone of the sacrificial calendar and archons' list, group dedications, and the "hybrid genres" of account-inventories and decree-lists.[43]

In Meyer's opinion, the adoption of this format – a specifically Athenian "invention" – was mainly inspired by earlier epigraphic practices, from before the stele emerged as the standard medium for displaying public inscriptions. In particular, for Meyer, this format would be a conscious visual reference to the stone posts that had been used on the acropolis as the main medium for dedicating *thesmoi* and other achievements that honored the gods during the first half of the fifth century. As such, the multi-columnar format, meant to recall inscribed posts standing next to each other in architectural rows, would have implied a particular honor of an old-fashioned sort, associated primarily with divinities and heroes and the special treatment to which they (and some of their property) were entitled.

[42] As Chaniotis (2014, 134) puts it, what inscribed texts represent and how they do so is always the result of a reasoned arrangement (*Komposition*).

[43] See Meyer 2017, 205-206. Casualty lists: *IG* I³ 1142-1193; Athenian tribute lists: *IG* I³ 259-272; Attic stelae: *IG* I³ 421-430; sacrificial calendar: *SEG* LII 48, *SEG* LVII 64; archons' list: *IG* I³ 1031; group dedications: *IG* I³ 515, 1032, 1038, 1040, *I.Eleusis* 49; account-inventory of the treasurers of the Other Gods: *IG* I³ 383; Eleusinian account-inventories: *I.Eleusis* 46-48, 50, 52 (*IG* I³ 390, 385, 388, 389, 386-387); decree-lists: *IG* I³ 71, 77, 100, Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 178, *SEG* XXVIII 45, Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI* 4. See also the list of properties seized from the Thirty Tyrants and their associates and auctioned off by the *poletai* in 402/1 (*Agora* XIX P2) and the catalogue of prizes for victors at the Panathenaic Games dating to around 380 (*IG* II² 2311; *SEG* LIII 192).

However, Meyer's explanation as to why this format would have been reserved for only certain categories of inscriptions and not for other potentially analogous ones (e.g., the inventories of Athena's treasurers (*IG* I³ 291-362), which display the continuous-line format) is rather unconvincing. In her view, this format would have been chosen for inscriptions in which the transformation or change in nature of the listed items (i.e., of human property into divine wealth or of divine wealth into buildings and statues) was the salient feature. However, it is not entirely clear why for other categories of inscriptions, such as inventories, a format that was thought to particularly please and honor the gods would be consciously avoided simply because there was no change to the nature of the items involved.[44] Her explanation for why this format was later extended to other categories of inscriptions appears equally forced. For instance, after using the continuous-line format in their inventories for a decade or so, the Eleusinian *epistatai* would have switched to columns between 420 and 410, because by that time, despite still using inventory language, they were listing not only precious objects but also revenues and building materials *ready to be transformed into cash should that be needed*.[45] As for the report of the Erechtheum *epistatai* (an inventory rather than an account), the use of the columnar format would be justified because the stone blocks listed there – already the property of the goddess – *were to be transformed into the goddess' temple*.[46] It is quite evident that, accepting the author's premise, the alleged transformation or change in nature would be strictly hypothetical in the former case and completely nonexistent in the latter.

In reality, it is hard to escape the impression that the columnar format is the most natural way of organizing a long list of items so as to utilize the available space in an efficient manner, as argued by Michele Faraguna. Not only is this format found outside Athens (and where an Athenian model cannot be assumed); coeval private documents inscribed on non-stone media, though scarce, also attest to its use.[47] In a

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[44] See Meyer 2017, esp. 221-226. In order to fit the casualty lists into her pattern, the author claims that the columnar format was adopted to signal the exceptional status of the city's dead as akin to heroes worthy of being honored in the same format used to convey special honor to the gods (p. 229). For a critique of Meyer's argument, tackling especially the idea that the columnar format was an Athenian invention, see Faraguna 2020, 122-124.

[45] On the hybrid account-inventories of the Eleusinian *epistatai*, see Meyer 2017, 237-238. However, some of the stone blocks listed in the inventory of 408/7 (*I.Eleusis* 52A, l. II.43-50; 52B, l. II.54-61), presumably belonging to the archaic Telesterion, laid idle in the sanctuary for several decades, while analogous blocks had previously not been sold but used in other building projects, including a wall and a bridge (*I.Eleusis* 41, ll. 5-9).

[46] See Meyer 2017, 238. However, it is worth recalling that the Erechtheum report lists not only stone blocks lying on the ground of the building site (*IG* I³ 474, ll. 93-237) but also unfinished parts of the temple (ll. 8-92), such as unrefined ornamental details, unsmoothed walls, and unfluted columns, already in their proper place.

[47] See Faraguna 2020, 120-124, esp. 123. For examples outside Athens see e.g., *SEG* XI 244 and *I.Cret.* IV 72.

judiciary *defixio* from the Kerameikos, dated to the beginning of the fourth century, three curses, probably written by the same professional engaged by one *defigens*, are arranged in three columns on the long side of a lead plate, with spaces between the columns and a *paragraphos* at the beginning of the third column, possibly as well as at the beginning of the first and second columns (*SEG* XLVIII 354-356; *SEG* LI 328).[48] In a private letter on a lead plate from Hermonassa, dated to the late fifth or early fourth century, the author also arranged the text in two columns divided by a vertical line, cutting the plate in half (*SEG* LXI 614). More significant for the case in point is a graffito engraved on the floor of a black-painted plate from the Kerameikos, dated to the middle of the fourth century, which consists of a list of names followed by two sets of numerals (*SEG* XXXV 134). Regardless of the nature of the accounts, the list is arranged in two columns with a space between them; punctuation separates names from numerals and the two sets of numerals from each other (Fig. 8).[49]

As has been argued, this evidence seems to suggest that the use of both the columnar format and diacritical signs such as the *paragraphos* may originate from a "documentary tradition" of texts written on perishable materials.[50] However, a word of caution is needed before assuming that Athenian accounts inscribed on stone – especially the earliest specimens – adopted the columnar format and the (unsystematic) use of *paragraphoi* because they derived these features directly from the accounting documents on perishable materials used by letter-cutters as models for the epigraphic versions.[51]

First, I argued above that such a direct derivation cannot be assumed in all cases, given the selective nature of many epigraphic accounts. I would say that letter-cutters certainly had a draft on perishable material in front of them when they engraved their text on stone; but in many cases this text had been expressly prepared with a view to publication on stone, and was not the same accounting document the *epistatai* submitted for the *logos* and *euthynai*. Second, unlike coeval accounting documents on non-stone media – such as the Kerameikos accounts (*SEG* XXXV 134) – and later lists and accounts on papyri, in inscribed accounts, numerals, set apart in a specific sub-column, do not follow to the right but *precede* their respective items on the left.[52]

As seen above, the two-sub-column format with numerals on the left features in the so-called Athena Promachos accounts (*IG* I³ 435), the Parthenon and Propy-

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48 See also Costabile 2001 and Jordan 2004. At the end of the first line of the second column, there is also an *aversa diple periestigmene*, while a *signum separationis* is used between two words at l. III.5.

49 See Lewis 2020 for the most recent interpretation of the text, with references to previous bibliography.

50 See Faraguna 2020, esp. 124; see also Del Corso 2002, esp. 181-183.

51 See Boffo 1995, 119 and Del Corso 2002, 180, 183-184, for inscribed accounts reproducing the features of accounting texts on perishable materials.

52 For an overview of the layout of lists and accounts on papyri, see Clarysse 2020, esp. 117-118.

laea accounts (*IG* I³ 436–451, 462–466), the annual accounts of the chryselephantine statue (*IG* I³ 455–458), the four columns on the front side of the bronze statues' accounts (*IG* I³ 472), and the Erechtheum report (*IG* I³ 474, where numerals do not indicate monetary figures but rather the quantities of the listed blocks). The same layout features in the so-called Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259–272), the Attic stelae (*IG* I³ 421–430, with two sets of numerals – sale taxes and sale prices – preceding the entries), and in most of the account-inventories (*IG* I³ 383; *I.Eleusis* 46–48, 50, 52).[53] Clearly, this peculiar trait – not borrowed from accounting documents on perishable materials – was specifically conceived for inscribed texts in which money and monetary figures had to be quite literally at the forefront, so much so that their prominent position is visually emphasized by numerals that precede rather than follow their respective items.

It is interesting to note that in the first tribute quota list inscribed on the large stele (*lapis primus*) containing the first fourteen annual accounts of the *aparchai* offered to Athena – incidentally, the first Athenian state document featuring numerals – monetary figures regularly follow the names of the members of the Delian league (*IG* I³ 259); only from the second annual list onwards (*IG* I³ 260) is the order reversed. Similarly, in the earliest preserved specimen of building accounts inscribed on stone dated to the mid-fifth century – which records only total receipts and expenditures – numerals, embedded in the text, always follow their respective entry (*IG* I³ 433).[54] In light of this change, one can only conclude that, at some point, a conscious choice was made to adopt a new layout for some typologies of accounts inscribed on stone, expressly designed to enhance the kind of visual impact they were meant to have on viewers.[55]

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[53] The same format can be observed in the lists of allies appended to the preserved portions of two tribute assessment decrees (425/4–422/1), where the quotas assigned to the allies are listed in a sub-column to the left of the names (*IG* I³ 71, 77), and in the civic sacrificial calendar (ca. 410–400/399), where prices of sacrificial animals and other necessities are listed in a sub-column to the left of their respective items (*SEG* LII 48, LVII 64). Similarly, in the catalogue of prizes for victors at the Panathenaic Games, dating to around 380 (*IG* II² 2311; *SEG* LIII 192), the numerals in the left sub-column indicate the value or number of the prizes. In the list of properties seized from the Thirty Tyrants and auctioned off by the *poletai* in 402/1 (*Agora* XIX P2), the two sets of numerals preceding each entry on the left (sales taxes and sale prices) do not occupy two different sub-columns as in the Attic stelae but are arranged one below the other in the same sub-column.

[54] See Osborne 2022 for an overview of the appearance of numerals in Greek inscriptions. While the alphabetic system first appeared around 575, the acrophonic system made its first appearances in ceramic graffiti in the late sixth century. In Athens, acrophonic numerals appeared first in documents issued by demes, the earliest being the Rhamnous accounts engraved on a lead tablet and dated to the first half of the fifth century (*IG* I³ 247bis; *I.Rhamnous* 181). Here, too, the text consists of two sections divided by a horizontal line, where the names of debtors and creditors are each inscribed on a new line and monetary figures follow – rather than precede – their respective names, separated by two or three dots.

[55] As Robin Osborne (2022, 68) puts it, "the Athenians knew how to make things clear if they wanted to". Also in the summary accounts of the chryselephantine statue (*IG* I³ 460), numerals, despite

Likewise, the use of *paragraphoi*, although not systematic, seems different from that found in coeval accounting documents written on non-stone media. Thus, in the Rhamnous accounts engraved on a lead tablet, the *paragraphos* does not separate different entries but rather the two main sections listing debtors and creditors (*IG* I³ 247bis; *I.Rhamnous* 181), while in the ostracon bearing the Kerameikos accounts, *paragraphoi* do not appear at all (*SEG* XXXV 134).[56] Conversely, in inscribed accounts, such as the Promachos accounts (*IG* I³ 435), year XIV of the Parthenon accounts (*IG* I³ 449), the summary accounts of the chryselephantine statue (*IG* I³ 460), the front side of the bronze statues' accounts (*IG* I³ 472), and (most of) the Erechtheum report (*IG* I³ 474), each *paragraphos* appears to separate a single numeral or item from another.[57] *Paragraphoi* are also used to separate items in other financial documents, such as (rather sporadically) in the Attic stelae (*IG* I³ 421-430) and the list of properties seized from the Thirty Tyrants (*Agora* XIX P2), and (more consistently) in the Eleusinian account-inventories from 413 and 408/7 (*I.Eleusis* 50, 52).[58]

Apparently, in Athens this specific use of the *paragraphos* was often conjoined with the two-sub-column format with numerals on the left and was not necessarily borrowed from accounting documents written on perishable materials. Rather, one may wonder if *paragraphoi* – dividers meant to aid legibility – featured in the first place in preparatory drafts of inscribed documents that adopted the two-sub-column format, in order to help letter-cutters visualize and replicate a layout expressly designed for inscribing these typologies of accounts on stone. If this were the case, letter-cutters seem to have transcribed *paragraphoi* from preparatory drafts only in an

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not being set apart in a separate sub-column, are pretty much "shot out" (p. 64), the largest being twice as high as the other letters (3.2-4.3 cm vs. 1.6 cm) and occupying the horizontal space of two letters. On the visual prominence that monetary figures enjoy in the layout of certain fifth-century Athenian accounts, see also Marginesu 2017.

[56] Also in the *defixio* from the Kerameikos (*SEG* LXI 614), the *paragraphos* divides one section from the other. For an extensive review of the uses of *paragraphoi* in Greek epigraphic documents from the Archaic Age to the late Hellenistic period, see D. Amendola's chapter in this volume, whom I thank for generously sharing the results of his research with me. Even outside the Athenian context, coeval accounting documents written on non-stone media seem to predominantly employ *paragraphoi* to separate sections rather than individual items; see, in Amendola's chapter, cases nos. **[3]**, **[4]**, **[5]**, **[6]**, **[52]** for sections and **[29]** for individual items.

[57] In the extant portions of the Erechtheum accounts proper, *paragraphoi* or other graphic dividers appear only twice separating a prytany section from the previous one (*IG* I³ 476, ll. 183, 281).

[58] In the tribute quota lists (*IG* I³ 259-272), *paragraphoi*, when present, appear to separate one geographic section of the list from the next rather than each individual entry from another; in the tribute assessment decrees *IG* I³ 71 and 77, however, they are used sporadically to separate either sections or entries. In other lists that adopt the two-sub-column format with numerals on the left, *paragraphoi* also separate sections or entries, as, somewhat erratically, in the civic sacrificial calendar (*SEG* LII 48, LVII 64) and, more regularly, in the catalogue of Panathenaic prizes (*IG* II² 2311; *SEG* LIII 192).

irregular manner; interestingly, however, their use seems more consistent in building accounts than in other financial documents.[59]

In the light of these observations, one should look at the layout of earlier building accounts inscribed on stone as a format neither intended in particular to please and honor the gods nor directly derived from accounting documents on perishable materials; instead, these earlier accounts were expressly designed to visually emphasize the elements deemed most conducive to performing their celebratory and commemorative function. This being the case, it becomes easier to explain why different choices were made for other categories of inscribed documents. For instance, the inventories of Athena's treasurers mentioned above (*IG* I³ 291-362), which adopted the continuous-line format with numerals embedded in the text indicating the quantity and weight of the objects, were clearly designed to emphasize aspects other than those chosen for building accounts. The descriptive and detail-oriented flavor of these inscriptions is conspicuous in its predominance: here, the intended message – the opulence and lavishness of the goddess' treasure and the diligence with which the *tamiai* took care of it – was more effectively conveyed by the accumulations of details and information rather than by setting apart numerals and figures.[60]

These considerations reinforce the idea that in later building accounts inscribed on stone the shift from a "list-like format" to a "narrative format" was prompted, as stated above, by a change in the way in which the Athenians decided to celebrate and commemorate their construction projects. This change brought with it a different choice of elements to be emphasized in order to achieve the intended goal, with money and monetary figures giving way to an abundance of details concerning the human and technical resources that made the completion of the projects possible.[61]

Notably, however, the columnar format was not abandoned. The Erechtheum accounts, where entries proceed in a continuous-line format with numerals embedded in the text, are still arranged in columns, the appearance of which is even sharper owing to the quasi-justification of the left and right edges of each column in *IG* I³ 475 and the *stoichedon* pattern in *IG* I³ 476.[62] Even the late-fourth-century

[59] The strong association between *paragraphoi* and the columnar format peculiar to building accounts cannot be conveniently explained by Meyer (2017, 212 n. 17) either.

[60] As Kirk (2021, 127-132) argues, the format of temple inventories is expressly designed to convey "a holistic sense of a large mass of objects", allowing viewers to think of treasures as consisting of individually valuable objects and, at the same time, so abundant as to be potentially uncountable.

[61] Once again, the accounts of the bronze statues of Athena and Hephaestus (*IG* I³ 472) are an interestingly transitional document in which the "narrative" elements coexist with the two-sub-column format with set-apart numerals on the front side and embedded numerals on the left side. Another example of building accounts with embedded numerals, dating from the 420s, is perhaps preserved on the back side of the stele bearing the decree that probably ordered the erection of the statue of Athena Nike (*IG* I³ 64).

[62] For Meyer (2017, 238-239), "the effect is emphatically architectural".

Eleusinian accounts, which are mostly devoted to building expenses, are arranged in two columns (*I.Eleusis* 177), although the continuous-line format within each column, combined with the large width of the columns and the small size of the letters, make the use of this layout a relic of the past completely detached from its original purpose.[63]

The evolution of the way in which the Athenians decided to celebrate and perpetuate the memory of their building achievements on stone – moving away from financial aspects and focusing more on technical and human resources – precipitated a change in the format of building accounts from the last quarter of the fifth century onward. The layout expressly designed to emphasize the elements that best served the original celebratory intent also underwent an evolution, adapting to its changed purpose. Therefore, those visual devices that were typical of lists of items were abandoned, while numerals were embedded in the text, hand in hand with the accumulation of more and more details. Ultimately, by the fourth century, this change led to the near disappearance of this typology of inscriptions from the epigraphic record in favor of more narrative and descriptive documents, such as building specifications, the layout of which does not display any of the characteristics that distinguish building accounts. Nonetheless, the columnar arrangement remained a layout feature inextricably linked to building accounts inscribed on stone. Even when columns were no longer organized as lists of separate entries and had lost their original function, they stood as a visual hallmark that was felt to be irreplaceable for this category of epigraphic documents.

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[63] Note that from l. 426 on, the text of *I.Eleusis* 177, while dealing with expenses from the *aparche*, after the prytany sections are over, abandons the columnar arrangement and runs across the entire width of the stele until the end of the inscription, maintaining a somewhat irregular *stoichedon* pattern.

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Genealogical Writing and Epigraphic Layout: Some Preliminary Remarks

Daniela Marchiandi

1. Genealogical Thinking and the *aristoi*: Miltiades and the Others

Genealogein is a tool to measure time using human generations as unit of measurement, possibly three generations per century, if Herodotus is to be trusted.[1]

Of course, this conception of time on a human scale is not peculiar to the Greek world. Before the priests of Amun at Karnak, Hecataeus of Miletus boasted an ancestry traceable back to an unspecified divine forebear through sixteen generations. In response, his interlocutors showed him a series of three hundred and forty-five statues representing the high priests who had been in office up until then: in practice, an unbroken chain of fathers and sons going back to a much more remote era.[2]

Certainly, the Greeks habitually used *genealogein* to measure the time of heroes: Homeric poems preserve many examples of pedigrees, mostly consisting of *one* line of descent expressed in a list-like style, that is, a father/son sequence without lateral branches, from the origins to the hero's present.[3] Consequently, Greek historians used heroic genealogies to attempt to order the more distant past.[4] For instance, in order to date some ancient bronze tripods in the temple of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes, Herodotus resorts to the genealogies of the heroes who dedicated them.[5]

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[1] Hdt. 2.142.2; cf. Mitchel 1956; Ball 1979; Mosshammer 1979, 105-112; Brehm 2013, 3-39. Except where otherwise indicated, all dates in this chapter are BCE.

[2] Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 300 = *EGM* 4 *ap*. Hdt. 2.143; cf. West 1991; Moyer 2002; Fowler 2013, 661-664; Condilo 2017.

[3] Brulé 2007, 453-478; Varto 2015; Kyriakidis 2021.

[4] I will not be able to explore here the major and controversial issues concerning the relationship between genealogies, heroic and familiar, and the origin of historiography. On this point, see, *inter alia*, Fowler 1996 and 1998; Bertelli 2001; Zunino 2015; Varto 2015; Condilo 2017.

[5] Hdt. 5.59-61; cf. Inglese 2023.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Daniela Marchiandi, *Genealogical Writing and Epigraphic Layout: Some Preliminary Remarks*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.05, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 27-51, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

Genealogein, however, was also a tool to measure the time of men, first of all kings, who claimed their right to rule through their lineage.[6] At the beginning of the 5th century, the genealogies of the Spartan kings Leonidas and Leotychidas were entirely comparable to the pedigrees of heroes, with the crucial difference that they bridged the divide between the mythical and historical periods: through twenty generations, both traced their descent back to Heracles without lateral branches.[7] In the same period, the Macedonian dynasty boasted Heracles as its forefather: if Herodotus is a reliable storyteller, Alexander I was able to recite *impromptu*, before the *Hellenodikai* at Olympia, the names of the six ancestors who separated him from the Heraclid Temenos, thus silencing the malicious tongues who questioned his Greek origins.[8]

Lastly, *genealogein*, was a tool to measure the time of men who were not kings, again bridging the divide between mythical and historical periods, as Hecataeus did for his own lineage.

But how widespread was this kind of time-counting in the practice of historical Greek society? I am referring in particular to that part of Greek society that considered *genea* as an identity value, namely the *aristoi*.[9] It is well known, however, that Greek aristocracies have recently fallen victim to a new sort of revolution,[10] which downplays the importance of genealogical lists as a deep-rooted practice among Greek aristocrats, taking advantage – it must be admitted – of the fact that the evidence is objectively scanty.[11]

The most famous and discussed genealogy from ancient Greece is that of Miltiades the *Oikist*: indeed, it is the sole example of a complete genealogy of a historical individual surviving in literary sources.[12] The passage is by a renowned genealogist,

[6] The landmark study on genealogies in Greek society is Thomas 1989. I will refer to it repeatedly in the following pages.

[7] Hdt. 7.204 and 8.131.2-3; cf. De Vido 2001; Cartledge 2002, 293-298; Varto 2015.

[8] Hdt. 8.137-9 and 5.22; cf. Koulakiotis 2017.

[9] Donlan 1973; Thomas 1989, 155-195; Gotteland 1998; De Vido 2012; Settipani 2017. For an *excursus* on the theme of the *eugeneia* in Greek literature see Henze 2015.

[10] Duplouy 2006, 2015, 2018; Giangiulio 2016. In general, the idea that Greek aristocracies were not closed circles, but were continually renewed over time through the entry of new individuals, who, by virtue of acquired wealth, assumed the *modus vivendi* and status symbols of the *aristoi*, is persuasive and historically plausible. This does not exclude, however, that some families, under special (and essentially random) conditions, may have maintained the status of *aristoi* for a longer time, preserving some memory of their past and perhaps, under specific circumstances, using that memory to distinguish themselves from the "new" aristocrats.

[11] Duplouy 2006, 56-64 and 2015: *genealogein* would have been rarely practiced, preferably by those who wanted to claim ancestry they did not have, thereby legitimizing their claims. At any rate, by pointing out the incomplete and inaccurate nature of the preserved genealogies, Thomas 1989, 157-161, 180-181 facilitated the subsequent radical criticism.

[12] Pherecyd. *FrGrHist* 3 F 2 = F 13 Dolcetti = *EGM* 2 *ap.* Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc.* 2-4 (cf. Piccirilli 1985, 66-76); cf. Thomas 1989, 161-173; Möller 1996; Zaccarini 2017, 267-275. For further bibliography on the historical interpretation of this list see n. 16 below.

Pherecydes, from the first book of his *Histories*, but has come down to us through two intermediaries, the late Hellenistic version by Didymus (1st c.) and the late antique one by Marcellinus (6th? c. CE).[13] This lineage was only one branch among many others in a larger genealogy, but it is impossible to determine who the original forefather was.[14] What matters here is its structure: a linear genealogy referring to the male members of the house and expressed in a list-like style without lateral branches. In effect, what is commonly known as the Philaids' genealogy focuses only on *one* line of descent. Notwithstanding numerous textual problems, this sort of catalogue lists (probably) twelve generations between Philaeus son of Ajax, the eponym of the Philaids, and Miltiades: from a hero to a fully historical individual, whose main exploit is briefly remembered (the colonization of the Chersonese). Aside from the quotation from Pherecydes, Marcellinus also notes that, through Aeacus, and so through three further generations, Philaeus descended from Zeus.

It is very difficult to assess the origin of this genealogy. Rosalind Thomas thought that it was a historiographical product, that is, the work of Pherecydes, who would have drawn the names of some individuals from the memory of the Philaids' family and organized them in an arbitrary chronological sequence to cover the time span between the most distant past and the present.[15] In doing so, the historian would have worked in the service of Cimon, as numerous Cimonian connections in the list show.[16] Alternatively, we should assume that Pherecydes took the entire generational sequence from family memory, already "packaged" in the order we know it. This does not affect the possibly fictitious nature of the list. Simply, the responsibility for the manipulations could be attributed to the family, which would have reshaped its past over time to fit the changing needs of the present.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to say how often Pherecydes, Hellanicus or other historians sensitive to this kind of approach also elaborated genealogies that pertained to the world of men. Many scholars consider Miltiades' genealogy to be an exception. Personally, I suspect that only its intact preservation is exceptional. Indeed, other literary sources occasionally preserve genealogical material ascribed to

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[13] The original narrative context of this passage both in Pherecydean *Histories* and in the work of Didymus is unknown. Likely Didymus quoted Pherecydes *verbatim*, according to the *habitus* he usually adopted with earlier authors: Harding 2006. To Marcellinus, on the other hand, this passage would have served to trace the origins of Thucydides back to Ajax; therefore, it cannot be ruled out that he omitted parts of Didymus' text.

[14] Likely that of Asopus, since Marcellinus says that Hellanicus dealt with the same matter in his *Asopis*. Not by chance, the passage is also recorded in the *corpus* of the fragments of Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 22 = F 66 Ambaglio = *EGM* 22; cf. Varto 2015, 138; Condilo 2017, 240.

[15] Thomas 1989, 161-173; cf. 181-186. The hypothesis has been almost unanimously accepted.

[16] Cimonian connections have been explored by a number of scholars in addition to Thomas 1989, 161-173. See e.g.: Davies 1971, 294-295; Möller 1996; Dolcetti 2001 and 2004, 9-16; Duplouy 2006, 58-64; Dolcetti 2011; Di Cesare 2015, 202-205; Varto 2015, 139-140; Zaccarini 2017, 272-274.

historical individuals. I already mentioned the case of Hecataeus. No name from the sixteen previous generations is given,[17] but it is likely that, if questioned by the Egyptian priests, Hecataeus would have been able to present a list, as Alexander was at the Olympic Games. Usually, instead, what we have are relicts of genealogies, preserved not in the works of genealogists, but in narrative sources that would seem to draw their information directly from family memory.

Like the Philaids, for instance, the paternal branch of the family of Alcibiades traced its descent back to a son of Ajax, the brother of Philaeus, Eurysaces, and from him, through three generation, to Zeus: Alcibiades himself remarks on this in a Platonic dialogue where he is represented as talking to Socrates.[18] A passage from the court speech Isocrates wrote for the son of Alcibiades, Alcibiades IV, shows that the family kept a memory also of the most recent generations, in particular of the alleged exploits of Alcibiades I, who is said to have collaborated with Clisthenes in the expulsion of the tyrants and the establishment of democracy.[19] It is noteworthy that a substantial data gap corresponds to the period between Eurysaces and Alcibiades I. This is more or less the same gap covered, in the case of the Philaids, by the twelve generations which, according to Pherecydes, separate Philaeus from Miltiades the *Oikist*, who lived at the time of Pisistratus, namely in the generation before that of Alcibiades I. This case is a good illustration of the practice that Thomas calls "telescoping", i.e., the tendency to directly connect the present and the near past with the more distant time of family origins, leaving out the middle links in the chain.[20] A number of other examples, again from narrative sources, shows that this peculiar way of looking at the past was widespread.

A well-known example is the genealogy of Critias (and therefore of Plato's family) evoked in the Platonic dialogue *Timaeus*.[21] Also Lysis from Aixone, the eponym of another Platonic dialogue and member of a family of *hippotrophoi*, boasted a genealogy going back to Zeus, which Plato presents as common knowledge.[22] To conclude with Athens, in a famous passage from the *Theaetetus*, Plato (who had a true pedigree, as just noted) testifies in a mocking tone that the Athenians loved to boast about their long genealogies, up to twenty-five generations, in order to reach a hero, preferably Heracles (certainly because of his many peregrinations in

[17] Elsewhere Herodotus mentions the name of his father Hegesander: Hdt. 5.125 e 6.137.1.

[18] Pl. *Alc.* (1) 121a; cf. Plu. *Alc.* 1.1. Note that Plato's Alcibiades was making a comparison between his own genealogy and those of the Spartan and Persian kings. On the tradition concerning the two sons of Ajax see Dolcetti 2011.

[19] Isoc. 16.25-27; cf. Thomas 1989, 116-117; Steinbock 2013, 74.

[20] Thomas 1989, 157-158 and 2001.

[21] Pl. *Ti.* 20d-21b; cf. Davies 1971, 324-326; Thomas 1989, 170.

[22] Pl. *Ly.* 205c-d. Marchiandi 2019 and 2022.

the human world).[23] There is no doubt that a part, at least, of the Athenian society was pedigree-addicted!

Leaving Athens aside, the praise poetry of Pindar shows a number of historical individuals who connected themselves to mythical ancestors through a variable number of generations.[24] Again, these genealogies are not complete. Seemingly, Pindar selected them according to a strictly context-dependent criterion: only those ancestors who achieved a victory in the past are remembered, including, if necessary, ancestors on the maternal side. Significantly, these literary lists are reflected in victory monuments erected in panhellenic sanctuaries, whose inscribed dedications sometimes mention a selected ancestry of the victor.[25] In one case in particular, an exceptional victory monument at Delphi, that of the Thessalian Daochos, shows a sort of 3D, all-human genealogy.[26]

To sum up, I wonder whether the incomplete nature of most of the surviving pedigrees can only be explained by assuming that all the missing generations were actually forgotten. In particular, how much does the source from which we draw the information matter? We mentioned only one genealogist (Pherecydes) against many narrative sources. Certainly, Pindar made a context-oriented selection. Is it possible that the patchy, incomplete genealogies we have were perceived as sufficient and absolutely suitable to the narrative contexts in which they were evoked? It is unlikely that someone – let us take Alcibiades, who notoriously loved to publicly mention his lineage[27] – would remember the whole list of his ancestors in sequence, included more obscure figures.[28] Could we rule out, however, that he would be able to produce such a list if asked?

The same question applies to a certain Agathon, son of Echephylos from Zacynthus, otherwise unknown. In the late 4th/early 3rd century, on a bronze plaque dedicated to Zeus at Dodona, he claimed that his ancestors had been *proxenoi* of the Molossians for thirty generations, precisely since the Trojan Cassandra, who was the first priestess at Dodona according to the Molossian tradition.[29] Is this a totally

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[23] Pl. *Tht.* 174e-175a; cf. Thomas 1989, 174-175; Gotteland 1998, 379.

[24] E.g., Pi. *O.* 2.35-48; *O.* 6.24-25 and 28-73; *O.* 7.20-38 and 92-94; *P.* 4.247-262; *N.* 11.33-37; *I.* 3.13-17b.

[25] For the epigraphic class in general see now Nobili 2016. For the development of the victory monuments: Smith 2007.

[26] Day 2019.

[27] Harris 2016.

[28] The case of Hippias of Elis, who was able to remember by heart a list of fifty names after hearing it only once, was exceptional: *FGrHist* 6 T 3 *ap.* Pl. *Hp.Ma.* 285d. As already mentioned, however, the Macedonian king Alexander was able to recite by heart the list of his ancestors all the way back to Perdicca I, who had probably reigned two centuries earlier: Hdt. 5.22. On recitative and performative aspects of name lists, albeit not genealogical, see Petrovic 2016.

[29] Athens, NM 803 = *IG* IX.1^2 1750; cf. *SEG* L 543. Fraser 2003 suggested that the family of Agathon traced his ancestry back to either Helenus or Agathon, brothers of Cassandra, since Pausanias (2.16.7) excludes that there were any surviving offspring of Cassandra.

fictitious number, possibly arrived at by calculating, in generations, the time that separated Agathon from the Trojan War? Or would Agathon, if asked, have been able to provide a list?[30] I believe that both Alcibiades and Agathon, just as Hecateus, would have been able to do it. My conviction stems in particular from a tiny, but not irrelevant dossier of genealogical funerary stelae, which may point the right way in this difficult matter.

2. Genealogical Writing: Ancestry and Layout on Funerary Monuments (Heropythos and the Others)

The gravestone of a Chian named Heropythos is often compared to the case of Miltiades the *Oikist* as the sole epigraphical example of the complete genealogy of a historical individual.[31] However, scholars forget – too easily in my view – that, unlike Miltiades and like the Agathon we just mentioned, Heropythos is otherwise unknown.

The stele dates to the early or middle 5th century, according to the different scholarly opinions, and consists of a list of ancestors similar to the one ascribed to Pherecydes (Fig. 9; Appendix, no. 1). Since this is a funerary monument, however, the pedigree is preceded by the name of its owner, the deceased, which is expressed in the genitive of possession, according to a very common usage: "(*sema* or *mnema*) of Heropythos". A list of fourteen ancestors follows: the format is the genitive patronymic introduced by the article, just like in Miltiades' genealogy. In this case too, there are no lateral branches.

Visual analysis clearly indicates the *mise en page* as the most characteristic aspect. The layout is carefully conceived to communicate the genealogical message in the most effective way, with particular emphasis on the length of the list. After each name the stonecutter changes line, although sometimes he would have space available on the right-hand side of the slab, so that the names result perfectly one below the other, in a column. The regular and very controlled *stoichedon* arrangement strengthens the desired result: the inscription is built on a grid system that deploys

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[30] Note that *proxenia*, like *xenia*, founded its stability on the continuity over time of the relationship between the members of the families involved, as proxeny decrees clearly show, often mentioning hereditary transmission of the office; so *proxenia* was part of the political capital of a family and, consequently, one of the matters of which family memory held firm remembrance: Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 228-234; Sato 2015; Mack 2015, 33, 164; Harris 2016 (with a list of the Athenian proxeny decrees mentioning the services of the honoree's ancestors).

[31] *SGDI* 5656; cf. Wade-Gery 1952, 8-9; Forrest 1963, 56 with n. 10; Miller 1970, 153-155; Thomas 1989, 156, 159, 169, 190-191; Chaniotis 1987, 43; *LSAG*^{2} 338, 344 no. 47; Duplouy 2006, 60; Mac Sweeney 2013, 82-83; Varto 2015, 141-145; Delattre 2021, 83. Note that the *SGDI* transcription is not correct because it leaves out a generation; this error, already marked by Wade-Gery, still occurs occasionally in more recent scholarship. A new edition of the gravestone is about to be published in *IG* XII.6.3.

its letters directly below each other, in strict vertical alignment, according to the style Patricia Butz defined as "rectified" *stoichedon*.[32] Heropythos' stele, therefore, is a clear example of how modes of display, layout in particular, may affect the way in which an inscription conveys its message even visually: the arrangement emphasizes the direct filial relationship between one individual and the next.

Using Herodotus' unit of measurement, fourteen generations make it possible to go back approximately to the 9th century, when the beginnings of Greek colonization on Chios have been established on an archaeological basis. Since our knowledge of remote Chian history is far from complete, we are unable to assess whether Heropythos' forefather, a certain Kyprios, was a historical individual or a hero related to the island's foundation history or mythography.[33] Without going into details, scholars notoriously recognize ethnic mixture as characteristic of Chian origins.[34] Although no Cypriots are mentioned by the sources, a Cyprian *oikistes* for a subdivision of the *polis* or a small local community cannot be excluded, considering the widespread presence of Phoenicians in the early archaic Aegean. Moreover, it has already been noted that, unlike all other names in the list, Eldios, the name of Kyprios' son, is not Greek, but probably Semitic.[35] Unfortunately, the context in which the stele was set up is unknown,[36] as well as the reasons that induced Heropythos' family to erect such a memorial. It might be worth investigating a possible connection with the political struggles that raged on the island during the 5th century, between the pro-Athenian democrats and the oligarchs: it is clear that for the latter, in particular, displaying such a genealogy could have had a strong legitimizing value.[37]

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[32] Butz 2010, 115–116 for the definition adopted here. Butz 2012 considers the stele of Heropythos as an outstanding example of "rectified" *stoichedon*.

[33] Unlike some scholars (e.g. West 1997, 620; Delattre 2021, 83), I tend to rule out that Kyprios is the ethnic of Eldios, the previously mentioned ancestor. In terms of layout, it would be an anomaly in the sequence of Heropythos' lineage: in fact, it would be the only case of an ethnic being mentioned, moreover in the following line. Clearly, Kyprios is a personal name, although it derives from an ethnic.

[34] The Chian historian Ion, in his *Founding of Chios*, referred that at first, before the arrival of the Greek king Amphiklos from north Euboea, the island was occupied by mixed settlers, Cretans, Carians and Abantes: *FGrHist* 392 F 1 = *EGM* 1 = F 1 Federico *ap*. Paus. 7.4.8–9. According to a concurrent tradition, Chios was founded by Pelasgians: Strabo 13.3.3. At any rate, fluidity and change are recognized by scholars as characteristic of early Chian history: Mac Sweeney 2013, 83–4; Thomas 2019, 207–13.

[35] West 1997, 620.

[36] The stele was found by a church near the village of Vounos, certainly not *in situ*: Paspatis 1888, 401–402 no. 1. We do not know whether it originally decorated a family burial plot or an isolated tomb.

[37] The 5th century is a rather troubled period in the history of Chios. On the topic see Blanchard 2007, who cites Heropythos' stele, but does not consider it in a political perspective. Mac Sweeney 2013, 82–84, on the other hand, is tempted by such an interpretation but does not elaborate on it. Duploy 2006, 60 thinks that the lineage display was functional to the political career of Heropythos' probable son Mikkylos, whose name with the patronymic is attested in a Chian mutilated list of names (*SGDI* 5657).

Regarding the author of Heropythos' genealogy, the list could be the historiographical product of a local Pherecydes or, more probably in my view, an extract from the family's memories, preserved through generations and delivered to the stonecutter to be inscribed on the stone, so that the complete ancestry of the deceased was displayed in front of his fellow citizens.

How widespread were funerary stelae like that of Heropythos? Unfortunately, the family tomb of the Philaids, which Herodotus placed in Koile, is unknown.[38] There Miltiades the Younger, the future victor of Marathon, buried his father Cimon *Koalemos*. Cimon, his half-sister Elpinice and the historian Thucydides occupied the same tomb.[39] Recently, Lin Foxhall suggested that this tomb and its funerary monuments contributed to the coagulation of the Philaid genealogical memory, which flowed into Pherecydes' list.[40] However, as seen above, Pherecydes preserves the genealogy of Miltiades the *Oikist*, not that of the Philaids' family. Miltiades died and was buried in Chersonese.[41] It is there that a stele similar to that of Heropythos should possibly be sought, if one ever existed.

A Samian monument, however, contemporary to the alleged gravestone of Miltiades, could help to remove Heropythos' stele from its apparent isolation.[42] In the North Necropolis of Samos a tumulus was erected in the third quarter of the 6th century for an otherwise unknown Megas. The monumentality of the ensemble is stressed by the (unusual) presence of a *kouros* and a column, probably surmounted by a bronze vessel, the prize for an athletic victory.[43] Also belonging to the monument is a massive base inscribed with a genealogical list (Appendix, no. 2).[44] The name of the deceased, in the nominative, is followed by the name of four ancestors in the genitive. The layout appears less effective if compared to Heropythos' stele, perhaps depending on the shape of the medium. Four generations form a relatively brief pedigree; it is nevertheless sufficient to trace the descent of Megas to the first half/middle of the 7th century, when, according to the tradition, Samos was governed by the so-called *Geomoroi*, an elite of landowners. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the third quarter of the 6th century, when the tumulus was erected, is the period when Polycrates

[38] Hdt. 6.103.3, cf. Zaccarini 2017, 283-284. Identification proposals remain entirely speculative: see Monaco 2011.

[39] Plu. *Cim.* 4.3; Paus. 1.23.9; Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc.* 17.

[40] Foxhall 2012, 190-192. In general, according to Thomas 1989, 101, 105, tombs had a marginal role in transmitting family memory; but cf., for a partial change of mind, Thomas 2007, who however does not thoroughly explore the topic. On the tombs as *lieux de mémoire* see now Harris 2019, 93-99.

[41] Hdt. 6.38.1.

[42] Mariaud 2015.

[43] The comparison with the tomb of the *olympionikes* Megacles at the Athenian Kerameikos is illuminating: see Knigge 2006; cf. Marchiandi 2012, 231-233.

[44] *IG* XII.6 626, where K. Hallof significantly improved the previous reading of the text.

succeeded in taking control of the island: contrasts between the tyrant and the old Samian aristocracies are well known and re-exploded after his death.[45]

One last funerary stele, much more recent, is similar in form as well as in purpose to Heropythos' stele. I am referring to an impressive gravestone belonging to a monumental family tomb erected in the Southern Necropolis of Cyrene and dating from the 2nd century (Fig. 10; Appendix, no. 3).[46] The shape of the letters, however, indicates for the stele a later date, variously placed between the 1st and early 2nd century CE, when the tomb was probably reoccupied by a descendant of the family that originally owned it.[47] The deceased is a certain Klearchos son of Klearchos, an individual otherwise unknown who traced his descent, through seven generations, to a certain Aladdeir son of Battos. Forefather onomastics show a blatant attempt to combine local Lybian ethnicity with the Greek colonists, in particular attaching the family ancestry to the founder of the city, the Therean Battus, and to his dynasty.[48] Using Herodotus' unit of measurement (three generations per century), Aladdeir, the eighth ancestor, should have lived more or less in the 2nd century, that is, probably not by coincidence, the time when the tomb was built. If the later chronology of the stele were to be accepted, it would be tempting to link such a genealogical display to the re-foundation of Cyrene by the Emperor Hadrian after the Jewish revolt at the end of Trajan's reign (115/16-117 CE).[49] As recently pointed out, this was a

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[45] See e.g. Hdt. 3.142.5-143.1 on the attack led by Telesarchos, a member of the ancient Samian aristocracy, against Maiandrios, a member of the tyrant's close circle: *eugeneia* is the argument used; cf. Roisman 1985; in general, for Polycratean Samos, Carty 2015. Megas, therefore, presents himself as a sort of Samian Eupatrides.

[46] *SGDI* 4859 = *IR Cyrenaica 2020* C.515; cf. Masson 1974, 1975; Chaniotis 1987, 43-44; Chevrollier 2016, 52-53. This is tomb S4, on which see Beschi 1969-1970, 201-203; Cherstich 2006a, 103-120; Thorn and Thorn 2009, 206-207. Two bases of female statues found *in situ* and dating from the 2nd or 1st c. (lettering) belonged probably to the original, Hellenistic phase of the monument: *IG Cyrenaica*² 007900 and *IG Cyrenaica*² 008400. In general, for the Southern Necropolis see Cherstich 2006b and 2008.

[47] Roueché (*IR Cyrenaica 2020* C.515) proposes "first to second centuries CE". Rosamilia, however, points out to me the possibility that the stele dates from the full 1st c. CE (Neronian or at most Flavian age) on the basis of close paleographic parallels with some inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo; cf. Rosamilia 2021, 138. Other earlier or later scenarios appear far less likely: 3rd c. (Chaniotis 1987, 43); 2nd-3rd c. CE (Masson 1974). For the reoccupation of pre-existing funerary monuments in Cyrenean cemeteries see Cherstich *et al.* 2018; for some similar Athenian cases, cf. Marchiandi 2011, 37.

[48] It is difficult to determine the identity of the Battos who figures as the forefather of Klearchos' family. Onomastics evidently link him to the *oikist* and first Cyrenaean king, the namesake Battus I. As is well known, the last king of the Battiadae dynasty to bear the founder's name was Battus IV, who reigned in the early 5th century. Some have looked to him, but the calculation of generations does not allow us to go back that far. Perhaps it is not necessary to look for a Battos who was king. Moreover, it should be considered that in the 5th century memories connected with the Cyrenean royal house underwent significant reworking: see Giangiulio 2001.

[49] On the *tumultus judaicus* and its strong impact on the city's monuments see Chevrollier 2019.

moment of systematic reappraisal of the city's history in an antiquarian key.[50] In this context, it is likely that an individual who boasted Klearchos' lineage claimed a role.

Once more, this genealogical inscription emphasizes a sole, patrilinear line of descent. The format, however, is original and perhaps conceived specifically to give the visual impression of a longer lineage. Instead of the usual formula constituted by a personal name followed by a sequence of patronymics (A son of B, of C, of D and so on), the list repeats the nexus personal name/patronymic (A son of B, B son of C, C son of D and so on) at each generation. As in Heropythos' gravestone, layout contributes significantly to the final result: letters are less regular, but the search for vertical alignments between *stoichoi* is evident.

To conclude, genealogical gravestones are not a widespread phenomenon, but, significantly, the few known specimens date from crucial moments in respective local histories, delicate turning points where one's ancestry could become a decisive argument in the political arena. The fact that individuals who were otherwise unknown – Heropythos, Megas, Klearchos – were able to display more or less long lineages when needed clearly shows that the case of Miltiades is not exceptional and cannot be dismissed *tout court* as a historiographical product invented by historiographical professionals. Perhaps we should look with different eyes at the shreds of genealogies of otherwise well-known individuals occasionally evoked in narrative contexts (Alcibiades, Critias, Lysis of Aixone and so on). What if they were extracts, selected on context-demand, of complete genealogies preserved in family memorial heritages? In short, I argue that the leading role in the production of this genre of intentional history should be given back to families, although many aspects are destined to remain elusive, starting with the way in which memory was preserved through the many generations and branches of a family.[51] "Domestic" production in no way implies that the final products were more truthful than the works of professional historians: I believe it was quite the opposite.[52]

Certainly, on the rare occasions when genealogical lists were inscribed on gravestones and displayed in public, their format and layout were carefully planned in order to convey the significance of the ancestry line: long sequences of names arranged in columns emphasize the antiquity of the lineage and the direct filial relationships linking the deceased to a (presumably) illustrious forefather, without lateral branches. However, it was in classical Attica that the phenomenon of genealogical gravestones assumed unprecedented proportions as well as quite peculiar forms.

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[50] Giudice 2015; Rosamilia 2021.

[51] The existence of familiar forms of "archiving" must be further investigated. They are clearly hinted at by the preservation of copies of honorific/citizenship/*proxenia* decrees even long after they were issued: Mack 2015, 108-109; Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 25 with n. 65.

[52] It is well known that family traditions are intrinsically prone to distorting reality: Thomas 1989, *passim*; Steinbock 2013, 73-75.

3. Genealogical Writing: Dynasty and Layout on the Athenian Family-Tree Stelae (Meidon and the Many Others)

Notoriously, from the late 5th century onwards, radical changes occurred in Athenian funerary practices in general.[53] After a gap in the documentation lasting approximately fifty years, between the disappearance of grave markers from Attic cemeteries at the end of the Archaic Age and their reappearance during the Peloponnesian War (or a little earlier), the focus seems to dramatically shift from the individual to the family, in all its possible age and gender alternatives. Children, young people, adults and old people, both males and females, all appear on funerary monuments in variable numbers and the deceased is rarely depicted alone (hence the difficulty in recognizing him/her). Family tombs, mainly in the form of monumental precincts, the so-called *periboloi*, gradually take over the funerary landscape, both in the *asty* and in the *chora*: 4th-century *periboloi* numbers are impressive and continue to grow thanks to new discoveries.[54] It is in this context, probably in the early 4th century, that a new genre of genealogical stele was invented.

The genealogical gravestones described above show a mono-linear and ascending (or ancestral) approach to the lineage, from the present to the more distant past, going back from son to father without lateral branches. In contrast, Athenian classical stelae reverse the perspective: the approach is pluri-linear, including collateral branches, and descending (prospective), from a forefather to a variable number of descendants (with this number obviously depending on luck and fate). Therefore, we can rightly define them as "family-tree stelae", although the graphic representation adopted is not a tree but a list, a format particularly congenial to the Greek catalogue mentality, as is well known.[55]

It is a radical change: the focus shifts from *engonoi* to *progonoi*, from ancestry to dynasty.[56] Whereas the aim of genealogical stelae was to display an existing genealogy (or one presented as such), that of Athenian family-tree stelae is to create a new genealogy, mostly showing it in the making by progressively adding the names of the most recently deceased. Nonetheless, genealogical thinking remains as an element of strong continuity between the two typologies.

The main difference, however, lies in the numbers. Although not so many, family-tree gravestones are much more numerous than genealogical stelae.[57] They at-

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[53] For a *status quaestionis* with reference to the extensive literature on the topic see Marchiandi 2011, 25-29 and De Vido and Marchiandi 2023.

[54] Closterman 2007; Marchiandi 2011; Breder 2013; Closterman 2013.

[55] Marchiandi 2011, 53; Karila-Cohen 2017. On the lists in general see now Kirk 2021 and Laemmle *et al.* 2021.

[56] Duplouy 2015 appropriately highlights the difference between "genealogical behavior" and "dynastic behavior" in gentilician strategies.

[57] The *corpus* awaits to be precisely established, but is not as scanty as Humphreys believed (1980 and 2018, 361-382). In particular, the new discoveries at Rhamnus have significantly changed the pic-

test to an unprecedented pervasiveness of the genealogical attitude in 4th-century Athens. The impressive spread of family tombs is a blatant expression of the same mood. Since I investigated elsewhere the historical reasons for this phenomenon, which emerges clearly in several areas of the life and culture of classical Athens, I will not dwell further on this aspect of the topic.[58]

Compared to linear catalogues on genealogical stelae, where the strict father/son sequence left no room for ambiguity, the representation of collateral branches posed a new problem for stonecutters, since the general scheme did not evolve into a new form of graphic representation, but remained as a list, as noted above. Thus, layout strategies needed to be rethought.

A gravestone at the National Museum of Athens, dating from the late 5th century, shows the essence of the problem (Fig. 11; Appendix, no. 4).[59] The medium is not a plain slab, but the moldings of the entablature of a figured *naiskos*, where, apparently, there was the compelling need to inscribe the names of two successive generations of a family over time (a father, Aristeas, two sons, Aristonymos and Aristomachos, plus a woman, Timariste).[60] The hands of (two, possibly three) different stonecutters and a *rasura* at l. 2 testify to the progressive remodeling of the inscription, but the final outcome is infelicitous: the names do not have the desired centrality in the overall economy of the monument, and the family genealogy is not entirely clear. We note the attempt to communicate to the observer the succession of generations according to the usual layout strategy, that is, by inscribing the sons' names under that of the father, one line for each in a column, reserving the leading place on the lintel for the father. The insertion of the woman's name in a resulting space, between the father's name and the sons' names, however, makes it difficult to identify her familiar role: onomastics shows that she was acquired by marriage, but whose wife was she?

After experiences like this, it must have quickly become evident that the most suitable medium for this kind of inscription was a smooth, unadorned slab, possibly a high slab, in the hope, certainly shared by every forefather, that the lineage would be long and numerous.

The stele of the family of the *mantis* Meidon of Myrrhinus shows that such a hope could sometimes come true (Fig. 12; Appendix, no. 5).[61] It is one of the most

ture: Marchiandi 2011, 35-36. Moreover, one must also take into account the so-called "aborted" family-tree stelae, on which see below, 39-40.

[58] This is the focus of Marchiandi 2011.

[59] Athens, National Museum Γ 712 = *IG* I^3 1283bis = Clairmont, *CAT* 3.075 (ca. 430-390).

[60] Note that the text is full of inconsistencies: Timariste's name is expressed, quite abnormally, in the accusative case (Τιμαρίστην *pro* Τιμαρίστη); the patronymic of Aristeas' sons is spelled differently although hardly another person is meant (Ἀρισταίου *vs* Ἀριστέου).

[61] Brauron Museum BE 1 = *ΣΕΜΑ* 453 (late 5th-early 4th c.); cf. Mastrokostas 1966; Hildebrandt 2006, 282 no. 125. For the *peribolos* see Marchiandi 2011, 526-531 Cat: Myrr.10. Humphreys (1980,

famous and "crowded" example in the series: on a slab more than 2.5 m high, eleven names are recorded, males and females, belonging to five generations and inscribed by at least six different hands. The first hand engraved three names at the top of the slab above the *rosae*, in a prestigious position usually reserved for the family forefather: the names of Meidon and his son Meidoteles (I) with his wife; below the *rosae*, the names of the grandson Kalliteles (I) and his wife are inscribed by a second hand. At the bottom of the slab, a third hand inscribed an epigram celebrating the mantic powers of Kalliteles, the one who probably had the stele erected. Later, on the smooth surface between the second group and the epigram, three different hands added another six names divided into three clusters, according to a criterion that is not easy to interpret. The final outcome is a sort of column: a sequence of names carefully lined up one below the other, in which stonecutters strove to make use of the full width of the slab (c. 0.5 m), adjusting the letter spacing accordingly. The layout strategy emphasizes the sequence of generations, as in the genealogical stelae, but in the reverse, descending direction. The precise order in which the names were inscribed is unknown, but it certainly does not reflect the order in which Meidon's descendants died.

In this kind of stele, in fact, the ordering criterion was generational, as we said above, starting from the forefather and moving down following the order father/sons/grandsons and so on. Even within each generation, the names of any siblings were usually written in a sequence that reflected that of their births (firstborn, secondborn, thirdborn and so on). Occasionally, the age criterion may intertwine with the gender criterion. Women, when mentioned as in the stele of Meidon, were recorded after their husbands, whether they were women acquired by marriage or women of the family who married family members, according to the well-known rules of Greek marriage practice.[62] In the rare cases where unmarried women of the family appeared, as we shall see in the Euphranor's stele, their names were recorded in generational order, on a par with the names of their male siblings.

A less crowded stele, belonging to the category of the "aborted" family-tree stelae, may contribute to better illustrate the point. By "aborted", I mean those gravestones that were originally conceived as family-tree stelae to be filled in over time, but remained empty due to the premature extinction of the family that owned the

115-116; cf. 2018, 358) considers this stele exceptional as belonging to a family of *manteis*. Certainly, such a profession was traditionally transmitted from father to son, as some well-known lineages of seers show (see e.g. Flower 2008 on the Iamidae). *Techne* may have contributed to Meidon family's particular interest in preserving a firm memory of its past, but recent data show that families not consisting of diviners (at least as far as we know) also had the same ambition; cf. Marchiandi 2011, 35-46.

[62] This is probably the case with the last woman mentioned on the stele at issue, Mnesiptoleme (II) daughter of Meidoteles (II), recorded not after her brother Kalliteles (II), but after her cousin on the paternal side Kallimedes, to whom she was probably married. For the family stemma see Marchiandi 2011, 529 and 607 (Σ 37).

tomb, a possibility obviously unforeseen and unforeseeable, but not so remote in classical Attica.[63]

The case in question comes from a famous *peribolos* of the Athenian Kerameikos, that belonging to Agathon and Sosikrates, two brothers from Heraclea Pontica probably living in Attica as metics.[64] Their family-tree stele is almost 3.5 m high and was erected at the center of the facade (Appendix, no. 6).[65] At the top of the slab, the names of the brothers were engraved one below the other at the same time by a single hand, probably as co-founders of the *peribolos*. The statement of their full onomastics is clearly intended to avoid any ambiguity regarding the family relationship between the deceased. At any rate, below the brothers' names, the slab is tragically smooth. It is no coincidence that excavations inside the *peribolos* clearly show that neither of them had any surviving offspring.[66]

The stele of Agathon and Sosikrates shows another possible layout strategy adopted to communicate the internal order of the family: in spite of the apparent equality between the two brothers, the greater spacing of the letters of Agathon's name, in the first line, shows unequivocally that he was the firstborn. So, in addition to the order of the entries, other strategies pertaining to the materiality of the writing may contribute to differentiating the firstborn.

It is worth noting that the age criterion was already the strategy adopted in the so-called stele on the tyrants' *adikia*, a bronze stele known only thanks to a mention by Thucydides, set up by the Athenian *demos* on the Acropolis, probably in the 480s, to prevent the crimes committed by the tyrants from being forgotten.[67] Thucydides, in fact, in order to prove that Hippias was the firstborn, cites as evidence the fact that his name was inscribed immediately under the name of his father Pisistratus and before that of his brother Hipparchus. He adds that seniority was confirmed by mention of the names of the five sons of Hippias with no name of sons by Hipparchus or Thessalus, who were younger and not yet married. Therefore, this sort of "memory stele" seems to be the prototype of classical family-tree stelae, although it may be ascribed to the different category of defamatory writing.

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[63] Demographic studies have shown that in classical Attica the extinction of *oikoi* was not a remote phenomenon. Concerns frequently expressed in courtroom speeches about the risk of *eremia*, and the consequent spread of the two main strategies aimed at averting it by legal means, i.e. adoption and epiclerate, seem to me indicative in this regard; on this point see Marchiandi 2011, 35-46 with further literature. Therefore, "aborted" family-tree stelae must be taken into account when establishing the *corpus* of attestations, contrary to current opinion. From this perspective, the *corpus*' size increases considerably.

[64] For the *peribolos* see Marchiandi 2011, 324-326 Cat: W.Ker.vt.15 and now Guicharrousse 2019.

[65] Athens, Kerameikos Museum = *IG* II^2 8551 (second half of the 4th c.); cf. Hildebrandt 2006, 305-306 no. 170.

[66] Marchiandi 2011, 79-82, part. 82; 325 (with a review of the excavations carried out by A. Brückner in 1910).

[67] Th. 6.55.1-2; cf. Lavelle 1983, 81-120.

The stele on the tyrants' *adikia* was simultaneously inscribed, but, in the case of family-tree stelae, as I have already pointed out, it is very difficult, if not unrealistic and over-ambitious, to establish the order in which the names were inscribed. In fact, the shape of letters is not a safe criterion if the deaths are separated by only a few years.

This is evident for a stele coming from the *peribolos* of the Rhamnusian Euphranor. It is a canonical family-tree stele: a slab about 1.75 m high that was filled in over time with the names of seven deceased individuals belonging to three generations (Fig. 13; Appendix, no. 7).[68] Below the forefather, there are two sons, Euphron and Euthyphron, and a grandson, Archedemos. There would have been room for other names which, however, were never inscribed, probably because of the lack of offspring.[69] In addition to the male members, the family of Euphranor also chose to record the names of women acquired by marriage, perhaps because they belonged to illustrious Rhamnusian families: Habrylla and Phainarete are included in the sequence. Their onomastics does not need to be complete because the position of their names, after those of their respective husbands, left no room for ambiguity. Separately, a daughter of Euphranor is recorded, who probably died unmarried. Her onomastics, instead, is complete (personal name, patronymic and the demotic of her father), to avoid any ambiguity.

Individual entries show seven hands for seven deceased: therefore, names were added on the stele after the burials. It is impossible to establish the order, but visual analysis gives the impression that there was some planning in the distribution of the epigraphic surface to the various family clusters. This planning seems to have been respected, even at the cost of squeezing in some letters: Habrylla's name, for instance, looks like it was inserted into a space that is too small, between her husband's name and that of her brother-in-law. It is difficult to go any further, since the spaces have all been filled in.

This brings us to a further problem that stonecutters had to face when engraving this genre of genealogical inscription. It is clear that these gravestones were intend-

[68] Rhamnus Museum 222 + 205 = *ΣEMA* 820 + 821 (second half of the 4th c.); cf. Hildebrandt 2006, 360 no. 304. For the *peribolos* see Marchiandi 2011, 467–469 Cat: Rhamn.9.

[69] Family stemma shows that after Archedemos the lineage becomes more complicated with an *epikleros* and a grandson, a second Archedemos. The fact that Archedemos (II) bore the name of his maternal grandfather and especially that he was buried, quite anomalously, in the *peribolos* of his maternal family would seem to indicate his adoption into the *oikos* of his maternal grandfather Archedemos (I), who does not appear to have had any male offspring, according to a practice well attested by courtroom speeches. That Archedemos (II) retained the patronymic of his biological father Demosthenes, however, seems to argue against adoption, as does the fact that he was commemorated on an individual *kioniskos* (*ΣEMA* 813) and his name was never inscribed on the family-tree stele; cf. Marchiandi 2011, 468–469 and 595 (Σ 25). In general, the case well exemplifies the difficulty of reconstructing family microhistory: on this point see Marchiandi 2011, 35–46.

ed to communicate to the readers the hierarchical order of the family, both between generations and within each generation, but it is equally clear that people did not die in that order: a son might die before his father, a secondborn brother before the firstborn, a wife before the husband, and so on. The issue is not insignificant. Evidently, there could only be one solution: an appropriate division of space had to be provided, possibly reserving vacats for individuals who were still alive. It was a sort of provisional layout.

The choice of this strategy is confirmed by at least two stelae that preserve such vacats. The first one is the imposing stele of Phormos of Kydantidai, a colossus exceeding 4 m, from an unlocated *peribolos* in the Kerameikos (Appendix, no. 8).[70] It records seven names, males and females, belonging to only two generations and separated by two large vacats. The first sequence mentions the founding couple (Phormos and Stratonike) and their two sons. It is followed by a vacat ca. 1 m high, then by the name of a woman acquired by marriage, whose familiar identity is uncertain, then by another vacat almost 0.5 m high. Finally, we have the names of the wives of the two sons of Phormos, inscribed in the same order as the names of their respective husbands. Their redundant onomastics – constituted not only by their father's full name but also by their husband's full name – is justified in the light of the fact that their names were inscribed at some distance from those of their husbands. Who was the first vacat intended for? Perhaps for the male grandchildren of Phormos. But, in spite of the grandfather's hope, apparently there was no third generation.

The second example is even more telling. The small stele of Themyllos of Oe, from an unlocated *peribolos* in the deme of origin, records seven names, males and females, belonging to four generations and forming one bloodline without lateral branches (Fig. 14; Appendix, no. 9).[71] Each generation is made up of a married couple and all the names were inscribed at the same time by the same hand. In the last couple a one-line vacat was intended for the name of Archestrate's husband, who evidently survived his wife and was the one who erected the stele. This slab may have been intended to replace an older one, or perhaps the *peribolos* had lacked one until then: we cannot know. At any rate, the anonymous husband of Archestrate (an ambitious man judging by the size of the space left blank below the inscribed list) does not seem to have had any offspring and, perhaps for this reason, his name was never inscribed on the stele.

To conclude, both genealogical stelae and Attic family-tree stelae, albeit with the significant differences I have attempted to highlight, offer excellent examples of

[70] Athens, Kerameikos Museum I 217 = *IG* II^2 6609 (second half of the 4th c.); cf. Hildebrandt 2006, 369-370 no. 328. For the *peribolos* see Marchiandi 2011, 332-334 Cat: [W.Ker.1].

[71] Athens, Goulandris Museum 553 = *ΣΕΜΑ* 469 (first half of the 4th c.); cf. Hildebrandt 2006, 235-236 no. 42; Karila-Cohen 2017. For the *peribolos* see Marchiandi 2011, 522 Cat: [Angel.3].

how aspects inherent in the materiality of writing, and layout in particular, strongly affect the communicative strategy of an inscription: *mise en page* plays a crucial role in conveying the genealogical message.

On the rare occasions when the pedigree of full historical persons was inscribed on genealogical gravestones, the layout involves lists of father/son names carefully arranged in column without lateral branches to emphasize the antiquity of the lineage and the direct blood link between the deceased and his more or less distant ancestor.

In the far more frequent cases of the Attic dynastic stelae, the need to represent the family as a whole, including collateral branches and possibly women, and to take into account the hierarchical order between generations as well as within each generation, although deaths did not necessarily occur in the same order as births, posed to stonecutters unprecedented and difficult problems with regard to layout. Without abandoning the list-format, traditionally congenial to the Greeks' catalogue mentality and deeply rooted in their approach to the past, they elaborated forms of organizing the epigraphic surface that tried to cope with the unpredictable nature of human vicissitudes reserving for family clusters spaces that were then gradually filled in with the names of those who died over time.

Appendix

1. *SGDI* 5656[72] – Chios, stele of Heropythos (early or middle 5th c.); Fig. 9.

Ἡροπύθο
τô Φιλαίο
τô Μικκύλο
τô Μανδροκ<λ>έος
τô Αὐτοσθένεος
τô Μανδραγόρεω
τô Ἐρασίω
τô Ἱπποτίωνος
τô Ἑκαΐδεω
τô Ἱπποσθένος
τô Ὀρσικλέος
τô Ἱπποτίωνος
τô Ἑκάο
τô Ἐλδίο
τô Κυπρίο.

2. *IG* XII.6 626 – Samos, base of Megas (third quarter of the 6th c.).

1 Μέγας τ̣ô Ε//
τὀξάκω τô Ξ-
ένο τô Πυρραίθ̣-
ο.

3. *IR Cyrenaica 2020* C.515 – Cyrene, stele of Klearchos (1st–early 2nd c. CE?); Fig. 10.

Κλέαρχος
Κλεάρχω,
Κλέαρχος
Κλεάρχω,
Κλέαρχος
Παρευβάτα̣,
Παρευβάτας
Φιλοξένω Υ̣,
Φιλόξενος
Καλλίππω Υ̣,
Κάλλιππος
Ἀλεξιμάχω Υ̣,
Ἀλεξίμαχο[ς]
Ἀλαδδειρο[ς],
Ἀλαδδει[ρ]
Β[ά]τ̣τ̣ω̣.

4. *IG* I^3 1283bis – Athens, stele of Aristeas' family (ca. 430–390); Fig. 11.

I.1 Ἀριστέας ⁝ Ἰφιστιάδης.
II.1 Τιμαρίστην (!) : Θεοφῶντος Λαμπτρείως.
Ἀριστώνυμος : Ἀρισταίου : Ἰφιστιάδης. (*in rasura*)
Ἀριστόμαχος ⁝ Ἀριστέου : Ἰφιστιάδης.

[72] For some caveats on the text of *SGDI* 5656 see n. 31 above.

5. *ΣΕΜΑ* 453 – Attica (Myrrhinus), stele of Meidon's family (late 5th–early 4th c.); Fig. 12.

Μείδων ᾿Επιτέλος,
Μειδοτέλης Μείδωνος,
Φαναγόρα Μειδοτέλους
γυνή,
duae rosae
Καλλιτέλ[ης]
Μειδοτέλ[ου]ς,
Μνησιπτολέμη
Καλλιτέλους
γυνή,
Μείδων
Καλλιτέλους
Μυρρινούσιος,
Μνησιστράτη
Καλλίου
Μυρρινουσίου
Μείδωνος γυνή,
Μειδοτέλης
Καλλιτέλους
Μυρρινούσιος,
Καλλιτέλης
Μειδοτέλους
Μυρρινούσιος,
Καλλιμήδης
Μείδωνος
Μυρρινούσιος,
Μνησιπτολέμη
Μειδοτέλους
θυγάτηρ.
Μάντεος ἐντίμο μάντιν, σοφὸν
ἄνδρα, δίκαιον,
κρύπτω Μειδοτέλος ἐνθάδε
Καλλιτέλην.

6. *IG* II² 8551 – Athens (Kerameikos), stele of Agathon and Sosikrates' family (second half of the 4th c.).

duae rosae
[Ἀ]γάθων
Ἀγαθοκλέους
Ἡρακλεώτης.
Σωσικράτης
Ἀγαθοκλέους
Ἡρακλεώτης.

7. *ΣΕΜΑ* 820 + 821 – Attica (Rhamnus), stele of Euphranor's family (second half of the 4th c.); Fig. 13.

Εὐφράνωρ
Εὔφρονος
Ῥαμνούσιος
duae rosae
Εὔφρων
Εὐφράνορος
Ῥαμνούσιος
Ἀβρύλλα
Εὐθύφρων
Εὐφράνορος
Ῥαμνούσιος
Φαιναρέτη
Κλεοφῶντος
Φαιναρέτη
Εὐφράνορος
Ῥαμνουσίου
θυγάτηρ
Ἀρχέδημος
Εὔφρονος
Ῥαμνούσιος.

8. *IG* II^2 6609 – Athens (Kerameikos), stele of Phormos' family (second half of the 4th c.).

duae rosae
Φόρμος
Προκλείδο
Κυδαντίδης.
Στρατονίκη.
Προκλείδης
Φόρμου
Κυδαντίδης.
Δεινίας
Φόρμου
[Κ]υδαντίδης.
vacat 0.99
Μνησιπτολέμ[η]
Θεοξένου
Μαραθωνίου
θυγάτηρ.
vacat 0.438
Ἱερὼ Στρατωνίδου
Βατῆθεν, Προκλείδου
Κυδαντίδου γυνή.
Θεοδοσία Εὐφήμου
Κηττίου θυγάτηρ,
Φόρμου Κυδαντίδου
γυνή.

9. *ΣΕΜΑ* 469 – Attica (Oe), stele of Themyllos' family (first half of the 4th c.); Fig. 14.

Θέμυλλος Θεμύ̣[λλο] Ὀ̣ῆθεν.
Ναυσιστράτη Λυκίσκο Ὑβάδο.
Ἀντιφάνης Θεμύλ[λο Ὀῆθ]εν.
Ἀθηνυλλὶς Διονυ̣[σίο] Ἀ[γ]γελῆθεν.
Θέμων Ἀντιφάνους Ὀῆθεν.
Κλεοπασὶς Κλεοχάρ[ους Ἀγ]γελῆθεν.
vacat
Ἀρχεστράτη Μελήτο Ἀγγελῆθ̣[εν].

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The Evolution of Layout in Cyrenaean Official Documents (4th-2nd Centuries BCE)[*]

Emilio Rosamilia

1. Official Documents from Classical and Hellenistic Cyrene

In the seventh century, Greeks from the Aegean islands started settling in the eastern part of what is today Libya. Among the many cities they founded in this region, one soon gained pride of place: Cyrene, an inland settlement that secured control of most of the fertile lands of Cyrenaica and flourished thanks to both its agriculture and commerce. It should therefore come as no surprise that most Greek inscriptions from ancient Libya are from Cyrene. Yet, if we were to compare the epigraphic production of Cyrene with that of other Greek cities, the result would most likely be disappointing. This is due to a set of concurring factors.

On the one hand, there was no marble-like stone to quarry in Cyrenaica. As a result, Cyrenaeans were left with no other choice but to import fine quality marble from abroad or resort to the local brittle limestone whenever they wished to inscribe their official documents in stone. For example, when the Cyrenaeans decided to inscribe the so-called Oath of the Founders (ca. 370), they had to secure a slab of "shiny white marble" for this purpose.[1] Since cop-

[*] This work benefited from my collaboration with the Italian Archaeological Mission to Cyrene (University of Urbino) led by Oscar Mei and funded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. Images of all Cyrenaean inscriptions discussed in this chapter can be found at: <https://igcyr2.unibo.it> (last accessed: 10/01/2024). Unless otherwise stated, all the dates are BCE.

[1] *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011000 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 1), ll. 16-17: καταγράφεν δὲ τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν στάλ[αν] | λυγδίναν. The adjective λύγδινος recurs in two other documents from Cyrenaica: the monumental altar of Apollo dedicated by Philon son of Annikeris in around the mid-fourth century (*IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 017900; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 66a: Φ[ί]λ̣ων Αννικεριο[ς] | τὸ[ν β]ωμὸν ἀνέθηκε τὸν λύγδ̣[ινο]ν) and an early-first-century decree from Arsinoe/Taucheira honouring Aleximachos son of Sosistratos (*IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 066900, ll. 72-74: οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι | τόν τε ἀνδριάντα ἀναθέντων | καὶ στάλαν «λ»υγδίναν παρ' αὐτῶ[ι]; cf. also Rosamilia 2023a, 60-61). Although a *scholion* to Pindar (*Sch.* Pi. *N.* 4.129c Drachmann) tells us that Πάριος δὲ λίθος ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος λύγδινος, petrological analysis of the altar of Philon proved that at least some of the mar-

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Emilio Rosamilia, *The Evolution of Layout in Cyrenaean Official Documents (4th-2nd Centuries BCE)*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.06, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 53-78, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

per and tin were equally rare in the region, bronze was hardly more accessible as a medium.[2]

In addition, aside from a few lists of names and ritual norms, Cyrenaeans seldom chose to put up official documents for permanent display, so much so that today only four or five decrees antedating the Augustan age survive.[3] While this situation may be due in part to the many active lime kilns at the Sanctuary of Apollo and the Agora,[4] Cyrenaean epigraphic habit did, in fact, privilege the inscription of private documents – especially dedications by rich members of the local élite – to the detriment of official epigraphy.[5]

Despite the Cyrenaeans' reluctance – most likely cultural as well as economic – to inscribe and display public documents in civic spaces, however, an interesting dossier of thirty-something official inscriptions by a local board of the city's magistrates – the *damiergoi* – has been preserved.

2. The Accounts of the *damiergoi*

The accounts of the *damiergoi* are a dossier consisting of thirty-eight inscriptions, nearly all of them fragmentary, dating from ca. 365 to the late second century. The *damiergoi* were a board of three civic magistrates who administered a few sacred estates[6] and used their revenues to cover various expenses, including that of organising tragic and dithyrambic contests as well as processions, the salaries and benefits of a small number of civic and sacred personnel, and sacrifices.[7] The last of these were the most important item on their list of expenses as they made clear in their reiteration of the claim that they had fulfilled their sacrificial obligations.[8] In two

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ble slabs came instead from Proconnesus (Lazzarini and Luni 2010, 194 and 202 table 7; samples KY 35 and KY 30). This, in turn, points to a more generic meaning of λύγδινος: "shiny/of shining white stone". On this adjective, cf. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 118-119 n. 7; Laronde 1987, 112; Rosamilia 2023a, 67 n. 89.

[2] As far as I know, no inscribed bronze objects or tablets have been found in Cyrenaica. Thus, despite the popularity of the use of this metal for this purpose among the Western Greeks – cf. e.g., the tablets from Entella or the temple dossier from Locri Epizephyrii – the Cyrenaeans apparently never used it as a medium for publishing their official documents.

[3] Rosamilia 2023a, 53-56.

[4] Del Moro 2008.

[5] On Cyrenaean epigraphic production up to the Augustan period, see Rosamilia 2023a, 52-89.

[6] Although it was long thought that the sacred estates belonged to Apollo and were the ones originally administered by the Battiad dynasty (Chamoux 1953, 217-218; Laronde 1987, 333; Chamoux 1988, 147-148; Dobias-Lalou 1993, 25), Migeotte (2014, 165) proved that the gods involved in the expenses did not include Apollo; see also Rosamilia 2023a, 186-189 and 193.

[7] On the expenses of the *damiergoi*, see Oliverio 1933, 116-122; Chamoux 1988, 151-154; Dobias-Lalou 1993; Ceccarelli and Milanezi 2007; Migeotte 2014, 360-361; Rosamilia 2023a, 186-189.

[8] In the fourth century, the expression ἐξιὸν : βουθυσιᾶν ἠσσᾶν ("expenses, there being included the ox-sacrifices") is first attested in *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 27), l. 17; see also *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 013600 and 012000 (Rosamilia 2023a, nos. 41-42). The alternative τὸ πὰν ἐξ[ι]ὸν τῶ ἐνιαυτῶ | σὺν ἱαροθυσίαις

fragmentary accounts, sacrifices are mentioned in connection with the τιμαχήιον, a local term for the seat of a board of magistrates.[9] Since a civic decree on the cult of Ptolemaic rulers from ca. 108 states that each board of magistrates should decorate its own τιμαχεῖον with garlands and that the *damiergoi* and the *hiarothytai* should do the same for the *prytaneion* and the *stoai* (i.e., the agora),[10] it stands to reason that the seat of the *damiergoi* was none other than the city's *prytaneion* and that most of the sacrifices provided for and performed by the *damiergoi* took place in the agora.

However, only a few of the accounts contain a detailed list of the year's expenses[11] as the *damiergoi* focused on the price of crops rather than on how they spent their revenues. The accounts show that the lists of crop prices were the result of a procedure that the *damiergoi* called καρπῶ τίμασις.[12] While the letting out of sacred properties and the collection of rents in kind – either in the form of fixed quantities of specific crops or as a fraction of the harvest – were probably instrumental in providing the *damiergoi* with a stable source of revenue, the word τίμασις sheds little light on the nature of the operations involved. For instance, we do not know how exactly the *damiergoi* fixed the crop prices that they later inscribed, or to whose benefit these prices were fixed.[13] Similarly, we have barely any clues as to whether the τίμασις took place before or after the harvest, that is, whether the *damiergoi* sold the rights over crops still in the field (for example, farming out the collection of rents that were due) or sold the crops themselves once harvested.[14] More troubling still,

("total expenses of the year, including sacrifices") recurs in *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011600 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 30), ll. 19-20. This account also states that the *damiergoi* acquired the oxen to be sacrificed at the price of 52 drachmas per ox (ll. 17-19). By the second century a new expression is attested, namely, τὸ πάν, τὰ ἱαρεῖα ἐθύθη ("total; the sacrifices were performed"); see *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 014300 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 57), l. 30, and *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 014500 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 61), l. 29.

[9] *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 088200 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 36), ll. 24-25: τὸ πὰν ἱαρ[οθυσιᾶν - - -]|ὶ τὸ τιμαχ[ῆιον - - -] (ca. 350-340). *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 013500 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 52), ll. 7-9: [ἐξιὸν· ἱα]ροθυσίας | [- - -] ἐκ τῶ τι|[μαχείω? - - -] (ca. 280-260). On the word τιμαχήιον, see Dobias-Lalou 1988, 64-68; Dobias-Lalou 2000, 104 and 237.

[10] *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011100 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 5), I, ll. 17-26. The same decree also insists that they perform the sacrifices ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος (l. 21). On this document, see also Laronde 1987, 177. Its layout is discussed in A. Bencivenni's chapter in this volume.

[11] Exceptions include *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011600 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 30), 088200 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 36), 011900+013600 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 41; the attribution to a single account is not accepted by Dobias-Lalou, in *IG Cyrenaica*^{2}), and 012300 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 44), all dating from the fourth century. See also the slightly later *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 013500 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 52).

[12] *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011600 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 30), l. 4. Most accounts adopt the expression καρπὸς ἐτιμάθην instead (but cf. *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 013300; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 53, l. 5).

[13] For instance, Oliverio 1933, 115-116 – followed by Waisglass 1954, 210 – thought that these crop prices served as a conversion rate so that the renters could pay their rent (supposedly in kind) in cash. See also Chamoux 1988, 148.

[14] The distinction between grapes sold ἔνδος or ἔξος τᾶς προκλησίας in Phase-1 accounts may be connected to this problem.

we do not know whether the term τίμασις refers to the same procedure in the mid-fourth century as it does in the late second century.[15] Notwithstanding the precise nature of this τίμασις, the *damiergoi* devoted most of their accounts to crop lists, attesting thereby to the importance they placed on this aspect of their administration.

While a registration focusing solely on crop prices might seem natural, we are actually dealing here with extreme selectivity on the *damiergoi*'s part. To better understand what is going on, we can compare these Cyrenaean documents to early Hellenistic bronze tablets from Locri Epizephyrii. Several years after Alexander's death, the Locrians decided to use the funds of Zeus Olympios to cover many public expenses, including a war contribution that they owed to an unnamed *basileus*, either Pyrrhos of Epirus or Agathokles of Syracuse.[16] Whenever possible, they simply borrowed money from the sanctuary,[17] but in those few instances where the available funds were insufficient, they diverted sacred revenues to the war contribution.[18] Though in one instance the king seems to have accepted a contribution in kind,[19] in several others, the local magistrates had to sell crops in order to raise the needed money. Since the aim of the *hieromnamones* in charge of the sacred treasury was to record precisely how much the Locrians owed Zeus, tablets from the Locrian archive describe these transactions accurately. For example, the *hieromnamones* made sure that all relevant pieces of information were included in *IG Locri* 23, ll. 8-10:

1. The quantity of wheat and barley taken to be sold (333,50 *medimnoi* each).
2. The selling price per *medimnos*, namely, 2 staters for wheat and 1,33 staters for barley.
3. The total selling price per crop, i.e., the number of *medimnoi* times the price of each crop.

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[15] At least one account from the late second century – *IG Cyrenaica*² 014400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 62) – seems to indicate that the *damiergoi* farmed out the collection of these crops (Rosamilia 2023a, 185-187; see also Rosamilia 2016, 143-144). In addition, from the early third century onwards, the τίμασις likely took place twice a year. This is attested by the expression καρποὶ ἐτιμάθεν (in the plural) and the two lists of crops per account (one per semester).

[16] The mention of an unnamed *basileus* as the recipient of a *synteleia* in six of the Locrian tablets has generated much debate among modern scholars. De Franciscis (1972, 75-82) and Van Compernolle (1992) thought that this *basileus* was none other than Pyrrhos, a hypothesis convincingly revived by De Lisle (2021, 291-293). Although De Franciscis (1972, 77) rejected outright the identification of the *basileus* with Agathokles, Musti (1979, 214-215) was more open to the idea, and recent studies of contemporary numismatic evidence (Filocamo 2011; Castrizio, Filocamo 2014) have tried to make a case for this hypothesis. Finally, Costabile (1992) and Antonetti (1995, 353-355) believe that the tablets simply refer to some local magistrate called *basileus* or *archon basileus*, but this is hardly compatible with the word *synteleia*.

[17] *IG Locri* 1 and 13.

[18] *IG Locri* 23, esp. ll. 8-10. See also *IG Locri* 25, 30, and 31.

[19] Cf. the ninth of the grain-crops that "the king took" (*IG Locri* 25, l. 9: τῶ σίτω τᾶς ἐνάτας τὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλαβε).

In almost every *damiergoi* account, by contrast, only the second item is inscribed, so both ancient and modern readers have no way of calculating how much barley, wheat, or beans were sold by the *damiergoi* each year. At the end of each account we also find the total annual income, which coincides with the sum of each crop's total sales.

This does not mean that the *damiergoi* had access to less data than did the Locrian *hieromnamones*. On the contrary, they most likely kept records of all these data on more perishable materials, then chose what they wanted to have inscribed on stone based on their own priorities and goals. This shows that, much like contemporary Athenian documents, the *damiergoi* accounts were not meant to be transcriptions of *euthynai*, but rather a different type of document with its own distinct goal.

All these features must be borne in mind as we examine the evolution of *damiergoi* accounts and their layout over time. Yet, in order to proceed with our analysis, we need first to address a major dating problem. Although the *damiergoi* always mention the eponymous priest of Apollo at the beginning of their accounts, not all of these are well preserved, and only a few retain the priest's name in full or even in part. Furthermore, the loss of Classical and Hellenistic priest catalogues[20] leaves us with no clue regarding the dates of many documents. Consequently, we must look elsewhere if we wish to reconstruct a relative – or, if possible, absolute – chronology of these accounts.

The first step in the right direction was taken in 1933 by Gaspare Oliverio, who noticed that over the years the *damiergoi* shifted from local acrophonic to Milesian numerals in their accounts.[21] In 1987, André Laronde – who established the dates of a few early accounts on a prosopographical basis – observed that the names and positions of crops in these lists change over time and tried to rely on these data to revise the dates of later accounts.[22] The use of this criterion for dating is sometimes questionable, however, and Laronde's results are undermined by the fact that he dated all later accounts to the late third century.

In 2016 and again in 2023, I argued that we can break down the accounts of the *damiergoi* into four main phases on the basis of major layout or accounting innovations that – once adopted – could not easily be abandoned.[23] These four phases are:

[20] That such catalogues existed in the first place can be inferred from a few surviving fragments, first and foremost *IG Cyrenaica*² 094800 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 8), dating from the 330s, and the list from the end of Magas' reign (*IG Cyrenaica*² 096700; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 9; cf. also Rosamilia 2018, esp. 273-282). On priest lists from Cyrene, see Marengo 1996; Dobias-Lalou 2016, 247-252 and 258 nos. 16-21; Rosamilia 2023a, 93-133.

[21] Oliverio 1933, 136.

[22] Laronde 1987, 325-327.

[23] Rosamilia 2016, 86-89; Rosamilia 2023a, 154-155.

- Phase 1: Twenty-three accounts – the earliest ones (ca. 365-300) – which contain none of the later innovations. Most *damiergoi* accounts fall into this group, including the only four that are fully preserved.
- Phase 2: Six accounts that date roughly to the governorship and reign of Magas (ca. 290-270). These are the first accounts with a two-semester accounting time frame.
- Phase 3: Two accounts dating to two very different moments in the city's history. The earlier one exhibits many similarities to Phase-2 accounts, especially if crop prices and currency are taken into account.[24] The later one, on the other hand, contains much lower prices, most likely the result of the adoption of the Ptolemaic coin standard. These two accounts are the first to use Milesian rather than local acrophonic numerals.
- Phase 4: Seven accounts that attest to the adoption of a two-sub-column format with crop names on the left and numerals for the crop prices on the right. This phase, which covers both the late third and most of the second century, can be further broken down into two sub-phases based on whether or not the *damiergoi* had already adopted the Ptolemaic bronze drachmas as a new accounting unit.[25]

Keeping these phases in mind, we can now examine the evolution of the *damiergoi* accounts from the standpoint of layout and medium.

3. Medium and Layout

3.1 Fourth-Century Accounts (Phase 1: ca. 365-300)

The *damiergoi* started inscribing their accounts in around 365. At least one out of three accounts from Phase 1 (twenty-three out of ca. seventy) has survived, even if in fragmentary condition. As one of the earliest accounts, which dates to the priesthood of Ka[rtisthen]es son of Mnasias,[26] is preceded by a few lines of another text that probably refers to the *prytaneion*, we may even have a small fragment of the official document prescribing the publication of the accounts followed by the earliest *damiergoi* account ever inscribed on stone.[27]

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[24] See Rosamilia 2023a, 176-178.

[25] Rosamilia 2016, 88-96 (reprinted with minor alterations in Rosamilia 2023a, 179-184); Rosamilia 2017.

[26] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 012500 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 31). The priest of Apollo is very likely a direct descendant of Kratisthenes son of Mnaseas, who won the four-horse chariot race in Olympia in 464 (Paus. 6.18.1; Moretti, *Olympionikai* 257) after his father, Mnaseas "the Libyan", won the *hoplitodromia* in Olympia in 484 (Paus. 6.13.7; Moretti, *Olympionikai* 194). On this family, see Laronde 1987, 146; Rosamilia 2023a, 99 priest S07, and 162.

[27] Rosamilia 2023a, 53, 156, and 162.

During Phase 1, the *damiergoi* inscribed their accounts on different types of stone media. While five accounts were inscribed onto the same marble plinth, most fragments from this phase appear on slabs or small stelae. Very few Phase-1 inscriptions – none later than the 340s – include architectural features, such as pilasters along the sides[28] or a moulding along the upper part of the inscribed side.[29] Later accounts from the same phase tend to be inscribed on thin marble slabs, which could hardly have been free-standing. Since the *damiergoi* were closely linked to the *prytaneion*, it is likely that most of these accounts were affixed to the walls of this building. Cyrene's first *prytaneion* was a small structure on the south-west corner of the agora,[30] and was demolished in the late fourth century during the interventions that transformed the nearby open-air *temenos* of Apollo into a small ashlar temple.[31] Since the *prytaneion* was erected on stone foundations out of mud bricks covered in plaster, marble panelling on its outer or inner walls would have worked extremely well.

The *damiergoi* apparently never made long-term plans for the publication of their accounts. Instead, each annual board of *damiergoi* decided on the publication of its own account. This led to a varied epigraphic landscape, as revealed by a closer look at the accounts inscribed on the marble plinth. Up until recently, scholars regarded this sub-dossier of five accounts as a series published in five (nearly) consecutive years, without ever asking themselves whether the *damiergoi* had really inscribed these accounts one after the other. Thanks to a parallel provided by an extremely fragmentary list of eponymous priests of Apollo,[32] we can now easily reconstruct the order in which the *damiergoi* inscribed their accounts on the plinth (Table 1).

The first four accounts were inscribed over the years ca. 340–330, according to an order that can be reconstructed as the left side before the front, and the upper before the lower part of each side. Although in one case the *damiergoi* inscribed two accounts in a row, they allowed at least three years to pass before inscribing the fourth account. In addition, while most of the inscriptions were done before the War of Thibron (324–321), about 15 years passed before the *damiergoi* of the year of Eukleidas son of Paraibatas decided to inscribe their account on the right side, just below a crack in the stone that had marred the upper portion of this face.

[28] Rosamilia 2023a, no. 41 (*IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011900+013600).

[29] *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 012900 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 32); *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 012200 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 40); *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 012400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 38).

[30] V. Purcaro, in Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000, 84; Purcaro 2001, esp. 49–56; Lippolis *et al.* 2007, 850–851.

[31] Purcaro 2001, 61–80 (Temple of Apollo, first phase). On the earlier open-air *temenos*, see Purcaro 2001, 25–45; Lippolis *et al.* 2007, 851; Kenrick 2013, 175–176 no. 30.

[32] *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 094800 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 8). This list was first identified by Dobias-Lalou 2016, 250. On it, see now Rosamilia 2023a, 94 and 159–162.

Table 1. Relationship between the fragmentary fourth-century list of eponymous priests of Apollo (*IG Cyrenaica*² 094800; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 8) and the *damiergoi* accounts inscribed on the plinth. Those priests whose names are preceded by an asterisk are not recorded on the surviving fragment of the list. From Rosamilia 2023a, 161 table 4.10 (re-elaborated).

Priest of Apollo	Account	Position on the plinth	Date
*Ch[- - - son of - - -]	*IG Cyrenaica*² 011700 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 26)	Upper left side	ca. 340
---	---	---	---
[- - -]s son of (H)a[- - -]	---	---	ca. 337
Iason son of Xouth[os]	---	---	ca. 336
Philothales son of Ia[son]	*IG Cyrenaica*² 011400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 27)	Upper front side	ca. 335
Epigenes son of Ep[itimidas]	*IG Cyrenaica*² 011800 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 28)	Lower left side	ca. 334
Kletomach[os son of - - -]	---	---	ca. 333
Theochres[tos son of - - -]	---	---	ca. 332
Sthen[on son of - - -]	---	---	ca. 331
Tim[onax son of Agis]	*IG Cyrenaica*² 011500 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 29)	Lower front side	ca. 330
---	---	---	---
*Eukleidas son of Paraibatas	*IG Cyrenaica*² 011600 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 30)	Right side (lower)	ca. 315

Since the accounts were inscribed on the marble plinth over a period of nearly three decades, the plinth was not the officially designated medium on which the *damiergoi* published their accounts year after year, but rather an inscribable medium situated in the right place, which they could use if they chose to. While the *damiergoi* mentioned in the earliest account inscribed on the plinth may have been responsible for its erection, it is equally possible that they were simply the first to take advantage of the smooth vertical surfaces of an already existent monument, whose precise nature eludes us.[33]

[33] The plinth was topped by a separate crowning element, now lost (see Oliverio 1933, 85: "Il piano superiore è leggermente incavato, e vi poggiava verisimilmente una lastra di marmo"). The plinth's width would have been compatible with the east anta of the *stoa* in front of the *prytaneion*, but marble architectural elements, save decorated portals, are extremely rare in fourth-century Cyrene (see Gasparini 2014; Rosamilia 2023a, 83-85). On the other hand, statue bases with a top moulding course are hardly attested before the Hellenistic period (see Biard 2017, 195-197), though this could be a precocious example.

Furthermore, the order in which the accounts are inscribed provides us with interesting information about the visibility of the plinth and its collocation in the fourth century. Although the back of the plinth is not smooth and was thus probably set against a wall, the left side was inscribed first and thus clearly regarded as the most conspicuous one. This suggests that the plinth was set up in a space past which people moved in a single direction, such as the left side of a small building's entrance or pronaos. Due to the connection between the *damiergoi* and the *prytaneion*, this building and its surroundings are again the most likely settings for the plinth.

As we have seen, to the west of the *prytaneion* stood an open-air *temenos* of Apollo, whose earliest phases date back to the foundation of the city. Now, from the time the Cyrenaeans built the *prytaneion* people could only enter this small *temenos* from the north, through a passage that was not on axis with the sanctuary's altar. If the plinth was originally erected on the east side of the *temenos*, against the western wall of the *prytaneion*, it would have stood right in front of the *temenos*' entrance. Its left side would thus have been visible to anyone entering the *temenos* and even from the agora, while its front would have been easily readable by anyone inside the sacred precinct. The plinth's right side, however, would have been crammed in a corner between two walls, where it could only have been read by someone standing between the plinth and the *temenos*' southern wall. This – along with the existing crack in the stone – would explain why the right side was perceived as a less desirable option and was not inscribed for nearly 20 years.

The two accounts on the front of the plinth offer us a good opportunity to discuss the layout of these documents. The account of the year in which Philothales son of Iason was priest of Apollo[34] is inscribed on the upper part of this side (Fig. 15, above). The text has huge margins along both its sides. Save the invocation θεοί, written in widely-spaced letters at the very top of the document, the account is inscribed as a continuous text: the cutter did not use blank spaces, line breaks, or indentations to make the sections of the account more easily identifiable for the occasional reader. Nonetheless, the use of double *stigmai* to mark word breaks is consistent throughout the text. One can also detect traces of a major mistake on the letter-cutter's part — one that offers some insight into the cutting procedure. At l. 18, a bad miscalculation of the length of several figures led to a major alteration of the planned layout. This is particularly evident in the word λοιπόν, "remainder", which was not inscribed from left to right. The cutter must have inscribed the letters ΙΠΟΝ as well as the abbreviation for *mnai* and one or two figures before realising that he was running out of space. He then added the letters ΛΟ – smaller and extremely crammed – along with the total income. The same cramming is evident in the second half of the line, showing that the inscriber did his best to leave the right-hand margin undisturbed.

[34] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 27).

Since the beginning of the word παρό|ρεγμα is added at the end of l. 18, it stands to reason that the first letters of l. 19 were already inscribed – possibly as a placeholder for the entire line – when the cutter realised his mistake.

In the account dating to the priesthood of Timonax son of Agis,[35] inscribed five years later on the lower half of the same side (Fig. 15, below), we find similar features. Here the widely spaced invocation θεοί, though not centred, is still followed by a block of continuous text. Nonetheless, there are some differences. In this account, the letter-cutter[36] favoured larger letters, possibly to compensate for the fact that the text was inscribed closer to the ground. At the same time, he took full advantage of the plinth's width and inscribed the text across the entire face, leaving no uninscribed margin. While this account is the only one on the plinth for which the cutter adopted a similar solution, its position on the side facing away from the back wall must have made it highly effective.

In both accounts, differences from earlier documents are evident. Around the beginning of the fourth century, the Cyrenaeans published a list of names on stone that was organized into four columns, whose heading was later obliterated (ca. 400),[37] as well as a fragmentary regulation mentioning *hiaromnamones* and sacred fines (ca. 390–370).[38] In both cases, the letter-cutter adopted an unusual layout and inscribed these texts *stoichedon*.[39] Probably influenced by Athenian practice, this type of layout had already fallen out of favour by around 370, when the so-called Oath of the Founders was inscribed, and a few years before the *damiergoi* inscribed their earliest account.[40]

These two accounts indicate that the *damiergoi*'s choice of layout was not meant to enhance legibility or even clarity. This becomes particularly evident if we compare these inscriptions to an early-fourth-century lead tablet (Fig. 16)[41] found by Italian archaeologists between the temple of Apollo and the so-called *geronteion*.[42]

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[35] *IG Cyrenaica*² 011500 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 29).

[36] For brevity's sake, this chapter attributes decisions on the layout of these accounts to *damiergoi* and letter-cutters with practically no distinction. However, we do not have enough data at our disposal to determine who had ultimate responsibility for each inscription's layout in Cyrene. We do not know whether and to what extent the *damiergoi* delegated decisions about the documents' layout to the letter-cutters, nor whether other magistrates or even the local assembly had any say in the matter.

[37] *IG Cyrenaica*² 014700 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 70). On this list, see also Dobias-Lalou 2000, 32–34; Dobias-Lalou 2015, 73–74; Dobias-Lalou 2016, 244–245 and 258 no. 11; Rosamilia 2023a, 46–48 and 70.

[38] *IG Cyrenaica*² 100400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 17).

[39] Bacchielli 1985.

[40] See n. 1 above.

[41] *IG Cyrenaica*² 081200 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 25). On this tablet, see also Gasperini 1990, 22–33; Rosamilia 2023a, 147–152. This document is discussed in D. Amendola's chapter, case no. **[29]**.

[42] Stucchi 1975, 132; V. Purcaro, in Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000, 84; Lippolis *et al.* 2007, 850; Kenrick 2013, 176 no. 31.

This document reveals that the Cyrenaeans' magistrates and scribes could resort to more sophisticated ways of organising economic data if they chose to do so. The lead tablet contains a record of several deposits of silver stored together. Each entry occupies a single line and is separated from those above and below by *paragraphoi*, indicating that the tablet's writer used line breaks as a tool for organising data. Moreover, l. 7 of this same tablet, which contains the sum of the previous six lines, is written in larger letters, and is set apart by longer *paragraphoi* that emphasise it. None of these layout devices is used in the *damiergoi* accounts. The lead tablet was discovered still rolled up, which attests to its nature as an archival record or receipt, meant solely for the eyes of magistrates and officials. Once again, this proves that not only the content of the accounts, but also their layout were the result of a deliberate choice, one that focused on the publication of an official document on stone *per se* rather than on ensuring that all the details of the *damiergoi*'s administration were easily accessible to the local population through the said document's publication.

All things considered, the *damiergoi* accounts inscribed on this plinth have quite similar layouts, but the same does not hold true for all Phase-1 accounts. For instance, in the account dating from the priesthood of Iasis (ca. 345),[43] the letter-cutter organised the first few lines using vacats and line breaks. He isolated the words [θεοί. δαμιε]ργέντων at the centre of the first line, then set aside the next two lines for the names of the three *damiergoi* (ll. 2-3). The next item he had to inscribe was the name of the eponymous priest of Apollo (ll. 4-5). However, since it could not be written on a single line, the letter-cutter decided to inscribe the account as a single block of text from the middle section of l. 5.

The account dating to the year of Bathykles (ca. 330-315)[44] displays similar features. In it, the letter-cutter made sure not to hyphenate the different elements in the document's header. His layout strategy in the case of the eponymous priest of Apollo may too have included indentation so as to centre the first part of the priest's title in the inscribable space.[45] However, once he inserted the name, he immediately had it followed by the opening of the crop list – [κα]ρπὸς ἐτι|[μάθη] (ll. 7-8) – which is thus neither isolated on a single line nor hyphen-free. The letter-cutter made no effort to line break the crop list that follows, to the point that even some syllables extend across two lines.[46]

In sum, even if both the accounts on the plinth and the ones on marble slabs contributed to the creation of an epigraphic landscape, it was not a totally homogeneous one.

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43 *IG Cyrenaica*² 012200 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 40).

44 *IG Cyrenaica*² 013000 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 43).

45 *IG Cyrenaica*² 013000 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 43), l. 5: [*vacat* τῶ Ἀπόλ]λ̣ωνος *vacat*.

46 *IG Cyrenaica*² 013000 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 43), ll. 9-10 (ῥ|[ἶπος]) and 12-13 ([πρ]οκλησ|[ίας]).

3.2 Accounts from the Reign of Magas or Slightly Later (Phases 2 and 3: ca. 300–230)

In the early years of the third century, the accounts of the *damiergoi* began to change. The first major innovation in the Phase-2 accounts lay in the introduction of the semester as a new accounting time frame. Thus, at least from the year of Magas son of Philippos[47] – Ptolemy II's stepson, soon to become king Magas of Cyrene – each crop price was recorded twice per year. This decision was probably the result of innovative accounting and administrative practices, which had almost no direct effect on the layout of the documents, except for nearly doubling their length.

During Phase 2, a second innovation contributed to the lengthening of the accounts, namely, the increasingly frequent recording on stone of the unit of measurement used for each crop. This had more to do with the *damiergoi*'s decision regarding what data to inscribe than with any external change. In the past, the *damiergoi* had rightly felt that such units could nearly always be omitted as they were obvious for any local reader.[48] After all, who in Cyrene measured grain in anything else but *medimnoi*? These two innovations reveal to us that Phase-2 *damiergoi* were most likely aiming at greater clarity and precision in their accounts, even at the expense of brevity.

The increased length of the accounts led the *damiergoi* to innovations in inscribable media as well. Of the six accounts dating to Phase 2, at least three were written on stelae embellished with architectonic elements (Fig. 17).[49] In each of these three, the lower field occupied by the inscription is framed by two pilasters and an entab-

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[47] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 063900 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 49). This account is the earliest from Phase 2 and likely dates from the 280s.

[48] There are a few exceptions: in Phase 1, *damiergoi* seldom speak of ἄχυρα, "chaff" (cf., however, *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011600, l. 6; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 30). Instead, they generally speak of ἀχύρων ῥῖπος, "a wicker-basket of chaff". This is most likely because in the accounts, ἄχυρα indicates the byproduct of threshing and winnowing: a loose mass of (mainly) husks and (possibly) straw swept from the threshing floor that had to be put into wicker baskets for transport and storage. As a result, in the Cyrenaeans' minds this loose content became virtually indistinguishable from its container. In addition, in a couple of Phase-1 accounts – *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 012910 and 088300 (Rosamilia 2023a, nos. 34 and 46) – we find καρφέων … ἅμαξα, "a wagonload of hay", instead of the more widespread κάρφη, "hay". In later accounts, neither of these units of measurement is ever abbreviated (see n. 76 below).

[49] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 063900 and 013300 (Rosamilia 2023a, nos. 49 and 53) are the best-preserved examples. A third inscription (*IG Cyrenaica*[2] 013500; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 52) preserves part of the right pilaster, but its upper and left parts are missing. *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 013700 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 51) does not include any pillars, but might have had some decoration on the top. In its current state, *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 013400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 54), possibly the most recent account from Phase 2, does not have any architectonic features. However, its sides are missing, and its upper part was heavily reworked when this fragment was reshaped to replace a piece of a broken Roman marble statue. Since the first line of text cannot accommodate the invocation to the gods, it is possible that the invocation originally stood on some entablature that is now lost. The sixth account (*IG Cyrenaica*[2] 009420; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 50) is known only through an early-20th-century transcription.

lature. This innovation had some consequences from a *mise en page* point of view. Almost all the text in these accounts is inscribed in the lower field, but in the two whose entablature is preserved, the first line of text is set in the architrave. In both cases, it is the size of the architrave that determines the letters' height, making those in the first line larger than those in the rest of the document. Whether this line consists of a simple invocation to the gods[50] or also mentions the *damiergoi*,[51] the letters are widely spaced in imitation of contemporary architectural inscriptions. Moreover, in at least one case, the name of the eponymous priest of Apollo is written on a separate line in larger letters, even though the line itself is not inscribed on the entablature.[52]

The adoption of Milesian numerals – the innovation distinguishing Phase-3 accounts from earlier ones – led to no change in the medium or layout. Of the two accounts dating to this phase, the earlier one[53] is inscribed on what had possibly been a free-standing stele with no ornamentation, while the later one[54] is cut on a stele adorned with pilasters on both sides. Since the upper portion of the second account is missing, we cannot be sure whether the pilasters were surmounted by an inscribed architrave, though this seems probable. Its last lines also demonstrate the use of vacats to isolate the main elements of the closing section, that is, the year's revenues and expenses, as well as the παρόρεγμα for the *damiergoi*.[55] However, the decision to inscribe the totals before their labels – an unparalleled innovation in *damiergoi* accounts – and a small mistake on the part of the cutter, who wrote the figures of both the income and the expenditure on the same line (l. 3), led to a rather messy and confused layout.

3.3 Later Accounts from Ptolemaic Cyrene (Phase 4: ca. 230–140)

Phase 4 coincides with a major innovation in the accounts' layout: in the late third century, the *damiergoi* started inscribing crop lists in a two-sub-column format

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[50] *IG Cyrenaica*² 063900 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 49), l. 1: [θε]οί.

[51] *IG Cyrenaica*² 013300 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 53), l. 1: [θ]εός. δα[μ]ιεργέ̣ν̣[των]. The mention of the *damiergoi* may have been meant as a title for the whole account, which would explain the relevance bestowed on it.

[52] *IG Cyrenaica*² 013400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 54). See also n. 49 above.

[53] *IG Cyrenaica*² 013800 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 55).

[54] *IG Cyrenaica*² 014100 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 56). The dating of this inscription is particularly tricky. I argued in favour of a date circa 250-230 (Rosamilia 2023a, 177 and 315) on the basis of a palaeographical comparison between this text and a statue base for a Queen Arsinoe from Ptolemais (*IG Cyrenaica*² 033700). However, Stefano Caneva (2016, 213; see also *SEG* LXVI 2343) has pointed out that the queen honoured in Ptolemais is instead Arsinoe III, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV. This points to a slightly later date of around 230-220.

[55] The *paroregma* is always mentioned at the end of the accounts and is not included among the revenues or expenditures of the *damiergoi*, which proves that its payment involved other funds. Its precise nature is not easy to ascertain, but it was probably a sort of allowance that the *damiergoi* received from the city. On the *paroregma,* see Chamoux 1988, 145; Dobias-Lalou 2000, 239; Rosamilia 2023a, 189.

with numerals on the right. Since by this date each account included two separate crop lists, one per semester, the *damiergoi* also decided to inscribe them side by side. The advantages of this innovation from the point of clarity are evident; not only did it make each crop and its price stand out and easily findable without a need to peruse the entire text, but it also enabled readers to compare the prices of the same crop over two semesters. This is particularly clear in the account of the year of Hagesistratos son of Po[- - -] (ca. 220; Fig. 18), which is among the best preserved.[56]

Since the *damiergoi* had already *de facto* abandoned the idea of a continuous text that maximised the number of letters per line while minimising the number of lines, they also started to use line breaks to isolate individual elements in the accounts' opening and closing sections. For example, in the account of the year of Hagesistratos the first seven lines provide the reader with a single piece of information each.[57] These opening lines can vary quite a bit in length, so the letter-cutter shifted to a somewhat centred layout in ll. 3 and 7 in order to minimise visual discrepancies. Notably, the same does not hold true for the first line, where the letters of the invocation θεοί are widely spaced.[58] A similar phenomenon is at work in the final three lines of the same account, where one finds the total income, the total expenditure, and the παρόρεγμα of the *damiergoi*, each on a separate line. In this case, however, the lines are nearly the same length, and the cutter has aligned them on the left.[59]

This major change in the layout of Phase-4 accounts calls for closer examination. No doubt preliminary documents on perishable media (papyrus) and administrative practices in contemporary Egypt influenced the outcome, but this did not happen overnight. A similar layout, in fact, can already be found in Cyrene, in a long list of subscribers dating from the priesthood of Nikobolos (ca. 270).[60] This type of

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[56] *IG Cyrenaica*² 014300 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 57). On this priest of Apollo, see Rosamilia 2023a, 106 priest S68, and 178.

[57] Namely: l. 1, invocation to the gods; l. 2, eponymous dating; l. 3, δαμ[ιεργέντων], introducing the list of *damiergoi*; ll. 4-6, names of the three *damiergoi*, one per line; l. 7, καρποὶ ἐτιμ[άθεν], introducing the two lists of crop prices, one per semester.

[58] Other accounts adopt slightly different strategies to isolate the word δαμιεργέντων and the expression καρποὶ ἐτιμάθεν in the opening section, such as increased letter spacing (*IG Cyrenaica*² 014200 and 014000; Rosamilia 2023a, nos. 59-60) or indentation (*IG Cyrenaica*² 014400-014500; Rosamilia 2023a, nos. 61-62). In *IG Cyrenaica*² 014400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 62), the cutter also inserted a small blank space between ll. 6-7, isolating the opening section from the crop lists and their opening title καρποὶ ἐτιμάθεν.

[59] The same occurs in *IG Cyrenaica*² 014500 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 61), ll. 29-31, the only other Phase-4 account that partly preserves the closing section.

[60] *IG Cyrenaica*² 065200, 065210, and 097170; Rosamilia 2023a, nos. 68a-68c. A small fragment (*IG Cyrenaica*² 009300; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 69), likely pertaining to a different subscription from the same period, also attests to the use of Milesian numerals. On these documents, cf. Migeotte, *Souscriptions* 86; Dobias-Lalou 2016, 241-242 and 257 nos. 5-7; Dobias-Lalou 2017, 190-191; Rosamilia 2023a, 205-207. On Nikobolos, see also Rosamilia 2023a, 102 priest S39.

document, however, had no antecedent in Cyrenaean epigraphy, which gave its compilers and cutter a free hand when it came to the layout of the text. The *damiergoi*, by contrast, were following a longstanding tradition that limited their autonomous initiative to some degree. As a result, it took the *damiergoi* about half a century to adopt the new layout for their accounts. Once they did so, however, it became commonplace in similar documents. We find it again, for instance, in a list of silver vessels appended to an official Ptolemaic *prostagma* dating from the second half of the second century.[61]

As far as the medium is concerned, some further changes took place during Phase 4. Whereas accounts of the early third century were usually inscribed on free-standing stelae, no fragment dating from Phase 4 reveals any trace of architectural decoration. In addition, the inscriptions are nearly square in format. The account of the year of Hagesistratos, for example, is 380 mm high and 345 mm wide (a nearly 1:1 ratio). If we take into consideration their slenderness (ca. 35 mm for the account of the year of Hagesistratos), it seems extremely probable that all Phase-4 accounts were inscribed on marble panels meant to be affixed to a wall. This leads to the question of the identity of the building or structure on whose walls the accounts were displayed.

Since the older *prytaneion* was no longer standing by the late third century, we must look elsewhere. The first possibility would be the new *oikos*-temple of Apollo on the western side of the agora,[62] but the connection between the *damiergoi* and the *prytaneion* remained strong until the end of the second century. Unfortunately, the so-called newer *prytaneion* – a square building with a porticoed central courtyard lying in the south-east corner of the agora[63] – has never undergone extensive excavation, while the public buildings on its eastern side have likewise remained unexplored. Although the lack of information on the precise location where nearly all the fragmentary accounts were discovered in the 1920s does not help, in 1960, a fragment of a late account was found beneath the so-called Temple of the Octagonal Bases[64] on the eastern side of the agora. This findspot was extremely close to the new *prytaneion* and the other *archeia*, which stood on the opposite side of the main road, and may be our best clue about the building where these later accounts were displayed. Unfortunately, lacking further data, we can only make educated guesses.

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[61] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 016800 (see now Rosamilia 2023b). However, this text reveals some other layout devices. Vessels are divided according to capacity and, after a full description of the first vessel, others of similar capacity are listed simply as ἄλλο, though this word is always written in letters that are perceptibly more widely spaced than those in the rest of the document.

[62] See § 3.1 above.

[63] Stucchi 1975, 134-135; S. Ensoli, in Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000, 86; Kenrick 2013, 171-172 no. 24.

[64] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 107150 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 63); see also Rosamilia 2017, 151-153. The importance of this finding in the eastern part of the agora has already been stressed by Rosamilia 2023a, 156. On this temple, see Stucchi 1975, 198 and 245-246; Kenrick 2013, 171 no. 22.

4. Figures, Numbers, and Abbreviations

4.1 Earlier Accounts (Phases 1 and 2)

A distinguishing feature of the *damiergoi* accounts from the very outset is the use of the local acrophonic notation to record crop prices and monetary figures.[65] Thanks to the inscribed lead tablet from the agora,[66] we can easily reconstruct the introduction and first stages of the development of this notational system, which preceded the accounts of the *damiergoi* by several decades. Originating as a set of signs meant to describe the main denominations of Cyrenaean coins, the meaning of each sign soon doubled to describe an amount in *mnai* as well. Because of this double meaning, the Cyrenaeans placed another sign – a *my* flanked on both sides by double *stigmai*, the abbreviation for μ(ναῖ)[67] – before these signs whenever the total amount rose to above one *mna*.[68]

If this notation offered some advantage from the point of view of accounting – for instance, one could now easily note the value of each local coin – it also had two major disadvantages. The Cyrenaean system does not, in fact, allow for synthetic notations and lacks versatility. More precisely, while other acrophonic systems could be used to write down pure numbers and monetary figures, the Cyrenaean one could only be used for the latter purpose. Due to its limitations, Cyrenaean acrophonic notation was not immune to influence from its Attic counterpart even during the fourth century. For instance, in two Phase-1 accounts we find the Attic signs Δ and Γ instead of their local equivalents (ƷƷ⊏ and ƷZ) noting 10 and 5 drachmas, respectively.[69]

As far as abbreviations and numerals are concerned, Phase-2 accounts exhibit little difference from their predecessors. There are no abbreviations, and local acrophonic numerals are still used, albeit with some innovations. For instance, one fragmentary account preserves some figures of the total annual outflow: [- - -]HƷƷ⊏››–, that is, [- - -]+110,50 drachmas. This attests to the fact that the *damiergoi* replaced the local sign for *mna* (an *obelos*) with a *heta*, the standard acrophonical notation for 100 (i.e.,

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[65] Ferri 1923a; Ferri 1923b, 181; Tod 1926-1927, 149-150 no. 61A; Oliverio 1933, 103-105 and 122-130; Tod 1936-1937, 255-257 no. 95; Gasperini 1986; Gasperini 1987; Laronde 1987, 241-245; Chamoux 1988, 146-147; Gasperini 1990, 28-30; Foraboschi 1996; Rosamilia 2016, 86-87; Dobias-Lalou 2017, 195-199; Rosamilia 2023a, 140-144.

[66] See n. 41 above. On this document, see now Rosamilia 2023a, 147-152. Aside from this lead tablet and the accounts of the *damiergoi*, the acrophonic system recurs only in the late-fourth-century "Stele of the *syla*" (*IG Cyrenaica Verse*^{2} 033 + *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 097100; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 7).

[67] This is the only abbreviation attested in accounts from Phases 1 and 2.

[68] For example, the notation : M : ƷƷ⊏ : stands for 500 *mnai* (i.e., 50.000 drachmas), while the signs : ƷƷ⊏ : without the initial *my* add up to only 10 drachmas.

[69] *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011800 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 28), l. 9; *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 088300 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 46), l. 3.

drachmas). While this innovation may also have been due to the influence of contemporary Athenian practice, it shows that the system was becoming increasingly outdated and vestigial. For this reason, it should come as no surprise that, in the next phase, the *damiergoi* abandoned the local acrophonic notation system altogether.

4.2 Later Accounts (Phases 3 and 4)

Phase-3 accounts differ from earlier ones in their adoption of Milesian numerals. The earliest document from Cyrene to do so is quite likely the long list of subscribers dating to the year in which Nikobolos son of Iason was priest of Apollo (ca. 270).[70] The *damiergoi* employed the earlier notation in their accounts at least until the time of the priesthood of Philinos son of Philinos (ca. 270–260).[71] Although we have no idea whether the priesthood of Nikobolos preceded or followed Philinos', we can reconstruct events in two equally plausible ways. On the one hand, the Cyrenaeans may have started using Milesian numerals in all their official documents in response to some official deliberation at a precise moment in time. On the other, it is equally possible that the *damiergoi* kept the local notation alive for several years after it had fallen out of favour with the general population out of conservatism and conformity to the local administrative tradition. In any case, by the time of the priesthood of Poly[- - -] (ca. 260),[72] the *damiergoi* had adopted the Milesian numerals exclusively in their accounts. These numerals occur in Egyptian documents as early as the fourth century and became the only alternative to writing numbers in full from the early third century on. This is why it is easy to assume that the introduction of Milesian numerals in Cyrenaica was spearheaded by Ptolemaic officials who were well versed in Egyptian administrative practices. However, since the adoption of Milesian numerals in Cyrene took place prior to the death of king Magas, this phenomenon was most likely due not to direct Egyptian influence, but rather to the Cyrenaeans' decision to modernise their accounting practices.[73]

Phase 3 saw a second important innovation, however, one first encountered in the later account from this period:[74] the adoption of abbreviations for most mea-

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[70] See n. 60 above.

[71] The latest Phase-2 account – *IG Cyrenaica*² 013400 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 54) – dates from the priesthood of Phil[- - -]. On his identification with the priest Philinos son of Philinos, who erected a statue in the sanctuary of Apollo during his tenure (*IG Cyrenaica*² 009200), see also Rosamilia 2023a, 103–104 priests S44 and S44bis, and 171–172.

[72] *IG Cyrenaica*² 013800 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 55). This is the earlier account from Phase 3.

[73] On Milesian numerals in Cyrene, see Dobias-Lalou 2017, 187–190; Rosamilia 2023a, 144–145. The adoption of Milesian numerals presented the *damiergoi* with some challenges, first and foremost, in the notation of values above 999. To solve this problem, they resorted to *parakuïsmata* (for 1.000) and *my* (for 10.000) with a superimposed multiplication exponent. On this use of *parakuïsmata*, see Soldati 2009; Hammerstaedt 2009.

[74] *IG Cyrenaica*² 014100 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 56).

surement units.[75] The first we find in this document – an *alpha* superscribed with the bar of a *tau* – is a standard abbreviation for τά(λαντον) that recurs abundantly in Egyptian papyri,[76] both as a weigh and a monetary unit.[77]

Conversely, the two other abbreviations that occur in this text are neither strictly speaking Graeco-Egyptian ones, nor do they recur in Ptolemaic papyri, though they still belong to the same writing tradition.[78] Scholars unanimously agree that the ligature *my+epsilon* used in connection with grains and pulses stands for μέ(διμνος), the most common dry unit of measurement in the Greek world.[79] The lack of parallels in papyri is easily explained by the fact that Egyptians measured grains by the *artaba*, a local unit slightly smaller than a standard Attic *medimnos*.

The case of the third abbreviation attested in the accounts, the one used for liquids, is even more complex. The *damiergoi* measured oil and wine according to a unit whose abbreviation consists of a *my* with a superimposed *sigma*. Gaspare Oliverio – who misread most attestations as a *my* with a superimposed *tau* – interpreted it as an abbreviation for μ(ε)τ(ρητής), the most common Greek unit of measurement for liquids. Since 1958, when the account dated to the priesthood of Magas was first published,[80] it has become apparent that the *damiergoi* measured wine and oil according to the *smireus*, a local unit of measurement also mentioned by Hesychius.[81] For this reason, André Laronde – who still accepted Oliverio's interpretation of the abbreviation – proposed that the adoption of *metretai* as units of measurement reveal traces of Ptolemaic influence.[82] However, neither Oliverio nor Laronde noticed that such an interpretation clashes with the fact that ancient Greeks generally abbreviated words through suspension rather than contraction.[83] Several years later, Catherine

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[75] In the surviving accounts, both the ἅμαξα (used for hay) and the local ῥῖπος (used to measure ἄχυρα, i.e., chaff or, more likely, straw) are never abbreviated. On these units, cf. Oliverio 1933, 109-110; Dobias-Lalou 1985, 180; Dobias-Lalou 2000, 202.

[76] On abbreviation in papyri, see Wilcken 2010, 47-54; Blanchard 1974; Gonis 2009.

[77] The latter use is not attested in Cyrenaica except in an early-first-century honorary decree for Aleximachos from Arsinoe/Taucheira (*IG Cyrenaica*[2] 066900, l. 49); see Dobias-Lalou 2017, 200-201; Rosamilia 2023a, 203-204.

[78] Cf. also the abbreviation found in O.Cret.Chers. 1-75 (ca. 150-250 CE): a *my* with a superimposed *epsilon*, which N. Litinas, O.Cret.Chers. at pp. 11-16, interprets as standing for με(τρετής).

[79] In second-century accounts, the *damiergoi* added a superimposed *delta* to the juxtaposed *my* and *epsilon* (see Tab. 2).

[80] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 063900 (Rosamilia 2023a, no. 49), l. 8: [οἴνω? σμ]ιρεὺς ἀν : XX. The text was first published by Fraser 1958, no. 2, who noticed the connection (see esp. 108).

[81] Hsch. σ 1265, s.v. σμιρεύς Hansen: σμιρεύς· μέτρον οἰνικὸν εἰς Πεντάπολιν Λιβύης. On the *smireus*, see Fraser 1958, 106-107; Dobias-Lalou 1985, 180; Chamoux 1988, 151; Dobias-Lalou 2000, 202-203.

[82] Laronde 1987, 326-327. This idea was originally followed in part by Dobias-Lalou 1985, 180, as well.

[83] McLean 2002, 51. See also Threatte, *Grammar*, I, 99-101.

Dobias-Lalou realised that this abbreviation stood for the word σμ(ιρεύς), thereby proving that the liquid unit of measurement had never changed.

Abbreviations in Phase-4 documents are not limited to units of measurements. In the account dating from the year of Hagesistratos, we find ligatures for wheat and barley for the first time. These are attested in other accounts (Fig. 19) and have close parallels in contemporary Egyptian texts.[84] This same account contains a third abbreviation not found in other Cyrenaean documents: a *kappa*, whose vertical stroke is surmounted by the V-shaped upper part of an *upsilon*, a ligature for κυ(αμοί), i.e., lentils. While ligatures for pulses are quite rare in Egyptian documents and abbreviations through suspension are far more widespread,[85] a similar "monogram" recurs in several Hellenistic papyri.[86]

The context that saw the adoption of these abbreviations calls for closer analysis. Since the upper portion of the account in which these abbreviations for units of measurement occur for the first time does not survive, we cannot exclude the possibility that it included abbreviations for crops as well. Quite the contrary: it stands to reason that the *damiergoi* adopted both sets of abbreviations at around the same time, namely, after Ptolemaic control over Cyrenaica tightened in the 250s. In such case, these abbreviations may attest to the influence of Graeco-Egyptian accounting practices and administrative traditions even at the civic level.

The later evolution of this practice too merits a closer look. Abbreviations for units of measurement became a recurring feature in Phase-4 accounts; nonetheless, in the long run the *damiergoi* stopped using abbreviations for crop names and reverted to writing them out in full.[87] This may have happened because the crop abbreviations borrowed from Egypt were incompatible with local needs. For instance, the ligature for wheat used by the *damiergoi* is formed by crossing a *pi* with an *upsilon* and is easily understandable as a *siglum* for πυ(ροί). In the local dialect of Cyrene, however, the same word is spelled σπυροί, with an initial *sigma* that is missing from

[84] Wilcken 2010, 48; Blanchard 1974, 4. Early occurrences of the abbreviation for wheat (πυροί) include, for instance, P.Cair.Zen. I 59004, col. I, l. 2 (redistribution of flour for a party traveling through Palestine; likely summer 259) and BGU VI 1227, l. 14 (attribution of a *kleros* to a Cyrenaean; Oxyrhynchite nome, nov. 259). For particularly well-preserved attestations, see BGU VII 1505 (*ostrakon* receipt; Philadelphia, Arsinoite nome; 16th regnal year of either Ptolemy IV or Ptolemy V, that is, 206 or 189). For barley, see, for instance, P.Cair.Zen. II 59292 (an account of cereal expenditures from the estate of Apollonios; 250), wherein the abbreviation for wheat is attested as well.

[85] Cf. e.g., P.Tebt. III 845, frg. 2, l. 25: κυά(μου) νη′ (account of cereals and other produce from the Tantathoites toparchy; 22nd regnal year, possibly of Ptolemy II: 264).

[86] P.Tebt. III 828, ll. 5 and 13 (Tebtynis; report on unproductive land, 130/29 or slightly later).

[87] On the dating of Phase-4 accounts, see Rosamilia 2017; Rosamilia 2016, 88-96. The latter is reprinted with minor additions in Rosamilia 2023a, 179-184.

the ligature.[88] As a result, these abbreviations could easily be perceived as foreign. Even so, another factor may be more relevant.

As proven by Phase-1 accounts, local viewers did not need to have the *damiergoi* write down units of measurement in order to understand the accounts. For this reason, ligatures for measurement units could easily be ignored with no loss of information. On the other hand, abbreviations for crop names, while perfectly comprehensible to the *damiergoi* and Ptolemaic officials, could be nearly unintelligible to the local population. If the *damiergoi* were really striving for greater readability when they stopped using crop abbreviations in their accounts, then they must have still looked upon the general Cyrenaean population as their main audience.

5. Conclusions

As we have seen, a preliminary division of the thirty-eight surviving *damiergoi* accounts into four different phases provides us with a fundamental starting point for the study of the evolution of the layout, medium, and publication strategies of the *damiergoi*.

The use of imported marble as the only writing medium reflects a local epigraphic habit. Despite this, the physical characteristics and format of the inscribed accounts vary greatly over the decades, showing that the *damiergoi* never implemented any long-term publication plan. Early accounts privilege inscriptions on marble panels or a free-standing plinth whose sides preserve the only four accounts whose complete text survives. On the other hand, free-standing stelae with architectural decorations became increasingly common in Phases 2 and 3, but were completely abandoned in Phase 4, when inscriptions on marble panels became the norm again.

In terms of layout, early accounts tend to be inscribed as continuous texts, save, on occasion, for the first few lines. On the other hand, the letter-cutters of Phase-4 accounts resort to a two-sub-column format that probably indicates the influence of archival and administrative records on perishable media.

While many of the *damiergoi*'s decisions can be attributed to their conservativism – as can their use of local acrophonic numerals until the mid-third century, for example – some accounts attest to the impact of external practices and layout strategies. Attic acrophonic numerals, for instance, sometimes found their way into the accounts, while in the 260s, even the *damiergoi* resigned themselves to the fact that they had to use Milesian numerals (by then nearly standard) in their accounts. Moreover, once Ptolemaic control of the region intensified circa the mid-third century, the influence of Egyptian administrative practices on Cyrenaean accounts grew stronger and more widespread.

[88] Dobias-Lalou 1985, 175; Dobias-Lalou 2000, 196.

On the other hand, in at least one instance, we can detect the audience's impact on the publication of these accounts. As we have seen, the *damiergoi* introduced abbreviations influenced by Egyptian ones for crops and units of measurement between later Phase-3 account and the earliest Phase-4 one. While abbreviations for units of measurement posed no problems for local readers, the same apparently did not hold true for those used for crops. The fact that these abbreviations disappear from later Phase-4 accounts probably attests to local resistance to their adoption, one strong enough to force a return to fully spelled-out names for crops.

All in all, the *damiergoi* accounts offer us a unique opportunity to view the *longue durée* evolution of the formatting, layout, and medium choices of a group of civic magistrates who faced the challenge of external influences, internal pressures, and their own conservativism over the course of more than two centuries.

Addendum: Cyrenaean *smireis* in P.Marm.

Whereas above we relied on papyrological evidence to shed light on some less understood aspects of Cyrenaean inscriptions and their layout, there is at least one case in which epigraphic evidence can probably return the compliment. At some point between the 15th and the 20th year of the joint reign of Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta (206/7 to 211/2 CE), an unknown Roman administrator of the Marmarican nome had two lists of estates confiscated by the Fiscus compiled by two of his subordinates.[89] These two separate papyri were later reused, cut, and pasted together to create a new roll, on whose *verso* another scribe penned Favorinus of Arles' *On Exile* in around the mid-third century CE.

The two original documents – collectively known as P.Vat.Gr. 11 recto or the Papyrus Marmarica (P.Marm.) – list and describe over one hundred estates and provide details on the location revenues – in *denaria* or in kind – generated by each estate over a five-year period. One of the most puzzling aspects of these two exceptional documents is the fact that the revenues in wine and oil alternate between two different units of measurement. Most columns use the expected κερ(άμιον), but in some parts of columns I and IV[90] we find instead a puzzling abbreviation that consists of a *zeta* with a superimposed *my*. The initial editors of P.Marm. – Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa – attributed a numerical value to the first letter and thus read this

[89] According to M. Norsa - G. Vitelli, P.Vat.Gr. 11, at p. XIX, P.Marm. dates from the last years of Commodus' reign. On the other hand, both Alessandrì 2013 and Bastianini 2011, 2 n. 6, convincingly argue in favour of a date in the Severan period. In the absence of the document's header, one might legitimately ask whether P.Marm. registered revenues that had already been collected (Alessandrì 2013, 238) or the revenues expected from the five-year farming-out contracts of these properties. If the latter is the case, P.Marm. might date from the 14th or 15th year of the joint reign of Septimius Severus and his sons, that is, 205/6 or 206/7 CE. On P.Marm. in general, see also Ricciardetto 2015, with further bibliography. Photos of this papyrus can be accessed at: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap.Vat.gr.11>.

[90] P.Marm. col. 1, ll. 6 (twice), 10, and 12; col. 4, ll. 4 and 32.

abbreviation as ((ἑπτά))μ(ετρον) *scil.* κεράμιον, that is, as a "seven-unit *keramion*".[91] In this context *keramion* is quite likely the equivalent of the Latin *amphora quadrantal*, the standard unit of measurement for liquids in the Roman Empire. Therefore, if we consider the *metron* as an equivalent of the Latin *congius* (i.e., 1/8 of the *keramion*), then this means that the *heptametron* was only 1/8 smaller than the *keramion*.[92] While this double standard probably had much to do with various local traditions across the Marmarican nome, we should still ask ourselves whether we are interpreting the abbreviation correctly, and consider whether an alternative explanation is possible.

As we have seen, the inhabitants of Cyrene had been using a local unit of measurement for liquids – the *smireus* – since at least the reign of Magas.[93] However, the alternative spelling <ζμ> for words beginning with <σμ> is quite common in Roman Egypt, where both would have been read as */zm/*.[94] Therefore, it would not be surprising if the scribe of P.Marm. thought of this unit of measurement as a ζμιρεύς. This means that the abbreviation that recurs, albeit infrequently, in the P.Marm. is compatible with an ascending abbreviation for ζμ(ιρεύς). Admittedly, this abbreviation differs from the descending one attested in the *damiergoi* account from Cyrene, but it is based on the same logic as the ascending abbreviation for *medimnos* in the accounts. This suggests that though the origin of the abbreviation in P.Marm. may differ, it falls within the frame of the same tradition.

This new understanding of the abbreviation *zeta+my* in P.Marm. has several additional consequences. Not all the places mentioned in P.Marm. adopted the *smireis* as a measurement unit. For instance, in col. IV we find *smireis* in the Sybiake district,[95] while the inhabitants of the Septoumiake district (discussed next) used *keramia* instead.[96] The names of these two districts provide a possible clue for the reason behind this. Septoumiake, in particular, was probably named after the reigning emperor, Septimius Severus. This suggests at least some form of imperial-sanctioned intervention that may have easily involved the adoption of standard Roman weights and measures. Sybiake's name, on the other hand, cannot be traced back to Roman or Greek roots and may, in fact, be a far older Libyan toponym. Another factor may instead be at play here: the districts' collocation.

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[91] M. Norsa - G. Vitelli, P.Vat.Gr. 11, at p. 51 on col. I l. 6; see also Catani 1985, 150. On *keramia*, see Wilcken 2010, 87.

[92] While measurements of wheat made μέτρῳ ἐλαιουργικ(ῷ) {ΑΝΑ} ἑπταμέ|τρωι Ἀθη(ναίωι) τῆς ἀρτάβης (P.Flor. III 356, ll. 11-12) are attested sporadically in the Heracleopolite nome (see Clarysse 1985), this *metron* is clearly a dry measure.

[93] See § 4.2 above.

[94] Gignac, *Gram.* I, 120-122. See also Schwyzer, *Gr.Gramm.* I, 217-218 § 4, c, δ, 1.

[95] P.Marm. col. 4, ll. 1-39.

[96] P.Marm. col. 4, ll. 40-47.

Until quite recently, scholars were somewhat sceptical of the possibility of pinpointing the location of each district in Marmarica.[97] Thanks to the different descriptions of landscapes in the papyrus and the parallels provided by other ancient sources, Anna-Katharina Rieger was able to reconstruct a preliminary map of the Marmarican region and its districts in 2017. Independently of the present discussion, she placed both the Sybiake district and the one in col. I – the only ones in which *smireis* were used – on the western border of Marmarica, just east of Darnis.[98] Since the Cyrenaeans had many vested interests in western Marmarica from at least the mid-fourth century on,[99] the *smireis*-using areas were thus comprised of places and populations that had been under the direct influence of Cyrene for a long time. It shall come as no surprise then that the conservative local *nomima*, even several centuries later, still included the traditional Cyrenaean units of measurement.

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[97] According to Catani 1985, 154, we should look for the Septoumiake region (or town) to the west of Katabathmos and close to Cyrenaica.

[98] Rieger 2017, 107 and 118–119.

[99] Laronde 1987, 219–232. See also the *diagramma* of Ptolemy I (spring 320), which granted citizen rights in Cyrene to the children of any Cyrenaean man and any Libyan woman born "between Katabathmos and Authamalax" (*IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 010800, ll. 2–3; Rosamilia 2023a, no. 3).

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The Recipient's Design: Some Notes on the Layout of Hellenistic Royal Correspondence on Stone

Alice Bencivenni

The vast majority of Hellenistic rulers' correspondence is known from texts preserved on stone.[1] With the exception of some epistles transmitted through literary sources and, for the Ptolemies, through papyri, it is inscriptions that preserve the greatest number of royal letters representative of the most important dynasties.[2] Any analysis of the layout of royal letters is therefore largely conditioned by the epigraphic medium, which has the property of being methodologically functional in defining the position and power of the recipient. This medium determines some fundamental aspects: on the one hand, it amplifies a quality inherent in this type of written text, that is the distance between those who produce and those who receive the correspondence; on the other hand, it influences all the distinctive features of the materiality of the letter, its layout and function, granting the recipient of the message, rather than the sender, the power to determine the design *of* the text and to have designs *for* the text.

[1] All dates are BCE. An updated list and/or collection of all extant pieces of Hellenistic royal correspondence in inscriptions is still unavailable. Pioneers on the subject, providing editions and commentaries of the inscriptions known at the time, are Schubart 1920 (including papyri); Schroeter 1932; Welles, *RC*; Wilhelm 1943. Editions of letters and διαγράμματα of the Antigonids are in Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institution* II, with an updated list of new texts in Hatzopoulos 2006, 85-86; Mari 2018, *passim*; Arnaoutoglou 2020, 304, tables 15.1-15.2. Concerning the Ptolemies, editions – both papyri and inscriptions – of ordinances (προστάγματα), ordinances written in epistolary format (ἐπιστολαί and ἐντολαί) and, if appropriate, attached petitions to kings (ἐντεύξεις) or officials (ὑπομνήματα) are in *C.Ord. Ptol.*[2]. Recent additions: a list in Käppel 2021, 512; *I.Ptolemaic* 84, 125; *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 016800, 062830. Epigraphic letters of Antigonids and Ptolemies found in Asia or on "islands in Asiatic waters" are collected in Welles, *RC*, which lacks recent discoveries. A full list of the royal correspondence inscriptions of the Seleukids and the Attalids is in Bencivenni 2014, 165-171, updated in Boffo 2021, 382 n. 20.

[2] Fundamental overviews of Hellenistic royal correspondence include Muir 2009, 83-116; Virgilio 2011, 19-75; Ceccarelli 2013, 297-311, and 2017; Sickinger 2013.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Alice Bencivenni, *The Recipient's Design: Some Notes on the Layout of Hellenistic Royal Correspondence on Stone*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.07, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 79-99, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

1. Communication at a Distance

If we start from the definition of "letter" recently proposed by Roy K. Gibson and Andrew Morrison:[3]

> (a) a written message from one person (or set of people) to another, (b) requiring to be set down in a tangible medium, (c) which itself is to be physically conveyed from sender(s) to recipient(s), (d) overtly addressed from sender(s) to recipient(s), by the use at beginning and end of one of a limited set of conventional formulae of salutation (or some allusive variation on them) which specify both parties to the transaction, (e) [usually involving] two parties [who] are *physically distant (separated) from one another*, and so are unable to communicate by unmediated voice or gesture, (f) normally expected to be of relatively limited length;

it will be noted that distance plays a decisive role in shaping epistolary communication, as is indeed implicit in the etymology of one of the Greek terms documented as indicating this written object, namely ἐπιστολή.[4] Even though it does not refer to the medium, which is an essential component of this form of communication, Paola Ceccarelli's definition is telling in this regard:[5]

> a written process of communication between two or more specific individuals or groups (real or fictional) who find themselves in a situation of *spatial distance*, or more precisely, who are *not in direct, face-to-face contact*. As a result of this *spatial distance*, and of the *time-lag* necessary for the letter to arrive at its destination, epistolary exchanges imply a *temporal distance*, which will find a reflection in the temporal deixis adopted in the letter itself.

Although there are particular cases in Greek papyri in which distance is not a *conditio sine qua non* for classifying a document as an epistle,[6] the parameter of distance is, in fact, significant for the epistolography on stone. Indeed, distance has to do not only with the movement, in space and time, through which the message and its medium are transferred from the sender to the recipient, but also with the movement, in space and time, through which the message is transferred from one medium to another, from the perishable medium (mostly papyrus) to stone. From

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[3] Gibson and Morrison 2007, 3 (italics by the author). Similar statement in Muir 2009, 1; Sarri 2018, 5.

[4] Ceccarelli 2013, 17.

[5] Ceccarelli 2013, 9 (italics by the author). I am deeply grateful to Paola Ceccarelli for her authoritative information and epistolary advice.

[6] According to Mirizio 2021, 3, letters that were not sent and copies of letters kept by the sender or by an office for reference purposes are to be considered exceptions. As far as letters attested in Greek inscriptions are concerned, letters that were written as such even if the writing king/queen was sojourning in the addressed city could be considered exceptions: e.g. *I.Sardis* II 307-310 (Antiochos III and Laodike to the people of Sardis in 213).

this point of view, distance is doubled: after the message departed from its sender and first redactor, another step was added, one which took place at the addressee's end and might on occasion be greatly delayed in time, from the papyrus to another medium, with all that follows in terms of the layout and function of the text. The distance is attested to by words: of the several terms used in the Greek language to refer to the epistolary document, many concern the material on which the letter was inscribed (βυβλίον/βιβλίον, μολύβδιον, διφθέρα) and its shape (πίναξ, δέλτος/δελτίον),[7] but none the stone medium. Disposition on stone is evidently a secondary disposition.

For official epigraphic correspondence, what inevitably counts is the disposition on the stone medium decided by the recipient, with this latter to be understood as the addressee of the letter, as well as, in some cases, the recipient of the advantages that the letter guarantees, be it a city, an institutionally defined group, an official, or a single individual. The recipient thus defined was not necessarily responsible for deciding the publication on stone, although this was most often the case – instances of Hellenistic kings prescribing that their letters or ordinances be written on stone are indeed rare;[8] conversely, the recipient was always the author of the disposition the text assumes on the new medium.

The existence of formats predetermined by kings when they prescribed the stone engraving of their communications seems to be disproven by the very ap-

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[7] Ceccarelli 2013, 15-16; cf. Sarri 2018, 16-24.

[8] Bencivenni 2014, 145-151, with references to the only two Attalid inscriptions (Welles, *RC* 51 and 53, letters of Eumenes II to κάτοικοι and to the guild of the Dionysiac artists respectively) and nine Seleukid inscriptions, whose publication was ordered by the king. This list includes *SEG* XXXV 1476 (Anaxarchos to the οἰκεταί of the island of Ikaros forwarding a letter of the official Ikadion to Anaxarchos, 203/2?); *SEG* XXIX 1613 (six letters of Antiochos III and two ὑπομνήματα of Ptolemy son of Thraseas to the king, 202/1 and 199-195); Welles, *RC* 44 (letter of Antiochos III to an official, 189); Ma 2004, no. 43A (letter of Antiochos III to an official [?], 220-188); Welles, *RC* 70 (letter of king Antiochos to Euphemos followed by ὑπομνηματισμός by the king; cf. *IGLS* VII 4028; second copy with Seleukid date corresponding to 143, Hallof 2022); four letter-προστάγματα: the letter of Antiochos II in the dossier concerning the sale of lands and a village to queen Laodike in 254/3 (Welles, *RC* 18-20); the letter of Antiochos III in the dossier concerning Nikanor in 209, two copies (Ma, *Antiochos* 4 and *SEG* LIV 1353); the letter of Antiochos III in the dossier concerning the cult of queen Laodike in 193, three copies (Ma, *Antiochos* 37, *IG Iran Asie centr.* 66 and 68); the letter of Seleukos IV to his chief minister Heliodoros in the dossier concerning Olympiodoros in 178, now attested in three copies (*CIIP* IV 3511, cf. *SEG* LVII 1838; *CIIP* IV 3512, cf. *SEG* LXIV 1781; *SEG* LXV 1640). In Antigonid correspondence, the king regularly prescribes publication for ordinances both directly (military διαγράμματα) and indirectly through his subordinates (civic διαγράμματα; Hatzopoulos 2006, 82-84): Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 13 (second copy *SEG* LI 640bis); 15; 16 (full text in Hatzopoulos 2021-2022, 7-8); *SEG* LVI 625. Some Antigonid letters bear instructions for publication too: Demetrios to Ladamas (?), Hatzopoulos 2006, 88-89 (unpublished); Antigonos Gonatas to Agasikles, *SEG* XLVIII 783 (second copy *SEG* LI 796); Philip V to the Κατλεσταί, Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 5; Philip V to Archippos, Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 17. An order to publish the attached πρόσταγμα is also in the Ptolemaic letter of Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV Caesar to the *strategos* of the Herakleopolite nomos in 41 (*C.Ord. Ptol.*[2] 75-76).

pearance of these inscriptions, in particular when letters written by the same king or multiple copies of the same text are preserved. The three surviving copies of the letter-πρόσταγμα with which Antiochos III established the cult of queen Laodike in 193 are a case in point. These inscriptions, coming from Dodurga (Phrygia), the area of present-day Kermanshah (Media), and Laodikeia (Media), differ completely in terms of medium, writing and layout characteristics.[9]

The first is a rectangular stele of white marble with scarcely characterized writing, except for the smaller, suspended round letters and for some letters inclined to the right (*epsilon*, *iota*, *pi*, *tau*, *ypsilon*), carved with little care and order, in a "négligeé" manner.[10] The stonecutter engraved the two documents composing the dossier in reverse chronological order, faithful to the typical sequence of sending attachments: first the letter from the official Anaximbrotos to Dionytas, then the letter, sent by the sender as an attachment, from Antiochos III to Anaximbrotos. He also respected the customary right alignment of the final epistolary formulae, closing greetings and date, found in the first document.

The second inscription is a slightly pyramidal stone slab. The letters are engraved without elegance or regularity, with round letters at times small, at times of normal size. The lines are not horizontal and rise progressively to the right. There are traces of the influence of cursive writing, although not dominant (*omega* is always cursive, *sigma* never is; *epsilon* tends towards the lunate shape but without consistency).[11] The stonecutter reversed the original sequence of the two documents that make up the dossier, restoring the chronological order: first the letter from Antiochos III to the official Menedemos, then the letter from Menedemos to Thoas, in which the sender declares that the king's letter follows (*sic*) by attachment (τοῦ γραφέντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσ|τάγματος παρὰ τοῦ βασι[λ]ẹ́ως | ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀṇτίργαφον, ll. 24-26). The two texts, separated by a vacat, are arranged in a particular way: the first, the king's, is engraved with a left margin of 3.3-3.5 cm, the second of 4.5 cm. Both epistles end with the date aligned to the right.

Finally, the third inscription is a pedimented stele with three sculpted acroteria, a tympanum decorated with a rosette, and, on either side, two flowered stems in bas-relief. The writing, inserted into the epigraphic space thus delimited, is elegant and very accurate, with circular letters of smaller dimension, at times squeezed into the small spaces between larger letters, and no influence of cursive writing.[12] Each line starts with an entire word and can end with a variable vacat. The stonecutter

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[9] Ma, *Antiochos* 37; *IG Iran Asie centr.* 68 and 66 respectively.

[10] Holleaux 1930, 246 and pl. XII-XIII. Cf. Fig. 20.

[11] Rougemont in *IG Iran Asie centr.* 68, esp. at p. 144 and fig. 68.1-2. Cf. Fig. 21. I wish to thank Françoise Rougemont and Rémy Boucharlat for kindly providing me with the pictures of this inscription and of the following one.

[12] Rougemont in *IG Iran Asie centr.* 66, at pp. 143-144 and fig. 66. Cf. Figs. 22A-22B.

faithfully reproduced the sequence in which the two documents that make up the dossier were received: first the letter from the official Menedemos to Apollodotos, then, separated by a vacat, the letter, sent as an attachment, from Antiochos III to Menedemos. In both cases the date is aligned to the right.

The comparison between these three specimens, and especially between the last two, which originated from the same area and were produced at the same time at a distance of about 150 km from each other, shows that the epigraphic production – medium and writing – was largely dependent on contingencies related to the "epigraphic habit" and to the skills of the available craftsmen.[13] As regards the layout, then, the discretion of the recipient was decisive: in this case the recipient was the local officials given the assignment to publish the letters on stone, for they represented the last link of the Seleukid hierarchical chain through which the royal order was transmitted in the form of attachments cascading down through the various administrative units. The surprising choice, attested by the Kermanshah specimen, that led Thoas to place the king's epistle at the top contrary to tried and tested bureaucratic practice, may well be the result of a mere material error on the part of Thoas himself or the epigraphic workshop;[14] however, it may instead indicate the pointless zeal of an inexperienced official. The pre-eminence of the royal text was indeed enhanced not so much by its position on the epigraphic medium, but rather by the practice of vividly representing in stone the effective transmission of the royal order through a string of officials located in the remotest territories of the kingdom.[15] The very publication of the letters in compliance with the instructions in the attachment and the evidence represented by the dating formula aligned to the right, essential for certifying the temporal distance of the epistolary communication, combined to emphasize the efficiency of the Seleukid system of governance in space and time.[16]

This obviously does not exclude the possibility that epistolary publications engraved in chronologically and geographically congruent areas may display a certain homogeneity of format. Such is the case, for instance, of the dossier of Seleukeia in Pieria, composed of a decree by the city and the letter by Seleukos IV to Theophilos and to the city itself, as well as the Maresha dossier, in which Seleukos IV's let-

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[13] As Rougemont states in *IG Iran Asie centr*. at p. 144, the difference between the formats cannot be necessarily attributed to the contrast between the potential of a Greek city (Laodikeia) and that of a military district (area of Kermanshah).

[14] The stonecutter of Ma, *Antiochos* 4, a huge stone stele "topped by a large, semi-circular pediment, with the numerals αβγʹ carved discreetly", was perhaps trying to avoid similar mistakes, reminding himself of "the order in which to carve the letters". Cf. Malay 1987, 7 n. 5 and pl. 4-5.

[15] Ma, *Antiochos*, at pp. 147-150; Capdetrey 2007, 344-359.

[16] Concerning the fast delivery of royal correspondence through the vast territory of the Seleukid realm, cf. Bencivenni 2014, 159-160. Regarding dates as visual separators, cf. Kosmin 2018, 73-75.

ter to Heliodoros is preceded by two letters from Seleukid officials.[17] The two tall stelae, dated 186 and 178 respectively, are very similar, surmounted by a pediment, jutting only in the first case, with three acroteria at the corners and a rosette relief in the center.[18]

In some instances, the publication of a royal letter on stone depended on obtaining a permission from the king, which implied his approval and, possibly, his economic contribution to the epigraphic production, but apparently not his intervention with regard to the format of the inscription. In the letter by Attalos, brother of Eumenes II, concerning the privileges of the κάτοικοι of Apollo Tarsenos, reference is made to an [ἀξίωμα] presented to the king in which the κάτοικοι expressed the desire to engrave the requested concessions on stone. This exchange resulted in the production of an inscription in which Attalos' epistle is followed by another fragmentary text in smaller letters, perhaps an accompanying message.[19] In the ὑπόμνημα addressed by Kadoos, priest of Apollo Pleurenos, to the ἀρχιερεύς Euthydemos (after 188), permission is asked for the erection of a stele with the names of the initiates. This prompted the exchange of at least three letters between the officials in charge of executing the request. The result was the production of a stele bearing a molding at the top with the depiction of an olive branch followed by the ὑπόμνημα of Kadoos, including only two of the three letters containing the *fiat* of the officials and a fragmentary list of initiates.[20]

The most significant example of this phenomenon remains the astounding monument engraved by the priests of Isis in Philae between 124 and 116. After having been granted the requested privilege from Ptolemy VIII, Kleopatra II and Kleopatra III, namely an exemption from the obligation to provide supplies for officials and troops passing through the area, they also obtained the concession to ἀναθεῖναι στήλην ἐν ἧι ἀναγράψομεν | τὴν γεγονυῖαν ἡμῖν ὑφ'ὑμῶν περὶ τούτων φιλανθρωπίαν, |

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[17] Welles, *RC* 45 and *CIIP* IV 3511 (cf. *SEG* LVII 1838). Regarding uniformity of Seleukid letters' display-practices, cf. Ceccarelli 2017, 241.

[18] Seyrig 1932, pl. LIV; Cotton and Wörrle 2007, figs. 1, 4-5. Cf. Fig. 23. The existence of a second copy of this last inscription set up in the same city (Maresha/Beit Guvrin) is now attested by a very fragmentary stele (*CIIP* IV 3512). It is difficult to explain the need for two copies in the same area: as the king Seleukos IV ordered to Heliodoros that τὸ ἀντίγρα|[φον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς (τῆς) ἡμετέρας ἀνα]γραφὲν εἰς στήλας | [λιθίνας, ἀνατεθῆι ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεσ]τάτοις τῶν ἐν τοῖς | [τόποις ἱερῶν] (*CIIP* IV 3511, fr. e, ll. 12-15), the editor, Dov Gera, assumes that Diophanes, the last recipient of the king's order, decided to place one copy in the lower and one copy in the upper part of the city (Tel Maresha/Sandaḥanna), unless it is to be supposed that one inscription "accidentally broke while in preparation".

[19] Welles, *RC* 47 (cf. Chandezon, *Elevage* 50) and, below, n. 38. As far as I know, no image of this inscription is available.

[20] Ma, *Antiochos* 49 (cf. *SEG* XLVI 1519); cf. Malay and Nalbantoğlu 1996, 75-79, no. 1 and fig. 1, pl. XVI; below, n. 37. Regarding the status of the sanctuary of Apollo Pleurenos, cf. most recently Walser 2015, 425.

ἵνα ἡ ὑμετέρα χάρις ἀείμνηστος ὑπάρχει παρ'αὐτῆι εἰς τὸν | ἅπαντα χρόνον.[21] Although the request explicitly referred to a stele, and the sovereigns consequently permitted it to be erected, in fact the priests later decided otherwise. Their ἔντευξις, preceded by two royal letters – the first, in which the sovereigns forwarded the letter addressed to Lochos, the στρατηγός of the Thebaid, granting the publication, and a second attached letter for Lochos with the order of execution –, was engraved on the base of one of the two nine-meter-high pink granite obelisks that stood in front of the propylaea of the temple of Isis. The case of the famous Philae Obelisk, now situated out of context in the lawns of the Kingston Lacy estate in Dorset, attests to how decisive the recipient's disposition was and how far it could stray from the sender's control.[22]

2. Letters and Official Correspondence

The letter is an eminently written communication, γράμμα/τα, a sequence of signs.[23] This is all the more true for epistles transferred onto stone, in which the visual aspect of the message is magnified by the epigraphic medium and reinforced by its public display, the latter always motivated by a precise purpose that goes beyond the original needs of communication between sender and recipient. If we consider, as mentioned above, that publication on stone was foreseen by the king himself for only a small percentage of the texts of royal messages, the rest of the documentation shows that the emergence of monumentalized letters stemmed for the most part from the initiative of the recipient (or beneficiary of the king's orders).[24]

In any case, for both letters the king himself wanted on stone and letters written on the initiative of the recipient/beneficiary, the execution often involved other texts, alongside and in addition to the royal letters and ordinances in epistolary form. Therefore, the scope of royal correspondence is not limited to the documents related to the identity of the king-sender of the epistolary communication, but covers the outgoing and incoming flow of documents produced by the court chancery and local administrative offices more broadly.[25] Furthermore, since the state of the available evidence entails the majority of these texts having been preserved by virtue of being put on public display at the city level, also the civic decrees that established

[21] *I.Egypte prose* 22, ll. 37-40 (cf. *OGIS* 137-139; *SB* 8396; *C.Ord.Ptol.*[2] 51-52; *I.Philae* 19; *I.Alexandrie ptol.* 42). A new edition of the texts will be available in *I.Ptolemaic* 424.

[22] Letronne 1842, pl. XV, I; for the Greek inscription: Masséglia 2020, 17, fig. 2.6B. Käppel 2021, 406-414, analyses the few cases of Ptolemaic ordinances written on stone. Cf. Fig. 25.

[23] Ceccarelli 2013, 16-17; Sarri 2018, 22-24.

[24] Bencivenni 2010; 2014, 145-151. This implies that stone inscription was carried out only when the king's word was favorable and helpful, which explains the generally positive content of the surviving letters.

[25] On Hellenistic royal chanceries: Virgilio 2011, 55-69.

a dialogue with the sovereign are relevant for investigating the layout of communications carried out by the king (and with the king).

In many cases the king's letter is accompanied on the same stone by letters from officials, petitions from individuals or groups addressing the king or his officials, and/or civic decrees. This practice gave rise to dossiers of documents on durable material, sometimes faithfully mirroring the specimens stored and preserved in the archives. Investigating the materiality of royal epistolary texts thus entails a systematic analysis of the inscribed documents that may be situated in the same context of display and/or on the same medium. However, while the first two types of documents – letters from officials and petitions – are traditionally the focus of research on Hellenistic rulers' correspondence and are included in relevant thematic collections,[26] civic decrees issued in the context of diplomatic exchange with sovereigns have only recently received their due attention.[27]

Three dossiers, comprising selected documents from the 280s-260s, illustrate the impact that the medium and the arrangement of texts have on our understanding of the historical circumstances behind the diplomatic contacts between Hellenistic rulers and cities.

On the north anta of the temple of Athena Polias in Priene, the city published, among other documents, at least two texts pertaining to the diplomatic exchange with king Lysimachos, placing them immediately below the dedication and edict issued by Alexander the Great. Significantly, the first to be engraved, although it did not represent the very first instance of contact between the parties, is a decree in honor of Lysimachos, with the words Βασιλεῖ [Λυσιμάχωι] placed before it, the transposition of the archive heading indicating the dedicatee of the honors being granted.[28] Below the decree is engraved the letter written by the king c. 286, after having received the honorary decree. This letter clearly reveals that the king did indeed grant concessions, while also making sure to reassert his previous epistolary request for obedience, promptly met by the city. The latter document, about which the city remains silent, was significantly excluded from public display.[29] As has been noted, the selection of the two documents represents, in a fictional narrative of a long distance dialogue, the incommunicability between the parties.[30] The city asserts its pre-eminence on stone,

[26] Letters of officials and petitions are accordingly taken into account when projects of comprehensive *corpora* on Hellenistic royal correspondence are outlined: Virgilio 2011, 73-75.

[27] Bertrand 1990; Ma, *Antiochos*, at pp. 179-242; Ceccarelli 2005; 2013, 298-311; 2018; Mari 2018; Capdetrey 2021, 331-334. An exception is Welles, *RC* 45 from Seleukeia in Pieria, extensively studied already by Holleaux 1933: the engraving of the decree is the occasion for publishing the king's letter as an attachment.

[28] *I.Priene B - M* 2, l. 1 (*I.Priene* 14); images available in *I.Priene B - M* 2 II, at pp. 2-3. Cf. Boffo 2003, 61-67; 2021, 526.

[29] *I.Priene B - M* 3, ll. 11-12 (*I.Priene* 15); image available in *I.Priene B - M* 2 II, at p. 4.

[30] Bertrand 1990, 110-111.

silencing the king's word when unfavorable, monumentalizing it when favorable. Yet the archive heading Βασιλεῖ [Λυσιμάχωι], enlarged and dilated in the epigraphic space, is transformed into a conspicuous syntagm whose function is reminiscent of the dative case of the epistolary recipient, to the great pride of the city: immediately after Alexander, who had dedicated the temple imposing his presence on Priene, the city is able to boast of its correspondence with Lysimachos.

Around 270, Kyme successfully turned to Philetairos to purchase a supply of weapons in the critical circumstances of impending war and rewarded his free donation with appreciative honors. The city chose to display a white marble stele in which the dynast's letter is set between two decrees of the city in the Aeolic dialect, fully in line with the chronology of diplomatic contacts, with each new document starting on a new line without indentation. The missive in *koine* Greek is somehow highlighted by two *paragraphoi* delimiting it at the top and bottom,[31] as well as by the particular care exercised by the stonecutter in engraving the letters, whose total number per line is considerably more regular than in the two decrees.[32] At the same time, after the closing greeting on the same line, separated by a vacat, the letter bears a date, preceded and followed by a vacat, referring to the local calendar of Kyme. The date reproduced on the stele is the one affixed by the offices of the city upon receipt and filing of the epistle:[33] the local color thus acquired by the royal letter contributes to underlining the civic appropriation of the king's word and his benefits.

Even more explicit is the image in stone of the act of the king's word entering into the local public context in Miletos. The letter that Ptolemy II wrote to the city at the end of the 260s to praise its civic loyalty to the Ptolemaic cause was engraved at the top of a bluish marble stele, followed by two decrees.[34] Each new document starts on a new line with no indentation and is separated from the previous one by an interlinear space; the king's letter includes a final farewell formula, on the same line albeit separated by a vacat. The first decree is the brief open προβούλευμα, ratified by the council and the assembly, which approves the presentation of the royal letter and the envoy introducing the document to the assembly. The second is the long honorary decree for the king that ends with the decisions about disseminating the agreed-on resolutions on different media, including the publication of the decree and the letter – in this order – on a stele to be placed in the local sanctuary of Apollo. In the actual inscription, the chronological sequence of the documents prevails: first is the letter of Ptolemy II, then the decree, preceded by the προβούλευμα.

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[31] *SEG* L 1195; cf. Virgilio 2016, 217-238, esp. 230 (photograph). Regarding the use of *paragraphoi*, see most recently Faraguna 2020 and D. Amendola's chapter in this volume.

[32] Virgilio 2016, 219.

[33] Boffo 2021, 383-384.

[34] *I.Delphinion* 139 A–C (cf. *I.Milet* 139 and pl. 9). Cf. Bencivenni 2013.

Through the sequence of the texts on stone, however, the pre-eminence of the royal letter is progressively subsumed into the city's two-stage deliberative procedure as part of which the king's word literally enters into the assembly. There, the royal word is subsequently transformed and reformulated in a civic language that echoes that of the king, and then implemented through the complex institution of oaths of allegiance made as part of public events.[35]

Finally, Hellenistic official communication is characterized by the ability to "write letters" shared by the officials with their king.[36] As noted above, they passed on the king's orders to subordinates through short administrative notes in the form of letters.[37] In addition, officials had the authority to draw up articulate epistles, as autonomous senders and in full possession of the powers associated with their office, particularly when they are addressing cities. These documents are therefore usually included as part of the official correspondence of Hellenistic kings. This epistolary practice on the part of the king's officials is epigraphically documented especially in the Ptolemaic and Seleukid context,[38] in particular as practiced by officials and *strategoi* in charge of the administration of Lagid possessions outside Egypt, and Seleukid officials.[39]

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[35] Bertrand 1990, 111.

[36] On writing letters (to cities) as a royal prerogative, cf. the famous passage from Plb. 5.57.5 concerning the usurper Achaios.

[37] This procedure is fully attested for the epigraphic royal correspondence of the Seleukids (cf., for selected instances, above, n. 8). There are some instances for the Antigonids (Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 15, ll. 1-9: letter of Andronikos to the sanctuary of the Egyptian deities in Thessalonike, accompanying the διάγραμμα of Philip V on the administration of the *Serapeum*, ll. 10-28; 16, ll. 1-4: dispatch note to the ἐπιμεληταί, accompanying the διάγραμμα of Philip V on the στεφανῖται games, ll. 5-18; 19, ll. 1-6: letter of Doules to Nikolaos forwarding the circular letter of a king, Philip V or Perseus, concerning the Daisia festival); and for the Ptolemies (*SB* 3926, cf. *I.Egypte prose* 36, ll. 1-9: letter of Theon to the city of Ptolemais Hermiou, forwarding the ordinance concerning the temple of Isis issued by Ptolemy XII, ll. 10-19), who most frequently forward documents by themselves (e.g. *C.Ord.Ptol.*[2] 48-49, 51-52, 75-76; *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011100). Among the instances of Attalid royal correspondence, highly exceptional is the inscription Ma, *Antiochos* 49 (cf. *SEG* XLVI 1519), which bears two brief epistolary notes by officials conveying a ὑπόμνημα of the priest Kadoos to the high priest Euthydemos (*post* 188). Cf. Thonemann 2013, 12 on Attalid patterns of administration.

[38] There is up to now only a very doubtful instance for the Attalids. Welles, *RC* 47 (cf. Chandezon, *Elevage* 50), from Soma in the Kaikos valley, is a letter of Attalos, the brother of Eumenes II, to an official concerning the tax-exemption of the κάτοικοι of the sanctuary of Apollo Tarsenos, dated 185. The letter is followed on the stone by a very fragmentary eleven-line text on the same subject, written in smaller letters (Schuchhardt 1899, 212-214, to whom we owe, as the only testimony, the uppercase transcription of the text), which has been interpreted as a letter. *Pace* Piejko 1989, who lengthily restores the text considering it a second letter of Attalos (cf. the remarks by Herrmann in *SEG* XXXIX 1337), this document could be tentatively interpreted as a covering letter of the official addressed above to an unknown addressee (Welles in *RC* at p. 191, discarded this identification for the sender only because he stated that covering letters "regularly precedes its inclosure when published on stone", a disregarded rule, as underlined above: cf. *IG Iran Asie centr.* 68 and, for the Attalids, Ma, *Antiochos* 49).

[39] Concerning the Ptolemies, cf. the letters of Aristoboulos and Asklepiodotos to Iasos (*I.Iasos* 3), of Tlepolemos to Kildara (*SEG* XLII 994), of Thraseas to Cilician Arsinoe (*SEG* XXXIX 1426), of an

Among the examples of officials' correspondence, the texts written in the 240s and 220s by Olympichos, *strategos* of Seleukos II, at the time an independent dynast and later in the service of Antigonos Doson and Philip V,[40] are worthy of note. Pertaining to the more conspicuous so-called "Olympichos dossier",[41] they attest to the repeated publication of documents on the dispute between Mylasa and the priests of Labraunda regarding the city's right over the sanctuary and surrounding area. Among the official's letters, four were engraved upon receipt on the antae of three buildings in the sanctuary of Labraunda – the temple of Zeus (*I.Labraunda* 3 and 137), the andron A (*I.Labraunda* 4), and the andron B (*I.Labraunda* 6).[42] The other examples are known from later engravings, probably made between the end of the second and first centuries to be displayed in the same context (*I.Labraunda* 3B, copy of 3; 8B) or even in the Imperial age (*I.Labraunda* 2).[43] The distance of these specimens from the original sender is noteworthy, but their inscription on stone confirms their lasting authority for the recipients as a source of rights over the sanctuary many decades later.

3. Structure and Function of Royal Correspondence on Stone

The correspondence of Hellenistic rulers inscribed on stone underwent a double process of selection: only a small percentage of the numerous texts produced by royal chanceries and local administrations was published on durable material,[44] and

unknown official to Euromos (*SEG* XLIII 705 and XLVI 1401), and of Aratomenes (?) to Cyrene (*IG Cyrenaica*² 097600). Concerning the Seleukids, cf. in particular the letters of Olympichos, the *strategos* of Seleukos II and later independent dynast, of Ikadion, an official (*strategos*?) active in the Red Sea area, and of Zeuxis, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων of Antiochos III (on the powers, and writing powers, of Zeuxis, cf. Capdetrey 2007, 297–300). The relevant texts are, for the first, *I.Labraunda* 2, 3, 3B, 4, 6, 8B, 137 (Carless Unwin and Henry 2016); *I.Mylasa* 22 (?), 23 (addressee: Mylasa); for the second, *SEG* XXXV 1476 (to Anaxarchos); for the third, Ma, *Antiochos* 5 (?; to Amyzon), 8 (?; to Amyzon), 15 (?; to the army), 25 (to Kildara), 31B (to Heraklea on the Latmos). The identity of the sender of *I.Labraunda* 45, a letter assigned to Olympichos by the first editor Jonas Crampa, is now questioned by van Bremen 2017, 254, who convincingly identifies the author with Ptolemy "the Son", active in the 260s.

[40] Bencivenni in *Riforme costituzionali* at p. 262 n. 13; Aubriet 2012; Walser 2015, esp. 425–428.

[41] *I.Labraunda* 1–9; cf. Bencivenni, *Riforme costituzionali*, no. 9. Three new texts are now to be added to the dossier: Isager and Karlsson 2008 (*I.Labraunda* 134; cf. *SEG* LVIII 1220); Carless Unwin and Henry 2016 (*I.Labraunda* 137; cf. *SEG* LXV 996); van Bremen 2016 (*I.Labraunda* 138; cf. *SEG* LXVI 1192).

[42] Regarding the location of the anta blocks bearing the texts see most recently Carless Unwin and Henry 2016, 37–40. *LBW* 389 (*I.Mylasa* 23), copy of *I.Labraunda* 4, attributed by Jonas Crampa to the Imperial age, is probably of the late third century, contemporary with most of the Labraunda dossier, as argued by van Bremen 2016, 1.

[43] Concerning the patterns of epigraphic publication at Labraunda, cf. Isager 2011.

[44] The size of the official correspondence on papyrus can be appreciated in Sarri 2018, 53–72. Regarding the "paperassière" Seleukid administration, cf. Capdetrey 2007, 344–350. Concerning documentary practices of Hellenistic royal and civic archives, cf. Hofmann 2015, 144–147.

only a fraction of the published texts have survived to the present day. Medium, layout and context of display thus offer a picture that is incoherent and quite difficult to delineate: moreover it is challenging to gain access to the inscriptions or legible images of the inscriptions, and editions only sometimes register the phenomenon of interaction between text and medium.

As mentioned, the main reason for publishing royal correspondence on stone, from the king's point of view, was to widely spread his decisions and his power ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τόποις (e.g. Welles, *RC* 44, l. 43). From the viewpoint of the letters' recipients, it was a question of either simply obeying an order or addressing the need to guarantee the duration of the benefits granted by the king or by the official representing him (a consistent motivation in the extant evidence, since in principle only letters favorable to the recipient were eventually displayed in stone). Meleagros, *strategos* of the Hellespontic Phrygia at the time of Antiochos I, writes accordingly to urge the citizens of Ilion: καλῶς δ᾽ἂν ποήσαιτε ψηφισάμε|νοί τε πάντα τὰ φιλάνθρωπα αὐτῶι καὶ καθ᾽ ὅτι ἂν | συγχωρήσηι τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ποησάμενοι καὶ στη|λώσαντες καὶ θέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἵνα μένηι ὑμῖν | βεβαίως εἰς πάντα τὸγ χρόνον τὰ συγχωρηθέντα (*I.Ilion* 33, ll. 13-17). Although the passage refers to Aristodikides, *philos* of the king, to privileges that the city should vote for him, and to the inscription of the concessions made by him, the text is quite clear: "so that the grant may remain legally yours for all time". The city's selection of documents is significant: the stele bears the letter of the official Meleagros followed by the three letters of the king sent by him as attachments, but not the civic honorary decree for Aristodikides nor the agreement between him and the city. These texts could, of course, have been published elsewhere, but in the layout of the surviving stone the city disappears entirely in favor of Aristodikides and his king.[45] They are the two main holders of title rights over the royal lands that the king grants to his *philos* with the clause that they be added to the borders of a city. The role of Ilion, which in turn becomes the holder of rights over those lands, is mainly passive, except for the crucial decision to monumentalize the official correspondence.

Displaying the king's word significantly distances the message from its sender and, by moving it to the public sphere of a city or a sanctuary, allows the recipients to appropriate it. This process of appropriation, which makes the king's word on stone an element of the urban or sacred landscape, asserts the king's material presence in the civic context, but at the same time validates, to varying degrees, the position of the political entities engaged in dialogue with him.[46]

[45] Welles, *RC* 10-13, pl. III. Cf. Bencivenni 2004.

[46] Capdetrey 2021, 331-334. Regarding the king's presence in civic archives, cf. Boffo 2013; Boffo 2021, 371-424.

One of the first examples of a Hellenistic royal text drafted on a durable medium, aside from the stele bearing the διάγραμμα of Ptolemy from Cyrene,[47] is the letter from Antigonos to Skepsis dated 311.[48] This letter was engraved on a stele, while a twin stele bore the text of the decree issued by the city in response. Both documents share the same paleography and layout and both were displayed in the sanctuary of Athena. Written in *stoichedon* style (34-35, with exceptions, for the letter; 30-31, with exceptions, for the decree), the two inscriptions, now lost, show the use of separation signs, in the form of *diplai stigmai*, that regularly subdivide sentences and propositions in the decree, yet are discontinuous and sometimes of obscure meaning in the letter.[49] In this first dossier testifying to the dialogue between one of Alexander's successors and a city, the two texts are materially separated by their medium while their form and the context of their placement unite them. The city's intervention on Antigonos' letter is significant, articulating its syntax laboriously, and not always effectively, through *diplai stigmai*, in a remarkable attempt to appropriate the king's word.

Showing a very different but equally effective approach, the inscription with the decree of Telmessos in honor of Ptolemy II, dated 282, completely incorporates the king's letter on a pedimented stele placed in the sanctuary of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.[50] The inscription opens with the initial dating formulae, according to the Macedonian calendar and the regnal years of the king, and the formulae concerning the convocation of the civic assembly and the reading of the royal letter. Then, the stone bears the letter *in extenso*, re/citing it literally as if the text were a transcription of the oral reading of the original document that took place during the assembly. Indeed, the letter by Ptolemy II, with the formula addressing the city of Telmessos and its magistrates, begins on the same line with no break in continuity. In the final part, however, the farewell formula with the king's greetings is engraved on the same line, preceded and followed by large vacats, thus respecting the probable layout of the original letter and breaking both the *scriptio continua* and flow of the decree itself. There is no independent positioning for the king's text with contextual re-enactment or paraphrasing of its content in the city's decree, as in the stelae of Kyme and Miletos mentioned above. On the contrary, the word of the king is completely integrated within the text of the civic decree, on the part of a city dependent on the king *ipsissimis verbis*.[51]

[47] *IG Cyrenaica*² 010800: cf., below, n. 61.

[48] *OGIS* 5-6 (see also Dittenberger in *OGIS* II at p. 538).

[49] Only the capital transcription made by the first editor and his paleographical observations survive: see Munro 1899.

[50] Wörrle 1978 (cf. *SEG* XXVIII 1224) and pl. 2.

[51] Bertrand 1990, 111. Cf. Capdetrey 2022, 148-149.

The layout reveals yet another operation in the case of the imposing stele of Larisa,[52] in bluish marble with a protruding upper edge, inscribed with the dossier regarding πολιτογραφία.[53] The inscription's primary function is to publish the list of new citizens (ll. 46-93) κάτ τε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῖ βασιλεῖος καὶ κὰτ τὰ ψαφίσματα τᾶς πόλιος (l. 47). The list is preceded, along with the registration/effective date in accordance with the local calendar (ll. 1-2), by a quadripartite summary in genitive absolute of the normative background, with four documents attached to the actual list: two letters from Philip V to the ταγοί and to the city of Larisa, dated 217 and 215 (ll. 3-9; 26-39), and, interposed between these letters, two civic decrees (ll. 9-23; 40-46).[54]

Before the list of new citizens, itself interspersed by three vacats separating their places of origin (Samothrace, Krannon, Gyrton), there are four vacats on the stone that mark the normative reference sources. The first, at l. 3, precedes the incipit of the king's first letter. The second, at l. 9, introduces the first decree, issued to implement the royal prescriptions on πολιτογραφία, which reviews the king's letter, reformulating it in the local Thessalian dialect. The third, at l. 23, precedes the commemoration of the arrival of a second royal letter followed by the letter itself. Finally, the fourth, at l. 39, introduces the second decree, which remedies the revocation of citizenship rights by providing for new enrollments in accordance with the king's will.

The inclusion of royal documents in the narrative texture of civic deliberation is, on the one hand, a deferential *verbatim* reproduction of the king's word, while allowing, on the other hand, for its reformulation and embedding within the civic system. The layout choices reflect this dual position of the city, subject to Macedonian authority but at the same time responsible for implementing deliberations, as was required by the Antigonid legislative practice when dealing with areas such as granting citizenship.[55] The first letter from the king is remarkably highlighted by the vacat that precedes it and by the fact that some letters of the word βασιλεύς are larger and spaced farther apart, even though their size gradually becomes regular when it comes to the name of the king Φίλιππος. In the final part, the dating formula of the letter according to the Macedonian calendar and regnal year, albeit positioned on the same line, is highlighted by a vacat following it. The second letter, on the other hand, is marked by the beginning of a new paragraph, but is not at

[52] Lolling 1882, 62 (facsimile at 60-61).

[53] *IG* IX.2 517 (cf. *Syll.*[3] 543) with Habicht 1970, 273-279 and pl. 76: full bibliography in Mari and Thornton 2016, esp. 149-158.

[54] Bertrand 1990, 111-112. Significantly, the author draws a parallel with the starting formulae of Ptolemaic προστάγματα, for which see Käppel 2021, 14-23. The composite nature of the inscription from Larisa corresponds to the provisions taken in the (second) decree, ll. 42-45.

[55] Hatzopoulos 2006, 90-92. Philip V significantly writes in his first letter: κρίνω ψηφίσασθαι ὑμᾶς (*IG* IX.2 517, l. 6). For an excellent analysis of the inscription and the dialogue between king and city: Mari and Thornton 2016, 149-153.

all emphasized in relation to the rest. The vacat is placed further above, before the narrative on the arrival of a second letter, and then appears again around the final dating formula. The other two large vacats instead frame the sequence ψαφιξαμένας τᾶς πόλιος ψάφισμα (ll. 9, 39), also characterized by a larger *psi* and slightly greater spacing between the letters.[56]

Something similar occurs in the dossier dating from the reign of Ptolemy IX and coming from the agora of Cyrene.[57] Although it concerns a city dependent on royal authority, by virtue of the disposition on stone decided by the recipient of the communication, the dossier qualifies as an affirmation of civic identity. The inscription, consisting of two columns of writing, contains a decree issued by Cyrene and, on the side, three royal documents in *koine* Greek, the first of uncertain typology, then a letter from Ptolemy IX and Kleopatra addressed to Cyrene, dated 108, with the ἀντίγραφον of the πρόσταγμα of the rulers attached.[58] The medium, damaged on three sides, is an elegantly engraved marble slab originally affixed to an architectural structure. As far as the layout is concerned, one could venture a comparison with the two-column *pagina* format found in the official epistolary writing of P.Mich. I 46, in which the second column of writing is obtained by joining a second sheet to the first "with the joint running across the intercolumnium".[59]

The function of the dating formula in the second column has long evaded scholarly understanding (B, l. 12).[60] Located between the final part of the first document and the beginning of the royal letter, well isolated by large vacats on all sides, it is expressed in the day and month of the Cyrenean calendar. Unanimously considered the final dating of the document that precedes it, itself erroneously considered a civic document, the formula instead belongs – as attested to by the layout – to the royal letter that immediately follows. To be precise, this is the dating added in Cyrene when the royal letter with its attachments was registered in the archive: the filing note was then preserved on the stone together with the reverse chronological order typical of documents sent by attachment. This detail assumes a great importance, including graphical significance. In accepting the πρόσταγμα of the kings, as well as the invitation the sovereigns express in the letter for the γνώμη of the πρόσταγμα to be included in the judicial διάγραμμα in force in the city, the Cyreneans enclosed

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[56] No published image of this stele exists. I wish to thank Bruno Helly for providing me with a beautiful one (from the *Archives thessaliennes de Lyon – Fond Christof Wolters*), through the help of our common friend Manuela Mari. Cf. Figs. 24A-24B.

[57] *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011100 (cf. *SEG* IX 5), found north-west of the Temple of Demeter and Kore: photograph at <https://igcyr2.unibo.it/en/igcyr011100> (courtesy of Catherine Dobias-Lalou). Cf. Fig. 26.

[58] Berthelot 2015, 220-222.

[59] Sarri 2018, 97-100, esp. 98, 99, fig. 12. Dimensions are obviously very different (*IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011100: w. 0.645; h. 0.57; P.Mich. I 46: w. 0.245; h. 0.30).

[60] Despite Musti 1957, 282-284.

the royal word within the civic framework by means of the local dating formula. Thus, they created a graphic counterpoint to the royal dating at the bottom of the letter, which starts on a new line and is effectively highlighted by the remarkable indentation (B, ll. 15-16).[61] The presence, on the left, of the civic decree in honor of the royal family further enhanced this absorption of the royal letter and ordinance, preserved in their original layout, into a civic dimension: it left some (albeit minimal) room for affirming the city's deliberative and administrative autonomy.[62]

The display context of the king's word is completely different when a series of royal letters are published as a group along with other letters and decrees pertaining to cities or leagues. The rationale for publishing the texts regarding the recognition of the Panhellenic character of the games in honor of Asclepius and the ἀσυλία of the sanctuary of Cos[63] remains unclear to this day. Nonetheless, the edition of new documents belonging to the dossier, including two royal letters, sheds light on the history of this first publicly displayed archive of texts concerning ἀσυλία, starting with its chronology, now established as 244/3.[64] Found on the three terraces of the sanctuary, the various stelae composing the dossier are inscribed on either one side or both (opisthographic) and in one case the stele is prismatic and inscribed on three sides. On the whole, positive responses coming from cities and kings were inscribed, possibly by different hands, on the same medium even if they were eventually brought to their destination by different θεωρίαι and, therefore, without necessarily taking into account the chronological sequence of reception.[65]

Of the eight surviving royal letters,[66] four are inscribed on the three faces of the prismatic stele: a. Antigonos Gonatas (?) and Ziaelas; b. Seleukos II (?); c. an un-

[61] The addition of a civic date to royal texts does not always have the form (and power?) of the framing operation carried out by the Cyreneans more than two hundred years earlier, when they received and engraved the διάγραμμα of Ptolemy, adding to it a full list of local officials including the eponym (*IG Cyrenaica*² 010800, ll. 72-87; cf. *SEG* IX 1). On the significance of (archival) civic dates for the assumption of royal regulations, Boffo 2021, 578-580, with specific references to the two royal enactments from Cyrene.

[62] On the ties between royal ordinances and civic norms at Cyrene, cf. Boffo 2021, 387-388, nn. 31-32.

[63] This ἀσυλία dossier was reedited by Rigsby, *Asylia*, 8-52, and now by D. Bosnakis, K. Hallof, and K. Rigsby in *IG* XII.4 207-243 (later additions: Bosnakis and Hallof 2020). Much clearer is the context of publication of the ἀσυλία dossier of Magnesia on the Maeander, extensively studied by Ceccarelli 2018 with an insightful analysis of the language of power between cities and kings.

[64] Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 293-294, B, ll. 74-75: the new letter from Ziaelas (Zigelas) of Bithynia bears the date of the 39th year of the Bithynian civic era, which starts with the battle of Curupedion, 282/1 (39th = 244/3). Cf. *ibid.*, 318-320 and Hatzopoulos 2021.

[65] Organization of the θεωρίαι: Klaus Hallof in *IG* XII.4.1, at pp. 169-170. On the random geographical origin of the documents displayed on stone: Boffo 2021, 540 n. 104-105.

[66] *IG* XII.4 208 (Rigsby, *Asylia*, 10; Antigonos Gonatas?); 209 (Rigsby *Asylia*, 11; Ziaelas of Bithynia); 210 (Rigsby, *Asylia*, 9; Seleukos II?); 211 (unknown king); 212 (Rigsby, *Asylia*, 8; Ptolemy III); 213 (Rigsby, *Asylia*, 12; Paerisades II of Bosporan kingdom or one of his two sons?); Bosnakis and

known king. The letter by Ptolemy III is on a stele of its own. The letter by a Bosporan king is inscribed on an opisthographic stele bearing the decree of Gela on the other side.[67] Finally, the letters from Zigelas and Laodike I are on an opisthographic stele that bears two decrees on the same side and four decrees on the other. With the exception of the letters from Ziaelas/Zigelas and Laodike I, the royal texts are not preserved in their entirety, especially as regards the header, and it is therefore difficult to identify layout models except for the prominent position regularly occupied by the closing farewell formula, coming after a vacat on the same line or on the line below at the start of a new paragraph.

Throughout the ἀσυλία dossier of Cos, in the case of several texts on the same medium, a recurrent feature for decrees is a first line that protrudes to the left of the main text[68] or the indication of provenance reproducing the archive label, added at the top in broader, enlarged letters, isolated between two vacats.[69] As for the royal letters, Ziaelas's epistle is characterized only by the wide vacat that separates it from the previous letter.[70] In contrast, the recently published opisthographic stele presents a descriptive annotation, positioned at the beginning of the royal letters of Zigelas and Laodike, showing an archive registration: ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ ταίδε ἦλθον παρὰ Ζιγήλα ἔχουσαι ἐπίσαμον ἱππῆ and παρὰ Λαοδίκης ἔχουσαν ἐπίσαμον ἄνκυραν.[71] Both descriptions are protruding; the first is followed by the epistle with an equally protruding greeting formula; the second, briefer, has wide spacing.

The annotations refer to the practice of sealing official documents on perishable material, the correlated opening of the documents by breaking the seals, and their description during the process of archiving.[72] They are functional to the reception of the engraved texts: they mark the sender, preserving some material characteristics of the original medium (a seal featuring a knight for the king of Bithynia, or with an anchor for queen Laodike). The archival annotation, which is in fact typical of

Hallof 2020, III B (Zigelas of Bithynia); IV B (Laodike I). Rigsby, *Asylia*, 13, a supposed Ptolemaic royal letter concerning the ἀσυλία, is now considered a letter by Ptolemy IV not pertaining to the dossier in *IG* XII.4 249. Coşkun 2018, 228, speculates that the sender of *IG* XII.4 210 is Antiochos Hierax; on the contrary Coşkun 2021, 38–39, assumes that the sender of *IG* XII.4 213 is Mithradates II of Pontos and the sender of both *IG* XII.4 210 and Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, IV B is Laodike, the daughter of Ziaelas of Bithynia and wife of Antiochos Hierax.

[67] *IG* XII.4 213. Regarding the identification of the sender, cf., above, n. 66.

[68] E.g. *IG* XII.4 214, with two letters from Cretan cities, Istron and Phaistos, and the decree from Hierapytna.

[69] E.g. Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, A, ll. 8, 25, 44; B, l. 50. For archive "titles": Boffo 2021, 539–542.

[70] Herzog 1905, pl. VII.

[71] Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 294 Abb. 2; 312, Abb. 8; 320, Abb. 9: B, ll. 67 and 76. I am grateful to Klaus Hallof and Dimitris Bosnakis for kindly providing me pictures of the stele. Cf. Figs. 27A–27B.

[72] Concerning Hellenistic (outer) sealing practices, cf. Boffo 2021, 380–395 (royal documents); 530–534 (decrees).

Cos,[73] also shows that the epistles arrived (ἦλθον) at their destination borne not by the θεωροί of Cos, but by royal messengers.[74] Transposed onto stone, the intention of providing visibility to the authority of the royal replies underlines the civic effort of self-promotion. In the broader display context of the various stelae composing the dossier, however, this effort does not seem to prioritize royal letters over the positive replies originating from the cities by letter or decree. The only real exception is the prismatic stele mentioned above, whose material peculiarity, if indeed it was intended to distinguish royal texts, was not large enough to accommodate all of them, perhaps due to an erroneous prediction of the total number of positive responses coming from the sovereigns.

To conclude this selective overview, I wish to address a unique case of a recipient re-functionalizing the word of the king. A marble cippus with molding from Perrhaibian Tripolis is inscribed with two letters written by Antigonos Doson in 222 and addressed to Megalokles – perhaps the *strategos* of the three cities of Tripolis, Azoros, Pythion and Dolichè – and to the κοινόν of Tripolis; with these missives, the king granted the soldiers of the Macedonian army, who had fought in the battle of Sellasia against Cleomenes III, an exemption from a series of civic liturgies.[75] The publication of the letters was initiated by Proxenos, son of Philippos, presumably one of the beneficiaries, if the hypothesis that his name was listed at the end of the second, fragmentary letter is correct. He obviously had every interest in epigraphically sanctioning his privilege, but the mere inscription of the royal letters was re-functionalized by him in the form of a dedication to the Apollo of Pythion in Thessaly. The dedication inscription is separated from the other texts and placed on the horizontal crowning protruding from the cippus itself: in larger letters, it includes only the name of the dedicator and the name of the deity and dedicatee on two lines (Πρόξενος Φιλίππο|υ Ἀπλλωνι Πυθίωι). In order to create two lines of equal length, the stonecutter deliberately divided the thirty letters of the dedication into two equal parts. Then, ignoring the extravagant outcome of this mathematical operation, in the new line starting with the *ypsilon* at the end of the dedicator's patronymic, he forgot to insert the *omikron* of Ἀπλλωνι, therefore completely nullifying his attempt to obtain a perfect layout.

Philippos' gratitude towards the divinity and the cippus he produced, through which Apollo himself guarantees the king's decision in the absence of civic protection, allow us to point out, as a conclusion, the effectiveness of the recipient's design. Through different ways and with varied nuances, anyone receiving a royal

[73] Boffo 2021, 532–533, n. 86; 539–542, esp. nn. 104–105. Few clues on royal sealing practices are preserved in the Hellenistic epigraphic evidence: cf. Bencivenni 2014, 162–163.

[74] Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 313.

[75] Tziafalias and Helly 2010, 104–117, no. IV, and 123, fig. 8 (cf. *SEG* LX 586).

letter and setting a version of it in stone was able to bring the king's word and his overwhelming authority back into the margins of the material medium and visually contain it therein. Emerging through the empty spaces left on the stone surface, the king's voice resonated in service of the recipient's own interests.

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The Thin Line Between *mise en page* and *mise en abyme*: An Examination of the Layout of Multiple Letters on Papyrus (1st-6th Centuries CE)[*]

Yasmine Amory

The writing and delivery of a letter in antiquity depended on a range of unpredictable factors, from having the appropriate writing material at one's disposal[1] to actually being able to write the message, and, if not, looking for a person who could. Once the letter was drafted, an individual would still have to find a letter-carrier – in most cases, this was someone who simply happened to be going in the right direction.[2] However, despite all these efforts, a letter would not always reach its final destination, as can be observed from a great number of private letters that contain complaints concerning missing correspondence and failed deliveries.[3] To ensure the successful receipt of the document, an individual could therefore opt to pen multiple letters to close addressees on the same sheet of papyrus. In the same way, a few

[*] This research was conducted within the framework of the ERC project "Everyday Writing in Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt (I–VIII AD): A Socio-Semiotic Study of Communicative Variation" (PI: Klaas Bentein). It has been funded by the European Research Council (Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, Starting Grant Nr. 756487) and the Special Research Fund (Bijzonder Onderzoeksfonds) of Ghent University. All dates in this chapter are CE. I would like to thank the editors of the volume for their suggestions.

[1] See, for example, the sender of BGU III 822 (Arsinoites, after May 5, 105, according to Azzarello 2008, 32), who asks the addressee to send her some blank papyrus in order to be able to write a letter (ll. 28-29: καὶ [ἐὰ]ν̣ σοι φανῇ, πέμψον μοι ἄγραφον χάρτην, ἵνα εὕρο[με]ν (*l.* εὕρωμεν) ἐπιστολ[ὴν] | γράψαι), and Klaudios Terentianos, who sends some papyrus alongside his letter to be sure that his sister Tasoucharion has what is needed to write him about her health (P.Mich. VIII 481 [Alexandria?, early 2nd c.], ll. 35-36: ἔπεμψά σοι χάρτην ἵνα ἔχ̣ῃς μοι | [γρά]φειν περὶ τῆς ὑγίας (*l.* ὑγιείας) ὑμῶν).

[2] On the search for a letter-carrier, see most recently Schubert 2021, 28-29, and Head 2009, 283-284.

[3] E.g. P.Mich. XV 752 (?, late 2nd c.), ll. 29-32: ἐ[κ]ο̣μ̣εισ̣ά̣μην (l. ἐ[κ]ομισάμην) σου | ἐπιστόλιον δι' [οὗ] μοι γρ̣[άφ]ει[ς] δ̣[ύ]ο ἐπισ | τολάς μοι ἀπεσταλ̣κένε̣ (l. ἀπεσταλκέναι). ἴσθι, ἄ̣δε̣λφε, ὅτ̣ι | μείαν (l. μίαν) μόνην ἐκομεισάμην (l. ἐκομισάμην), "I have received your letter by which you write to me that you sent me two letters. Know, brother, that I received only one".

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Yasmine Amory, *The Thin Line Between* mise en page *and* mise en abyme*: An Examination of the Layout of Multiple Letters on Papyrus (1st-6th Centuries CE)*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.08, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 101-119, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

people could decide to group together letters that were addressed to the same person on the same papyrus. Additionally, this practice allowed paper and time to be saved.

In spite of these benefits, the habit of using a single writing medium for more than one letter was not frequently adopted in antiquity,[4] probably because this system did not allow for much privacy between the sender and the recipient. While most letters that made use of this format appear to be penned by the same person, showing that at least one of the messages was dictated – and, consequently, that the scribe knew the content of the whole document –, one can assume that letters containing multiple messages – the so-called "multiple letter" – were usually read in full when they arrived at their destination. These circumstances presumably explain why this specific writing format was mostly preferred by people who knew each other, were part of the same family or shared close connections, or lived together or in close proximity.[5] All the information contained in the letters could then be shared between family members or business partners.[6] In light of these elements, Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore have written that "multiple letters … need to be considered together, almost as single texts",[7] and, as such, they have suggested thinking about them as small archives. In this chapter, I would like to develop this approach and inquire into whether multiple letters were conceived as a single text by the scribes themselves and, if so, how this conception shaped the layout of the document. In other words, I am interested in the question whether the unity of messages in a multiple letter, which mirrors the unity of the relationships between the correspondents, was also reflected in the visual aspect of the text.

1. The Corpus

A list of multiple letters has been compiled by Raffaele Luiselli in his fundamental article on Greek letters on papyrus from the Graeco-Roman period and Late Antiquity.[8] This list includes eighteen texts dating from the first to the sixth centuries. Fifteen of them comprise two letters, two contain three letters (P.Brem. 61,

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[4] This consideration refers, here and throughout, to private letters. Administrative letters show a different pattern, namely the so-called system of "cascade letters", which was widely used in public offices. This system consisted in appending copies of letters within other letters (on this practice during the Ptolemaic period, see Mirizio 2021).

[5] As has been noticed by Bagnall and Cribiore 2006, 36-37, and Reinard 2016, 98-113, who retraces the relationships and physical proximity of the addresses through the exchange of goods mentioned in the letters.

[6] See also Winter 1933, 49 n. 1: "The practice attests the unity of family life as well the lack of privacy in correspondence".

[7] Bagnall and Cribiore 2006, 36.

[8] Luiselli 2008, 685 n. 40.

P.Wisc. II 84[9]) and one consists of four messages (SB III 7244). This list constituted the starting point for the construction of my corpus, although I chose not to take into consideration P.Leid.Inst. 42 (Philadelphia, 2nd c.) and P.Oxy. XXXVI 2789 (3rd c.), since they present a different situation. The Leiden papyrus contains in fact two letters, but these are Heras' letter to her sister Taphes (ll. 1–19) and Taphes' reply to her sister Heras (ll. 20–27). As noticed by the editors, Taphes decided to use the blank lower margin of the letter to write her answer and asked the letter-carrier, who seems to have penned both letters, to bring it back to Heras.[10] Therefore, P.Leid.Inst. 42 is not a proper "dual letter", as I am understanding the term. As for the Oxyrhynchos document, it consists of two letters of Kleopatra to her father and the builder Moros on a common matter. In the first one, Kleopatra urges her father to give Moros five artabas of barley, otherwise she will be locked up. In the second, she informs Moros that she wrote to her father about the five artabas and gives him further instructions. The impression is that the two letters have been drafted in a hurry, one after the other, but were not meant to be delivered together.[11] They were probably supposed to be separated and dispatched as single letters.[12] The fact that they have been preserved on the same sheet, in addition to the lack of any address on the back, suggests that the letters were either a draft or were never delivered.

In a similar manner, it can be questioned whether BGU II 615, a letter of Ammonous to her father followed by a letter of Keler to his brother Antonios, was originally conceived as a double letter. To start with, the address on the back of the text only shows the names of the correspondents of the first message. Moreover, in the last lines of the first message (ll. 15–16) "Keler and all his people" greet Ammonous' father, suggesting that Keler decided to dictate his letter as an afterthought, by taking advantage of the departure of the occasional messenger in the right direction. This is confirmed by ll. 35–36, where Keler states: αὐτῆς ὡρα (*l.* ὥρας) κ[ο]μισάμενός σου τὸ ἐπι\σ/|τόλειον (*l.* ἐπι\σ/|τόλιον) ἀντέγραψα ἀφορ[μὴ]ν εὑρών, "at the same hour that I received your letter I found an opportunity and wrote back". In this case, the disposition of multiple texts on the same medium did not depend on a premeditat-

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9 In Luiselli's list, P.Wisc. II 84 (?, late 2nd c.) was considered as a double letter, since its edition contains two private letters (addressed respectively to Satornilos and his mother Satornila). However, in the material description of the papyrus on top of the text transcription, P.J. Sijpesteijn has observed that the left bottom margin of the papyrus contains the end of ten lines, which probably make up the rest of a lost letter. The external address seems to confirm this hypothesis, since it shows Satornilos and Valerianos as the addressees of the document, suggesting that the first missing letter was addressed to Valerianos (on this supposition, see Sijpesteijn 1976, 171 n. 10).

10 For an image of the letter, see P.Leid.Inst., pl. XXVII, and <https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.leid.inst;;42>.

11 An image of the papyrus can be found at <https://portal.sds.ox.ac.uk/articles/online_resource/P_Oxy_XXXVI_2789_Two_Letters_of_Cleopatra/21165991>.

12 See also Bagnall and Cribiore 2006, 401: "These two letters were written on a single sheet and never detached".

ed choice of the scribe. Nevertheless, as this double letter has been delivered as such to the final destination, I included it in the corpus.

In addition to the sixteen multiple letters already listed by Luiselli and included in my survey, I was able to collect seven more, which are all double letters except for one, the three-letter P.Vet.Aelii 18-19.[13] Of the main ensemble, which consists of twenty-three texts (see Appendix), only one is written on a tablet (T.Vindol. III 643), three on ostraca (O.Krok. II 296, O.Did. 383, O.Did. 417), and the rest on papyrus. All are in Greek, except two that are in Latin (T.Vindol. III 643 and O. Did. 417). Among these, one comes from Vindolanda. Despite the small number of examples, the Latin letters show that this epistolary practice was not exclusive to Egypt and a Greek-speaking milieu.[14]

This chronological overview shows that the practice of writing multiple letters is mainly attested in the Roman period, especially in the second century, and not so much in the third century, with only two attestations from the Byzantine period: P.Grenf. I 53 (4th c.) and P.Oxy. XVI 1829 (577-583).[15] Different factors may have contributed to this. On the one hand, the new format of the letter, which switched from a vertical strip in the Roman period to a narrow and horizontal shape in the Byzantine period,[16] was probably less suitable for copying more than one message. On the other hand, the rise of Coptic from the late third century and its progressive adoption for private communication may have also played a contributing role. As already mentioned, the drafting of multiple letters on the same medium was mainly employed by members of the same family or people who were closely connected. If multiple letters were still drafted in Late Antiquity, these might therefore be found in the Coptic documentation.

The family context of multiple letters also explains the unusually high percentage of messages from and to women, who were often mothers or sisters of the sender

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[13] In chronological order: T.Vindol. III 643 (Vindolanda, 97-105?), O.Krok. II 296 (Krokodilo, 98-117), O.Did. 383 (Didymoi, 110-115), O.Did. 417 (Didymoi, ca. 120-125), P.Lond. inv. 2133 (Arsinoites?, 2nd or 3rd c.; edited in Zellmann-Rohrer 2017, 136-143), P.Vet.Aelii 18-19 (Ankyron? [Herakleopolites], ca. 222-255), P.Oxy. I 120 = Sel.Pap. I 162 (Oxyrhynchos, 3rd c.).

[14] On the peculiar context of O.Did. 417, which involves a woman named Demetrous asking the soldier Noumosis to write a letter in Latin to Klaudios, a fellow soldier, on her behalf, see also Speidel 2018, 186-189.

[15] In the Byzantine archive of Dioskoros of Aphrodite there are two more papyri containing multiple letters, but they do not properly fit our criteria. These letters were not, in fact, originally conceived to be sent together on a single sheet to one or more senders, but they were assembled and copied on the same papyrus by Dioskoros himself for literary or administrative purposes. Thus, P.Cair.Masp. III 67295 is a collection composed of the petition by the philosopher Horapollon and three letters in high-register Greek (see Fournet 2009, 61-63, for more details on the anthology), while P.Cair. SR 3733 (2) is a dossier of four letters concerning the same fiscal problem encountered by the village (on this, see Fournet 2001, 481-482).

[16] On this format shift, see Fournet 2009.

or addressee. This suggests that the practice of dictating a letter was quite common among women, as well as the habit of reading a letter out loud to someone illiterate. It is indeed a challenging task to assess the relationship between the use of multiple letters and the degree of literacy of the women involved. However, for at least one case, it seems that these two factors were connected: in the Roman archive of Satornila and her sons (TM ArchID 212), which consists of eight papyri (all private letters between the members of a family of Roman citizens), there are two double letters (P.Mich. XV 752 and SB III 6263) and a triple one (P.Wisc. II 84). The sender of these multiple letters is always Sempronios, one of Satornila's sons, while the addressees are his mother and brothers. As these letters are always and only addressed to the brothers, it has been claimed that Satornila was illiterate and that the letters were read to her. This is confirmed by P.Mich. XV 751 (Alexandria?, late 2nd c.), a letter of Sempronios to Satornila, whose external address shows that, even on this occasion, Maximos, Sempronios' brother, was the recipient of the message.[17]

2. The Layout of Multiple Letters

Whereas the layout and material aspects of ancient letters on papyrus have been recently analysed in detail,[18] little attention has been paid to the layout of private multiple letters. While editing multiple letters, scholars generally refer to other attestations of this practice in the papyrological evidence, but they never examine the layout or outline possible differences between the quoted examples. To my knowledge, the only remark on the subject has been made so far by Raffaele Luiselli: "As it happens, there exist cases of a multiplicity of epistolary texts being penned on one side of a single sheet of papyrus, and arranged either in single vertical file, one on top of another, or (on one occasion only) side by side in two facing columns".[19] Nevertheless, a closer analysis will show a wider range of possible layout arrangements: I have now identified four different options that were used for arranging multiple letters.

2.1 One on Top of Another

Before examining the first typology, it might be useful to briefly recall the typical layout of a letter in the Roman period, since all multiple letters but two belong to this era. At this time, a letter was characterized by a vertical format (also known as the *pagina* format),[20] in which its height corresponds to the height of the papyrus scroll from which it was cut, and by a clear visual distinction of the main parts of the text. Thus, the prescript, which occupied the first line(s), was visually sepa-

[17] On this hypothesis and an overview of the family archive, see Van Beek 2013, 2.

[18] See Sarri 2018 for the Greco-Roman period and Fournet 2009 for the Byzantine period.

[19] Luiselli 2008, 685.

[20] On the *pagina* format, see Sarri 2018, 97–107.

rated from the body of the letter with the help of different strategies, e.g. through some small vacant space, by being put in *ekthesis*, or by being placed on the top on separate lines. The *soma* of the letter then followed as a vertical block of text, while the closing farewell greeting was usually placed in *eisthesis* on a separate line. In the event that the final greeting, which was generally limited to ἔρρωσο, was further developed, the sentence would expand in *eisthesis*, forming almost a small column of text. Finally, the external address containing the names of the addressee and the sender would be penned on the back of the letter.[21]

In the Graeco-Roman period, the main parts of the letter were thus stretched along the vertical format of the document. It was then quite logical and convenient for the scribe to take advantage of this format by arranging multiple letters on the same sheet (using the verso was usually not an option to be considered, since it would have exposed the writing to unwanted eyes, once the letter was enrolled). The scribe would then simply dispose one letter on top of another on the recto, leaving some vacant space between the two texts. This layout is employed in PSI IV 317 (?, 95),[22] P.Giss. I 81 (Apollonopolites Heptakomias, ca. 113-120),[23] P.Oxy. XLIX 3503 (late 1st c.),[24] BGU II 615 (Arsinoites, 2nd c.), SB III 6263 (Alexandria?, second half of the 2nd c.),[25] P.Mich. XV 752 (Alexandria?, late 2nd c.),[26] and P.Vet. Aelii 19 (Ankyron?, ca. 222-225).[27] With the exception of P.Giss. I 81, all the letters are drafted by an experienced hand.

The scribe would reproduce the typical layout of the letter for each message, so that, when opening the letter, the addressee(s) would realise at first sight that there were two different texts inside. The disposition of the texts could depend on a deliberate choice of the scribe or on other circumstances. The first option seems to be adopted in the case of Sempronios' letters: of the five letters he sent to his family, three of them are multiple letters written in this way. A few reasons have already been suggested to explain this: Sempronios might have been a "parsimonious man",[28] he may have been taking advantage of a person going in the right direction to deliver

[21] The layout of the letter in the Roman period is analysed in detail in Sarri 2018, 107-124.

[22] An image of the papyrus is available at <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;4;317>.

[23] For an image of the papyrus, see <https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/GiePapyri_schrift_00001740>.

[24] Image available at <https://portal.sds.ox.ac.uk/articles/online_resource/P_Oxy_XLIX_3503_Double_Letter/21168607>.

[25] On the date, see Deissmann 1908, 159-160.

[26] An image of the letter can be found in Sijpesteijn 1976, pl. III, and at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1635>.

[27] P.Vet.Aelii 18-19 contains three letters, one on the recto (18) and two on the verso (19). I refer here to the layout of the letters on the verso. For images of this multiple letter, see P.Vet.Aelii, pl. XIII-XIV, and <https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DOD_%2BZ117617304&order=1&view=SINGLE>.

[28] See Sijpesteijn 1976, 171.

his letters, or, knowing that the letter was going to be read to his mother Satornila, he might have strategically placed the letter to her before or after the others, trying to control the information she would have heard.[29] While a combination of these three factors cannot be excluded, the latter seems to be the most plausible. In SB III 6263 (Fig. 28), Sempronios addresses his mother in the first letter, in which he begs her to let him know about her welfare. In the second letter, he harshly addresses his brother Maximos, rebuking him for treating their mother as a slave.[30] As already suggested by Winter, this letter is clearly intended for Maximos' eyes only.[31] The distinct layout of these letters would therefore have contributed to guide the addressee through the structure of the document: in opening the letter, they would be able to differentiate the letters immediately, and, after having identified them through the prescript, they could select which one to read out loud and which one to keep for themselves. The external address of these letters, which never shows Satornila as the addressee, strengthens the idea that the recipient of the document was responsible for managing the whole correspondence.

2.2 Side by Side

Sometimes multiple letters are arranged in columns, side by side. In the case of T.Vindol. III 643 (Vindolanda, 97–105?), this seems to follow a common trend of the writing medium found in this region. Generally, the Latin letters from Vindolanda were written on two columns of a wooden leaf-tablet that was horizontally oriented.[32] As the letter was then scored in the middle so that it could be more easily folded, it has been suggested that the arrangement of the text in columns allowed the content to be better preserved, since the fold would ideally run through the intercolumnar space. However, Alan K. Bowman and J. David Thomas have also observed that the left-hand column was generally broader than the right-hand one, causing the fold to interfere with the text.[33] Whatever the reasons for this peculiar text arrangement, the layout of the double-letter T.Vindol. III 643 fits accordingly with this pattern and is therefore not surprising in this context.[34] Its left-hand column is entirely dedicated to the first letter, a message of a certain Florus to Calavir(us), while the right-hand one contains the beginning of Florus' letter to Titus, which continues on the back. It is also worth noticing

[29] See Hanson and van Minnen 1998, 144, and Bell 1950, 38–39.

[30] Ll. 20–21: μετέλαβον, ὅτι βαρέως δουλευούετε (*l.* δουλεύετε) | τὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν μητέραν (*l.* μητέρα).

[31] See Winter 1933, 49. On the patronizing behavior of Satornila's sons, who decided what their mother should or should not know, see also Huebner 2018, 174–176.

[32] See Bowman and Thomas, T.Vindol. II, introduction at 40–41, and Sarri 2018, 83–84 and 110–111.

[33] See Bowman and Thomas, T.Vindol. I, introduction at 38.

[34] For images of the document, see T.Vindol. III, pl. 15, and <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/TabVindol643>.

that the address on the back only mentions the name of Calavir(us) as the recipient of the tablet (back, l. 5: *Caelouiro dabeṣ*). The visual disposition might suggest that the scribe made a conscious choice to visually separate the texts. However, the editors have noticed that the layout of the letter does not follow the expected graphic conventions, according to which *salutem* should be placed in *eisthesis* and on a separate line, in order to visually enclose the prescript. Moreover, the scribe's untidiness with respect to the layout seems to reflect the equally poor orthography of the text, which leads one to doubt whether they were aware of the visual structure of the text in the first place.

As for papyri, arranging a letter in columns was far more unusual. Considering our corpus, the side-by-side disposition most frequently appears when the scribe needed to fit more than two letters on a single page. When a multiple letter is arranged in this way, each message usually occupies a new column. This is the case, for example, of the fragmentary SB XIV 12182 (Oxyrhynchites, 3rd c.), which contains the remains of two private letters by the same hand on the back of a grain account,[35] as well as of P.Wisc. II 84 (?, late 2nd c.), the aforementioned triple letter from Sempronios to his brothers Valerios and Satornilos, and his mother Satornila. Even if only the end of the last lines is preserved from the first letter, it is clear that the three letters were originally arranged side-by-side, each one on a different column.[36] Once again, Sempronios makes use of the layout to separate the different letters visually, thereby guiding the addressees (Valerios and Satornilos, as shown by the back of the document) through the selective reading of the messages.

The only other case of a three-letter papyrus, P.Brem. 61 (Hermopolis?, 113-120), belongs to the archive of the *strategos* Apollonios (TM ArchID 19) and is arranged in columns, although the right-hand one contains two messages, one on top of the other (Fig. 29). The first two letters were dictated to the same scribe respectively by a woman, perhaps the sister of Apollonios, and a certain Chairas. At the end of their letters, they both added greetings in their own hand. After Chairas' letter on the second column, Diskas, Apollonios' uncle, penned his own message, leaving quite a large amount of blank space between the two letters in order to visually differentiate them. The second column is much narrower than the first, which initially gives a sense of irregularity and disproportion. This way of organising the text was however deliberate, since a narrower column would allow the author to reach the end of the sheet and have two columns of text of the

[35] An image of the letter can be found at the end of Youtie 1978 (pl. Va).

[36] An image is available in P.Wisc. II, pl. XXXIX, and at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-5448/W44R.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg>.

same length.[37] It has been suggested that Chairas and Diskas decided to add their short letters, which express their distress about Apollonios' health, afterwards, taking advantage of the letter that the anonymous woman was already about to send to Apollonios.[38] Thus, we can assume that the main scribe and Diskas had a clear awareness of the layout of the entire document, as they attempted to properly arrange the three letters in different ways, i.e. by reducing the width of the second column and by leaving a larger blank space after the second letter, so that the third one could reach the bottom of the sheet. At the same time, all the three letters are clearly separated. Despite the fact that the back of P.Brem. 61 only contains the name of Apollonios as the addressee and does not mention the other senders, the layout of the triple letter immediately suggests its multiple content.

2.3 Recto/verso

On six occasions, both faces of a writing medium were used to draft and dispose multiple letters.[39] As four out of six dual letters were written on ostraca or wooden-tablets, it seems that this choice of layout might have been partly influenced by the material of these writing media, whose fixed dimensions could not be adapted beforehand to the length of the text. A scribe would have likely been more inclined to use the back of a potsherd than the verso of a papyrus. Moreover, the effort that a scribe would usually put in fitting the whole text onto the same sheet of papyrus, in order to preserve the privacy of the correspondents, is, for obvious reasons, different in the case of an ostracon. It is therefore not surprising that most of the occurrences of this layout are on potsherd.

In P.Oxy. I 120 (= Sel.Pap. I 162, 3rd c.) and O.Krok. II 296 (Krokodilo, 98–117), the distribution of the messages is perfectly managed: the first letter is written on one side (that is, the recto of the papyrus and the convex face of the ostracon), the second one on the other side. Each message is visually perceived as an individual one thanks to the physical separation of the letters on the two sides of the potsherd. In O.Krok. II 296, the letters do not seem to share any content; they are conceived as separate letters to different addressees, and as such they are also distinguished visually (Figs. 30–31). The intention to keep the two messages apart seems to be confirmed by the text arrangement of the first letter: here, the scribe prefers to draft the end of the message (ll. 16–21) on the left margin of the ostracon, perpendicular to the main text, rather than continuing on the other side, as it happens

[37] On this stylistic feature that is typical of the Roman period, see Sarri 2018, 111–112.

[38] See Cribiore 2002, 155–156.

[39] P.Oxy. I 120 (= Sel.Pap. I 162), P.Vet.Aelii 18–19, O.Krok. II 296, O.Did. 383, O.Did. 417, and T.Vindol. III 643. The latter, which combines different layout arrangements, has been analysed in the previous section.

sometimes.[40] The two letters share, however, the same writing medium: since the addressees likely lived in the same place, Krokodilo, it was probably convenient to arrange a single dispatch for the two messages. As for P.Vet.Aelii 18–19, the arrangement on the two sides of the papyrus clearly depended on a casual sequence of events: the papyrus was meant to enclose only the letter on the recto, which occupies the entire sheet, then Syrion's mother decided to take advantage of the courier and added two letters, one on top of the other, on the only space left blank, that is the verso. When this happened, the address had already been penned on the back, in the bottom right corner. This explains why the address only shows the names of the senders of the first letter as well as why the second letter has shorter lines and occupies the left side of the sheet.

A different situation is found in the case of O.Did. 383 (Didymoi, 110–115) and O.Did. 417 (Didymoi, ca. 120–125). In both these instances, the two sides of the ostracon are drafted; however, the letters are not clearly separated as in O.Krok. II 296, but, visually speaking, rather continue one another. In O.Did. 417, the second letter starts just where the first one ends, on the convex side, and then finishes on the back.[41] There is no visual separation between the two letters; at first sight, they might look like a single one. A similar arrangement can be observed in O.Did. 383, where the first letter continues onto the back, and the second one follows just underneath, resuming on the same line and with only a small vacant space to separate one letter from the other (ll. 19–25: τὴν εὐ|τὴν (*l.* αὐ|τὴν) ἐχό|μενά μο|ι (*l.* μο|υ). *vac.* Φιλοκλῆ|ς Καππάρι (*l.* Καππάρει) | τῷ ἀδε<λ>φῷ | χ(αίρειν)). The handwriting of the sender, Philokles, is quite uncertain, clumsy, and expanded, so that the vacant space barely stands up as a sign of separation; the general impression is that the ostracon contains one single letter written on both sides.[42]

For this peculiarity, the last two cases belong more appropriately to the last typology of layout, that is the "shell letter".

2.4 The "Shell Letter"

There is one further kind of layout that a scribe could choose to arrange multiple letters, which has previously been subject to misunderstanding. The visual arrangements I have so far discussed show a clear organization of the texts, according to which the recipient of the document was able to identify and differentiate the texts as soon as they unfolded (or turned) the letter. In the case of the "shell letter"

[40] On the practice of writing *versiculi transversi* on the left margin of the writing medium, see Homann 2012.

[41] Images of the ostracon are available at O.Did., p. 417, and, online, at <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/publications/fifao67/?os=441> and <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/publications/fifao67/?os=442>.

[42] Images of the ostracon are available at <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/publications/fifao67/docs/zooms/383a.jpg> and <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/publications/fifao67/docs/zooms/383b.jpg>.

layout, however, multiple letters are not visually separated, but are combined to be arranged as a single letter. As instances of this type I will consider SB III 7244 (first half of 3rd c., Tebtynis),[43] which, uniquely in the entire papyrological record, contains four letters: the first is from Herakleides to his "son" Didymos (ll. 1-13); the second from Takybis to her "daughter" Helene (ll. 14-30); the third from Hadrianos to Didymos (ll. 30-40); and the fourth from Kollouthos to Didymos (ll. 41-47). The four letters are not placed on top of one another, nor side by side or between the recto and the verso, as we might expect. Rather, all of them are shaped together in one single letter, which preserves the classical layout of a letter from the Roman period and serves as an empty shell, or mould, for the different messages. For this reason, I propose to name this fictive letter, which has no content *per se* but that of the hosted letters, as the "shell letter".

To provide such a layout, the scribe needs to adapt and modify the visual arrangement and the structure of the single letters. Thus, the prescript of the first letter (ll. 1-2) is used as the prescript of the "shell letter" (ll. 1-2), and is displayed as such: in the first line, the name of the addressee is preceded by a small vacant space to draw attention to it, while the second line, which contains the greeting χαίρειν, is put in *eisthesis*, so as to visually separate this section from the rest. To additionally separate this part of the letter, a larger interlinear space is placed between the end of the prescript (l. 2) and the beginning of the main text (l. 3). Then comes the body of the "shell letter" (ll. 3-39), which is displayed as a vertical block of text and is in fact composed of the body of the first letter (ll. 3-13), the prescript and body of the second letter (ll. 14-33), and the prescript and body of the third letter (ll. 33-39). The final greetings of the first and second letters are missing, thus enhancing the impression that we are dealing with a single letter. After a blank space, the final greetings of the "shell letter" are put in *eisthesis* (ll. 40-46). They are shaped in a narrow vertical column on the right side and, at first sight, they look like the developed final greeting that can be found in some contemporary letters.[44] However, they are actually made of the final greeting of the third letter (l. 40) and the prescript and body of the fourth letter (ll. 41-46). Again, the final greeting of the fourth letter is missing.

To facilitate the understanding of this peculiar layout, I here transcribe the full text of SB III 7244 complete with some annotations on the layout. On the right side, I have set apart the four letters; on the left, I have selected the main parts of the "shell letter". The text should be compared with the image of the letter (Fig. 32).

[43] For a new edition of the letter and a discussion of the particular layout of the "shell letter", see Amory 2022, 109-136.

[44] See, e.g., SB XVIII 14057 (?, second half of the 2nd c.) and PSI XII 1246 (Hermopolites?, ca. 219-222).

ll. 1-2: Prescript of the "shell letter"

First letter

Ἡρακ[λ]ε̣ί̣δ̣ης Διδύμῳ τῷ υἱῷ π̣ολλ̣ὰ
χαίρειν.

ll. 3-39: Body of the "shell letter"

γράφω σοι ὅτι μὴ ἀμελήσῃς ὕπαγε π̣[ρὸ]ς̣
Παμοῦτιν Π̣τιεκλ’ ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρουρῶν
εἰς μ[ί]σθωσιν ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς παρὰ Πρω-
τ[ά]ρ̣[χο]υ ἳ τὸν ἀραβατοξότην, καὶ τὸ [[ηρκ̣α]]
μετ̣α̣βεβλ[ή]καμεν ὁμοῦ πέμψο̣ν αὐτ̣ί̣-
κ̣α̣ Πα̣μ̣[οῦ]τι τὰ ἐνθάδε. εἶπον γὰ[ρ] τῷ ν[α]υ-
τ̣[ι]κ̣[ῷ ἵν]α̣ ἐνβ̣ά̣ληται αὐτό. κόμ[ι]σον παρ̣ὰ
Ἁρπ̣ο[κ]ρ̣α̣[τί]ωνος λικύθιν μεστὴν ἐλαίου̣ [̣]ρ̣α̣
τ ̣ κ̣[̣ ̣ ̣]λ̣ον. μὴ ἀμελήσῃς δὲ πέμψα̣ς πε-
ρ̣ὶ το̣ῦ [ἀδε]λ̣φ[ο]ῦ̣ κα̣ί, ἐὰν δύνῃ, πέμψε σύ[νο]λον
α̣[ὐ]τ̣ῷ. [π]έ̣μψον ἐ͂ς τιμῆς ἐστιν ἐνθάδε̣.

Second letter

Τ̣α̣κ̣υ̣β̣ι̣[ς] Ἡ̣λενῆτ̣ι τῇ θυγατρὶ χαίρει̣ν.
κ̣όμι[σον] παρὰ Ἁρπ̣οκρατίωνος ἀ̣ρώμα̣[τ]α
̣δ̣ε̣ ̣ ̣[̣ ̣]ος κα[ὶ] τὰ ἀρώματα τὰ λαγάν[ι]α̣
̣ ̣λ̣ο̣ ̣ [κ]α̣ὶ δὸς Τυραννίτι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλας
[ἀρ]ώ̣μ̣[α]τ̣α δὸς Τυραννίτι. αὐτῆς ἔστ̣ι̣ν
[̣ ̣]ρ̣[̣ ̣] ̣ ̣α χαρτάρια τῶν ἀρωμάτων. δὸς
[ο]ὖ̣[ν] Κ̣αλλιόπῃ τι καὶ τὸ λιπόμενον ἄλλο δὸς
σ̣ὺ̣ν̣ τῷ ἔχεις παρά σοι Χαιρίδι τῇ γαμβρᾷ τοῦ
ἀ[δε]λφοῦ σου. κόμισον παρὰ Ἁρποκρατίω-
νος τὰ χάλκινα, δέξε μοι αὐτὰ ἐρίδια κ̣αὶ πέμ-
ψο̣ν̣ μοι αὐτά. Ἡρακλείδης ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣[̣] ἐὰν τέ-
μ[ῃς] τ̣ὸ κολόβιον, πέμψον μοι αὐτό, ἐὰν μὴ θέ-
λῃς τεμῖ̣ν̣ αὐτό, πέμψον μοι λίνα πέντε. καὶ
κ̣όμ[ι]σον παρὰ Ἁρποκρατίωνος τὸ τρίχινον
̣ ̣ ̣λ̣ο̣ν καὶ πέμψον μοι ζεύγη ψωμίων π̣έν-
τ̣ε̣. ἄ̣[σπ]ασον τὴν μητέραν σου πολλὰ
κα̣ὶ̣ Τ̣υ̣ρ̣ά̣ννιν καὶ Ἀοῦστα̣ν καὶ Νιννοῦ[τ]α̣
καὶ τ̣[οὺ]ς̣ ἐ̣ν τῇ οἰκία̣ πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα.
ἄσπ̣[ασο]ν Ἰσιδώραν πολλά, ἄσπασον Κα`λ´λι-
όπην̣. *vac.*

Third letter

Ἁδριανὸς Διδύμῳ χαίρειν.
ἰδέν̣[αι σ]α̣ι θέλω [ὅ]τ̣ι συνεζήτησεν Ἀγαθὸς
Δαίμ̣[ων] μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα τῶν (δραχμῶν) ῑ
καὶ μ̣[ε]τ̣ὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ. ὤμασα{σα} σοι,
ἐ̣ὰ̣ν π[ρ]ο̣σέλθῃ σοι ὁ πράκτωρ τῆς Θεογονί-
δ[ος, τε]λ̣έσαι Πλουσία̣ (δραχμὰς) ξ̄ καὶ τὸ λιπὸν τῆς
̣[̣ ̣] ̣ ̣[̣ ̣]ς.
vac.
ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομ(αι).

ll. 40-46: Final greeting of the "shell letter"

Fourth letter

Κολλοῦθος Διδύμῳ χαίρειν. μὴ ἀ-
μελήσῃς περὶ τῶν (δραχμῶν) η̄· ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεχ-
χεὶρ μέχρι Μ̣εσορὴ γίνονται
(δραχμαὶ) ῑ. ἐὰν θέλῃς πέμψαι τὰ λίνα,
πέμψον, καὶ ἐγὼ δῶ τὸ κέρμα
ὑπέ̣ρ̣ σου.

The structure of SB III 7244 clearly shows that the "shell letter" is an illusionary layout, in the sense that the visual disposition of the texts gives the illusion that the addressee has received a single letter. The multiple letters arranged in the "shell letter" layout visually appear as a single text, and only by reading the document will one discover that it actually contains multiple letters. There is thus a subtle interplay between the construction of a more comprehensive layout and the re-arrangement of the single letters for composing it; a thin line runs between the *mise en page* and the *mise en abyme* of these texts, whose features vanish into a "shell letter". The illusion of dealing with a single letter is strengthened in different ways: the whole text is drafted by a single hand; there is no final greeting in most of the letters, which connect immediately with one another, giving a sense of continuity; and, finally, both the address on the back (l. 47: ἀ̣πόδ̣(ος) Διδύμῳ̣ *vac.* ⊗ π̣[(αρὰ)] Ἡ̣ρακλ[είδ]ο̣υ̣) and the general prescript show Herakleides and Didymos as the sole correspondents of the "shell letter", while in fact they are the correspondents of the first letter alone. Upon delivery of the letter, Didymos would first read the external address, thinking that he has received a letter from Herakleides. While unfolding the message, the layout of the document would still confirm this impression, as it would visually show a long and single letter with his name and that of Herakleides in the general prescript. It is only when reading the content that Didymos would notice that the letter contains four different messages.

There are, however, some subtle strategies that are put in place by the scribe to guide the recipient through the complex structure of the document. The beginning of the second letter, for example, is arranged in a slight *ekthesis*, with the τ of Τ̣α̣κ̣υβ̣ι̣[ς] (l. 14) being indented from the main block of text. The beginning of the third letter, despite starting on the same line as the end of the second (l. 33), is also separated by a two-letter wide blank space. As for the fourth letter, it begins on a new line (l. 41).

The "shell letter" layout can be identified in nine additional multiple letters of our corpus.[45] They are all dual letters. With little variation, they all present the main (structural and visual) characteristics of the layout: they are penned by the same hand, they are visually structured in one single letter, the external address – if there is one – generally shows the names of the correspondents of the first letter,[46] and the final greeting is missing in the first letter. These letters also adopt the same or similar micro-strategies as SB III 7244 to guide the recipient through the reading of the document. Thus, in O.Did. 383, the prescript of the second

[45] O.Did. 383, O.Did. 417, P.Grenf. I 53 (?, 4th c.), P.Lond. inv. 2133 (Arsinoites?, 2nd or 3rd c.), P.Oxy. XVI 1829 (577-583, according to Palme, BL XI, 152), P.Oxy. LXII 4340 (ca. 250-275, according to Bagnall, BL XI, 172), P.Tebt. II 416 (Alexandria, 3rd c.), SB XX 14132 (Alexandria?, 1st c.), and P.Mich. VIII 508 (?, 2nd/3rd c.).

[46] Exceptionally, P.Oxy. LXII 4340 shows the names of the two senders on the external address.

letter, which directly follows the end of the first one (l. 22), is marked by a small blank space, while the second letter of O.Did. 417 starts on a separate line (l. 10). In P.Lond. inv. 2133, the opening of the second letter has been put in *eisthesis* (l. 11),[47] while in P.Oxy. LXII 4340 the scribe makes use of a *paragraphos* written in the shape of a short, horizontal stroke at the left margin between ll. 14 and 15, to separate the two messages and mark the beginning of the second letter.[48] A space is often deliberately left blank and placed between two letters for the same purpose.[49] The blank space is usually of the same size as a line of text, but can also be larger, as in P.Oxy. XVI 1829.

As this last text constitutes the only Byzantine example of a multiple letter arranged in the "shell letter" layout, it deserves closer scrutiny. In the Byzantine period, letters underwent some drastic changes that impacted their structure and layout: both the prescript and the *formula valedicendi* were taken out, while the typical vertical format was dismissed in favour of a horizontal format. The two letters included in P.Oxy. XVI 1829 are therefore displayed according to the visual conventions of the time, as two horizontal blocks of text. They were written by the same hand and placed on top of one another, with a large blank space between them.[50] One could say that they are simply arranged in a sequential order, as was common for multiple letters. However, the text of the letters suggests that the messages were perceived as a single one. The two letters, one of which was addressed to Flavios Strategios and the other to his wife, present the very same message with minor changes related to the different recipient (Strategios is, for example, addressed with the honorific predicate ἐξουσία, his wife with ὑπεροχή). There is, however, one striking difference between the two letters: only the latter ends with a final sentence of greeting to the addressee and their children (ll. 22–23, τ̣ὸ δ̣ὲ̣ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πολλὰ προσκυνῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν | ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ γλυκύτατα παιδία, translated by the editor as "The principal object of my letter is to greet your ladyship and your sweetest children many times"). It is remarkable that the scribe used ἐξουσίαν instead of the expected ὑπεροχήν, which shows that the greeting was supposed to close the first letter. In the same way as the other letters that are arranged in a "shell letter" layout, the first letter of P.Oxy. XVI

47 An image of the letter is available in Zellmann-Rohrer 2017, 139.

48 An image of the double letter is available at <https://portal.sds.ox.ac.uk/articles/online_resource/P_Oxy_LXII_4340_Two_Letters_to_Didyme/21178402>. On the use of the *paragraphos* in paraliterary and documentary papyri, see Barbis Lupi 1994 and Cribiore 1996, 81–82 (in school exercises).

49 See P.Grenf. I 53, P.Lond. inv. 2133, P.Oxy. XVI 1829, P.Tebt. II 416, SB XX 14132, and P.Mich. VIII 508. I did not have access to an image of P.Grenf. I 53, but the edition of the text shows a blank space at the end of the first letter, after l. 12, which reflects the original layout of the papyrus. On the practice of using blank spaces to structure a text, see Martin 2020.

50 Images of the papyrus are available at <https://portal.sds.ox.ac.uk/articles/online_resource/P_Oxy_XVI_1829_Letters_to_Flavius_Strategius_and_his_Wife/21133156>.

1829 has lost the final greeting. The greeting of the second letter therefore coincides with the final greeting of the "shell letter". The translation of the greeting should therefore take into account the illusion carried out by the "shell letter" and be translated: "The principal object of my letter is to greet your lordship and your sweetest children many times". The address on the back, which shows Flavios Strategios as the recipient of the document, corroborates the view that we are dealing with a "shell letter".

To sum up, the main features of the "shell letter" layout involve shaping multiple messages as a single letter and giving them a sense of unity. The reasons why a scribe would prefer to use this particular layout remain uncertain. We could think of the "shell letter" layout as a *divertissement* of the scribe; however, the hesitant handwriting and the rather ungrammatical Greek of some of the multiple letters do not support this possibility. In antiquity, each documentary type respected a standard layout, and these conventions were well-established in the mind of a scribe. We could therefore assume that, when they needed to pen a letter, scribes would more easily and naturally turn to the standard layout they always used, even when they were asked to pen multiple messages. Another possible explanation could be that multiple letters were somehow considered as a single text, and were consequently arranged as such.

As the "shell letter" layout had not been identified until now, papyrologists have sometimes had some difficulties in recognizing it.[51] Hopefully this analysis will help to identify texts arranged within this particular layout more easily.

3. Conclusions

The practice of using a single sheet to pen multiple letters was adopted by closed circles of people, who were usually different senders writing to the same person or one sender writing to different individuals who lived together or nearby. It was a convenient way to save time and paper, as well as to reduce the risk of losing the letter. Despite its advantages, this communication practice only has twenty-three attestations in the papyrological record, mostly from the Roman period.

Multiple letters written on papyri can be arranged in four different types of layout: by placing the messages one on top of another; in columns, side-by-side; by using the two faces of the writing medium; or by shaping them into a single letter. The preference for a specific layout depended on several factors. Some were subordinated to external circumstances: an individual might have decided

[51] See recently Zellmann-Rohrer 2017, 138, on P.Lond. inv. 2133, a double letter of Taria and Tapsais to Apollos: "I know of no exact parallels for this arrangement. It is akin to but distinct from the true double letter, in which two separate letters to the same person, with independent salutations, are written on the same sheet".

to add their message afterwards and drafted the message where there was some vacant space, below the first letter (BGU II 615), on its right side (P.Brem. 61), or even on the verso (P.Vet.Aelii 19). The side-by-side arrangement, which is rather uncommon in papyri, was the norm for the Vindolanda letters and it is therefore not surprising that the only double letter from Vindolanda follows this pattern (T.Vindol. III 643). As for the recto/verso arrangement, it mostly depended on the type of medium. Since the pre-set dimensions of an ostracon or a tablet did not easily allow multiple messages to be arranged on the same face, the scribe was more inclined to use both faces when dealing with this type of writing medium rather than with a papyrus, whose dimensions could be more easily adapted to every situation.

Yet, the layout could also depend on the deliberate choice of a scribe; this is evident in the letters of Sempronios to his family, where the arrangement of the messages on papyrus was functional to the reading of the document. The clear separation of Sempronios' letters, which are either arranged one on top of another or in columns, allowed his brothers to select what to read out loud to their mother.

Finally, there was one last choice a scribe could make in arranging multiple letters on a single sheet. This kind of layout, which has so far been overlooked, consists of combining together the messages to give the reader the impression that there was only one letter. This fictive single letter would not have any content of its own and would exist only as a visual entity. It is an empty shell, and, as such, I have suggested naming it the "shell letter". Differently from other layout arrangements, where each letter is clearly separated from the others, this one presents multiple letters as a single text. The illusion is also confirmed by the internal textual structure of the messages, since the first letter(s) usually lost the final greeting in order to create continuity from one text to the next. All these elements concur to convey a sense of unity among the various texts. The closeness of the correspondents is, then, somehow visually represented by the layout itself, in which their sense of unity is visually translated in the "shell letter" layout. This type of layout most vividly confirms the intuition of Bagnall and Cribiore that ancient individuals perceived multiple letters as a single text and that, therefore, they should be considered as such.[52]

Despite the small number of attestations of multiple letters, this corpus represents how the layout of a document could vary according to different factors and situations. It also underlines the importance of understanding the diplomatic dynamics of a papyrological text, which encompasses both its visual aspects and its social context.[53]

[52] Bagnall and Cribiore 2006, 36.

[53] On this approach, which rehabilitates the visual and material aspects of a document by pointing to its semiotic value, see Fournet 2007.

Appendix: A List of Multiple Letters (Classified by Date)

Multiple letter	Date	Provenance	Epistolary correspondents
SB XX 14132 (TM 26168)	1st c.	Alexandria?	1. Ptolema to her mother Belleous 2. Ptolema to her sister Heros
PSI IV 317 (TM 69142)	95	?	1. Kastor to Ptollis 2. Asklepiades to Ptollis
T.Vindol. III 643 (TM 130276)	97–105?	Vindolanda	1. Florus to Calavir(us) 2. Florus to Titus
O.Krok. II 296 (TM 704581)	98–117	Krokodilo	1. Ischyras? to NN 2. Ischyras to Kapparis
P.Oxy. XLIX 3503 (TM 24965)	late 1st c.	Oxyrhynchos	1. NN to a woman 2. NN to his “brother” Zoilos
O.Did. 383 (TM 144944)	110–115	Didymoi	1. Philokles to his “sister” Sknips 2. Philokles to his “brother” Kapparis
P.Giss. 81 (TM 25461)	ca. 113–120	Apollonopolites Heptakomias	1. NN to their sister Teoubais? 2. Temis to her mother Teoubais
O.Did. 417 (TM 144978)	ca. 120–125	Didymoi	1. Demetrous to Klaudios 2. Noumosis to her brother Klaudios
BGU II 615 (TM 28191)	2nd c.	Arsinoites	1. Ammonous to her father NN 2. Keler to his brother Antonios
P.Brem. 61 (TM 19646)	2nd c.	Hermopolis?	1. NN to Apollonios 2. Chairas to her brother Apollonios 3. Diskas to Apollonios
SB III 6263 (TM 27792)	second half of the 2nd c.	Alexandria?	1. Sempronios to his mother Satornila 2. Sempronios to his brother Maximos
P.Mich. XV 752 (TM 28821)	late 2nd c.	Alexandria?	1. Sempronios to his mother Satornila 2. Sempronios to his brother Maximos
P.Wisc. II 84 (TM 26689)	late 2nd c.	?	1. Sempronios to his brother Valerios? 2. Sempronios to his brother Satornilos 3. Sempronios to his mother Satornila
P.Mich. VIII 508 (TM 27118)	2nd/3rd c.	?	1. Thaisarion to her brothers Serenos and NN 2. Thaisarion to her sister Serapous and her brothers
P.Lond. inv. 2133 (TM 704792)	2nd or 3rd c.	Arsinoites?	1. Taria to her brother Apollos 2. Tapsais to Apollos (?)
P.Vet.Aelii 18–19 (TM 131746–131747)	ca. 222–255	Ankyron? (Herakleopolites)	1. NN to Syrion and Kyrillos 2. Syrion’s mother to her son Syrion 3. Syrion’s mother to her daughter Eudaimonis

Multiple letter	Date	Provenance	Epistolary correspondents
SB III 7244 (TM 31058)	first half of the 3rd c.	Tebtynis	1. Herakleides to his "son" Didymos 2. Takybis to her "daughter" Helene 3. Hadrianos to Didymos 4. Kollouthos to Didymos
P.Oxy. I 120 = Sel.Pap. I 162 (TM 31346)	3rd c.	Oxyrhynchos	1. Hermias to his sister NN 2. Hermias to his son Gounthos
P.Tebt. II 416 (TM 31360)	3rd c.	Alexandria	1. Kalma to his sister Sarapias 2. Kalma to his sister Protous
SB XIV 12182 (TM 30924)	3rd c.	Oxyrhynchites	1. NN to NN 2. NN to NN
P.Oxy. LXII 4340 (TM 31664)	ca. 250–275	Oxyrhynchos	1. Petosiris to Didyme 2. Thaesis to her daughter Didyme
P.Grenf. I 53 (TM 33767)	4th c.	?	1. Artemis to her husband Theodoros 2. Artemis to Sarapion
P.Oxy. XVI 1829 (TM 22007)	577–583	Oxyrhynchos	1. NN to Flavios Strategios 2. NN to Flavios Strategios' wife

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The Material Aspects, Palaeography, and Layout of Roman Wills from Egypt*

Lucia C. Colella

Roman wills from Egypt are preserved both on tablets (in Latin) and on papyrus (in Latin or in Greek). Unlike local deeds of last will, which were issued by non-Romans and did not follow Roman law,[1] Roman testaments had to be in conformity with the *ius civile*, because the testators (as well as heirs, legatees, and witnesses) were Roman citizens.[2] The only type of Roman will recognised in the period considered here (i.e., from the 1st century until the Severan age) was the *testamentum per aes et libram* ("will by bronze and scale").[3] Accordingly, these wills generally contained the *mancipatio familiae* clause, in which the so-called *familiae emptor* (property-purchaser) is said to have acquired by *mancipatio* the property of the testator at the symbolic

* The research for this chapter has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement no. 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project "Papyri and LAtin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri", University of Naples "Federico II" – P.I. Maria Chiara Scappaticcio. All dates are CE.

[1] In particular the so-called Graeco-Egyptian testaments (διαθῆκαι), on which see Arangio-Ruiz 1906, Kreller 1919 and Nowak 2015. For local deeds of last will of different types, see Yiftach-Firanko 2002.

[2] The label "Roman wills" follows Nowak 2015, 342-388; to this list one should add a Latin tablet that I have identified as a fragment of a Roman will (British Library Add MS 33999 f8) and at least three Latin papyri: P.Carlsberg inv. 671 + P.Berol. inv. 14470 b recto, ed. Halla-aho 2020; P.CtYBR inv. 4669, ed. Colella 2018; P.Vindob. L 74 = Ch.L.A. XLIV 1300 recto, ed. Iovine 2017, corrections in Iovine 2019 – to be identified as a Roman will; possibly also the unpublished P.Ryl. inv. 1048. See Colella 2024 nos. 20, 5, 13, 24 and Appendix 2 respectively. Testaments from the 4th century onwards ("Late Roman and Byzantine Wills" in Nowak 2015) are accordingly excluded, with the exception of P.NYU II 39 (335-345), as it still shows conformity to the older Roman pattern.

[3] See particularly Gai. *Inst.* 2.104. The only exception was the *testamentum militis*: see Amelotti 1966, 81-110.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Lucia C. Colella, *The Material Aspects, Palaeography, and Layout of Roman Wills from Egypt*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.09, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 121-139, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

price of one sesterce (*sestertio nummo uno*), in the presence of a scale-holder (*libripens*).[4] One of the testamentary requirements according to the *ius civile* was the language: Roman wills had to be in Latin. This was true until a constitution by Severus Alexander (first attested in 235) allowed Roman citizens to write them in Greek.[5]

One did not need a public official to compose a Roman will (unlike local διαθῆκαι, which were agoranomic deeds). However, as testators were often ignorant both of the Latin language and of Roman law, one can presume that they resorted to experts – the so-called νομικοί or *testamentarii* – who drafted valid testaments in Latin for them.[6]

After the testator's death, his will had to be opened in a formal ceremony according to the *lex Iulia de vicesima hereditatum*, in the presence of the majority of the witnesses who had sealed the testament.[7] On this occasion, a record of the opening of the will was written, containing a copy of the testament itself followed by an indication of where and when the will was opened and which witnesses were present to recognise their seals (*agnitio sigillorum*). As these official records contained a copy of the will, one can posit, as Amelotti does, that they were written in Latin until the age of Severus Alexander.[8]

Not all the testaments of Roman citizens from Egypt before 235, however, are in Latin: half of the surviving evidence is in Greek. Moreover, one finds Roman wills written both on wax tablets (only in Latin) and on papyrus (in Latin or Greek). The use of different materials and languages finds an explanation in the difference between "original" wills and copies included in the records of their opening. As far as we know, until Severus Alexander the originals were written on wax tablets, although it is far from sure that this was required by law;[9] Roman wills on papyrus

[4] *Familiam pecuniamque testamenti faciendi causa emit … sestertio nummo uno … libripende … antestatus est …* See Nowak 2015, 19-23; on the so-called *antestatus*, see Terranova 2010.

[5] The constitution issued by Severus Alexander has not survived, but it is quoted in the first known Roman will written in Greek, SPP XX 35 (Herakleopolites, 235): this document is said to be written γράμμασιν] | Ἑλ̣λ̣η̣νικοῖς ἀκο[λού]θως τῇ θείᾳ κ̣[ελε]ύ̣σ̣[ει τοῦ κυρίου ἡ̣μῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου] | Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρ̣[ο]υ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐ[τ]υχ[οῦς Σεβαστοῦ (ll. 12-14). A similar declaration, without the reference to the imperial constitution, is to be found in other Roman wills: P.Oxy. VI 907, 1-2 (Oxyrhynchus, 276); 990, 2-3 (Oxyrhynchus, 331); cf. P.Lips. I 29 (Hermopolis, 295); P.Stras. IV 277 (Ptolemais Euergetis?, 2nd half of the 3rd century). It is unclear whether the constitution was valid only in Egypt or in other eastern provinces as well; see Amelotti 1966, 220-225; Rochette 2000.

[6] On the drafting of Roman wills by *nomikoi*, see particularly Amelotti 1966, 111-190; cf. Urbanik 2023.

[7] See Nisoli 1949; cf. Nowak 2015, 73-103, with previous bibliography.

[8] Amelotti 1966, 188-189; cf. Nowak 2015, 98-99.

[9] The disappearance of Roman wills on tablets from Egypt in the 3rd century has been connected to the aforementioned constitution by Severus Alexander, but there is no proof that the use of papyrus was previously forbidden, and that the emperor eventually allowed it; probably this was an indirect consequence of the permission to write Roman wills in Greek, after which a stronger influence of local *diathekai* is recognisable. See e.g. *Dig.* 37.11.1 (Ulp. 39 *ad ed.*) with Scotti 2012, 730-737.

are, therefore, generally understood to be copies made for the record of the formal opening of the wills. The official records (in Latin) could be translated into Greek for the benefit of the heirs, legatees, or other interested persons, who often did not master Latin, like the testators themselves. Therefore, one finds Roman wills on papyrus both in Latin and in Greek; according to the *communis opinio*, the Latin ones belong to the official records of the opening, whereas the Greek ones are translations of the records themselves.[10]

Strictly speaking, however, we can be sure that a will on papyrus is a copy for the records only if the end of the text is preserved, because a note recording its opening was generally added at the bottom of the document, immediately following the copy of the will itself. Although some exceptions shall be analysed below, this caveat must be kept in mind, as the dichotomy "original wills (on tablets) vs. records of opening of wills (on papyrus)" is not entirely satisfactory. Not every piece of evidence on papyrus can be identified as a protocol of opening: we also know a Latin template (P.Hamb. I 72)[11] and a bilingual draft (P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857)[12], subscribed by the testator himself. As said above, in Roman Egypt testators as well as heirs and other beneficiaries were mostly Greek-speaking and therefore in need of a translation of Latin wills; for that reason, they resorted to other individuals – often the νομικοί – who wrote Roman wills in Latin with the help of templates and then provided them with a Greek translation. Traces of this process also remain in some subscriptions to the wills: in two cases the testator claims "to have collated" his will[13] (i.e., probably to have compared the Latin and the Greek versions); in a further case, the testator subscribes both his Latin will and its Greek copy (τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀντίγραφον).[14] This means that a Roman will written in Greek before the constitution by Severus Alexander is not necessarily a translation of the protocol of opening, but might also be a translation (or a draft)[15] of the "original will", made at the request of the testator when he or she was still alive. Moreover, as for the records of opening of Roman wills, it is a matter of discussion whether all Latin protocols are originals and all Greek ones are copies (see below, § 2.2).

This chapter aims to investigate to what extent the analysis of material features, *mise en page*, and palaeography can lead to a deeper understanding of the documents. In evidence dated before Severus Alexander, both language (Latin) and material (wax tablets) must be used to identify original wills. As I shall demonstrate, among

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[10] Amelotti 1966, 188–189; Nowak 2015, 98–99.

[11] Provenance unknown, 2nd–3rd century.

[12] Will of the freedman Ti. Claudius Alexander (Oxyrhynchus, 134).

[13] Ch.L.A. X 412, II 8–11 and C.Pap.Lat. 221, 48–51.

[14] P.Oxy. XXII 2348, II 47–51.

[15] See the discussion on P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857 below (§ 3).

Roman wills on papyrus, some clues for the identification of originals or copies are – in addition to the language(s) of the document – the presence of a heading, the number of hands in the document, the writing surface (recto or verso) and, in some cases, the presence of abbreviations and corrections. The use of layout strategies (such as *ekthesis*, *eisthesis*, and blank lines or spaces) has often been taken as a clue for recognising the official or private nature of the document, but this criterion seems more problematic.

1. Wills on Wax Tablets

The main proof that Roman wills on tablets were originals is the autograph of the testator's subscription and of the witnesses' *adscriptiones*. They are extant only in two documents (C.Pap.Lat. 221 and BGU VII 1695[16]) and, though not required by law, were probably widespread in Roman wills from Egypt.[17]

Our evidence for original wills is poor: out of five documents, only one is entirely preserved, i.e., the well-known testament of the cavalryman Antonius Silvanus (C.Pap.Lat. 221).[18] It is a polyptych of five wooden tablets, coated with wax and written with a stylus (*tab.* I *pag. ant.* – with no wax – and *tab.* V *pag. ant.* bear no writing). The testator's subscription (in Greek) is on *tab.* IV *pag. post.*; the witnesses' *adscriptiones* (in Greek or Latin) are put next to their seals on *tab.* V *pag. post.* Interestingly, binding holes are on the lower margin in *paginae anteriores* and on the upper one in *paginae posteriores*, contrary to the standard format known, for instance, from Campanian tablets. Due to its excellent state of conservation, this will has been often taken as reference for other Roman testaments, but, when making comparisons, we must be aware of the scarcity of direct evidence and of our incomplete knowledge of Roman testamentary practice, even as far as Egypt is concerned. Differently from some wills on papyrus, in the body of this document no particular paragraph separator is employed; we only find *paragraphoi* marking separation between different *adscriptiones* in *tab.* V *pag. post.*[19] Moreover, its format is not wholly in conformity with the so-called *senatus consultum Neronianum* as reported by Suetonius,[20] as the identity of the testator is given in no separate tablet, but immediately before the tes-

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[16] According to the first edition and to the reconstruction provided by Guéraud and Jouguet 1940, here only the *adscriptiones* seem preserved (*tab.* A *pag. post.*).

[17] Nowak 2015, 58-66.

[18] Alexandria (origin), 142.

[19] I have not been able to check this point, because no photograph of *tab.* V *pag. post.* was included in the first edition; I have requested a digital image from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (June 8th, 2022), without success so far.

[20] Suet. *Nero* 17: *adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulae nisi pertusae ac ter lino per foramina traiecto obsignarentur; cautum ut testamentis primae duae cerae testatorum modo nomine inscripto vacuae signaturis ostenderentur ac ne qui alieni testamenti scriptor legatum sibi ascriberet*. On the dating see recently Camodeca 2022.

tamentary dispositions; Arangio-Ruiz claimed that other Roman wills from Egypt were drafted in a similar way,[21] but this might not be the case, as will be argued below. As C.Pap.Lat. 221 demonstrates, although abbreviations were not allowed in Roman wills, they are nonetheless a recurrent feature in our evidence;[22] the reason for this prohibition lies probably in the attempt to avoid misunderstandings, as the one attested in the *clausula doli* – *h(uic) t(estamento) d(olus) m(alus) {h}<a>(besto)*, *tab.* IV *pag. ant.*, l. 38 – wrongly written or possibly wrongly copied from a draft or a template, as we shall see below, § 3. Abbreviations for technical terms in Latin wills were sometimes wrongly resolved in Greek translations out of ignorance of the corresponding Roman formulae (see below, § 2.3).

Technical abbreviations are used in other wills on tablets: this is the case with the will of the fleet soldier Safinnius Herminos, BGU VII 1695[23] – *h(uic) t(estamento) · d(olus) m(alus) ab(esto)*, *tab.* B^2 *pag. ant.*, l. 3 – and in the extremely fragmentary will of an unknown testator, P.Mich. VII 437, *pag. ant.* l. 5:[24] *d(o) l(ego)*. As is well known, abbreviations often confuse not only ancient writers, but modern editors too, as becomes apparent from the transcription of BGU VII 1695, *tab.* B^2 *pag. ant.*, l. 3, printed in the *editio princeps*: *consumi d(enaria) Aug(usta) ducenta sh d(olus) m(alus) ab(esto)*. The first editors did not detect the *t* visible before *d(olus)* and therefore did not recognise the abbreviated *clausula doli*, thus printing the odd sequence *d(enaria) Aug(usta) ducenta sh.* Instead, I propose reading *dṛ(achmas) Aug(ustas) ducentas. h(uic) t(estamento)* · (…). Further Roman wills on tablets were issued by two unknown testators: BGU VII 1696[25] and the newly identified British Library Add MS 33999 f8.[26] In these documents, abbreviations of technical testamentary terms do not occur (see e.g., *do lego*, written in full both in BGU VII 1696, *tab.* A, l. 13[27] and in British Library Add MS 33999 f8 recto, l. 3).

As for paragraph markers, they are rarely found in Roman wills on tablets, but the fragmentary state of preservation of most texts prevents firm conclusions. The presence of *ekthesis* in the first line of the will of Safinnius Herminos (BGU VII 1695) suggests that the layout strategies that one finds in testaments on papyrus

[21] Arangio-Ruiz 1952.

[22] On the use of *notae* in wills in Roman law see Amelotti 1966, 166 n. 2, on *Dig*. 29.1.40 pr. (Paul. 11 *resp.*) and 37.1.6.2 (Paul. 41 *ad ed.*).

[23] Philadelphia, 157.

[24] Provenance unknown, 2nd century.

[25] Philadelphia, 2nd century. On the identity of the testator, possibly a Numissius, see Migliardi Zingale 1990.

[26] Provenance unknown, 2nd century. The identity of the testator is unknown, but, as one legatee is a veteran, the testator himself might be a soldier or a veteran.

[27] This phrase was not recognised by the first editors, who printed the line as follows: *] ̣ ̣ loius era ̣au ̣ ̣ s*.

were employed on tablets more often than we can ascertain. The same holds true for the section of the witnesses' *adscriptiones*, which in the same will are separated by horizontal lines (cf. the *paragraphoi* employed for the same purpose in the will of Antonius Silvanus, C.Pap.Lat. 221, mentioned above).

The position of the holes on the margins of the tablets is also telling. BGU VII 1696 survives in two fragmentary tablets; the editors report that each one is legible on one side only.[28] Traces of an earlier text under the will are recognisable.[29] The legible side of each tablet has a hole on the right, *tab.* A bearing it on the top, *tab.* B on the bottom. If we assume that this will had a format analogous to that of C.Pap. Lat. 221, we should conclude that the legible side of *tab.* A is the *pagina posterior*, whereas *tab.* B seems to be legible on the *pagina anterior*. Progress on deciphering the text was possible, and this confirms that they are two consecutive faces.[30] Indeed the last lines of *tab.* A contain the beginning of the legacy section, which continues in *tab.* B. Moreover, *tab.* A and B should be identified as the second and third tablets of the codex respectively, since *tab.* A preserves remains of the *heredis institutio*. If the *heredis institutio* was on *tab.* II *pag.* 4, the first two wax faces (*pag.* 2 and 3, which correspond to the *primae duae cerae* mentioned in Suet. *Nero* 17) probably contained only the name (and citizenship status, profession or other qualification?) of the testator; this might be in conformity with the *SC Neronianum*.[31]

Unfortunately, no image of BGU VII 1695 is available and therefore analysis of its material features can only be speculative.[32] However, it is worth noting that, according to the first edition, *tab.* I *pag. post.*[33] contains only the identification of the testator, in larger letters. We have no proof that the *heredis institutio* was on *pag.* 4 and not on *pag.* 3, but the use of the whole of *pag.* 2 for just the name of the testator, written in larger letters, might be a clue that the document conformed to the *SC Neronianum*. The position of binding holes is the same as that in C.Pap.Lat. 221 and probably that in BGU VII 1696. The witnesses' *adscriptiones* are separated by horizontal lines, still visible in *tab.* A *pag. post.* after lines 4, 5, 6, and 8.[34]

On the one hand, the possible adherence of BGU VII 1695 and 1696 to the *senatus consultum* is worth noting: in C.Pap.Lat. 221 there is no space between the introductory formula and the appointment of heirs, and on this basis, Arangio-Ruiz'

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[28] The item is not accessible for autopsy. Images of the two *paginae* published in the first editions are printed in Migliardi Zingale 1990, table XLII, and Migliardi Zingale 1997, table IV.

[29] For palimpsest tablets in Campania cf. e.g., T.Sulpicii 5, 10, 71, 75, 83, 85; in Britain, Tomlin 2016, 15–19.

[30] Colella 2024 no. 18.

[31] See above, n. 21.

[32] This item is also not accessible for autopsy.

[33] That is *tab.* C *ed. pr*. See the reconstruction provided by Guéraud and Jouguet 1940.

[34] I am grateful to M. Gerhardt for this information.

arguments should be reconsidered.[35] On the other hand, the analysis of its material features shows that the format of C.Pap.Lat. 221 (with binding holes on the top margin of *paginae posteriores* and on the bottom margin of *paginae anteriores*) is not untypical, but is probably shared at least by two other Roman wills on tablets, namely BGU VII 1695 and 1696.

No margin is preserved in P.Mich. VII 437. But in British Library Add MS 33999 f8, of which only a small fragment survives, the extant margin bears the central hole for sealing and a smaller hole to its left.[36] Due to its state of preservation, it is not possible to establish which side was the *pagina anterior* and which the *pagina posterior*. The side inventoried as British Library Add MS 33999 f8 recto has the holes on the bottom margin, the one inventoried as British Library Add MS 33999 f8 verso has them on the top. British Library Add MS 33999 f8 recto shows several abbreviations,[37] but interestingly not for the formulary phrase *do lego*, which is generally abbreviated in the remaining evidence.

2. Wills on Papyrus

As stated above, although we generally assume that before 235 Roman wills on papyrus are copies quoted in the protocols of opening, they might also be templates or drafts; therefore, we can be sure about this only if the record of the opening ceremony itself is preserved. This is generally to be found at the very end of the document, following the copy of the will. Among evidence from this period, only four Latin[38] and six Greek texts[39] can be identified with certainty as opening protocols. In the remaining ones, the record of the opening does not survive; in these cases, however, the presence of a heading may be of help.

2.1 Headings, Layout Strategies, and Abbreviations

It might be stressed that, according to available editions, before 235 a heading is to be found in all the Roman wills in Greek whose beginnings are extant. The editors report that two texts are headed "translation of a will" (P.Select. 14 and BGU I 326)[40]; another one bears a more elaborate title, "copy of a Roman will translated as far as possible" (P.Diog. 9)[41].

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[35] Arangio-Ruiz 1952.

[36] Cf. among Campanian tablets T.Sulpicii 91 and 92.

[37] Namely *veter(anum), coh(orte), Thrac(um), dra(chmas) Aug(ustas)*.

[38] Ch.L.A. X 412; P.Carlsberg inv. 671 + P.Berol. inv. 14470 b recto (see Colella 2024 no. 5); P.CtYBR inv. 4669; P.Diog. 10.

[39] BGU VII 1655; PSI XIII 1325, 9-24; BGU XIII 2244; BGU I 326; P.Hamb. I 73; P.Oxy. XXII 2348.

[40] Will of the veteran C. Iulius Diogenes (Arsinoites, 127-148) and will of the veteran C. Longinus Kastor (origin: Ptolemais Euergetis, 194), respectively.

[41] Will of the Antinoite M. Lucretius Minor (Philadelphia, 186-210?).

However, the title ἑρμηνεία has been almost completely restored in BGU I 326 and P.Select. 14. In BGU I 326, ἑρμηνεί]α διαθ(ήκης), the first traces after the lacuna seem more compatible with a final *kappa*, with its descender extended to mark an abbreviation, rather than with a final *alpha*, which would also be rather large: the alternative restorations ἑρμηνεία or ἀντίγραφον Ῥωμαι]κ̣(ῆς) διαθ(ήκης) are possible. In P.Select. 14, the presumptive heading ἑρμην]ε̣ί̣α̣ δ̣ι̣α̣θ(ήκης) is even more problematic, since extant traces suggest reading a date (Π̣[α]ῦνι κθ̄).

The only Latin instance bearing a title is P.Diog. 10[42] (*exemp̣l(um) test(amenti)*, "copy of a will"). No heading is present in the only extant bilingual draft (P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857; see below, § 3).

In the evidence dating after Severus Alexander, no proper heading survives, with the exception of the peculiar PSI IX 1040,[43] whose exact documentary type has been disputed.[44] Here, the word διαθήκη in l. 1 appears in *eisthesis* with respect to ll. 2-3, as if it were a title. However, ll. 2-3 (with name and patronymic of the testator in the genitive case) belong to the broader section of the identification of the testator, where ll. 4-5 (with metronymic, place of residence and information about literacy) are lined up with l. 1. The section of the appointment of the heir (ll. 6-11) is in *ekthesis* with respect to all previous lines. The following dispositions are partly (ll. 12-29) lined up with ll. 1 and ll. 4-5, and partly more indented (ll. 30-34). It is not clear whether *eisthesis* is consciously used here as a paragraph divider, since there is no actual textual pause and the latter section (ll. 30-34) refers to the same female slave Dameis as the previous one (ll. 12-29), but perhaps the writer wanted to mark the final disposition prohibiting the enslaved woman from leasing the part of the house that the heir shall give her.[45]

With the exception of this text, evidence after 235 shows no great use of layout devices,[46] although we do not know whether this is due to the poor state of preservation of some papyri. Interestingly, greater uniformity can be observed in the layout of Roman wills on papyrus before 235, where *ekthesis* (often with the first letter enlarged) and vacats are frequently used to signal the beginning of new sections or clauses. These layout devices are found in some wills on tablets (see above, § 1) and, as we shall see below (§ 3), in a template and in a bilingual draft too. We might argue that they were present in (some of) the templates used by *nomikoi* for drafting wills and that often scribes chose to reproduce them from the original Latin will into the Latin record of the opening or in its Greek translation.

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42 Will of the Antinoite L. Ignatius Rufinus (Philadelphia?, 211).

43 Will of Psenamounis, son of Harpokras (Oxyrhynchus, 3rd century).

44 Nowak 2015, 115-117.

45 On this disposition see Nowak 2015, 163.

46 *Ekthesis* and/or vacats: P.Oxy. VI 907; P.Oxy. XXVII 2474; PSI VI 696.

We note a recurrent pattern in the use of abbreviations too, even if in this case a difference between Latin and Greek documents is visible. In Latin texts, abbreviations are mostly used (with the exception of *praenomina*) for formulaic phrases and technical terms. These abbreviations, typical for Latin legal language, are generally absent from Greek translations, with the only exception of σηστερτ(ίῳ) ν(ούμμῳ) ἑνί – ἐπέγ(νω) in P.Oxy. XXII 2348, II 42.[47] It is possible that they were usually resolved in Greek translations for the benefit of those who had requested the translations (often the beneficiaries of the will); these people, who did not know Latin, probably did not know the technicalities of Roman law either and may have needed to read formulaic phrases in full. Some mistakes in Greek *testimonia* can be explained by the practice of resolving technical abbreviations in Greek translations either by translating the Latin original directly or by copying from a Greek antigraph.[48] In wills after 235, when Roman wills in Greek are thought to be originals, some typical "Roman" clauses become rarer; when they are present, they occur generally unabbreviated.[49]

2.2 Hand(s)

We mentioned Amelotti's assumption that all Roman wills on papyrus preceding the constitution of Severus Alexander are not originals. We might ask whether this is confirmed by the number of hands intervening within one document. In all *testimonia* but one (the draft P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, see § 3) declarations by the testator and by the witnesses are not autographic. We may conclude that Amelotti's theory is right, and that we do not have original wills on papyrus before 235.

However, a further problem arises from the evidence: in records of opening of local wills, the witnesses record the recognition of their seals by means of autographic subscriptions,[50] but no opening protocol of a Roman will bears autographic subscriptions by the witnesses. We do not know whether the absence of autographic declarations by witnesses was normal for Roman opening protocols or whether it indicates that all the known examples are copies of the original records. This issue has been discussed by scholars of Roman law who focused on the language of the documents. On the one hand, Amelotti believes *all* the Latin protocols of opening to be original, no matter by how many hands they were drafted or subscribed; on the other hand, Nowak emphasises the possibility that some Latin records are cop-

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[47] Will of Aurelius Chairemon, son of Herakleides (Oxyrhynchus, 224). Cf. P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, II 28: σηστ(ερτίῳ) νούμμ(ῳ) α΄.

[48] BGU VII 1655, III 48; P.Hamb. I 73, 14; BGU I 326, II 18. See below, § 2.2 and § 2.3.

[49] See the *mancipatio familiae* in P.Laur. I 4 recto and P.NYU II 39. In P.Lips. I 29 the stipulatory clause ἐπε[ρωτ]ηθ(εῖσα) ὡμολό(γησα) – occurring in Roman wills after 235, although inappropriately – is abbreviated. The abbreviations διαθ(ήκην) (PSI IX 1040 and P.Princ. II 38) and κληρ(ονόμος) (PSI VI 696) are typical of local wills too and are found both before and after 235.

[50] See esp. P.Köln II 100, 35–40; P.Oxy. III 494, 32–43.

ies and some Greek ones are originals, and argues that in records of opening of Roman wills a list of the witnesses' names was probably sufficient, while in local ones autographic signatures by the witnesses were needed.[51] In fact, there is no firm basis to assume that all extant Latin protocols of opening are originals, as we know both from juristic literature (*Pauli Sententiae* 4.6.1-2)[52] and from documentary evidence that copies of the records were made for the interested parties. For example P.Diog. 10, although written in Latin, is indeed likely a private copy: the record of the opening of the will was drawn up in the nome metropolis, Ptolemais Euergetis, and most probably stored there; the papyrus, however, was acquired with other pieces from Philadelphia and belongs to the family archive of Marcus Lucretius Diogenes and Aurelius Sarapion.[53] Further clues indicating that this document is a private copy are the frequent mistakes in Latin and the omission of the *dolus* clause and of the *mancipatio familiae*. Schubert, following Migliardi Zingale, states that this document was written by just one hand, though former editors recognised several hands.[54]

As no records of opening of Roman wills have autograph subscriptions, we have no conclusive evidence that the other two Latin records bearing the *agnitio sigillorum* at the bottom – P.CtYBR inv. 4669[55] and Ch.L.A. X 412[56] – are private copies.[57] If they were private copies, the fact that the witnesses' subscriptions were written by the first hand would need no explanation. If at least one of these documents were an original, we should agree with Nowak that in Roman practice autographic subscription by the witnesses recognising their seals was not necessary. In this respect, we might emphasise that in all known Latin records of opening of Roman wills the verb *adgnosco* is abbreviated (as *ADG*), whereas in Greek translations the equivalent ἐπιγιγνώσκω occurs in the third person singular or plural.[58] The Latin abbreviation has been customarily resolved by editors in the first person singular as pertaining to

[51] Amelotti 1966, 188-189; Nowak 2015, 88, 98-99.

[52] 1. *Tabulae testamenti aperiuntur hoc modo, ut testes vel maxima pars eorum adhibeatur, qui signaverint testamentum: ita ut agnitis signis rupto lino aperiatur et recitetur atque ita describendi exempli fiat potestas ac deinde signo publico obsignatum in archivum redigatur, ut, si quando exemplum eius interciderit, sit, unde peti possit*. 2. *Testamenta in municipiis coloniis oppidis praefectura vico castello conciliabulo facta in foro vel basilica praesentibus testibus vel honestis viris inter horam secundam et decimam diei aperiri recitarique debebunt, exemploque sublato ab isdem rursus magistratibus obsignari, quorum praesentia constat apertum.*

[53] TM ArchID 137.

[54] P. Schubert, P.Diog. 10, at p. 93.

[55] Provenance unknown, 191. The testator is unknown, as the fragment preserves only the witnesses' subscriptions.

[56] Will of the veteran M. Sempronius Priscus (origin: Ptolemais Euergetis, 131).

[57] P.CtYBR inv. 4669 is too fragmentary. In Ch.L.A. X 412 some elements of informality (as the corrections in the final record of the opening) might point to a private copy, but the comparative evidence is too poor to say it with certainty.

[58] BGU I 326, II 5, 6, 13, 19, 20; BGU VII 1655, III 60-62; P.Oxy. XXII 2348, II 53-64; probably to be restored in PSI XIII 1325, 22 as well.

a subscription, but one wonders whether it should be resolved in the third person singular, as pertaining to an entry in a list of witnesses.

The acknowledgment of the seals put by the witnesses on the original testament seems to have been certified, at least in some cases, not only through written declarations, but also through the sealing of the record of the opening. According to Gaius (*Dig*. 29.3.7 = Gai. 7 *ad. ed. prov.*)[59] the *tabulae testamenti*, once opened, should be resealed by the witnesses who were present at the opening ceremony. Here, the jurist takes into account the special case in which all the *signatores* of the will are absent at the opening, being replaced by men of the best repute. These *viri optimae opinionis* shall seal (*obsignentur*) the tablets, which shall be sent to the unavailable *signatores*, so that they can verify the authenticity of their seals. The sealing of the *tabulae* by the witnesses after their opening might have been current practice even when the *signatores* of the will were present at the opening: this is suggested by a fragmentary record of opening, P.CtYBR inv. 4669, where only the final part with the *agnitio sigillorum* is preserved. As in other two Latin records of opening (Ch.L.A. X 412 and P.Diog. 10), the witnesses' declarations are all by the same hand and contain the statement that they have recognised their seals (*adgnosco*), but in this document a new verb occurs, seemingly *adsigno*, "seal (again)". Parallels can be found both in a Greek translation of an opened Roman will (P.Oxy. XXII 2348), where the verb ἐπισφραγίζω is used, and in a record of the opening of a local will from the Roman period (P.Oxy. III 494)[60], where the witnesses declare that they recognised their seals and have sealed (σφραγίζω) the document again with the same seal. In the local protocol of opening the witnesses' subscriptions are autograph.

As for records of opening of Roman wills written in Greek, Amelotti's assertion that before 235 they were all translations is probably right. In fact, if the original testament had to be in Latin, it would be difficult to understand why, once opened, it was translated into Greek for the official record, to be stored in a public archive. Among Greek *testimonia*, BGU I 326 is noteworthy, as it bears an autographic note by the *nomikos*, validating the conformity of his translation to the original will, and a docket on the verso.[61] A partial copy of the same protocol – a unique case among Roman wills – is preserved in P.Berol. 7047, containing the final subscription by the *nomikos*, written by the first hand. Some words that are abbreviated (σφρα(γισταί),

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[59] *Sed si quis ex signatoribus aberit, mitti debent tabulae testamenti ubi ipse sit, uti agnoscat: nam revocari eum adgnoscendi causa onerosum est. Quippe saepe cum magna captione a rebus nostris revocamur et sit iniquum damnosum cuique esse officium suum. Nec ad rem pertinet, unus absit an omnes. Et si forte omnibus absentibus causa aliqua aperire tabulas urgueat, debet proconsul curare, ut intervenientibus optimae opinionis viris aperiantur et post descriptum et recognitum factum ab isdem, quibus intervenientibus apertae sunt, obsignentur, tunc deinde eo mittantur, ubi ipsi signatores sint, ad inspicienda sigilla sua.*

[60] Will of Akousilaos (Oxyrhynchus, 165).

[61] On these characteristics of BGU I 326, see Nowak 2015, 99.

II 12) or written in numerals (Δ, II 18) in BGU I 326 are, instead, written in full in P.Berol. 7047. In the latter case – a bequest of 4.000 sesterces – the numeral is rendered as τέσσαρες in P.Berol. 7047, 18. Mommsen thought that both Greek copies contained a wrong resolution of the Latin numeral for four thousand ($\overline{IIII}$). However, due to its shape, the *delta* in BGU I 326 can be interpreted as 4.000, the numeral being erroneously rendered as τέσσαρες only in P.Berol. 7047: the letter is indeed larger than the others, in majuscule form, and its right-hand diagonal has a hook at the top; it is followed by a long horizontal raised on the line. This shows that not every Greek copy of a Roman will was directly translated from the Latin: indeed, in this case the subscription by the *nomikos* confirming the authenticity of its translation could not have been taken from a Latin antigraph. Therefore, in examining Roman wills in Greek we should try to understand whether they are direct translations from the Latin or copies of Greek translations; the same caveat is important for understanding BGU VII 1655 (see immediately below).

2.3 Writing Surface and Corrections

Most of the evidence is written on the recto along the fibres.[62] Three Roman wills in Greek, however, are written on the back of other texts: two precede the constitution by Severus Alexander (BGU VII 1655 and P.Bagnall 5),[63] the other one (PSI IX 1040), dated to the late 3rd century on the basis of its palaeography and the text on the recto, probably postdates it. The first two texts are worth discussing because of interesting corrections to their texts made by the original scribe. BGU VII 1655 preserves on the recto a list of names, possibly from a census register. It was found by Friedrich Zucker in 1908/9 at Philadelphia, the same place in which the will was opened. P.Bagnall 5 was found at Oxyrhynchus and preserves on the recto a Latin list of cavalrymen, written upside down. The editor of the recto, Ornella Salati, argues that at least one column has been lost on the left.

The two Roman wills are very similar: not only are both written on the back of other texts, but they also are full of mistakes corrected by the writer himself. Moreover, in both documents the initial part is lost and therefore we do not know whether there was a heading identifying the textual type. However, BGU VII 1655 is surely a translation made after the will was opened, because it records the opening at the bottom, while P.Bagnall 5 is broken at the bottom. The different state of preservation has given rise to different interpretations. Migliardi Zingale interprets BGU VII 1655 as a translated copy of the original Latin protocol drawn up

[62] The same holds true for P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, even though in Ch.L.A. XLVII 1413 the papyrus is erroneously described as written *transversa charta*.

[63] Will of an unknown testator (Philadelphia, 169) and will of an unknown testator (Oxyrhynchus, 213), respectively.

by someone who was not very familiar with Latin juristic terminology, while the editor of P.Bagnall 5, G. Bastianini, argues that it is a provisional draft, observing that the sheet has a manufacturing defect that impeded writing. Linguistic analysis may help. With regard to BGU VII 1655, I am inclined to interpret it as a carelessly made private copy taken from a Greek translation rather than directly translated from the Latin. The text is full of mistakes not attested elsewhere, in particular in the *mancipatio familiae* clause:

- III 48: σηστ[ε]ρ[τί]ων νούμμων χειλίων instead of σηστερτίου νούμμου ἑνός;[64]
- III 49: ἐ[πρ]ίατο [Π]ούπλιος Μήο[υι]ος Ἡρακλιανός instead of ζυγοστατοῦντος Πουπλίου Μηουίου Ἡρακλιανοῦ, but in III 47 ἐπρίατο is correctly used as equivalent for *emit*.

Moreover, in the dating clause:

- III 53: the consuls' names are missing (ὑπάτοις τοῖς οὖσι), but they are included in the opening protocol (III 63–65);
- III 54–56: (ἔτους) θ̣ʹ Αὐτοκρατορ⟦ι⟧`σι´ Καισα⟦ρι⟧`ρσι´ Ἀντωνίνῳ καὶ Οὐήρῳ | Ἀụ[γο]ύστοις Ἀρμενιακῶν Μηδικῶν Παρθιlκῶν Μεγίστων μηνὸς [Ἑλ]λ̣ήνων Μεχεὶρ κʹ. Dating by regnal year requires the imperial titulature in the genitive case, but here there is a mix of genitive and dative, the latter being generally used for rendering the Latin ablative absolute in consular dates.

The surprising σηστ[ε]ρ[τί]ων νούμμων χειλίων might be the result of misinterpreted abbreviations in a Greek antigraph (e.g., σηστ(ερτίῳ) νούμμ(ῳ) αʹ; cf. P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, II 28), as the first editors suggested.

The repetition of ἐπρίατο could be due to the copying process rather than to an incorrect translation of the Latin: the writer could have accidentally copied the verb from the preceding line and then added a subject in the nominative. In fact, he would have seen different terms in the Latin original: *emit* (ἐπρίατο) and *libripende* (ζυγοστατοῦντος).

As for the dating clause, the use of the dative is probably due to the preceding consular dating formula rather than to that of a Latin antigraph, where the writer would have found the genitive, not the dative case (in the formula *anno IX Imperatorum Caesarum* etc.).

With regard to P.Bagnall 5, we do not find apparent translation mistakes in the surviving text. The visible errors might be interpreted as reconsiderations or afterthoughts by the writer, as the editor proposes, or they might be due to the copying process. In particular, in l. 4 the writer may have realised that the sequence ⟦ἐλ̣εύθερọṿ `αν´ τẹ ẹἶνạι̣⟧ was in the following line in its antigraph, and this error

[64] Cf. P.Hamb. I 73, 14: [σ]ηστερτίων νούμμ[.

might have been caused by the repetitive structure of the codicillary clause (εἴ τι … εἴ τινα; ἐλεύθερον ἐλευθέραν τε εἶναι … ἐλεύθερος ἐλευθέρα). The superlinear correction δέδωκα in l. 2 might point to the same process: the verb is the equivalent of the Latin *dedi*, which we find in the codicillary clause of P.Hamb. I 72 before the phrase *li]ḅẹṛum liberamve · esse*; this is equivalent to ἐλεύ|[θερο]ṿ ἐλευθέραν τε εἶναι (ll. 4-5), erroneously written at l. 4. The writer wrote υπο ̣ , but then corrected himself *in scribendo* by writing δέδωκα above the line. He might have begun to copy something that belonged to the previous line (e.g., ὑπογεγραμμένον, which occurs in the codicillary clause of P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857). The loss of the initial and final parts of the text, however, prevents a conclusive identification of the textual type.

3. Other Documents

As said above, in our evidence there are at least two documents on papyrus that are not records of the opening of Roman wills, namely P.Hamb. I 72 and P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857.

P.Hamb. I 72 is a template for Roman wills. Interestingly, in this document new clauses begin on a new line, generally in *ekthesis* (II 5, 9, 17); moreover, at l. 9 the beginning of the codicillary clause is marked through a larger interlinear space (Fig. 37). The use of layout strategies analogous to those found in actual wills is worth noting: it can be argued that there was a tendency to reproduce the *mise en page* of the template in drafting the wills. In particular, it might be telling that the *dolus* clause is in *ekthesis*, whereas the *mancipatio familiae* starts a new line, but not in *ekthesis* (II 17-20; Fig. 38); the same holds true for Ch.L.A. IX 399, 6-7, the earliest extant Roman will from Egypt.[65] The *clausula doli* and the *mancipatio* are the so-called formal clauses, generally following each other in a fixed order;[66] possibly some writers of wills, perhaps following templates such as P.Hamb. I 72, used *ekthesis* to mark the end of patrimonial dispositions and the beginning of formal clauses and/or perceived the two clauses as strictly related to each other.

Previous editors of the text emphasised the presence of mistakes, which would have been odd in a template. Apart from the spellings *conprehensumve* (II 16) e *quicunque* (II 2), however, the purported mistakes can be explained with the use of interpuncts and apices. *Ḟufia{ṃ}* in the phrase *in lege Ḟufia{ṃ} Caninia* · (II 6; Fig. 33) should be read as *Fufia* instead: *A* is written in three strokes and is followed by an interpunct placed high in the line, as the one following *Caninia* (Fig. 33). The peculiar wording of the *mancipatio familiae* is more significant, as this clause is standardised in the rest of our evidence: *Familiam pecuniamque testamenti faciendi causa*

[65] Will of a Tiberius Claudius (provenance unknown, 91).

[66] Except for P.Mich. VII 439, where the mancipatory clause might have been placed in the patrimonial dispositions.

*emit NN (*nominative*) sestertio nummo uno, libripende NN (*ablative*), antestatus est NN (*accusative*).* Here, instead, the participation of the scale-holder was previously read as *libripendis loco quis*[67] (II 19; Fig. 35). However, the alleged *quis* was mistakenly read for *quó*: what was mistaken for the second stroke of *S* is in fact an apex over long *o* (cf. *hóc*, II 15; Fig. 34). Therefore, here the mancipatory clause too occurs in its expected phrasing.

As for P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, it preserves the Latin (col. I, barely extant) and the Greek (col. II) versions of the same will on the same sheet. This is a draft, in which the names of the participants in the *mancipatio familiae* are not given (II 28–30), and it contains the testator's autograph subscription under the Greek text, which reads as follows: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος | Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέγνων μου τὴν δ̣ι̣α̣θήκην πρὸς | [ἣν] ἠθέλησα τὴν Ῥ̣ωμα̣ϊκήν μο̣υ̣ γ[ρ]α̣φῆναι. | [συμ]φω̣νῖ μοι [γ]ὰρ π̣ά̣ντα ὡ[ς πρ]ό̣κ[ιτ]αι (II 34–37). According to the first editors, the testator "must in practice have dictated his testamentary wishes in Greek, so that the Greek version was in practical terms the earlier version, and had them translated into Latin by a notary".[68] J. Adams added a new step: "The testator must first have dictated his requirements in Greek. The Latin will would then have been drawn up, and a Greek translation done".[69]

Häusler argued that P.Oxy. XXII 2348 underwent a similar process to that posited by Adams for P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857.[70] P.Oxy. XXII 2348 is a Greek translation of an opened Roman will. The writer records two subscriptions by the testator: one under the Latin will (II 47–48: ἀντίγραφον ὑπογραφῆς. Αὐρήλιος | Χα[ιρ]ήμων Ἡρακλείδου διεθέμην ἐπὶ {π} τοῖς προκειμένοις) and one under the Greek translation, probably equivalent to that under the Greek version in P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857 (II 48–51: ὁμοίως ἑτέρας | ὑπογραφῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ἀντιγράφῳ. Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Χαιρήμων Ἡρακλείδου | ἀνέγνων τὸ προκείμενον Ἑλληνικὸν ἀντίγραφον τῆς διαθήκης μου | καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα καθὼς ἐγὼ ὑπηγόρευσα).

It is worth noting that in P.Oxy. XXII 2348 the testator, Aurelius Chairemon, explicitly states that the Greek copy is an ἀντίγραφον. In P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, instead, the testator, Ti. Claudius Alexandros, defines the Greek version as μου τὴν δ̣ι̣α̣θήκην and states that he has asked someone to write his "Roman will" in accordance with it. This, if taken literally, would lead us to identify the Greek text as the earlier version, which was thereafter translated into Latin. On this basis, Amelotti and Strobel argue that the will of Aurelius Chairemon (P.Oxy. XXII 2348) was firstly written in Greek and then translated into Latin.[71] The whole process might be

[67] Cf. *librip(endis) lo(co) quịṣ* Meyer (P.Hamb. I 72) and Amelotti 1966, 207 no. 10; *lib[rip(endis)] ḷ[o(co) qui]ṣ* Marichal (Ch.L.A. XI 496).

[68] A. H. M. Jones and J. Crook, P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, at p. 77.

[69] Adams 2003, 564.

[70] Häusler 2016, 423–424.

[71] Amelotti 1949, 50–51; Strobel 2014, 173.

more complicated, as pointed out by Adams in the case of the will of Ti. Claudius Alexandros (P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857) and by Häusler in that of the will of Aurelius Chairemon (P.Oxy. XXII 2348): it is not probable that a Greek-speaking testator dictated his will in Greek but in conformity with the technicalities required by the *ius civile*; therefore he argues that the testator dictated his wishes in his own words, the *testamentarius* drafted the Latin will with the help of a template and then translated it into Greek.[72] This would explain why the Latin version precedes the Greek one in P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857: since this is a draft and not the official version of the will (in which the Latin might have come first as official language), it is easier to conclude that the Latin version comes first because it was drafted first. Further evidence in this direction – although not conclusive – might be seen in one of the corrections by the first hand visible in the Greek text; we do not know whether corrections were also present in the Latin text, very poorly preserved, but one peculiarity deserves attention. In the Greek equivalent for the Latin formula *sestertio nummo uno* the writer first writes the Latin numeral and then corrects it with the Greek numeral (σηστ(ερτίῳ) νούμμ(ῳ) ⟦*I*⟧α′, II 28). This might be due to the fact that he had the Latin formula in mind, whether he was copying directly from a Latin template or not.[73]

Moreover, although P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857 is a preliminary version, we notice the two main layout devices used in actual Roman wills, namely the vacat and the *ekthesis*; they can be better observed in the Greek column, but, judging from what remains of the Latin version, they were also used there. Considering the beginning of both versions, it might be argued that the writer tried to reproduce the layout of the Latin text, albeit not entirely successfully;[74] this would be consistent with the hypothesis that the Greek is a translation from the Latin.

The translation of the formula *NN testamentum fecit* is marked through the *ekthesis* of the first line and the *eisthesis* of the second one, with blank spaces between the words διαθήκην and ἔθετο as well as at the end of the line; the first letter, *tau*, is evidently enlarged: Τ̣ι̣[βέ]ρ̣ι̣ο̣ς Κλαύδιος Τιβε[ρί]ου [ἀπ]ελεύθερος Ἀλέξανδρος διαθή|κην ἔθ[ε]τ̣[ο] (col. II, ll. 1–2; Fig. 40). In the Latin version, the formula is written higher on the sheet with respect to the Greek one (Fig. 36); here one can observe the same arrangement as in the will of C. Iulius Diogenes preserved in P.Oxy. LII 3692,[75] with the name of the testator (now lost in a lacuna) on the left and the formula *testamentum fecit* projected toward the right, and a blank space in between: *C(aius) Iul[i]ụs*

[72] Häusler 2016, 423–424.

[73] Cf. Adams 2003, 75 for the alphabet-switching with Roman numerals.

[74] I 1: *[Ti· Claudius Ti· l· Alexander - - -]* . . vac. *t(estamentum) f(ecit)·*; II 1–2: Τ̣ι̣[βέ]ρ̣ι̣ο̣ς Κλαύδιος Τιβε[ρί]ου [ἀπ]ελεύθερος Ἀλέξανδρος διαθή-| *vac*. κην *vac*. ἔθ[ε]τ̣[ο].

[75] Oxyrhynchus, 2nd century.

Diogenes [. .] vac. *[. .] ṭestaṃ[entum fecit]* (Fig. 39). *Ekthesis* is used throughout the Greek text to separate different sections, as one sees in ll. 3 and 31, where the *heredis institutio* and the dating formula begin respectively. Moreover, in ll. 28–30 the two standard verbs of the *mancipatio*, [ζ]ṿγοστατοῦντος and [ἀ]ṿτεμαρτύρατο, appear slightly in *eisthesis*, probably to signal that they belong to the mancipatory clause, as the names of the participants (possibly not known yet) are not given; for this reason, these verbs are followed by large blank spaces, considerably longer than the vacats used to mark the end of a section (cf. ll. 15, 27). In l. 3 the first letter is enlarged.

The Greek cursive is quite regular and slowly written, slightly sloping to the right, as is the old Roman cursive. The lower margin is huge, whereas the upper one is narrower, in particular in the Latin column; the intercolumnium is also quite wide. On the other hand, the interlinear spaces are uniform, but quite narrow in the Greek text, where they amount to ca. 3 mm; in the Latin translation they are ca. 5 mm. The small interlinear spaces suit a draft well, as do corrections *in scribendo* (see II 15 and 28) and the frequent abbreviations for common terms in the Greek text, often with the last letter raised above the line. The loss of most of the Latin text does not allow us to state with certainty how widespread abbreviations were, but in the surviving portion they are seemingly used for *praenomina* (*Ti(berius)*) and formulary phrases (*s(ine) d(olo) m(alo)*), unlike in the Greek version; abbreviations in Latin appear to be marked by middle dots. The different use of abbreviations between the Latin and the Greek versions is consistent with the rest of our evidence.

4. Conclusions

Original Roman wills were customarily written in Latin on tablets before 235; in some cases, the testator's subscription (C.Pap.Lat. 221) and the witnesses' *adscriptiones* (C.Pap.Lat. 221, BGU VII 1695) are preserved, all of which were autographs. As for the position of the binding holes, C.Pap.Lat. 221 is not exceptional, as the same format is also recognisable in BGU VII 1695 and 1696; nothing certain can be said about the newly identified London tablet. On the basis of their physical characteristics it can be argued that BGU VII 1695 and 1696 were drafted in conformity with the *senatus consultum Neronianum*.

The assumption that in this period the original records of opening were in Latin is likely to be correct, but there is no firm evidence that proves that no surviving example is a copy, as *testimonia* do not bear autographic subscriptions; in particular, one could argue that P.Diog. 10 is probably a private copy. Similarly, we do not know whether the originals had just a list of witnesses' names or proper subscriptions by the witnesses who recognised their seals. On the other hand, Greek *testimonia* on papyrus seem to be either translations of the records of opening or drafts of Roman wills, but not every document seems to have been directly translated from the Latin, as the cases of BGU I 326 and of BGU VII 1655 show. If the final record of opening is not preserved, the presence of a heading may help us identify the textual type.

Paying attention to the use of lectional signs could lead to a better understanding of the text itself, as in the case of P.Hamb. I 72. Analysis of layout devices shows that they were often reproduced in the processes of drafting, copying, and translating wills, and that they were possibly copied from the templates themselves; however, technical abbreviations appear to be more widespread in Latin than in Greek *testimonia*, where they were probably resolved (sometimes erroneously) since, though typical of Latin legal language, they were not easily understood by Greek speakers.

After the constitution by Severus Alexander, Roman wills were written directly in Greek and on papyrus. Therefore, drafting testaments became simpler and the analysis of formal aspects can shed no light on translation processes. In this period, no significant change is recognisable as far as the use of technical abbreviations in Greek wills (now originals) is concerned, as typical "Roman" clauses, which had by then become rarer and probably even less comprehensible, occurred generally unabbreviated. On the other hand, with the exception of PSI IX 1040, evidence after 235 shows no extensive use of layout devices: this might give us the impression that, when the Latin language became optional for Roman testaments and the use of templates ceased, the layout of deeds of last will became less standardised and/or less meaningful. However, Roman wills on papyrus postdating the Severan age are often too poorly preserved to provide a firm basis for judgement.

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The Binding Layout? On Graphic Strategies in Greek Magical Texts*

Francesca Maltomini, Francesca Murano

1. The Performative Nature of Writing

As a form of symbolic production in human societies, writing is a tool intrinsically powered by its own efficacy, as well as being a means of representing the world and language.[1] In the magical tradition, the "performativity" of writing is founded on the belief that there is an indissoluble relation between traced signs and actions in the world. Thus, a spell produces changes in the world by the sole reason of having been written (performative power),[2] and manipulations of the text are employed as a magical device.

* This article is the result of close collaboration between the two authors and sets out shared reflections. However, Francesca Maltomini is responsible for §§ 3.1 and 3.3, and Francesca Murano for §§ 2 and 3.2.

[1] See Cardona 1981, 120 and Graf 2015 for a more general overview of the relationship between writing, magic, and religion. On this subject see also Frankfurter 2019b, who underlines how the magical value of writing has as its basis "an ambiguity in the *letter* between image and semantic sign, and an ambiguity in the *material inscribed*, between vehicle of communication and vehicle impregnated with the power of the written (or spoken) word". For a discussion of the performativity of writing in a magical context, see Sánchez Natalías 2020, 103-104 and Kropp 2015, 95-96, Cardona 1986, 74, and Poccetti 1995.

[2] Therefore, within the magical rite, writing participates both in the linguistic component of recitation of the spell (as a form of symbolic representation of the language), and in the material component of preparation and manipulation of the medium, since specific operations such as the tracing of letters materialise the magical *logos*. The magical handbooks contain references to the inclusion of the physical act of writing in magical practices. See, for instance, Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 330, giving specific instructions to perform the rite: the magician must simultaneously recite and write the magical spell: "And take a lead tablet and write the same spell and recite it" (trad. Betz 1986; λαβὼν πλάτυμμα μολυβοῦν γράψον τὸν λόγον τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ δίωκε); and again, at l. 335: "The spell to be written and recited is: 'I entrust this binding spell to you'…" (transl. Betz 1992; Λόγος ὁ γραφόμενος καὶ διωκόμενος· 'παρακατατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον' etc.). On linguistic and pragmatic aspects, see Tambiah 1968 and Poccetti 1991. More specifically, for aggressive magic see Poccetti 1995; Frankfurter 1995 and Frankfurter 2019a;

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Francesca Maltomini, Francesca Murano, *The Binding Layout? On Graphic Strategies in Greek Magical Texts*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.10, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 141-166, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

The performative nature of writing is the ideology that explains, for example, how texts consisting only of personal names can be effective. In magical texts, materialising a person's name by writing it makes it possible to bind or bless him/her, since the name *is* the person,[3] on a principle of persuasive analogy[4] or a concept of "object agency".[5] In magical thinking, the referential nature of the proper name is transformed, and the name is reinterpreted as the linguistic counterpart of a person's representation.[6] The performativity of writing occurs also through purely graphic elements such as drawings and magical symbols. These elements are not simply accompanying "illustrations", but actual magical elements: the demon depicted *is* the invoked demon, and the magical symbol *is* the magical power. As Cardona points out, the writing itself is the propositional content of the magical illocutionary act.[7]

In this framework, our paper aims to observe the relationship between content and layout in magical texts, in order to assess how the graphic arrangement of the spells has been conceived and treated. In parallel, we will check for the presence of layout strategies comparable to those pertaining to other textual typologies.

The available documentation consists of two different dossiers: magical handbooks and texts of applied magic.

The magical handbooks contain recipes and procedures for performing the rites and producing several "activated" objects, some of which are written texts. Preserved exclusively on papyrus, they cover a relatively short period of time (ranging – with a very uneven distribution – from the 2nd c. BCE to the 5th c. CE),

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Gordon 2002; Murano 2020. For protective magic, see Gordon 1995. On the pragmatic-manipulative aspects, based on the principle of persuasive analogy between victim and manipulated object, see Ogden 1999; Boschung and Bremmer 2015; Suárez de la Torre *et al.* 2017; Frankfurter 2019c; Martin Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2022.

[3] See Cardona 1981, 123; Petersmann 2002. Furthermore, writing creates a communicative circuit not limited to the moment of the enunciation but lasting for eternity: the materiality and permanence provided by writing enhance the power of the magical *logos*. As Cardona observes, the magical evocative force of the spoken spell is extinguished when the last sound has been uttered, whereas the power of the written spell remains intact over time and is extinguished only when established by the spell itself or if its medium is destroyed or displaced. On the other hand, materiality and permanence are the basis of the cultural choice to write – at least for permanent writings, designed to remain over time – and allow information to be passed on in an organised way and as an alternative to social memory.

[4] See Frazer 1922, 14-63. See also Tambiah 1973.

[5] See Frankfurter 2019c.

[6] Often the unambiguous identification of the referent is ensured by adding other data, such as matronymics and nicknames.

[7] See Cardona 1981, 140. This seems to be confirmed by some Latin texts for which it can be assumed that "writing was at all times so substantial for ancient magic that it was thought of being effective even if it lacked contents" (Blänsdorf 2010, 159), especially since the rite also consisted of an oral part (see Graf 2015, 228, and Frankfurter 2019a, 621-623).

and mostly stem from the so-called Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition, featuring specific, authoritative magical practices.[8] They were in all likelihood the main means of disseminating a veritable magical *koine* throughout the Mediterranean basin and beyond.[9]

The texts of applied magic are the written product of the rite, the activated objects through which the spell is performed, and they allow us to observe the magical practice in its actual realisation. They cover a wide geographical and chronological span (from the 6th c. BCE to the 5th c. CE) and are written in several languages and on several media. This documentation can be subdivided into two groups: the first one, consisting only of epigraphic evidence (mostly texts written on lead tablets), begins in the Archaic period and covers the entire timespan of the ancient magical documentation; the second, more limited, emerges only during the Roman age and is mostly connected to the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition attested by the handbooks.[10]

In this article we will analyse the documentation in Greek (with some glimpses of other traditions), starting from the most ancient phase of documentation, covered only by texts of applied magic, and continuing with the material pertaining to the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, consisting of both handbooks and texts of applied magic.

2. The Earliest Documentation

The earliest activated texts show performative graphic mechanisms of a basic semiotic nature.

A clear example is the so-called *aversus*-formulas, spells containing words that belong to the semantic sphere of "turning, inverting" – e.g., ἐπαρίστερος, ἐναντίος, (ἀν)έμπαλιν, (ἀπο)στρέφω – with the additional metaphorical sense of "being hostile, contrary" (Fig. 41).[11] The aspect most relevant to our investigation is that the *aversus*-formulas often occur with an irregular direction of the script: the manipulation of the *ductus* is supposed to have an actual effect on the target, a means of reinforc-

[8] Only four handbooks date from the 2nd c. BCE to the 1st c. CE, while the larger (and best preserved) number of them is concentrated between the end of the 2nd and the 5th c. CE.

[9] For the magical *koine* see Jordan 1994, 125 and Jordan 1996, 234. On the authoritative tradition in Roman Egypt, see Frankfurter 1998, 198-237 and Dieleman 2005, 185-284.

[10] With reference in particular to the Latin world, Gordon (among other works, 2012b; 2015a, 166-169 and 2015b, 165-172) divides the material of the Roman period into texts that belong to the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, and "vernacular" texts, written outside this tradition.

[11] E.g., the curse tablet *SEG* LIV 876 (Akragas, late 6th/early 5th c. BCE), reading "I write and backwards I write" (ἐγ[γρά]φō κα(ì) ἔνπαλι(ν) γρ[άφō]), according to the interpretation of Poccetti 2004, 640-666. Similarly, the Latin curse tablet *SD* 492 (Mainz, Sanctuary of *Magna Mater*, 1st/2nd c. CE): "I write this backwards" (*hoc ego averse scribo*). On the *aversus*-formulas and the semiotic meaning of inversion in magical thinking, see Faraone and Kropp 2010, in relation to the Latin world, and Urbanová and Franek 2020, in a comparative Latin / Greek perspective. See also Gordon 2015.

ing the power of the spell.[12] In a curse tablet from Selinous (Fig. 42),[13] for example, the magical spell runs left-to-right, while the names of the victims are spelled right-to-left, though the letters themselves face right. This principle of similarity is often made explicit through *similia similibus* formulas, explicitly stating that the unusual direction of writing will be mirrored on the victims:[14] an example is a curse tablet from Attica reading "as these words are written backwards, may everything be backwards for him"; the text of the curse has the usual left-to-right orientation, but the spelling of the names has been intentionally jumbled.[15] From an anthropological point of view, modifying or removing something from a written word means preventing it from acting correctly.[16]

The use of such graphic strategies is thought to be related to a growing familiarity with writing, starting from the 6th c. BCE: this familiarity would allow a creative experimentation, aimed at making the texts more effective.[17]

Other texts provide examples of strategies more specifically related to layout. Some of them contain more than one spell, written with different orientations: in an Attic curse tablet, for example, two different texts are written on the same side, the second one upside-down (by rotating the tablet 180°) to keep it somehow separate from the first one (Fig. 43).[18] In all probability, the same tablet was used for different customers in order to save writing material,[19] and an intensive

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[12] The technique of reversing a name or the lines of a spell is meant "not to encrypt it but to render the words more efficacious through their anti-semantic arrangement" (Frankfurter 2019b, 628): the deliberate graphic modifications of the texts work as a "metonym for the intention of the curse" (Gordon 2015, 166). See also Faraone and Kropp 2010, 383, pointing out that the attribution of new semiotic functions to writing establishes "a symmetrical relationship between the ritual manipulation of the text and the intended effects on the victim". Other interesting examples are the curse tablets from Mytilene *SEG* XLVIII 1055, 1056 and 1057 (late 4th/early 3rd c. BCE): nos. 1055 and 1056 are written retrograde, but in no. 1056 the letters face right; no. 1057 contains syllables and letters with jumbled spellings.

[13] Bettarini, *Defixiones* 24, Sanctuary of *Malophoros*, mid-5th c. BCE.

[14] See Kropp 2015, 95-96. On the *similia similibus* formulas, see Franek and Urbanová 2019a and 2019b.

[15] Jordan, *SGD* 40 (Dekeleia, Attica, 5th/4th c. BCE). The tablet contains three curses, each addressed to a separate person, with similar spells. For example, the second spell says: Κάλλιαν (spelling jumbled) καταδῶ. ὥσπερ ταῦτ' ἀνένπαλιν, οὕτως γένοιτο Καλλίαι ἀνένπαλιν {ἀνένπαλι[ν]} πάντα καὶ ἔργα καὶ [ἔπ]η καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καὶ [γ]όνα[τ]α καὶ ψυχήν.

[16] See Cardona 1981, 123. The perceived efficacy of a "distorted" orientation of the script is demonstrated by its use well beyond the first documentation. We find this technique also in later texts of the Imperial Age belonging to the group of so-called "vernacular" texts. An example is the Latin prayer for justice *SD* 479 (Rottweil, *Germania Superior*, 1st-3rd c. CE), with lines running right-to-left but with letters mainly facing right (except some facing left or written upside-down). The text contains an *aversus*-formula with a *similia similibus*: "may the gods render him/her reversed, just as this text is reversed" (*ut illum aut illam aversum faciant dii sicut hoc est aversum*). See Urbanová and Franek 2020, 383.

[17] See Lamont 2022, 40.

[18] *DTA* 102, Attica, 4th c. BCE.

[19] See Curbera 2015, 108-109.

exploitation of the available surface was more important than aesthetic considerations or graphic clarity.[20]

As we have seen above, especially in the earliest documentation, magical texts often consist only of numerous personal names, frequently arranged as lists. Listing single units of meaning responds to a need for graphic topicalisation: each name occupies a line of writing, to highlight the informationally more important element of the text (i.e., who is to be cursed or protected).

In investigating the meaning of the lists within the magical texts from 6th to 4th c. BCE Athens, Gordon suggested that they were modelled on those used in civic spheres, such as the lists of public debtors or of murderers:[21] this imitation would stem from the desire to capture symbols of civic authority, and to ensure the authority of the magical text by adopting features pertaining to public inscriptions.[22] However, it has to be noted that, from the point of view of the textual organisation of the content, listing is a "basic" notational process, i.e., a visual tool with a purely referential function indicating objects of the external world, and with the purely practical purpose of facilitating reading and promoting comprehension.[23]

Such "practical" lists in the earliest documentation belong essentially to aggressive magic, and consist of the simple enumeration of body's parts of the target and related matters to be cursed.[24] Indeed, as Gordon points out, the spread of literacy caused the decrease in the use of simple lists of opponents, since in the vernacular curses of the Imperial Age, simple lists "become […] a sign of low literacy and absence of discursive fluency";[25] however, lists of targets' names continued to be used longer in the Latin West than in the eastern Mediterranean.[26]

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[20] The back of this tablet contains a further curse set in a single column, where regularly written lines alternate with lines written upside-down. As in the examples seen above, it is a deliberate layout choice meant to make the text confused and inaccessible, and at the same time more efficacious because of the semiotic re-functionalisation of the writing process, following the principle of performativity.

[21] See Gordon 1999, 250-257, following the work of Thomas 1992 on literacy and orality in ancient Greece. See also Gordon 2021.

[22] See Curbera 1999, 166-167; Centrone 2010, 95; Rocca 2012, 210-211. The curse tablets from Sicily also present other relevant "public" elements of layout, such as the heading τύχα and θεά and the use of non-alphabetic signs, such as the *paragraphos* (see Curbera 1999, 163-164, and Rocca 2012, 211-212). For the use of *paragraphoi* in epigraphic texts see the chapter by D. Amendola in this volume.

[23] See Eco 2009. On lists and enumerations in ancient texts, see Laemmle *et al.* 2021. As Gordon 2021, 138 himself assumes, in the Imperial period lists, both in aggressive and protective magic, aim "to compensate for the loss of immediacy inherent in the oral curse": the loss of the narrative, of enunciation or proclamation, and the use of a list "served to concentrate the mind of the addressee(s) wonderfully on the task implied by the act of writing such a text or explicitly envisaged in it".

[24] On lists of anatomical parts in aggressive magic see Versnel 1998. On later uses of lists, see § 3.2 below.

[25] Gordon 2021, 114.

[26] Gordon 2021, 121. See the Greek curse tablet against athletes *SEG* LXIV 875 (Rome, early 2nd c. CE). The list of targets is preceded by a complex binding formula: "I bury, I bestow, I bind down in a cold tomb, in a burning fire, in the sea, I hurl into the river, into the (cold pool of a) bath-house, into

Generally, the texts displaying a list are arranged in a single column, though lists in multiple columns are also documented.[27] A curse tablet from Athens[28] (Fig. 44) is an interesting example: it contains the names of about a hundred victims arranged in three columns. The columns are preceded by the cursing spell, written (as a sort of title) in a single line running along the entire tablet and in larger letters: "I bind, I bury, I obliterate from the human race" (καταδῶ κατορύττω ἀφανίζω ἐξ ἀνθρώπων). In this text, information on the content is conveyed graphically through different formatting of the letters. Sometimes lists are marked out graphically, as in an inscription from Selinous in which the text is organised in columns outlined by vertical lines.[29] Columns are not always well planned or well designed: the presence of a second column could be due to lack of space in the first one, requiring the writer to re-work the layout.[30] There are also examples of texts in which additional columns are placed perpendicularly to the first one: in these cases, the main column is written "normally", and a second, shorter column is positioned by rotating the tablet by 90°. This kind of layout is intended to emphasise specific information, i.e., one or more particular components of the list.[31]

Elsewhere, there is no such concern at all for a layout aimed at subdividing the content; on the contrary, it seems that the only interest of the writers is to maximise the writing surface. A good example of this (no) layout strategy is a *defixio* from Sicily[32] (Fig. 47) containing the same formula repeated twenty-eight times and addressed to several people: "I write down NN and himself and (his) unsuccessfulness" (καταγράφō NN καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰν ἀτέλειαν).[33] The formulas are arranged one after the other, continuously, and without regard for clarity.[34]

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a subterranean chamber" (trad. Gordon; κ]ατορύσσω καὶ δέδεκα καὶ καταδεσμεύω εἰς ψυχρὸν τάφον, εἰς πυρὰν καιομένην, εἰς θάλασσαν, βάλλω εἰς ποταμὸν, εἰ[ς λο]υτρῶνα, εἰς μέγαρο[ν]). According to Gordon 2021, 122, the spell "displays no evidence of Graeco-Egyptian cursing-style and is really just a transposition into Greek of the simple type of list". The use of synonyms of the binding verb and the enumeration are meant to increase the power of the spell.

[27] See, e.g., the curse tablet from Pydna (4th c. BCE) *SEG* LII 617, II. However, it must be noted that the use of column(s) does not necessarily involve the use of lists: see, e.g., the tablet from Pydna *SEG* LII 617, V (4th c. BCE).

[28] Jordan, *SGD* 48, Athens, c. 325 BCE. See Jordan and Curbera 2008.

[29] Bettarini, *Defixiones* 14, Selinous, first half of 4th c. BCE. See Curbera 1999, 166, with drawing.

[30] See, e.g., *NGCT* 5, Athens Kerameikos, 4th c. BCE.

[31] See the curse tablets Bettarini, *Defixiones* 12 and *SEG* LIX 1121 (Selinous, first half of 5th c. BCE), and *DTA* 29 (Athens, 3rd c. BCE). An interesting parallel from a "minor" tradition, namely the Oscan one, is the curse tablet Murano 2013, no. 8, side A (Laos necropolis, Marcellina, Cosenza, end of the 4th c. BCE).

[32] *SEG* LIV 941 (Selinous (?), ca. 450 BCE). See Kotansky and Curbera 2004, 684–691.

[33] The actual meaning of ἀτέλεια in this text type is controversial; a different proposal is "freedom or exemption from judicial process". See a discussion in Kotansky and Curbera 2004, 688–689.

[34] The Oscan curse tablet Murano 2013, no. 8 from Marcellina (see n. 31 above) is a parallel also for this aspect, its face A containing only names of men and side B only of women.

The layout of the texts written on roundish tablets deserves specific discussion, since it sometimes involves a spiral-shaped direction of the writing,[35] as in the curse-tablet against the moneylender Philargyros from the Athenian Agora.[36] While, on the one hand, circular direction may be an adaptation to the shape of the tablet,[37] in some cases it cannot be excluded that the layout corresponds to a sympathetic purpose, linking content and external form. An example is the curse from Selinous against Selinontios, wishing him and his tongue to turn back and become useless.[38]

3. The Documentation of the Roman Era

Since, as already mentioned, documentation from the Roman era consists of both handbooks and texts of applied magic, our enquiry into layout strategies will first focus on each of these two categories of texts in turn, and will then offer a comparison between them.

But first it is important to point out a phenomenon typical of this era that is closely linked to matters of layout: Graeco-Egyptian magical texts are characterised by a massive presence of elements such as *voces magicae*, vowel sequences, and *charakteres*, devoid of any actual linguistic value, but provided with magical power.[39] It has been argued that, by this period, writing had lost some of its esoteric character and was reinterpreted as a semiotic medium.[40] Therefore, the semantically-specific elements needed to be strengthened by introducing semantically-non-specific el-

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[35] Other examples come also from the Latin corpus, e.g., the inscription from Barchín del Hoyo (*SD* 145; 1st c. CE), displaying a concentric direction of writing. According to a recent proposal (Scholz 2019), in the Roman Empire round curse tablets may have been a regional variety adopted in some northern areas to carry especially, but not exclusively, love spells.

[36] See, e.g., *NGCT* 18, Athens, mid-3rd c. CE. See Jordan 2022.

[37] It should be noted that there are texts on roundish tablets written in a linear layout. Outside the Greek corpus, an example is the curse-tablet in Oscan language and Latin script from Cumae (see Murano 2013, no. 4, mid-1st c. BCE). The curse tablet *SEG* LXII 687 from Selinous (5th c. BCE) uses both directions to mark off the central part of the text, exhibiting a very peculiar arrangement of the text: slightly circular on the right side, the text continues on the upper side with script inverted, and then in the centre of the tablet with seven horizontal lines in a right-to-left direction. The state of conservation does not allow us to know whether it is a complete text or not, nor to advance reasonable hypotheses on the layout.

[38] Bettarini, *Defixiones* 20, Selinous, Sanctuary of *Malophoros*, 5th c. BCE. The text begins: "I inscribe Selinontios and the tongue of Selinontios, twisted to uselessness for them" (Σελιν<ό>ντιος [κ]α̣ὶ hα Σελινοντίο̄ γλο̂σ(σ)α ἀπεστραμ(μ)έν' ἐπ' ἀτ<ε>λείαι τᾶι τε̄́νο̄ν | ἐν|γράφο̄). See Lamont 2022, 37 for drawing and picture of the tablet. On later uses of roundish tablets, see § 3.2 below.

[39] The term *voces magicae* is used for unintelligible, meaningless words considered by the practitioners as endowed with a strong magical power. Sequences of vowels or consonants are also included in this category. *Charakteres* are magical signs without a linguistic value and drawn to be immediately recognizable. See n. 42 for bibliography.

[40] Cf. Poccetti 1995, 270.

ements[41] with striking phonetic and graphic features.[42] The use of these elements aims basically to obtain an effect of estrangement by creating a different language which, precisely because it is not comprehensible, is capable of achieving otherwise unattainable objectives. It shows visually the encoding of a magical knowledge that lies outside "normal", human, non-magical communication.

3.1 Magical Handbooks as a Source of Information about Attention to Layout Strategies

Since they record and transmit instructions for the correct and successful execution of a spell, magical handbooks can be considered a normative source. Sequences of actions, words to be pronounced and/or written, and material to be used are generally specified in the recipes. For the production of "activated" texts during the rite, in particular, indications are often given about the tools to be used: type of material, type of ink, type of pen. But what about their layout? The presence of instructions on this aspect would qualify it as an element functional to the efficacy of the spell; conversely, silence on the matter would indicate its irrelevance in terms of "magical power". As already noted, most handbooks are from the 2nd/3rd–5th c. CE, and the evidence they provide therefore relates to the fully established and substantially stable late-antique magical *koine*.

From an overall inquiry, the following picture seems to emerge.

1. Layout instructions are provided for some specific, and quite frequent, geometric textual arrangements, indicated with a specific nomenclature recalling their

[41] We will use the expression "semantically-specific element" to refer to textual parts endowed with a lexical (and semantic) meaning and structured through a language. We will use the expression "semantically-non-specific element" to refer to magical expressions such as *voces magicae*, sequences of vowels and *charakteres*, which, although lacking a linguistic and a properly semantic meaning, are nevertheless bearers of a pragmatic meaning.

[42] As Versnel 2002, 142–243 has pointed out, these elements respond to the need for creativity: the magical *logos* forms a *trait d'union* between the "normal" world and the "other" world, the one in which magic operates. See also Gordon 2002, 76–81, Gordon 2011, Tardieu *et al.* 2013, and Gordon 1995, 372–374. With reference to the seven Greek vowels, Frankfurter 2019b, 637 points out that they "appear in a form that suggests that special significance has been attributed to their *visual representation*, as if the inscription of the vowel symbols extended or transcended their vocalic pronunciation". Although the earliest documentation of *voces magicae* dates back to the 4th c. BCE (*ephesia grammata*), their use dramatically increases in later magical texts. In the Imperial period these "words" became more complex, being created with ever more prevalent foreign linguistic influences (see Versnel 2002, 113–117). Such magical words, incomprehensible to speakers, have their origin in different sociolinguistic levels (as marked or obsolete registers) or in foreign linguistic traditions (see Poccetti 2002, 35). On the relationship between magic and plurilingualism, see Marco Simón 2012, and Marchese and Murano 2022. Concerning vowel sequences and *charakteres*, see Németh 2020, 137 and Richter 2015, 88, arguing that *charakteres* are on a graphic level the functional equivalent to the *voces magicae* on the phonic level: incomprehensible to humans but perfectly understandable for the divinities. See also Gordon 2011 and 2014.

shape.[43] Texts shaped as an isosceles triangle pointing downwards or upwards (obtained by the progressive subtraction/addition of letters at the beginning *and* at the end of a magical word or sequence of vowels) are mostly described with expressions referring to a heart or a bunch of grapes;[44] those shaped as a right-angled triangle (obtained by subtraction of letters at the beginning *or* at the end of a word) are usually indicated by reference to a wing.[45] There is also some trace of a specific name attributed to words or vowel sequences arranged one below the other, "in layers", to form a column or a "block" (i.e., a square or rectangular shape).[46] The existence of such nomenclatures is significant in itself, as it demonstrates the full codification at a regulatory level of these geometrically shaped texts. The other aspect to highlight is that, without exception, the text involved consists of magical words: the formations in question are never prescribed for the semantically-specific elements of the spell. The magical words can vary, with heart-formations consisting mostly in palindromes (progressively reduced to, or starting from, their central letter), and wing-formations used for a wider range of sequences, not being bound to symmetry on the vertical axis.

Instructions regarding the geometric formations are provided in three different ways:

(a) by using the standard nomenclature.[47]

(b) by direct demonstration of how the text should be arranged. See, for example, Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 940–968, a charm to restrain anger starting with "on a clean

[43] The function and origin of these particular formations have been repeatedly investigated; their original connection with oral procedures of protective magic (*deletio morbi*), aimed at obtaining the progressive "disappearance" of the evil (and therefore of the word that represented it) is a plausible theory (preferable, in our opinion, to that connecting these textual shapes to literary "fashions" of the Hellenistic-Roman age such as *carmina figurata*), and has recently been embraced and developed by Faraone 2012, with previous bibliography on the subject.

[44] "Heart-shaped": καρδία, καρδιακόν ὄνομα, καρδιακῶς, καρδιοειδῶς; "grape-cluster-shaped": ὡς βότρυς, βοτρυδόν, βοτρυειδές. In Pap.Graec.Mag. XXXVI 247 (see below, n. 50), the isosceles triangular shape is described as βάθρον ("ladder"). And in GEMF 31 [= Pap.Graec.Mag. I] 12, two isosceles triangles (one pointing upwards and the other pointing downwards) are called *klimata*, again with a reference to a sloping form: see the translations in GEMF I, at p. 385 ("inclined slopes") and Pap.Graec.Mag. I, at p. 3 ("Leitern Bildest"); E.N. O'Neil apud Betz 1992, 3 (with n. 5) preferred a vaguer "figures", stating that the Greek term is unclear.

[45] "Wing-shaped": πτερυγοειδῶς, πτερύγιον, πτερυγώματα.

[46] This shape is called πλινθίον: see Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 652–660 (a recipe for a charm to induce insomnia) where some magical words are to be written on the right wing of a bat "one under the other, like bricks" (or: "as to form a square/a rectangle"): ἓν ὑπὸ τὸ ἓν [τ]ι[θεὶς ὡς] πλινθίον); see also Pap.Graec. Mag. V 349 (a recipe for a *defixio*), where some words must be written below a circle ὡς πλινθίον (and that block of text is referred to as πλινθίον later on, at l. 360); in Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 1305 the indication πλινθίον is written beside the seven vowels, possibly meaning – as K. Preisendanz suggested (Pap.Graec. Mag. I, at p. 116) – that the series of vowels has to be written several times, in layers one under the other, to form a square. On *plinthia*, see Faraone 2023.

[47] See nn. 44–46.

papyrus write with pure myrrh ink these names together with the stele" (εἰς χάρτην καθαρὸν διὰ ζμυρνομέλανος καθαροῦ γράφε τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα σὺν τῇ στήλῃ); directly below these instructions, four wing-formations surround a drawing (the "stele").

(c) by using the standard nomenclature, followed by demonstration. An interesting example is the recipe for an erotic spell, to which we will also return later, preserved in Pap.Graec.Mag. IV (first half of the 4th c. CE). This elaborated recipe (ll. 296-466) prescribes, among other things, that a long spell be written on a lead tablet (ll. 335-433) and, after giving the text of the main body of the spell, it says that a "heart-shaped formation" and some *charakteres* must be drawn "in another part of the tablet, as follows" (ll. 406-408: γράψον εἰς ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ πλατύματος τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, ὡς ὑπόκειται·); then, on a page of the codex written parallel to its long side,[48] the triangle-shaped text (consisting in the so-called "ιαω *logos*", a quite frequent palindrome) is set up without writing it completely (the scribe stops at its seventh line, whereas the complete "heart" would require 30 lines), but clearly showing how it should be continued. The other magical elements (*charakteres* and two columns of magical words) are fully drawn, showing their placement at the two sides of the triangle (Fig. 45).

Another interesting passage is to be found in a complex ritual explained in Pap. Graec.Mag. III (4th c. CE).[49] The ritual (ll. 1-164) includes, among other things, the production of three tablets containing magical formulas (*logoi*), magical words, and drawings, which are to be inserted into different cavities of a sacrificed cat. The text to be written on the second tablet, and to be placed in the cat's ears, consists of a long formula (ll. 67-68). Below the formula, two lines converging downwards seem to delimit the triangular layout prescribed for it, and inside this area the indications "in the shape of a heart, as a bunch of grapes" (καρδιακῶς | ὡς βότρυς) are set one under the other. As in the example in Pap.Graec.Mag. IV described above, here too the geometric formation is not reproduced in its entirety, but textual and graphic indications are given for its arrangement.[50]

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[48] The text is therefore rotated 90° with respect to the other pages. A cancelled line containing a part of the palindrome shows that the scribe started using the page "normally", but then realised that he was going to need more space in width.

[49] See the image at <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010001517>. The passages discussed are in cols. II and III. A new edition, with substantial improvements in the disposition of the fragments will be published as GEMF 55; however, these important novelties will not affect the part of the spell discussed here.

[50] Some inconsistencies are nonetheless present in Pap.Graec.Mag. III: the text runs τρεβαα[βεραμενθωο[υθ]λ̣ερα | εξ[αν]α̣ξ̣ε[θρ]ελθυοωεθνε̣[μαρεβα], but the initial τρεβα is not part of the palindrome, as the space in the final lacuna would not allow the presence of its reverse (αβερτ); and indeed Preisendanz separates it from what follows. Moreover, the disposition of the formula on two lines does not set up a correct start for the triangle. Another triangular shape is drawn at the end of the previous column, where an even longer palindrome is written out in full just one time (occupying three lines) and without any further indication.

It must be stressed that there is no constant correspondence between the use of palindromes or magical words and their arrangement in triangular shapes: in most cases, in fact, handbooks do not indicate that palindromes are to be written in a special layout, and the same magical word may or may not be arranged in a certain way. The "ιαω *logos*", for example, is sometimes used for "heart-shaped" formations (as in the case of Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 408–433 mentioned above), while sometimes the recipes just say to write it, without further indications, or show how to write it a different layout (as in GEMF 9 [= Suppl.Mag. II 74], 10–16, where it is displayed in a rectangular shape).[51] The geometrical shapes we are discussing, then, appear to be somehow optional or variable.

2. Magical handbooks also prescribe other complex layouts consisting of diagrams or actual drawings surrounding (or including) the text or a part of it. The one that recurs most frequently is the *ouroboros*, the snake biting its tail and forming a circle which may contain words.[52] Being well-known, the *ouroboros* can be prescribed in the same three ways seen above for the geometric textual formations: it may be just mentioned (as in GEMF 31 [= Pap.Graec.Mag. I], 145–146),[53] or directly drawn (as in Suppl.Mag. II 96 F), or mentioned and drawn (as in Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 579–590).[54]

To frame or graphically divide parts of a text is an operation prescribed in several recipes, which either describe and show, or simply show, how to do it. In Pap. Graec.Mag. V 304–369, instructions are given for the words to be written in an area surrounded by the shape of a ring and within the outline of the ring itself; then the figure is shown (although it does not match the instructions given). For a direct demonstration, see for example Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 215–218, a recipe to produce a "stele" to obtain favour and success.[55] Below the instructions "Take a tin tablet and engrave it with a bronze stylus, and be sure of being pure while carry-

Similar cases are Pap.Graec.Mag. XXXVI 242–245, where the heart-shape is only begun, and under it the word βάθρον ("ladder") is noted to explain how to proceed; Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 218–221, where the first three lines of a heart (or wing: the papyrus is broken on the right side) are written and the instruction καθυφαιρῶν ("subtracting down") is given; GEMF 34 (= Pap.Graec.Mag. LXII) 77–80, where the first two lines of a geometrical formation are written in full and in the third line only the first letter is traced; from this letter and from the last letter of the previous line two oblique and converging strokes start, showing how the triangular shape must be continued, and at the end of the strokes the two letters εν are written; below (l. 81), the instruction "this way, shaped like a heart" is given (οὕτως καρδιοειδῶς); note, however, that the letters εν do not form the central part of the magical word.

[51] On this part of GEMF 9 see Faraone 2023, 164–166.

[52] On the *ouroboros* see Faraone 2022a; Maltomini 1980, 92; Betz 1992, 337, s.v.; Brashear 1995, 3478 and passim.

[53] Elsewhere, as in GEMF 15, 323–324 (= Pap.Graec.Mag. XII 274–275), the word *ouroboros* is not used, but a clear description of it is provided.

[54] In this recipe, the drawing of the *ouroboros* does not correspond exactly with the indications provided. On a possible explanation of this discrepancy see Faraone 2022a, 83–84.

[55] See Jordan 1994, 116–125 and Jordan 2004.

ing it" (λαβὼν πέταλον κασσιτερινὸν χ[ά]ραξον χαλκῷ γραφ[είῳ], κ[αὶ] φορουμένη καθαρῶς [ἔστω]), the tablet and its contents are drawn. Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 925-939 and Pap.Graec.Mag. X 36-50 are two recipes for ὑποτακτικά (spells to force submission) that provide near-identical procedures based on an analogical mechanism: both cases require placing under one's foot a tablet obtained from the metal part of a yoke and engraved with (different) magical *onomata* (and, in Pap.Graec. Mag. VII, also *charakteres*). The arrangement of these magical elements is shown in both recipes: in Pap.Graec.Mag. VII they are inserted in a rectangle that reproduces the shape of the tablet; in Pap.Graec.Mag. X the *onomata*, arranged in four columns of about equal height, likewise occupy a rectangular area, but only the first column is framed.

The framing of a text within a specific shape is possibly prescribed in the erotic spell Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 1715-1871, entitled "Sword of Dardanus". The recipe equates the spell with a sword: see the very beginning at l. 1715 (πρᾶξις ἡ καλουμένη ξίφος, ἧς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἶσον διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν: "Rite called 'sword', which has no equal because of its power"), and ll. 1809-1811 (εἰς δὲ πέταλον χρυσοῦν τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο γράφε: "and on a golden leaf inscribe this sword", followed by the text to be engraved); it may therefore be that ξίφος is the "codified name" for the form in which the spell must be written.[56] It should in any case be highlighted that the text of this spell opens with a magical name but continues with a proper linguistic part referring to the summoning of the god and of the strength deriving from it: this is an exception in the overall documentation.

Finally, a single case of spiral-shaped writing is found in Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 300, where the drawing of an ibis is surrounded by magical words and other (semantically-specific) adjectives referring to a god.[57] References to orbits and planets in the text around the ibis may be the reason for the choice of this particular ("analogical") layout. The presence of the adjectives falls outside the usual correspondence between special (magical) words and special (figurative) layout; nonetheless, by describing the god and invoking him, they are very close in function to the magical *onomata* proper.

A further case of interpenetration between text and figures is that of magical drawings that reproduce the supernatural entities invoked in the spells or the targets of the spells themselves. As already mentioned above (§ 1), these are not illus-

[56] See Betz 1992, 70 n. 231, Faraone 2022b, 381-383. For a text of applied magic framed by a sword see below § 3.2.

[57] The final part of the text should be considered extraneous to it: the scribe, deciding to directly show the drawing and the words around it, included in the spiral also the instructions that were placed at the end of the recipe: "Write on your left hand with myrrh ink these words around the ibis" (γράφε εἰς τὴν εὐώνυμόν σου χεῖρα διὰ ζμυρνομέλανος ἀκόλουθα τοῦ ἴβεως).

tration but the actual performative representation of a magical power.[58] Quite often, the drawings are not only surrounded by words and *charakteres*, but even include names and *voces magicae*, written on various parts of them.[59] Images and magical words, then, add up to achieve a particularly high "magic quotient". These figures (referred to as ζῴδια in the handbooks) are sometimes briefly described in the text of the recipe (and then drawn, usually with more details), while in some other cases the text introduces the image without describing it but mentioning words to be written together with it.[60] The same process, but applied to three-dimensional outputs of the rite rather than to drawings, is attested by the recipe, mentioned above, for an erotic spell in Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 296-466: besides the writing of the long spell on a lead-tablet, it prescribes the production of two figurines (one male and one female), and instructions are given for the magical words to be written on seventeen different parts of the female one (ll. 304-321).

3. There are just a few cases in which layout instructions are given for portions of text that do not correspond to complex or "figurative" formations. They invariably concern the placement of magical words on objects used (or produced) during the rite. An example is Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 3210-3218, a spell for divination that gives indications for how to arrange a series of magical words on different parts of a bowl (on the base, beneath the base, on the outside, on the outside of the rim at the top): γράψας εἰς τὸν πυ̣θμένα ζμυρνομέλανι· 'ηιοχ χιφα· ελαμψηρ ζηλ αεηϊουω' (γράμματα κε), ὑπὸ τὸν πυθμένα δὲ ἔξωθεν· 'Ταχιήλ, χθονίη, δραξω' (γράμματα ιη), καὶ κήρωσον λευκῷ κηρῷ. εἰς δὲ τὸν κύκλον ἔξωθεν τὸν ἄνω· 'ϊερμι, φιλω ϛ ερικωμα δερκ[ω]μαλωκ γαυλη Ἀφρϊήλ'.

Sometimes the instructions are only partial, leaving the performer of the rite some room for interpretation (and therefore some freedom of execution). For example in Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 1320-1322 the instructions for a phylactery prescribe the writing of a magical word on a censer: γράψον μέσον τοῦ θυμιατηρίου τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο· 'θερμουθερεψιφιριφιπισαλι'; the expression used ("write in the middle of the censer") does not clarify the actual arrangement of the text.

Finally, it should be noted that no special instruction is given for particular semantically-specific sections such as lists (of names, epithets, actions, parts of the

[58] On magical drawings see Martín Hernández 2012 and Dosoo 2018, 23 n. 34, with previous bibliography.

[59] Two particularly striking examples are those of the image of Seth in col. 1 of Pap.Graec.Mag. XXXVI, while the best examples are those in GEMF 30 (Pap.Graec.Mag. VI + II), where the bodies of depicted entities are entirely covered with magical words and vowels, some of them repeated several times (as the name of Seth, identifying the figure itself, in Pap.Graec.Mag. XXXVI).

[60] The image is shown directly, for example, in the first four spells in Pap.Graec.Mag. XXXVI, and the set of magical words and image is introduced by expressions like "write the following names and figure" (γράφε τὰ ὑποκίμενα ὀνόματα καὶ τὸ ζῴδιον).

body): their presence is an important, recurring feature in magical spells of the Roman era, but the handbooks do not prescribe or show any specific arrangement. Some attention to the articulation of the list is, however, sometimes provided by separating the listed items (generally written one after the other) by dots or slashes; the users of the recipe, then, would have chosen how to treat the list graphically in the text of applied magic.

To sum up: in magical handbooks, indications about the layout of the texts to be produced during the rite are connected to specific "figurative arrangements" that have a performative value and function as "containers" of magical words. In the few cases in which layout indications do not concern geometrical arrangements, the text involved consists of magical words or words closely assimilable to them. Only the most "marked" portions of the text, immediately identifiable as such and endowed with performative value, then, are involved in layout strategies, while the semantically-specific parts are not normed. The writers of texts of applied magic who used handbooks were therefore left free to choose, idiosyncratically and perhaps also by analogy with other text typologies, how to treat some sections of the spell.

3.2 Layout Strategies in Texts of Applied Magic

The prescriptions given by magical handbooks are reflected in the contemporary "activated" texts, found also outside Egypt, where various types of figurative arrangements are used, such as geometrical shapes of semantically-non-specific elements,[61] diagrams[62] or shaped frames,[63] and the *ouroboros*.[64] Other types of arrange-

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[61] Among many examples see, within aggressive magic, the curse tablets Suppl.Mag. II 55 from Oxyrhynchus (3rd c. CE), on papyrus, and Audollent, *Defixiones* 155 and 159 from Rome, Porta S. Sebastiano (end of 4th c. CE), on lead (see also n. 65 below). Within protective magic, see the gold tablet from Ephesus Kotansky, *Magical Amulets* 37 (2nd-3rd c. CE), showing a triangular formation of 153 vowels; more examples, and a list, in Faraone 2012.

[62] This design, comparable with what is prescribed and shown in Pap.Graec.Mag. VII 215-218 (see § 3.1 above), is documented on the back of the *defixio* from the Isthmus of Corinth *NGCT* 26 (= 44-308; see also n. 70 below) and on the fragment from Hadrumetum Jordan, *SGD* 148.

[63] For example, the love charm on a gold tablet Kotansky, *Magical Amulets* 62 (Zian, Tunisia, 2nd/3rd c. CE) displays a sword surrounding part of the text. The rectangular tablet exhibits a complex layout. It is divided in two sections by a line running along the short side. The upper section contains vowels and *charakteres*. The lower section, written by rotating the tablet 90° anticlockwise, displays three areas: the upper one contains letters and *charakteres*, the lower one contains *nomina magica*, and the central area contains the sword. The handle of the sword shows the Greek formula μ⸢α⸣ίνοιτο "let him/her go mad", which often occurs in erotic charms aiming to lead a woman to sexual frenzy. On the blade, *charakteres* and letters are engraved. On this text see Faraone 2022b.

[64] E.g., the amulet on papyrus Suppl.Mag. I 10 (Egypt, Fayum ?, 3rd-4th c. CE) and the silver phylactery against epilepsy *SEG* XLIX 1387 (Rome, 4th-early 5th cent. CE); see <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TT9>. Within aggressive magic, see, e.g., the Latin curse tablet against the judge Sura from the fountain of Anna Perenna in Rome (*SD* 22, 4th c. CE).

ments are also attested, such as the representation of *tabulae ansatae*[65] containing the magical text.[66]

An important element to highlight is the use of graphic strategies meant to clearly distinguish the different magical and semantic contributions of the various portions of the text, by isolating the actual linguistic expressions from the non-linguistic elements such as *charakteres* and vowel sequences. An example within protective magic is provided by the house amulet of Ioannis and Georgia from Thessaly: in the bottom half of the tablet, a catalogue of angel-names is delineated by a line ruled at its top and its right and left margins; at ll. 27-34 a vertical line separates the list into two columns. Names and magical signs are marked off by an etched box near the bottom of the tablet.[67] Within aggressive magic, interesting layout configurations

[65] E.g., the silver phylactery for pain *SEG* XXXIII 1547 (unknown provenance, 3rd c. CE), where the *tabula ansata* marks off a pair of magical names (Σαβαώθ, Ἰαώθ) or, within aggressive magic, the curse tablets Audollent, *Defixiones* 145 (Rome, Porta S. Sebastiano, end of 4th c. CE) and *NGCT* 94 (Egypt, 4th c. CE). In these curses the *tabula* is part of a more complex figure: in Audollent, *Defixiones* 145, a *defixio* against charioteers, the *tabula* is held in the hands of the evoked demon (Typhon?) and contains magical signs (also placed around the demon); in *NGCT* 94, an erotic curse, the *tabula* is placed beneath the feet of Seth-Typhon and contains an imperfect series of vowels (*voces magicae* in columns are placed on either side of the demon). There is also evidence of tablets written on a metal sheet cut in the shape of a *tabula ansata*. Concerning aggressive magic, there is a small group of texts from the western part of the Roman Empire. The majority of these tablets belong to the class of prayers for justice found in sacred areas and mostly date back to the 2nd c. CE (for a list see Arias de Haro *et al*. 2021 and Kropp 2008). It seems that this shape appeared between the 1st and the 3rd c. CE (see Arias de Haro *et al.* 2021, 345). Also to be added to these documents is the silver votive plaque with a judicial prayer against slander (Asia Minor or Thrace ?, 2nd c. CE) edited by Kotansky 2020. A group of judicial curse tablets are also shaped as a *tabula ansata*: *SD* 160 I (diptychon) and II from Chagnon (*Gallia*, mid 2nd c. CE), and *SD* 475 (diptychon) from Kreuznach (*Germania Superior*, first half of 2nd c. CE); unlike the prayers for justice, these curse tablets have been found in a funerary context. Outside this area, a lead *tabula ansata* from North Africa, documented in the archive of A. Audollent, "could equally contain the text of a curse, a prayer or an amulet" (Németh 2012, 429-430). The *tabulae ansatae* in aggressive magic seem to be a western and Latin phenomenon; the use of the Greek language is documented by amulets (see Arias de Haro *et al.* 2021, 344-345); see the two bronze phylacteries Kotansky, *Magical Amulets* 11 (from France, 2nd c. CE). The use of the *tabula ansata* shape is well established in a funerary context, while it is not clear in the magic one (see Kotansky 1983, 175-176 with the relevant bibliography and other examples).

[66] Other attested shapes are: triangles (e.g., *SD* 106; Verona, 2nd-3rd c. CE), the *tabula cum capitulo* (*SD* 128, Bolonia, *Hispania Baetica*, 1st half of 2nd c. BCE), the *tabula cerata* (*SD* 71, Pompei, 2nd c. BCE), the silhouette of a foot (*SD* 140, Sagunto, 1st c. CE). According to Curbera 2015, 101 tablets cut as long strips (up to 40 cm; e.g., Audollent, *Defixiones* 86) are "representations of the δεσμοί or κατάδεσμοι ("bands") that were supposed to immobilize or bind their victims". According to Siebourg 1898, 131 the complex configuration of lines shown by the Greek amulet with *nomina sacra* Kotansky, *Magical Amulets* 4 from Gelduba (Krefeld-Gellep, *Germania inferior*, 3rd c. CE) is to be identified as a stylised *naiskos*, with the columns of letters representing pillars. See *SD*, 10-11, Curbera 2015.

[67] Kotansky, *Magical Amulets* 41, Phthiotis, Thessaly, 4th/5th c. CE. Another example is the silver amulet Kotansky, *Magical Amulets* 49 from Emesa, Syria, 4th/5th c. CE, divided into separate sections by ruling lines or boxes and containing, besides *charakteres*, pseudo-Greek words and (largely unattested) *voces magicae* (perhaps interpretable as ciphers).

appear in Latin texts from North Africa, which, as well as being part of the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, also exhibit specific strategies.[68]

A specific aspect of layout is the relation of the text to iconographic elements, and in particular to anthropomorphic figures, which may represent deities invoked or persons involved in the spells.[69] In some aggressive texts, the names of the victims, besides being mentioned in the spell, are also placed as a sort of caption to the drawings, in order to mark out the main element of the curse. Two curse tablets from Rome (Fig. 48) and the Isthmus of Corinth (Fig. 46) provide remarkable examples of this feature.[70] The example from Rome is addressed against two groups of charioteers belonging to two different factions. The charioteers are sketched (four on side A, three on side B) with some elements of individual physiognomy; they are wearing their racing costume and are bound. The sketches are positioned perpendicular to a representation of Seth.[71] Their names are placed above their portrait, along with nicknames and maternal filiation: e.g., "Euthymios also known as Maximos also known as Gidas the son of Paschasia" (Εὐθύμις ὁ καὶ Μάξιμος ὁ καὶ Γίδας ὁ υἱὸς Πασχασείας). Layout, content, and physiognomy clearly show the intent to individualise the victims as far as possible.[72] The Corinthian tablet is struc-

[68] The documentation consists of a group of twenty *defixiones* dating back to late 2nd-3rd c. CE and mostly discovered in Carthage and Hadrumetum (see Gordon 2005, Gordon 2021, 124-128 and *SD*, 18-19). These "fence"-curses are arranged with a part of the text running around as a frame. According to Gordon 2005, 78-79 this layout would be derived "from the praxis of magical-amulet design, where divine images are regularly enclosed by a text". Sánchez Natalías (*SD*, 19) proposes to interpret the frame as a representation of the circus (or of the race itself), pointing out that it should also be "understood in terms of a persuasive analogy", with the fence symbolically representing the restriction of the victims, "who are accordingly trapped and cannot escape the text's powerful sway". The text written as a frame is in most cases the cursing spell, while sometimes it consists of *voces magicae* or names of the invoked entities. In Audollent, *Defixiones* 284 (Hadrumetum, 2nd/3rd c. CE) the *voces magicae* of the frame, written with deformed letters, enclose the names of charioteers and horses grouped into textual blocks ending with a simple wish formula (*cadant*, *frangant*, *vertant*, …). Audollent, *Defixiones* 275 (Hadrumetum, 2nd/3rd c. CE) presents a more complex layout consisting of "a double paratextual cage" (Gordon 2021, 125, including a schematic reconstruction): the frame, written with multiple orientation and containing the main binding spell, encloses the central portion of the text showing blocks of names and wish formulas (e.g., *cadat*, *male girat*) interspersed with sequences of 25 *charakteres*. In both texts a more elaborate binding spell is placed in the last block, at the end of the list of names.

[69] On the coexistence of images, symbols, and texts in curse tablets, see Sánchez Natalías 2020 and Blänsdorf 2015 (with special attention to the material from the fountain of Anna Perenna). On the iconography of bound victims in magical texts, see Marco Simón and Sánchez Natalías 2022.

[70] Respectively, Audollent, *Defixiones* 159 (Rome, Porta S. Sebastiano, end of the 4th c. CE), for which see Bevilacqua 2012, 603-606, and *NGCT* 26 (Isthmus of Corinth, Sanctuary of Poseidon, 3rd c. CE), for which see Jordan 1994, 116-125.

[71] The identification of the figures on the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae* is disputed. For a discussion of this matter and a more detailed description of the figurative apparatus, see Bevilacqua 2012, 602 and Martín Hernández 2022.

[72] A different interpretation is provided by Viglione 2010, 119-121, according to which the names are written in that position due to lack of space.

tured more "geometrically": matching its content, it is divided in six parts consisting of the sketches of the four victims and of two sections containing the main spells. On each sketch, the curser engraved a spell including the name of the victim, e.g., "control Seleucus" (Σέλευκον κάτεχε). The main spell section consists of an upper part, formed by the magical name Ευλαμω written in a wing-formation, and a lower part containing the actual spell.[73] Both tablets reveal the coexistence of different semiotic codes (linguistic and visual) to convey the same content, the same illocutionary act. Therefore, we observe a semiotic completion between text and images, with the spatial and textual arrangement working together.[74]

In the documentation of this period the use of lists also continues, but their function undergoes some changes. Lists appear, for instance, also in protective magic and phylacteries.[75] And, in aggressive magic, they are no longer mere lists of victims but involve all the magical elements: the texts pertaining to the Graeco-Egyptian tradition present (sometimes very long) lists of the desired effects of the spell, or of the entities to be invoked.

Concerning the shape of the tablets, roundish media are attested, and in this case too it is possible to glimpse traces of an attribution of new functions to the graphic elements: in an amulet from Sicily dating to Late Antiquity,[76] the circularity of the writing could refer to uterine suffering and to the shape of the uterus, for which the inscribed prayer seeks protection.[77]

3.3 "Measuring" the Stability of Layout in Different Witnesses of the Same Magical Texts

A further way to establish the "weight" of the layout in the drafting of magical texts is to compare different witnesses of the same spell. We have only a few cases of (partially) overlapping texts – and some of them do not exhibit distinctive layouts. Still, the available evidence allows us to approach the matter by analysing: (a) how

[73] "May they not prevail in running Friday but (?) indeed [" (trad. Jordan; Μ[ὴ] ἰσχύσοισαν {ἰσχύσωσιν} δραμεῖν προσάββατον ἀ<λ>λὰ (?) καὶ [), probably referring to a footrace in the Isthmian Games. See Jordan 1994, 117.

[74] An analogous Latin example is offered by the curse tablet against *Antonius* (*SD* 19; Rome, fountain of Anna Perenna, end of 4th c. CE) displaying on side A the sketch of a man, whose name is written twice on the image and once, in bigger characters, above it; on side B the name of the victim is repeated in jumbled form. Also in texts not pertaining to the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, the identification of the victims is a constant concern for the curser, who uses other identifying elements together with the name, such as nicknames, matronymics, patronymics.

[75] See Bevilacqua 2010, 83. A list of diseases to be removed is found in the phylactery against epilepsy *SEG* LII 948 (Arco, Italy, late 2nd - early 3rd c. CE). Lists of spirits are less usual; an example is the phylactery for Syntyche (*SEG* LIII 1110, Rome?, late Roman period) containing an invocation of demons against evil forces. See Gordon 2021, 135–137.

[76] See Mastrocinque 2005.

[77] See Centrone 2010, 102.

different practitioners using the same ritual transposed in the "applied" texts the instructions about layout given in the handbooks, and (b) how the same practitioner (or practitioners working in the same context) acts when producing multiple copies of the same text involving layout features.

A well-known group of witnesses of the same spell provides information about both these aspects. As already mentioned,[78] the recipe for an erotic spell recorded in Pap.Graec.Mag. IV 296-466 requires that a magical palindrome (*logos*) be inscribed in a "heart shape" on a lead tablet, placing it "in another part of the tablet" than the rest of the spell. Five lead tablets and a clay pot from different parts of Egypt (Suppl. Mag. I 46-51) are inscribed with a text deriving from this recipe or from close variants of it;[79] moreover, Suppl.Mag. 49, 50 and 51 were written by the same scribe and for the same person. Only two of the six documents (Suppl.Mag. 48 and 49) actually include the prescribed *logos*. Suppl.Mag. 48 presents it in a heart formation, as required by the recipe, and in the upper part of the tablet (the writer possibly interpreted thus the instruction to write it "in another part of the tablet"); in Suppl.Mag. 49, on the other hand, the *logos* is only written once (without the progressively reduced repetition that forms the triangular shape), and is inserted (divided into two uneven parts and followed by other magical words) above and below the first line of the spell. Although it cannot be completely ruled out that the recipe that was followed for this text lacked the indication to write the *logos* in a heart-shape, Suppl. Mag. 49 is possibly evidence of a deviation from the prescribed layout due to "force majeure": the scribe had used up all the available space both on the front and on the back of the tablet to write the previous part of the spell[80] and did not know where to insert the heart-shaped formation. In the other two exemplars written by the same scribe (Suppl.Mag. 50 and 51) the *logos* is completely omitted, and the reason may be the same: lack of space. In any case, it must be noted that the three texts differ also in other respects: the writer probably relied on one recipe, but, when producing three specimens for the same person, he chose to modify and mix it with other material.[81] A certain freedom towards the prescriptions given by the handbooks seems to exist, then, as regards both the text of the spell and the *layout*.

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[78] See § 3.1 above.

[79] Suppl.Mag. I 46 = T.Cairo JdE 48217 (Arsinoïte, 4th c. CE; TM 8723); Suppl.Mag. I 47 = T.Louvre E 27145 (Middle Egypt? 2nd-3rd c. CE; TM 92866); Suppl.Mag. I 48 = T. Michigan 6925 (2nd-3rd c. CE; TM 92865; Suppl.Mag. I 49 = T.Köln 1 (Oxyrhynchus, 2nd-3rd c. CE; TM 64308); Suppl.Mag. I 50 = T.Köln 2 (Oxyrhynchus, 2nd-3rd c. CE; TM 105083); Suppl.Mag. I 51 = O.Köln 409 (Oxyrhynchus, 2nd-3rd c. CE; TM 92864). For a stemma of the five tablets, see Wortmann 1968, 59; Martinez 1991, 113-117 offers an attempt to reconstruct the original text that lies behind all the witnesses.

[80] See Suppl.Mag. I, at p. 193 (introduction to no. 49).

[81] See the analysis by Suárez de la Torre *et al.* 2019.

Another good example of several copies of the same text is in Suppl.Mag. II 96, a cache of magical texts (some written by the same hand) that can be plausibly ascribed to serial production in a workshop. The larger text (A) is a formulary written *transversa charta* on the recto of a roll, and is probably complete. The other, smaller fragments (B–F) include parts of A, with only F adding some new material (including the *ouroboros* mentioned above, 151). Useful for our inquiry is the comparison between A and E, a papyrus leaf incomplete at top and bottom, written on both sides by two different hands (the one that wrote side ↓ is possibly to be identified with the hand of A). The text in E – consisting of a list of poetic adjectives, a list of magical words, and two groups of magical words each of them enclosed in a circle – has the following correspondences in A: E ↓ 1–8 = A 25–32, and E → 1–13 = A 35–46. Some layout differences between the two copies are immediately evident: the lists, arranged with one word below the other in A 25–43, begin in the same way in E (E ↓ 1–8 - E → 1–3), but then become continuous, with the different words separated by a double oblique stroke (→ 4–7);[82] moreover, the two sections of text enclosed in a circle are placed side by side in A 44–47 (together with a third, empty circle), while in E → 8–13 they are written one below the other (and the empty circle is missing). Faraone plausibly argued that the scribe gave the precedence to leaving enough space for the circled parts, thus deciding to crowd the final words of the list.[83] Altogether, it seems that some layout features (such as the enclosing of groups of words in a circle) were considered, by the scribes here involved, a priority and therefore stay the same in the different copies, while others (such as the layout of lists or textual blocks) could vary in case of need.

Another interesting case is that of three Christian amulets for three different women, found in Oxyrhynchus and written by the same hand in the 4th c. CE: P.Oxy. VI 924,[84] LXXXII 5306, and 5307.[85] The texts of 5307 and 924 are almost identical, while that of 5306 is longer and seems to be the result of a patchwork combining the spell used in the other two amulets with some other formulas: we are clearly dealing with "serial production" by the same magician, who modulated the length of a

[82] In A, the adjectives and the magical words are separated by a long horizontal stroke; its presence cannot be verified in E, where the end of the adjectives list is lost but in all probability coincided with the bottom of the page. The same lists are repeated also in papyrus F of Suppl.Mag. II 96, written by a different hand: in F fr. A, 4–8, the beginning and end of the list of adjectives are marked with a double oblique stroke, and the words are written one after the other without any mark of separation (except for one *dicolon* at l. 7); the arrangement of the list of magical words in the damaged fr. B is less clear. The circled groups of words are not present, while the already mentioned *ouroboros* is inserted after the adjectives list. On these three copies of the lists see Faraone 2022c, 231–237.

[83] Faraone 2022c, 237.

[84] See the re-edition in Maltomini 2015, with an image of the papyrus.

[85] Images of P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306 and 5307 are available at <https://portal.sds.ox.ac.uk/search?groups=35280>.

"basic" text, sometimes expanding it. All three amulets end with a cross surrounded by words and letters, framed at the bottom by three lines (two angular ones at the corners and one horizontal between them): evidently a figurative magical device capable of activating the amulet. Although the words around the cross are the same in the three amulets, their arrangement is somewhat different in P.Oxy. 5307.[86] Should we deduce that even a single practitioner could vary, in different copies of the same spell, these types of devices? Or is it a case of unintended inaccuracy relative to a model, which was followed more carefully in the other two amulets?

The possibility of a slip should certainly be considered (writers of texts of applied magic are often far from flawless), but what we have seen so far may suggest that even the textual parts that are most "regulated" in magical handbooks could be the object, by choice or necessity, of reworking in the actual practice or magic.

4. Conclusions

Our analysis has shown how the two different traditions of magical practice present significant differences at the level of the graphic strategies used by practitioners to enhance the magical character of the texts.

In the earliest tradition (and, for the Latin West, also in the "vernacular" tradition), no specific layout strategies could be identified, and graphic arrangements such as lists are not standardised and meet basic universal semiotic criteria rather than specifically magical ones. The layout of the texts is governed by the ideological assumption of a sympathetic relationship between text and target: distortions, inversions, substitutions, cancellations are intended to affect, *similia similibus*, the person to whom the spell refers. The use of these semiotically basic strategies (inasmuch as they are attested in many different cultural traditions all over the world) is related to an "informal, unsystematic, freely-circulating knowledge about 'how such [i.e., magical] things are done'".[87] This type of knowledge has not "invented" specific, culturally determined strategies, but uses graphic resources whose efficacy and validity are immediately identifiable and perceptible.

Different and more complex strategies are exhibited by later texts, which belong to the magical *koine* that matured in Graeco-Roman Egypt and spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. This tradition is strongly characterised by distinctive graphic strategies (prescribed by handbooks and applied in "activated" texts) in which textual elements are treated differently, at the level of layout, depending on their semantic meaning. Specific layouts are prescribed and deployed almost exclusively for the semantically-non-specific elements, i.e., those that lack a linguistic-semantic meaning

[86] In 5307 the words Ἰ(ησο)ῦ and Χ(ριστο)ῦ are placed one beside the other above the sequence πατήρ, υἱός, μήτηρ, rather than before and after it as in the other two amulets.

[87] Gordon 2021, 110-111.

but bear a linguistic-pragmatic meaning, for instance magical *logoi* or vowel sequences; the exceptions consist of highly powerful words, such as epithets referring to gods.

On the other hand, the graphic arrangement of elements that have a proper linguistic meaning is left to the discretion of the practitioner, who may sporadically choose to arrange some of them in a particular way; however, these are entirely occasional phenomena, which do not seem to be clearly influenced by other textual typologies.

A "markedness" of the semantically-non-specific elements is therefore evident and defines them as bearers of magical power. Their special layout provides a greater illocutionary force, even in the case of absence of a true locutionary act associated with it, as for *charakteres*. The freedom granted in the arrangement of the semantically-specific portions of the text, on the other hand, suggests they have a different magical "weight" in the performativity of the ritual. The lack of layout rules for the semantically-specific textual portions goes hand in hand with the multiple possibilities available to human language to convey the same content through different linguistic forms without modifying the purposes, intentions, and interpretation of the statements.

Conversely, the instructions concerning the semantically-non-specific textual portions seem to show that their magical value relies (also) on their form. The absence, in the instructions given by magical handbooks, of a constant correspondence between the use of magical words and a special layout, as well as the decision of some practitioners not to fully respect (or to vary) these same instructions, may delineate the boundaries of the use of such graphic devices: they were not felt to be indispensable, but, rather, their presence was perceived as an additional source (or guarantee) of magical power; the practitioners thus might feel free to introduce some variation on them (just as they introduced variations into the texts of the spells), or to exclude them – especially in the presence of compelling practical factors like a lack of space on the writing surface.

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Part 2
Trends, Habits, and Strategies

Residual or Functional? A Taxonomy of the Uses of *paragraphoi* in Greek Epigraphical Texts*

Davide Amendola

1. Introduction

In the ancient Greek world, the παράγραφος (or παραγραφή, according to fourth-century literary sources) – a straight dash written or cut horizontally beneath a line of writing at the left margin of a column of text – was a common lectional sign, generally employed to mark off divisions and transitions of some kind within a text (e.g., to denote a change of speaker or assist with reading aloud).[1] Scholars often emphasise that this sign is used far more sporadically in epigraphic sources than in papyrological ones (especially literary book-rolls).[2] However, closer inspection

* I am grateful to my fellow editors, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini and Emilio Rosamilia, for their help and encouragement as I worked on this project, as well as to the useful comments of the audience at the workshop *Documenti, supporti, layout. Giornata fiorentina fra papirologia ed epigrafia*, where I presented a preliminary version of this chapter. I would also like to extend thanks for the insights and suggestions by Alice Bencivenni, Michele Faraguna, Maria Serena Funghi, Charalambos Kritzas, Anna Magnetto, Marijana Ricl, Luca Ruggeri, and the two anonymous reviewers of the entire manuscript.

[1] Sometimes it served more than one concurrent function within the same context (especially in papyrological evidence): on the *paragraphos* in literary papyri and manuscripts, cf. Tanzi-Mira 1920; Grohmann 1929; Giangrande 1978; Cavallo 1983, 23-24; Turner 1987, 8, 12; Barbis Lupi 1994; Johnson 1994; Del Corso 2002, 151-153; Del Mastro 2017. Ancient Greek sources on the *paragraphos* include, e.g., Isoc. 15.59; Arist. *Rh.* 3.8.1409a19-21, where the reference could be to "a sign to mark sentence end", according to Johnson 1994, 65 n. 1; Harp. Π 17, s.v. Παραγραφή Keaney (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς ἣν [μέχρι] νῦν παράγραφον καλοῦμεν· καὶ ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀφ' οὗ παρέγραψα· τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη, ἀφ' οὗ παρεθέμην). Unless otherwise indicated, all dates in this chapter are BCE.

[2] Cf. e.g. Johnson 1994, 65 ("In documents, it is likewise employed, though rarely, to separate sections or the members of a list, but fairly regularly a paragraphus will divide the main text from the *subscriptio*"); Manganaro 2000, 410 n. 18 ("un segno raro in epigrafia, comune nei papiri"); Costabile 2001, 165; Del Corso 2002, esp. 180 (speaking of a "segno estraneo all'uso epigrafico ma comune nella scrittura su papiro sin dai suoi primi esempi"); and, most recently, Kalliontzis and Papazarkadas 2019, 305, arguing that "[s]uch *paragraphoi* are rare, albeit not unheard of, in epigraphical texts". *Contra*, and rightly so, Faraguna 2020, 120 ("the sign is not as rare as it is sometimes stated"); see also Boffo and Faraguna 2021,

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Davide Amendola, *Residual or Functional? A Taxonomy of the Uses of* paragraphoi *in Greek Epigraphical Texts*, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.12, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 169-216, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

makes it clear that this claim requires substantial revision as an examination of a variety of examples in Greek inscriptions from different regions and periods actually allows for a precise categorisation – practically a taxonomy – of the sign's use, as I argue below.[3] Since the texts carved in stone or metal and painted on walls were usually copied from *antigrapha* on ephemeral materials (often, but not exclusively, papyrus), a detailed analysis of how *paragraphoi* were used in both inscriptions and papyri may seem, at first glance, particularly promising and productive. However, as is often the case with matters related to layout, so here caution must be exercised when adopting a comparative approach. Indeed, any attempt to distinguish the ways in which the sign is used in these two types of sources is hindered by the fact that, barring some categories in which overlap does occur (e.g., lists, accounts, and the like), documents inscribed on stone differ in their nature from those penned on papyrus. The same holds true for chronology as inscriptions and papyri of the same period can only be compared to each other between the early Hellenistic age and Late Antiquity.

To this one may add two further problems. On the one hand, modern editors of Greek inscriptions have always been fairly inconsistent about reproducing *paragraphoi* – a fact that makes any attempt to identify the use of these signs in epigraphic sources particularly challenging in cases where no high-quality images are available.[4] On the other, scholars of Greek epigraphy generally regard the *paragraphos* as a residual element, namely, as a sign preserved only sporadically by stonecutters during the transition from *antigrapha* on papyrus and other soft materials to texts inscribed on durable materials. This general statement doubtless remains valid in many cases and in certain types of documents, as has been confirmed by the extensive research I have conducted for this study. However, the fragmentary condition of the evidence often impedes an accurate assessment of the actual occurrence and deployment of interpuncts and lectional signs in epigraphic documents, a problem that, in turn, prevents us from understanding whether their survival or absence has been affected by material conditions, such as *lacunae*, or is due, instead, to other, intentional factors.

I shall return to the problem of viewing *paragraphoi* and other signs as index fossils in ancient documents, but first I will analyse their use in Greek inscriptions. A thorough review of the evidence drawn from editions and available images (both

esp. 83-86. For marks related to the *paragraphos* in Attic inscriptions of the Roman period, see further Threatte 1980, 90-94. Guarducci 1967, 391-397 does not include *paragraphoi* among the signs employed in Greek epigraphic texts.

[3] For the purpose of this paper, I will not take into account Greek verse inscriptions. On this point, see most recently Garulli 2019, esp. 136, who concludes that "[e]verything suggests that the *paragraphos* in verse inscriptions is employed as an all-purpose divider".

[4] For instance, Shear 2003, 103 chooses not to include *paragraphoi* in her re-edition of *IG* II^2 2311 "in order to increase its legibility".

printed and virtual) has led to the divisions that appear in the following pages. The early history of the *paragraphos*, especially in the Athenian context, has recently been explored in a seminal paper by Michele Faraguna, who has conducted a careful examination of several epigraphic lists and accounts that were laid out in a columnar form. My purpose here is to further develop his research and gather a body of examples that offers a comprehensive account of the various uses of this sign in Greek documents on non-perishable materials from different areas and over a longer time span (namely, from the Archaic to the late Hellenistic period).[5] In addition, I hope to show that, contrary to the general assumption, *paragraphoi* appear all over Greek inscriptions from a fairly early date. Due to the difficulties noted above, this study does not claim to be comprehensive, but does include many instances of the use of *paragraphoi* in Greek epigraphic sources that have never previously been taken into account or discussed. Within each section, the assembled cases will be presented in chronological rather than strictly typological order since another obstacle faced by a study of this type arises from the fact that more often than not, the said sign is not used consistently in the same document, let alone within a coherent group or set of inscriptions. This issue, in turn, is related to that of the sign's residual nature. I shall therefore return to both these issues at the end of this chapter.

2. Earliest Examples (outside of Athens)

From what I have been able to ascertain, the practice of adding a horizontal stroke between lines at the left margin dates back to as early as the late 6th century, since a trace of one apparently exists in the earliest-known documentary inscription from Samothrace, [1] ***SEG* LIII 917**.[6] In this small archaic fragment in the Ionic dialect, tentatively assigned on palaeographical grounds to around 525–500, the right end of what seems to be a *paragraphos* is clearly visible between the two extant lines, both of which have a single mid-line dot ("apparently an interpunct", according to the editors) at their beginning. Interestingly enough, the occurrence of a mark compatible with the *paragraphos* has elicited the conclusion that *SEG* LIII 917 may be a fragment of "a financial document or a record of some sort".[7] Although this suggestion can-

[5] Cf. Faraguna 2020, 120: "I have not been able to carry out a systematic survey, which is beyond the scope of this paper, but have collected a fair number of examples in mainly public inscriptions from the fifth and fourth centuries BC".

[6] Among the attestations of *paragraphoi* in inscriptions of the Archaic period, Costabile 2001, 165 only includes the agonistic dedication to Athena Alea from Tegea from the last quarter of the 6th century, *IG* V.2 75 (*LSAG*², Arkadia, no. 5), but the signs separating the lines of text that he reads as *paragraphoi* are actually horizontal lines with curved ends that have been interpreted by Aupert 1980 as schematic representations of the stadium at Tegea; cf. Jeffery 1989, 209: "The technique strongly resembles that of contemporary Lakonian inscriptions, the neat lettering being written along a curious double-looped guide-line". Photo available at Aupert 1980, 312, fig. 3.

[7] Dimitrova and Clinton 2003, 237 (image available *ibidem*, at p. 236).

not be conclusively proven, the idea is all the more interesting as most later inscriptions or papyri in which *paragraphoi* are employed actually consist of accounts, lists and the like. This is true, for instance, of an account inscribed on a lead tablet from the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous, **[2] *I.Rhamnous* 181** (*IG* I^3 247bis: around 500) that refers to overseers in a sort of heading (ἐπιστατôν) on side A and records two budgets with numerals on side B, that is, sums given to four recipients listed by name in the dative in ll. 6-9 and money received from three individuals (who paid it back to the treasury, according to Josine H. Blok) in ll. 11-13.[8] In addition to being preceded by different headings (τὸ χρε̂μα | ἀνέλοται | τὸς hιεροποιὸς | τὸ ἐν τôι μολυβδίοι | hιγραμμένο at ll. 1-5 and [δε]μόσιον : hέχ[οσι] at l. 10, respectively), these two distinct sections are set apart by a long horizontal stroke between ll. 9 and 10, which extends nearly the entire width of side B and seems to cross at a right angle a vertical line running from top to bottom around 1 cm from the left margin.[9] A similar case can be made for three other 5th-century documents inscribed on the same medium. The first, **[3] *IG* IX.1^2 874** (*SEG* XLVIII 604: ca. 475-450), is a palimpsest lead tablet from Corcyra inscribed in the Corinthian alphabet that records a delivery of wooden beams and clay tiles employed in the construction or repair of a dockyard roof: a horizontal line between ll. 5 and 6 clearly separates the series of items delivered by two different individuals (Alkimos at l. 1 and Philotas at l. 6) from each other.[10] The second, **[4] Prignitz 2014, no. 3** (ca. 450-425), is a receipt for a loan in the Phocian alphabet inscribed on a lead plaque that was found in the oracle sanctuary of Apollo at Kalapodi (arguably ancient Abai in eastern Phocis), one of the main religious centres of the Phocian League: here the *paragraphos* – a long line extending beneath the initial six letters of l. 3 (fully coinciding with those of the name [Γό]ργος) – appears to visually emphasise the distinction between creditor (at l. 3: [Γό]ργος ἀπέδοκε ἴκατι μν⟨α̂⟩ς) and debtor (at ll. 4-5: [τ]ούτας Μενόνδας | [ἐχ]ρέσατο).[11] Likewise noteworthy is that the sign is employed in combination

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[8] For a more recent assessment of the overall significance of this document, see Blok 2010, 77-79; cf. further Bubelis 2016, 178-187.

[9] Petrakos 1999, 146: "Στὴν ἀριστερὴ ἄκρη τῆς κύριας ὄψης ὑπάρχει κατακόρυφη γραμμὴ ποὺ ἀπέχει 0.01 ἀπὸ τὸ ἄκρο τῆς πλάκας καὶ δεύτερη ὁριζόντια ποὺ χωρίζει τὸν ἔνατο ἀπὸ τὸν δέκατο στίχο". Photo available at Mylonas 1985, 55, fig. 78; Petrakos 1999, 147 (drawing). Cf. Meyer 2017, 213 n. 17. On the clarity of the Rhamnous tablet's layout, see also Faraguna 2020, 121; Osborne 2022, 61-62.

[10] The line order on the tablet also deserves attention as the letters and numbers in the second half of ll. 4 and 7, which continue the text of ll. 3 and 6, respectively, are written retrograde and are separated from the rest by a pair of two lines meeting at a right angle. Moreover, short dashes at mid-height highlight the figures at ll. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8. For the drawing, see Koremis 1992-1998, 349. On the tablet, see also Marginesu 2021; Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 191.

[11] The *editores principes* (*SEG* XXXVII 422) see the sign as an underlining "wohl zur buchungstechnischen Hervorhebung" (Felsch and Siewert 1987, 683), while Prignitz 2014, no. 3, 138-139 (Abb. 4), who provides a re-edition of the text (*SEG* LXIV 471), neither prints it between lines 3 and 4 nor comments on its possible function in that context. Cf. Meyer 2017, 213 n. 17.

with other *interpuncta* since an *anō stigmē* occurs at the end of l. 3 after ἴκατι μν⟨ᾶ⟩ς (as happens immediately after the dating formula).[12] The third, **[5] Rosamilia 2023, no. 24** (*IG Cyrenaica*² 081100: ca. 410), consists of accounts of uncertain character inscribed in a nearly *stoichedon* order on a fragmentary lead tablet from Cyrene (Fig. 52). In this case, the long horizontal stroke extending beneath the first five letters of l. 8 seems to separate two different sections of the document from each other, as further suggested by the temporal indication ἐ̣φ' Ἑρμε̄σάνδ[ρο̄ at the beginning of l. 9, though traces of *paragraphoi* are probably also visibile in fragments *f* and *k*.[13]

Equally relevant to this discussion of the earliest instances of the use of the mark to separate two distinct portions of text is one of the four still unpublished inscribed bronze tablets found near Thebes in a tomb-like cist of the 6th century, **[6] ΜΘ 35914** (*SEG* LX 508: opisthographic, around the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century), which appears to contain regulations related to a sacred feast on its second side. As is clear from the image published by Angelos P. Matthaiou, a straight interlinear dash running one-half the length of the tablet divides the text above from a list of twenty-two people below, which is preceded by the heading θοίνατροι (perhaps "partakers in a feast").[14] Another example that bears mentioning in this context is **[7] *IG* IX.2 257** (van Effenterre - Ruzé, *Nomima*, I 33; Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 118), a bronze tablet dated to the third quarter of the 5th century that contains the honours bestowed on a Corinthian by the city of Thetonion in southern Thessaly. The layout strategy adopted by the engraver makes it clear that the horizontal line that begins at the left margin and runs beneath the first three letters of l. 1 was meant to separate the final portion of the document written at the top from its main body below as there was no more space left at the bottom of the tablet, and the cutter had to complete the text above.[15]

The aforementioned examples may lend support to the idea that despite the uncertainty of its origins, the *paragraphos* was initially conceived as a graphic aid for spatially separating items or slightly larger portions of text in financial documents and the like. Such an assumption is strengthened by the fact that in the vast majority of inscriptions (mainly from Athens) from the 5th century – the period when the mark became common – it is simply used to mark off different sections (as in the

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[12] Moreover, the two parts of the dating formula (at ll. 1-2: [Γ]ενναίου γρανμ̣[ατέ]|οντος : πράτου μενός), as well as the names of the debtor and the guarantors of the interest (at ll. 4-6: [τ]ούτας Μενόνδας | [ἐχ]ρέσατο : Ηυανπόλιοι | [π]ροστάται τοκίο), are separated from each other by the *diplē stigmē*.

[13] Photos and drawings available at: <https://igcyr.unibo.it/igcyr081100>.

[14] On the tablet, see Matthaiou 2014, 221, with fig. 4. Faraguna 2020, 116 likewise refers briefly to the Theban tablets.

[15] Photo available at Kern 1913, pl. 10; Jeffery 1989, pl. 11. A similar peculiarity in the arrangement of the text can apparently be found in the other opisthographic tablet of the four from Thebes, ΜΘ 35909 (*SEG* LX 507), since, according to Matthaiou 2014, 216, "the ending of the final word of the last line of side B is inscribed above the first line of the same side".

Athenian tribute quota lists) and distinguish different entries in accounts or documents containing long lists (as in several sets of accounts related to construction works on the Acropolis and a series of documents from the mid-5th century onwards).[16]

3. Separating the Items of Accounts, Inventories, Lists, and Catalogues

As noted above, the most straightforward employment of the *paragraphos* lies in public or private inscriptions that assume the form of lists or other such texts.[17] This is clearly demonstrated by the following collection of relevant examples, which include, among others, the *stelae* of the Athenian tribute quota lists, accounts regarding the construction of prominent statues or public expenditure on architectural works, inventories of objects located in temples or shrines, lists of magistrates, religious regulations of various kinds, texts relating to financial matters, agonistic catalogues, and comparable documents:

- *Tabulae Hellenotamiarum* (*IG* I³ 259-290): as far as one may ascertain, the *paragraphos* occurs in only three lists.[18] In two of these, it assumes the form of a rather long, "monumental" line meant to mark off geographical districts in which the members of the Delian League came to be regularly listed: **[8] *IG* I³ 269** (year 12, 443/2), col. I, ll. 33-34 (juncture between the Ἰονικô φόρο and the hελλεσποντίο φόρο), col. II, ll. 26-27 (juncture between the hελλεσποντίο φόρο and the ἐπὶ Θράικες φόρο),[19] and **[9] *IG* I³ 270** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 119B: year 13, 442/1), col. I, ll. 34-35 (juncture between the Ἰονικὸς φόρος and the hελλεσπόντιος φόρος), col. II, ll. 30-31 (juncture between the hελλεσπόντιος φόρος and the ἐπὶ Θράικες φόρος). More interesting is the case of **[10] *IG* I³ 283** (year 27, 428/7), col. II, 18-19, col. III, 1-2 and 3-4, as the *paragraphoi* here are not only considerably shorter than those found in most fifth-century Athenian inscriptions, but also seem to serve a purpose other than signalling geographic transitions (perhaps that of

[16] Among the earliest Greek papyri displaying the same use of the mark, one may mention SB XIV 11963 (TM 4287; Turner, *GMAW* 88: late 4th c.), in which a line-space and a *paragraphos* at col. II, ll. 10-11 separate two different accounts of drachmas, apparently receipts and disbursements. Another point of special interest in this regard is the use of acrophonic numerals, which has no parallel in extant papyrological sources. One could also compare, for example, the list of articles required for a voyage, P.Cair.Zen. I 59054 (TM 2296: 257). On the layout of accounts and lists on papyrus, see Clarysse 2020.

[17] On ancient Greek lists, see most recently Kirk 2021, who, however, focuses mainly, though not exclusively, on literary texts.

[18] Cf. Del Corso 2002, 185, arguing that in *IG* I³ 269 and 270 "la *paragraphos* viene utilizzata per distinguere il computo di un *phoros* dall'altro, ma nelle altre iscrizioni della serie si ricorre più frequentemente a un aumento della spaziatura"; Meyer 2017, 212 n. 17; Faraguna 2020, 121.

[19] In connection with this, it is a notable fact that the practice of organising tribute payers according to region was adopted in 443/2 since no clear geographical order is evident in the first eight lists. On this point, see especially Paarmann 2004; see further Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI*, commentary at p. 319.

highlighting some tributary names).[20] In connection with these lists, one may recall two further examples in the extensive series of documents within the Athenian Tribute Lists: the decrees proposed by Thudippus about the extraordinary reassessment of tribute, **[11]** ***IG*** **I³ 71** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 153: 425/4), col. I, ll. 119-120, in which the *paragraphos* is no doubt a residual element in the four columns of district lists, but also plays a major role at ll. 118-119, where it follows the heading ταύτεσι̣ [σ]ύμπ[ας ho] | φόρος ἐτάχθε, thereby separating this group from that of the other members of the Ionian district who paid individually; and the fragmentary reassessment decree that was attributed by *ATL* to the regular assessment of 422 (in the year of the Great Panathenaea), **[12]** ***IG*** **I³ 77**, in which *paragraphoi* are unevenly used to separate some of the Hellespontine (col. IV, ll. 2-3, 5-6, 9-10) and Thracian cities (col. V, ll. 26-27, 28-29, 30-31, 32-33, 34-35), but with no clear pattern emerging from the surviving portions of the text.[21]

- Sacrificial calendar of the deme of Thorikos on the front face of a rectangular stele of white marble, **[13] Lupu,** ***Greek Sacred Law*****² 1** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 146; *CGRN* 32: ca. 440-430?): longish *paragraphoi* of varying length (3 to 6 letters) are consistently used to separate the entries, which generally end in a blank space (with the name of the next month starting a new line).[22]
- Accounts for the Athena Promachos statue (?) from the Acropolis, **[14]** ***IG*** **I³ 435**, recently re-examined by Ronald Stroud and Elizabeth Foley, who assign them to the period 440-424: lightly incised horizontal lines extending the full width of the left sub-column are consistently employed, often in combination with vacats, to set apart the sums of money in acrophonic numerals recorded here (in the usual two-sub-column format, with figures on the left and expenditure items on the right).[23] One can compare this example with that of the building accounts of the Parthenon (*IG* I³ 436-451), which display the use of the sign uniquely in **[15]**

[20] The lists edited as *IG* I³ 269 and 270 (both by inscriber 4, "the Cutter of *IG* I³ 270", according to Tracy's classification: see esp. Tracy 2016, 41-53, 83-91) are on the reverse face of the monumental *Lapis primus* (original dimensions: ca. 4 m. tall, 1.15 m. wide and 0.39 m. thick), which contains *IG* I³ 259-272, i.e. the fifteen annual lists from 454/3 to 440/39 (for a schematic drawing of the *Lapis primus*, see Tracy 2016, 42, fig. 1), while *IG* I³ 283 belongs to the group of freestanding individual annual lists from the year 431/0 onwards that follow in time those inscribed on the *Lapis secundus* (*IG* I³ 273-280, years 16-23, 439/8-432/1, original dimensions: at least 2.2 m. tall, 1.47 m. wide and 0.34 m. thick).

[21] On the problematic relationship between *IG* I³ 77 and the Athenian tribute quota list *IG* I³ 287, see most recently Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI*, commentary at pp. 406-407.

[22] Photos available at Lupu 2009, fig. 3-7. On the layout and punctuation marks of the inscription, see Lupu 2009, 119.

[23] Foley and Stroud 2019, 94 n. 27, speak of "prominent, horizontal dividing lines" and not of *paragraphoi*, rightly stressing that "[t]he shorter dividing lines in, e.g., *IG* I³ 71, 77, 240, 386-389, do not resemble those on the fragments of *IG* I³ 435". However, this is not enough to exclude the possibility that those used in *IG* I³ 435 are *paragraphoi* (cf. Threatte 1980, 76; Meyer 2017, 212 n. 17; Faraguna 2020, 121). Cf. Carusi 2020, 75-77. On the two-sub-column layout of most fifth-century Athenian accounts,

***IG* I³ 449** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 145: year 14, 434/3),[24] ll. 380-381, 384-385, 388-389, 391-392, 394-395, 396-397, 397-398, 400-401, 402-403, while listing the receipts (λέμματα τô ἐνιαυτô | τούτο τάδε at ll. 376-377) and the expenses for that year (ἀναλόμα[τ]α at l. 395, which serves as the heading for the items listed beneath it): short lines at the left margin of the sub-column that registers the items (on the right) regularly separate the entries (surplus from the previous year, money received from the treasurers of Athena, money derived from the sale of gold and ivory, expenses for purchases, for wages paid to workers at Pentele and the sculptors, for monthly wages, as well as surplus for that year). A similar case can be made for the accounts related to the construction of the bronze cult statues of Hephaestus and Athena in the Hephaisteion, **[16] *IG* I³ 472** (416/5),[25] in which short *paragraphoi* at the left margin of the right sub-column carefully articulate the various expenditures registered there (the exact opposite of what is found in *IG* I³ 435), as well as for a small fragment of *ratio incerta*, **[17] *IG* I³ 485** (450-445), ll. 3-4, 5-6. Another highly fragmentary account, **[18] *IG* I³ 486** (of uncertain date), seems to escape any attempt at characterisation.[26]

- Final summary account for the construction of the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos, **[19] *IG* I³ 460** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 135B: 438/7), ll. 5-6, 9-10, 12-13, 14-15, 17-18, which stands out from the other documents of the series (*IG* I³ 453, 455-459) for its monumental appearance, the arrangement of its text into a single column, and the use of dividing lines that project rightwards from the left margin for around four *stoichoi*: these isolate the various entries of the *ratio* that deal with the total amount of silver money received by the *epistatai* (ll. 2-5: τάδε ἔλ[αβον at l. 2), what might have been a dedication of gold by Callaeschrus (ll. 6-9), the total expenses (ll. 10-12: ἀναλό[ματα at l. 10), two unclear categories of expenditure (namely, ἀπεργα[σία at ll. 13-14 and κατάβλ[εμα at ll. 15-17), the costs of gold purchase (ll. 18-19), which were probably followed by the cost of ivory (now lost).[27]

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see also Marginesu 2022; Osborne 2022; cf. further C. Carusi's chapter in the present volume (Fig. 7). On numeracy in the account inscriptions, see esp. Cuomo 2013; Marginesu 2017.

[24] Cf. Threatte 1980, 76; Del Corso 2002, 185; Meyer 2017, 212 n. 17; Faraguna 2020, 121. The account is written on the right narrow face of the stele on which all the Parthenon accounts were laid out (*IG* I³ 436-451, years 1-15, 447/6-433/2). See also Carusi 2020, 77-78. Image available at Carusi 2020, 77, fig. 2; cf. further C. Carusi's chapter in the present volume (Fig. 1).

[25] Col. IV, 141-142, 145-146, 148-149, 150-151, 151-152, 152-153, 154-155, 160-161. On these accounts, see recently Lippolis and Vallarino 2010, esp. 253-257; Meyer 2017, 212 n. 17; Carusi 2020, 79-80. Cf. further C. Carusi's chapter in the present volume (Fig. 3).

[26] Both fragmentary accounts are referred to by Meyer 2017, 213 n. 17.

[27] Cf. Meyer 2017, 212 n. 17; Faraguna 2020, 121; see also recently Carusi 2020, 78-79. Cf. further C. Carusi's chapter in the present volume (Fig. 2).

- Building accounts of the Erechtheion (*IG* I³ 474–479), in which *paragraphoi* feature twice: in the review of the building's condition when the Athenians resumed work on it, **[20] *IG* I³ 474** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 181A: 409/8), and in the records of 408/7, **[21] *IG* I³ 476** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 181B: 408/7), the remnants of which list the amounts of money that the *epistatai* took from the treasurers of the goddess and spent on the project in the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth prytanies (for the wages of the work force, building materials, etc.).[28] In *IG* I³ 474, the sign separates some, but not all of the entries in the list containing the half finished parts (hεμίεργα) of the temple (ll. 18–19, 21–22, 25–26, 46–47, 49–50), the unsmoothed and unchannelled parts (ll. 74–75, 76–77, 80–81, 82–83, 84–85, 89–90), the fully worked stones lying on the ground (ll. 97–98), as well as the half finished parts lying on the ground (ll. 117–118, 122–123, 124–125, 129–130, 135–136, 140–141, 142–143, 143–144, 150–151, 151–152, 159–160, 172–173, 179–180, 182–183, 186–187, 191–192, 199–200, 205–206), and occasionally separates sub-sections of the document from each other (e.g., hεμίεργα from ἀκατάχσεστα καὶ ἀράβδοτα at ll. 53–54).[29] It is also employed twice on the reverse face in the section on the work needed to complete the building, where it appears to articulate certain actions (ll. 239–240, 241–242), though the text is rather fragmentary.[30] Several instances of the sign's misplacement are found as well (at ll. 140–141 rather than 139–140, 143–144 rather than 145–146, 151–152 rather than 153–154, 172–173 rather than 173–174, 182–183 rather than 183–184).[31] In *IG* I³ 476 (Fig. 49), as far as one can ascertain, the *paragraphos* only occurs at ll. 281–282 in combination with vacats and the mark ∵ to indicate the end of the accounts for the eighth prytany and the beginning of those for the ninth (ll. 281–282: *vac.* ∵ hεπὶ τε͂ς Αἰγεΐδος *vac.*).[32] What deserves mention here is that elsewhere in the records the transition from one prytany to the next is signalled in other ways: at ll. 65–67, the temporal indication ἐπὶ τε͂ς Λεοντίδος hεβ[δόμες] opens l. 66, with a large blank space preceding it in the right-hand half of l. 65 and the sign ∵ following πρυτανευόσες at the beginning of l. 67, while at l. 183,

[28] Cf. Meyer 2017, 212–213 n. 17; Faraguna 2020, 121.

[29] It is worth noting, however, that the headings of other sub-sections are in *ekthesis* (ll. 93–94: [λ]ίθινα παντελο͂ς ἐχσεργ[α]σμέ[να] | hὰ χαμαί, l. 103: [hεμίεργ]α χαμαί), as in the case of the heading at the beginning of col. I (ll. 8–9: τõ νεὸ τάδε κατελάβομεν hεμίεργα· | ἐπὶ τε͂ι γονίαι τε͂ι πρὸς τõ Κεκροπίο), with apparently no *paragraphoi* preceding or following them.

[30] See most recently Carusi 2020, 80, with all previous bibliography; cf. further C. Carusi's chapter in the present volume (Fig. 4). In column II of the fragmentary building specifications on the reverse face, however, it is *diplai stigmai* that seem to perform the separative function that *paragraphoi* do earlier in the document (ll. 246, 249, 251, 252).

[31] Some considerations on the significance of this fact will be developed later (see below, § 8).

[32] Cf. Carusi 2020, 80–81; see further C. Carusi's chapter in the present volume (Fig. 5). On the mark ∵ in Greek inscriptions, see e.g. Guarducci 1967, 392; Threatte 1980, 75, no. 18.

the unparalleled sign ⅂ precedes the vacat before the phrase hεπὶ τε͂ς Πανδι|[ονί]δος ὀγδόες πρυτανευούσι|[ες] at ll. 183-185 (another vacat follows at l. 185). However, it cannot be ruled out that other marks, including *paragraphoi*, were used in the lost sections of the document.

- Accounts of the Eleusinian *epistatai*, showing the fairly systematic use of the sign in two records in the series: the case of the small fragment **[22] *I.Eleusis* 50** (*IG* I^3 389: ca. 413?) is comparable to those of *IG* I^3 449 and *IG* I^3 472, since here, too, short horizontal strokes at the left margin of the right sub-column separate nearly all the expenditures (as usual, figures are registered in the left sub-column); in the opisthographic stele containing the *paralabe*-document on the obverse face and the *paradosis*-document on the reverse one, **[23] *I.Eleusis* 52** (*IG* I^3 386-387, 408/7-407/6),[33] *paragraphoi* articulate the entries of the different lists, preceded by headings in *ekthesis*, albeit to a different extent. In particular, items are systematically separated by *paragraphoi* in the sections about wealth on the Athenian Acropolis at ll. 5-13 (ἐμ πόλει at l. 5), as well as in the City Eleusinion at the south-east corner of the Athenian Agora at ll. 14-19 (ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι τοῖ ἐν ἄσ[τει] at l. 14), income received by the overseers at ll. 144-148 (ἐπέτεια κεφάλαια at l. 144 and λέμματ[ο]ς σύμπ[αν κ]εφάλαιον at l. 148), expenditures at ll. 149-172 (ἀν[αλ]όματος κεφ[ά]λαιον at l. 149 and κεφάλαιο[ν σύμπαν ἀναλόματος] at l. 171), and perhaps in the section on wealth in the sanctuary of Eleusis at ll. 39-59 (heading at l. 39 and part of the column lost). The sign is sporadically employed in the sections on objects in the City Eleusinion at ll. 20-38 (σκεύε ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι at l. 20: ll. 25-26, 27-28), on votive offerings at ll. 60 ff. (ἀναθέματα at l. 60: under l. 64, the last line of col. I), and on building materials at ll. 83-143 (heading lost: ll. 99-100, 101-102, 109-110, 142-143). *Paragraphoi* also serve to highlight the rubrics in *ekthesis*, which are often preceded and followed by the sign (*I.Eleusis* 52A).[34] Likewise noteworthy is that the usual association of *paragraphoi* and *diplai stigmai* appears here as well, because whenever more than one item is written on the same line, it is the second of these signs that performs the separative function.
- *Poletai* records, attesting to the use of the mark in only two inscriptions within the set of records from the City Eleusinion known as Ἀττικαὶ στῆλαι (from Poll. 10.97), *IG* I^3 421-430, which list the sales of the personal and real property of

[33] Cf. Threatte 1980, 76; Del Corso 2002, 185; Meyer 2017, 213 n. 17. On *paragraphoi* in the accounts of the Eleusinian *epistatai*, see Cavanaugh 1996, 105-106; Tracy 2016, 127: "The *IG* text represents the shape of the numerals more accurately and has the paragraph marks clearly and accurately indicated. Clinton's text omits a few of these marks and others resemble underlinings of letters". Images of both *I.Eleusis* 50 and *I.Eleusis* 52 are available at Clinton 2005-2008, vol. IB, pl. 20 and 21-24.

[34] Very similar patterns in the use of the mark are evident in the *paralabe*-document on the reverse face.

the profaners of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the mutilators of the Herms,[35] as well as in *Agora* XIX P2 (402/1), which records the sale of property confiscated from the Thirty Tyrants, the Ten, the Piraeus Ten and the Eleven. As for the layout of the so-called "Attic Stelae", one must first note that in most cases, after indicating the name of the person convicted, the text is arranged into three sub-columns that record, in sequence, the sales tax (ἐπώνια), the sale price and the items sold, followed by the total (though "[a]ttempts to add up figures are sporadic and inefficient", as noted in Lewis 1997, 171). As far as the evidence allows one to ascertain, **[24] *IG* I³ 430** (414/3) is the only text in the series that records the calendar dates of the sales in chronological order as headings of the different sub-sections (ll. 5-6, 8, 10, 13, 24, 31-32): *paragraphoi* signal the total of a given amount of time (κεφάλαιον σύμπαν), which is indented from the left edge, as at ll. 4-5, 12-13, 30-31,[36] but occasionally also some items, as at ll. 2-3, where the sign occurs in combination with the vacat of l. 2, probably to separate what is listed at ll. 1-2 and the slave mentioned at ll. 2-3; again, at ll. 7-8 and 9-10 *paragraphoi* separate two slaves of Axiochus sold on different occasions from the temporal indications pertaining to the following entries.[37] The short horizontal line at **[25] *IG* I³ 426** (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 172C), fr. *b*, between l. 8 and the one-line vacat below, at the left margin of the column, is apparently an erratic *paragraphos*, which, together with the blank, indicates the end of a section of the list concerning the sale of the property of an unknown man of Eitea whose name is lost in the lacuna (this stele is arranged according to individuals). In **[26] *Agora* XIX P2**, whose extant fragments may represent three to six *stelae* originally set up in the Agora, *paragraphoi* occur under the rubric for installment payments generally shortened to καταβολή, as well as under the tax rubric τὰ ἐπώνια ὁ π[ριάμενος ἐτέλ]ει, followed by a very wide blank.[38]

[35] Cf. Threatte 1980, 76; Del Corso 2002, 184, who proposes comparing the arrangement of the writing here with that in some lists in the Zenon archive (cf. e.g. PSI VII 862 [TM 6687: 3rd c.], a list of goods); Meyer 2017, 212 n. 17; Faraguna 2020, 121. On the inscribers of the so-called "Attic stelae", see Tracy 2016, 55-73. I have thus far been unable to check available images to see whether the long horizontal line above *IG* I³ 422, col. II, l. 178 is actually a *paragraphos* (cf. Meyer 2017, 212 n. 17, who accepts this view).

[36] No *paragraphoi* are found under ll. 19 (κεφάλαιον σύμπαν) and 20 (κεφ⟨άλ⟩αιον ἀμφοτέρο) arguably due to the large vacat below; cf. also the *paragraphos* at ll. 29-30 (under κεφάλαιον – –). See Lewis 1997, 160: "Entries are not continuous for more than a line or so, and the arrangement varies very considerably even inside a column. The cutters continually side-slip their entries to make room, both with columns of figures and with larger items of text".

[37] The cases of ll. 35-36, 39-40 remain uncertain due to the fragmentary state of the stone.

[38] For the former, cf. fr. *d*, stele II, col. I, ll. 7-8, 15-16 (Walbank 1982, pl. 27b); for the latter, cf. fragments *f*, *g*, stele IV, col. I, ll. 12-13, but see also ll. 3-4 (Walbank 1982, pl. 28a). On the physical characteristics and formal features of these *stelae*, see Walbank 1982, esp. 91-92, who, however, does not discuss the function of the sign.

- Partly opisthographic fragments of the sacrificial calendar of Athens, **[27] *SEG* LII 48** (*CGRN* 45), an updated version of Solon's calendar of sacrifices (*kyrbeis*) belonging to the revision of Athenian law at the end of the 5th century: based on careful examination of the texts on faces A (Ionic alphabet, 403/2-400/399?) and B (Attic alphabet, 410-404?), both of which pertain primarily to accounts related to sacrifices, Stephen Lambert concluded that *paragraphoi* are desultorily employed to mark off sub-sections either within a single unit in a long stretch of text on a single festival (e.g., Pythaïs, Eleusinia, etc.) or on an item-by-item level.[39] Interesting to note here is that though the text's layout on the stone includes indented headings in the left margin, the lines separated by *paragraphoi* are not in *ekthesis*. The extra long horizontal line incised across face A (fragments 1, 3) does not relate to the *paragraphoi* at all since it separates the text above from that below, which is probably of a different character.
- Damonon's victory stele from Sparta, **[28] *IG* V.1 213** (probably early 4th century), which consists of six main parts: 1) a dedicatory hexameter distich to Athana Poliachos (ll. 1-5); 2) Damonon's victories in the τέθριππον (i.e. the four-horse chariot race) at various games (ll. 6-11); 3) Damonon's hippic victories at four different festivals (ll. 12-34); 4) gymnic victories of Damonon's son Enymakratidas as a boy or youth (ll. 35-49); 5) Damonon's gymnic victories as a boy (ll. 49-65); and 6) victories that Damonon and Enymakratidas won on the same day (ll. 66-96).[40] In this document, *paragraphoi* seem to serve two principal purposes: on the one hand, they indicate the section breaks (ll. 11-12, 34-35, 65-66), though in one case (at l. 49) it is a punctuation mark in the form of *diplē stigmē* (which occurs in the same line) and not a *paragraphos* that highlights the transition; on the other, they articulate the victories, not listed in chronological order, of the two Lacedaemonians in various contests, both hippic and gymnic, held at several festivals or at a number of different events (part 2: ll. 9-10; part 3: ll. 17-18, 23-24, 30-31; part 4: ll. 43-44; part 5: ll. 52-53, 55-56, 58-59, 61-62; part 6: ll. 80-81, 89-90).[41] I am inclined to rule out the possibility entertained by Christesen that the longer horizontal cuttings that run the entire width of the stone

[39] Face A, fr. 1, ll. 26-27, fr. 3, col. 3, ll. 74-75, fr. 6, ll. 3-4, 6-7; face B, fr. 9, col. 2, ll. 6-7, fr. 10, ll. 2-3, fr. 11, ll. 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, 6-7. Images available at Lambert 2002, pl. 31a, 33a-b, 35b, 36a-b. For an in-depth examination of punctuation and paragraph markers on the stone, see *ibidem*, 395-396.

[40] Photo available at Christesen 2019, 199-201, fig. 1-3.

[41] At ll. 73-74 both the *diplē stigmē* and the *paragraphos* are employed to mark the transition between one festival and the next. In connection to this, it should also be noted that the juncture between the initial dedication to Athana Poliachos and the following section is not marked by any sign. On *paragraphoi* in the Damonon stele, cf. Faraguna 2020, 120, who follows Nafissi's conclusion (2013, 119-120) that the stonemason cut the text on the stele very carefully by following its actual arrangement on an *antigraphon* written on soft material.

and the short lines at the left margin should be seen as one and the same sign.[42] Instead, it seems more probable that these longer horizontal cuttings are actually guidelines, which sometimes overlap *paragraphoi*, as at ll. 10-11, without, however, bearing any relation to the contents (as is clear from ll. 22-23, 32-33).[43]

- Cyrenean accounts on a rectangular lead tablet registering local deposits, **[29] Rosamilia 2023, no. 25** (*IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 081200: ca. 400-380, according to the last editor) that was found along Rosamilia 2023, no. 24 (see above): longish horizontal dashes of nearly equal length (except for the one below l. 1 that extends slightly further rightwards) carefully separate entries from each other, with each occupying one line of text. Nonetheless, it is remarkable that two even longer *paragraphoi* at ll. 6-7 and 7-8 (approximately 14 letters) clearly isolate the indication of the total (τὸ πᾶν) at l. 7, which is written in larger letters than is the rest of the inscription.[44]
- List of prizes awarded at the Great Panathenaia, **[30] *SEG* LIII 192** (*IG* II^2 2311: ca. 380, according to Shear),[45] whose extant remains record some of the awards for musical events, gymnastic contests and hippic games (in two columns consisting, as usual, of two halves: one for the figures, the other for the text): short horizontal lines at the left margin are used more or less regularly as dividers to separate the prizes listed in order and, in the section devoted to the νικητήρια (ll. 83-89), all the entries along with the competitions and different categories of winners according to age divisions.[46]
- Fragmentary stele recording a catalogue of some 750 names of Athenian councillors and their alternates (or, less probably, of cleruchs sent to Samos in the 360s), **[31] *Agora* XV 492** (*SEG* XXXI 132: ca. 380-360): the names are arranged by tribes and demes in five columns (two tribes per column), with *paragraphoi* occurring at the end (perhaps) of each listing to mark deme headings (ll. 9-10, 23-24, 28-29, 34-35, 38-39, 40-41, 47-48, 67-68, 153-154, 155-156). As is clear from l. 31, which contains the tribal heading Αἰγηΐδος preceded by an uninscribed line above, blank spaces "were surely deliberately left in order to

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[42] See Christesen 2019, 10, who speaks of "*obeloi* (horizontal cuttings) of differing lengths that start in the left margin and run for some or all of the width of the stone".

[43] On incised guidelines as "a common feature of Lakonian inscriptions", see e.g. Christesen 2019, 10 n. 12.

[44] Cf. Rosamilia 2023, 282. Photos and drawings available at: <https://igcyr.unibo.it/igcyr081200>. See also E. Rosamilia's chapter in the present volume.

[45] Cf. Threatte 1980, 76; Del Corso 2002, 185; Del Corso 2017, 44; Faraguna 2020, 121. Photo available at Kirchner 1948, Taf. 27, no. 58; Shear 2003, pl. V-VI.

[46] Shear 2003, 88: "When contestants were rewarded not only for winning but also for placing, the different prizes within the entry for each event were separated from each other by *paragraphoi* or horizontal lines inscribed under the right end of the numeral and the beginning of the first word; another such line marked the end of each entry". See further Shear 2021, 171-172.

draw attention to the beginning of new rosters within the columns".[47] Similar patterns in the use of the sign emerge in **[32] *IG* II³.1 959** (*Agora* XV 125: ca. 265), a fragment of a prytany list arranged under five demotics, since each sub-list is separated by *paragraphoi* from the next one. The mark also appears in a list of *thiasotai* honoured with crowns from Salamis, **[33] *IG* II² 2347** (Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011, no. 12: ca. 300), in which, for some unclear reason, *paragraphoi* mark only a few names.

- Athenian *phialai*-inscriptions of the Lycurgan age, Meyer 2010, nos. 1-33,[48] which have recently become the focus of heated scholarly discussions: in the so-called "Great Stele", **[34] Meyer 2010, nos. 2-9** (*IG* II² 1154-1559 + Agora inv. I-3183 + *SEG* XXV 178), a large opisthographic stele of which eight fragments remain, several of the entries, which always start a new line, are marked off from the next ones by *paragraphoi*.[49] However, numerous *lacunae* make it impossible to assess whether each of them was actually set apart from the following in this way.[50]
- Building accounts related to the construction of the temple of Asclepius at Epidauros, **[35] Prignitz, *Bauurkunden* 1** (ca. 400-390), which cover a period of nearly five years of the first decade of the 4th century (these accounts were drawn up annually): the *paragraphos* appears in isolation in one of the narrower side-columns that records minor running expenses (δαπάναι) on the stele's obverse and reverse face (A II, B II), but its function here remains unclear since it seemingly refers to no temporal transition.[51]
- Cyrenean list of grain deliveries, **[36] Rosamilia 2023, no. 6** (*SEG* IX 72; Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI* 96; *IG Cyrenaica*² 010900: ca. 330), in which short *paragraphoi*

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[47] Traill 1981, 164 (elsewhere in his article, Traill curiously refers to the mark signalling the deme headings as a *parengraphos* rather than a *paragraphos*).

[48] Cf. Threatte 1980, 76; Del Corso 2002, 185; Faraguna 2020, 121. Although scholars discuss the identity of the dedicants of these silver cups and consequently the nature of Athenian *phialai*-records, it is impossible to revisit the arguments of the debate here. The bibliography on the issue is extensive: for a recent overview, see McArthur 2019.

[49] Face A, col. II, ll. 137-138, 143-144, 147-148, 151-152, 186-187, 193-194, 208-209, 212-213, 216-217, 220-221, 228-229; col. III, ll. 246-247, 250-251, 258-259, 331-332, 335-336; col. IV, ll. 371-372, 375-376; col. V, ll. 463-464, 467-468, 471-472, 475-476, 484-485, 488-489, 492-493, 496-497, 500-501, 504-505, 509-510, 513-514, 521-522, 554-555, 558-559, 562-563; face B, col. I, ll. 111-112, 113-114, 116-117; col. II, 134-135, 231-232, 233-234, 236-237, 239-240, 242-243, below l. 244; col. III, ll. 259-260, 263-264, 266-267, 327-328, 331-332, 334-335, 342-343.

[50] The same conclusion is reached by Meyer 2010, 86: "The use of the *paragraphos* seems a little erratic". Cf. Del Corso 2002, 185: "qui la *paragraphos* viene impiegata sistematicamente per distinguere il lemma relativo a ogni schiavo manomesso". The sign also occurs in Meyer 2010, nos. 16 (*IG* II² 1566), 17-18 (*IG* II² 1567 + 1568), 27 (*IG* II² 1576b), 31 (*SEG* XLVI 180) 33 (*SEG* XLIV 68), again fulfilling the function of marking the various entries. Images available at Meyer 2010, ph. 2-13, 22-23, 24-26, 35-37, 47.

[51] Prignitz, *Bauurkunden* 1, A II, ll. 120-121. Unlike Hiller von Gaertringen, Prignitz neither reproduces the sign in his edition nor makes any comment on its function.

extend beneath the first letters of ll. 21, 23, 36, 38, 40 and 42 "to indicate where two successive lines form a single entry".[52] The only exceptions are ll. 55 and 57; one would expect the mark to isolate the relevant entry here, but its absence could again be due to a mistake by the stonecutter as he was copying the text from the *antigraphon* drafted on perishable material.

- Four "complementary" lists of magistrates from Thasos that will be published as ***I.Thasos* I**,[53] that is, two separate catalogues of eponymous ἄρχοντες (PLArch and the later GLArch) and two of θεωροί (PLTh and the later GLTh, *IG* XII.8 272–348), which were inscribed in several columns on the walls of some public buildings in the northeast corner of the agora – the older ones, **[37] PLArch** and **[38] PLTh**, in the 360s, the more recent ones, **[39] GLArch** and **[40] GLTh**, in around 325 (subsequent magistrates were added until the Imperial age, when GLArch and GLTh break down): as both ἄρχοντες and θεωροί were annual boards consisting of three magistrates (save in two periods, when the archonship was held by one man and by six men, respectively), *paragraphoi* systematically divide the lists into groups of three names.[54]
- List of Milesian eponymous *stephanephoroi* from the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios, **[41] *I.Delphinion* 122**,[55] first set up in 335/4, but continued year after year so as to cover the period from 525/4 to 314/3: the catalogue contains over 400 names, generally arranged in two columns in groups of ten, each of which is separated from the next by a short horizontal stroke.[56] A trace of the use of the sign, apparently with a similar function, can also be found in a fragment of an earlier copy of the same list, **[42] *I.Nordkarien* 171** (*I.Milet* 1360), col. II, 5–6.[57]
- Athenian *Didascaliae*, *IG* II^2 2319–2323a, *SEG* XXVI 203, the famous catalogue of the participants and victors (though with no mention of χορηγοί or ἀγωνοθέται) at the dramatic festivals of the City Dionysia and Lenaea, spanning from the early 5th to the 2nd century, which has recently roused renewed scholarly interest:

[52] As rightly noticed by Rhodes - Osborne 2003, *GHI*, at p. 486. Images available at <https://igcyr.unibo.it/igcyr010900>.

[53] For a general presentation, see Hamon 2016; Hamon 2019, 14–25; for the most recent overview, see Hamon 2022, with all previous bibliography.

[54] See also Faraguna 2020, 120; Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 78–80.

[55] As these lists were constantly updated over the centuries until the early Imperial era, they encompass the period between 525/4 BCE and 31/2 CE, with some gaps (*I.Delphinion* 123–128).

[56] Cf. *I.Delphinion*, commentary at p. 254 (G. Kawerau and A. Rehm): "Von 10 zu 10 Namen – oder Zeilen? – ist links unter dem ersten Buchstaben ein Querstrich, ein Obelos, angebracht, für die letzten 20 Zeilen allerdings unkorrekt". See also Faraguna 2020, 120–121; Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 81–83.

[57] Cf. *I.Nordkarien*, commentary at p. 119 (W. Blümel): "Zwischen Z. 5 und 6 ein kurzer Querstrich (Obelos) in der Breite von einem Buchstaben". Image available *ibidem*, at p. 118. On the relationship between the two lists, see most recently Driscoll 2019; see also L.B. Borsano's chapter in this volume.

insofar as it is possible to infer anything from such scanty evidence, *paragraphoi* do occur in a) the list of tragedies performed at the Dionysia, **[43] *IG* II^2 2320** (Millis and Olson 2012, 61-69), ll. 14-15, 15-16, 17-18, 19-20; b) the list of comedies performed at the Dionysia, **[44] *IG* II^2 2323a** (Millis and Olson 2012, 70-75), col. II, ll. 41-42 (very fragmentary), 51-52; and c) the list of tragedies perfomed at the City Lenaea, **[45] *IG* II^2 2319** (Millis and Olson 2012, 115-117, now lost), ll. 68-69, 69-70, 75-76, 76-77, and **[46] *SEG* XXVI 203** (Millis and Olson 2012, 118-121), col. II, ll. 5-6, 6-7, 15-16, 16-17.[58] In all four instances, the horizontals clearly serve to set apart the winning actors, whose names are recorded at the end of each annual entry before the name, in *ekthesis*, of the following year's eponymous archon, though in at least one case, *IG* II^2 2320, ll. 18-19, the sign seems to isolate the sub-section on the revival of an old tragedy (παλαιᾶι : Νεοπτόλεμ[ος] | Ὀρέστηι Εὐριπίδο).[59] Based on the occurrence of this sign as well as other palaeographical and formal features (such as the use of double dots to mark abbreviations), Stephen Tracy has recently concluded that the writing on *IG* II^2 2320, *IG* II^2 2321, *IG* II^2 2323a, *SEG* XXVI 203 and, most likely, *IG* II^2 2319 is identical and that the *Didascaliae* therefore consisted of one large dossier inscribed all at once by a single cutter in or about the year 280.[60] The presence of *paragraphoi* has likewise elicited the claim that the *Didascaliae* derive from official archival records.[61]

- List of donations for the reconstruction of Thebes after 315, **[47] Kalliontzis and Papazarkadas 2019**, carved by several cutters on two joining fragments of a tall marble stele: as observed by the most recent editors of the inscription, the two *paragraphoi* at ll. 36-37 and 38-39 of col. II (on the right) most likely served "to highlight the 'royal section' of the contributions".[62] It should be noted, however, that the group of entries on kings apparently extends well beyond ll. 37 and ff., since it was probably meant to open with the reference to Philocles of Sidon at ll. 29-31, followed by that to Demetrius the Besieger at ll. 32-36 (if the reconstruction proposed in the recent re-edition is correct).[63] In connection with this, it is worth pointing out that unlike the other sections of the list in col. II

[58] Again, Millis and Olson failed to reproduce *paragraphoi* in their new edition of the *Didascaliae*, while Kirchner already carefully recorded them.

[59] As noted by Tracy 2015, 563. Photos available at Millis and Olson 2012, 63 (*IG* II^2 2320, fragments a + b), 71 (*IG* II^2 2323a), 119 (*SEG* XXVI 203); for Michel Fourmont's transcription of *IG* II^2 2319, see Summa 2015, 116.

[60] Tracy 2015, 560-566.

[61] Discussion in Sickinger 1999, 41-47; see also Summa 2015, 113.

[62] Kalliontzis and Papazarkadas 2019, 305; see further Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 412. Photo of the re-assembled stele available at Kalliontzis and Papazarkadas 2019, 295.

[63] Knoepfler 2001, 24 n. 73 unconvincingly suggests that the *paragraphos* here may signal an addition to the text (at ll. 35 and ff.).

(individual subscribers at ll. 2–22; *poleis* at ll. 23–28), both of which are preceded by an uninscribed line, the name of Philocles is placed immediately below l. 28, with no blank space marking it.

- Records of various financial transactions inscribed on a fragmentary stele set up in the temple of Apollo Pythios at Karthaia on Keos and written on both faces (B–C) as well as on the left short side (A), **[48] *IG* XII.5 544, 1075–1076** (4th or early 3rd century), which includes at least three types of lists spanning several years and engraved by different masons (*IG* XII.5 544, B1, l. 1–B2, l. 13 and B2, l. 25–C2, l. 15; B2, ll. 14–24; C2, l. 16–A2, l. 63, 1075, A): the first series of entries (*IG* XII.5 544, B1, l. 1–B2, l. 13; 1075, B; 1076), which begins at the top of the front of the stone and is preceded by a heading possibly related to land sales and the payment of a tithe (B1, ll. 1–3: Θεοί. | Οἵδε ἀπέδοντο τὰ [χωρία, ἀποτείσαντες τῆι Θεο]|ξενίαι τὸ ἐπιδέκατ[ον), consists of personal names followed by the locative expression τὰ ἐν (with something like χωρία implied), the toponym and a figure.[64] Interestingly, two consecutive *paragraphoi* occur at B2, ll. 8–9, 9–10, under the rubrics Κεφάλαιον τῶν ταμια[κῶν and Θεοξενιακῶν Ἀσκληπιακῶ[ν, arguably temple funds receiving a tenth of the proceeds of land sales, which are also mentioned at B2, l. 25 at the beginning of a comparable list (ll. 26–63).[65]
- List of the gymnasiarchs of Pherae starting from the late 330s, **[49] Helly, Te Riele, and van Rossum 1979** (*SEG* XXV 664; Habicht 1976: late 3rd or early 2nd century), engraved by several cutters and arranged in two columns preceded by a two-line prescript that extends the entire length of the stele: much as in the Thasian lists of θεωροί, most of the names in this catalogue are grouped into pairs through the placement of horizontal bars at the left margins of both columns, since in Hellenistic Thessaly the gymnasiarchy was generally exercised by two magistrates per year.[66] However, there are also entries containing just one name,[67] which points to some disturbance in the institutional routine. This is further confirmed by the repetition of the verb μετέλιπε at col. B, ll. 40–48 and 56 to denote a vacancy in the magistracy, as well as by the fact that the *polis* itself assumed the gymnasiarchy on one occasion (col. B, l. 7). Also worth drawing

[64] On this inscription, whose interpretation is in question, see Osborne 1988, 319–322; Osborne 1991 argues that the stele records land transactions involving properties leased out by private individuals rather than the leasing of temple land to the people listed, as presumed by Graindor 1906; cf. also Mendoni 1994, 151–152. Worth noting too is that a number of names seem to have been erased from the stone.

[65] Another κεφάλαιον-rubric occurs at C2, l. 15, apparently summarising the total number of transactions, [Κεφάλαιον τῶ]ν πάντων, followed by the figure.

[66] On the inscription, cf. further Schuler 2007. Photo available at Habicht 1976, Tafel XLIII; Helly *et al.* 1979, 220, fig. 1.

[67] For one-name entries marked by *paragraphoi*, cf. A, ll. 67–68, 68–69; B, ll. 3–4, 4–5, 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 15–16, 16–17, 20–21, 21–22, 48–49, 49–50, 55–56, 56–57.

attention to is another sign placed in the left margin of col. B (ϩ), in correspondence to ll. 10, 28, 44 and 56, indicating that the list is further broken down into groups of ten items (each with one or more names).[68]

- Fragment of a marble stele from Andros containing a list of foreign cities, **[50] Petrocheilos 2010, no. 4** (*IG* XII.5 723: ca. 175–150): the *paragraphos* above the first letter of l. 1 separates the catalogue from what precedes it on the stone, though it is impossible to determine whether this was a different document or another section of the catalogue itself (as in the Athenian tribute quota lists, for instance).[69]
- Dedication by the *politeuma* of Boeotians to Zeus Basileus and the other ancestral gods on a limestone plaque from Xois (Sakha) near Alexandria in Egypt, **[51] *I.Ptolemaic* 115** (157–145?), where a horizontal divider is incised in the left margin of a blank space seemingly to separate the dedicants at ll. 6–14 from the dedicated object at l. 15, τὸ τέμενος καὶ τὰ συγκύρ[οντα] ("a sanctuary and its appurtenances").[70] At first glance, this use of the *paragraphos* seems rather odd, but one could conjecture that as the plaque offers no space for the list of names of the fellow members of the association referred to at ll. 12–14 (ọἰ̣ [συμ]πολιτευ|όμενοι ὧν τὰ ὀνόμ[ατα ἐ]ν τῆι στήληι | ἀναγέγραπται), the sign was originally meant to set apart the main text of the dedication from the appended list of συμπολιτευόμενοι. Nonetheless, this explanation is mere speculation.

4. *Paragraphoi* as Clause Markers

The use of *paragraphoi* as dividers between different clauses of the same document is attested by several inscriptions from the mid-fifth century onwards that include, *inter alia*, building regulations, *leges sacrae* and interstate documents.[71] It is

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[68] For a thorough examination of the marks employed in the inscription, see Helly *et al.* 1979, 232–234, who refer to parallels such as the Thasian lists of magistrates examined above; as for the occurrence of the symbol ϩ in the left margin to count items ten by ten ("un *delta* de l'écriture cursive qui se laisserait interpréter naturellement comme l'abréviation de δ(έκα)"), they propose comparing the list of the priests of Athana Lindia, Badoud, *Temps de Rhodes*, no. 12 (cf. further the remark made by Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 86 n. 74). One could also recall the stichometrical letters in literary papyri as an additional comparandum.

[69] Hiller von Gaertringen 1903, 462 favours the former option. Barely legible photo available at Petrocheilos 2010, 322.

[70] Photo available at Bowman *et al.* 2021, 235, fig. 62.

[71] Among documentary papyri from the Ptolemaic period in which the same use of the mark can be observed, one may point to a brief *hypomnema* sent to Zenon by Amyntas, PSI V 533 recto (TM 2155: Philadelphia, 256), whose sections are marked off by *paragraphoi* at ll. 10–11 and 14–15, as well as the well-known collection of no fewer than forty-six different *prostagmata* issued by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and the two Cleopatras (II and III), P.Tebt. I 5 (TM 2938: 118), which are marked off from each other by *paragraphoi*. Paragraphing by means of blank line-ends and *paragraphoi* also occurs in the Revenue Laws Papyrus of Ptolemy Philadelphus of 259, col. LVI, ll. 10–11, 13–14 (Turner, *GMAW* 76).

useful to contrast this layout strategy to that adopted in earlier Greek inscriptions, such as the one carrying the law of the Eastern Locrians regarding their colony at Naupaktos, *IG* IX.1² 718 (Meiggs - Lewis, *GHI*² 20: ca. 500-475?), whose text, after an opening section, is broken down into nine paragraphs bearing the letters A to Θ in succession. Relevant examples of the employment of *paragraphoi* to mark different clauses are as follows:

- Opisthographic commercial document of uncertain purpose on a lead tablet from Lattara, **[52] Dana 2021, no. 60** (*SEG* LX 1055: ca. 450): the *paragraphoi* below some of the traces at the top of face A (above l. 1) and at ll. 4-5 (in connection with a larger interlinear space) mark two different transactions, both of which are introduced by an invocation of Zeus (ὦ Ζήν at ll. 1 and 5).[72]
- Rules of a contract for public works from Tegea, possibly related to the building of the temple of Athena Alea, **[53] *IPArk* 3** (*IG* V.2 6A; Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI* 60A: ca. 350), ll. 3-4, 6-7, 21-22, 31-32, 37-38, 42-43, 44-45: each new clause of this set of general building regulations (the document is termed κοινὴ σύγγραφος at l. 53) is marked off from the preceding one with a combination of a *paragraphos* (between the first and second lines) and a blank space (before the beginning of that clause).[73]
- *Iamata* of Epidauros, **[54] *IG* IV².1 121** (Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI* 102: ca. 320), a collection of individual acts of healing inscribed on a series of large *stelae* set up in the Asklepieion, which were seen by Pausanias (2.27.3; 36.1): in this inscription, which is on the first of the extant four *stelae*, *paragraphoi* have a manifestly residual nature in that they do not consistently separate stories from each other, but rather occur only at ll. 70-71 and 78-79 to signal the junctures between sections VIII and IX and between sections IX and X.[74] This is all the more significant as not every account starts on a new line (as in the case of sections I at l. 3, IX at l.

[72] According to Dana, a third section relating to olive oil starts in the final line of face A (l. 9) and continues on face B, but no marks seem to signal its beginning (on the function of *paragraphoi* in this inscription, cf. Dana 2021, 252). Photos and drawings of both sides can be found at Dana 2021, 253, fig. 166-170.

[73] Exceptions to this trend are the junctures between clause IV and clause V at ll. 31-32 and between clause VII and clause VIII at ll. 44-45: in the former case, only the *paragraphos* appears; in the latter, clause VIII begins a new line. On *paragraphoi* in *IPArk* 3, see also Thür and Taeuber 1994, 20-21; Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI*, at p. 286; Pitt 2014, 389. For an image of ll. 34-38 of the inscription, see *IG* V.2 (F. Hiller von Gaertringen), Taf. III. The reverse face of the stone preserves a series of accounts of the treasurers of the generals in two columns, *IPArk* 4 (*IG* V.2 6B), in which, as far as one may ascertain, no *paragraphoi* are employed.

[74] Hiller von Gaertringen incorrectly printed the *paragraphos* between ll. 70-71, but the published photographs of the inscription (e.g. Kavvadias 1900, 256) make it clear that the sign is correctly placed below l. 71 on the stone. In the three other surviving *stelae* of the series (*IG* IV².1 122-124), the sign is not employed as it appears that "the organizational principles of the collections differ from *stele* to *stele*" (Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI*, commentary at p. 540).

72, XI at l. 90, XII at l. 95, XIII at l. 98, XIV at l. 104, XV at l. 107, XVI at l. 111, XVII at l. 113, XVIII at l. 120), which could make the addition of a mark other than a blank space in the preceding line somewhat redundant, but a number of them begin in the middle of lines (sections II at l. 9, III at l. 22, IV at l. 33, V at l. 41, VI at l. 48, VII at l. 54, VIII at l. 68, X at l. 79, XIX at l. 122, XX at l. 125).[75]

- Dossier of purity regulations from Cyrene presented as stemming from an oracle of Apollo, **[55] Rosamilia 2023, no. 18** (*SEG* IX 72; Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI* 97; *CGRN* 99; *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 016700: ca. 325-300), inscribed on the obverse and left side of a marble pillar bearing the already quoted account about grain supplies *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 010900 on its right side (the reverse is blank): judging from the preserved margin, each of the nineteen extant clauses begins a new line and is separated from the previous one by a *paragraphos*.[76] Particularly noteworthy is the use of the sign to mark the final surviving section, which is preceded by the heading ἱκεσίων ("of suppliants") that spans the entire width of face B (at l. 110), and the three different sub-sections of which it is comprised (ll. 109-110, 121-122, 131-132). What appears to be an instance of misplacement at ll. 31-32 deserves full consideration as some have suggested (and rightly so, in my view) that the insertion of the *paragraphos* between the two lines should be regarded as a mistake.[77] This fact is notable since it could lend support to the view that stonecutters carved the *paragraphoi* at some point after the main text had been completed.
- *Diagramma* of Ptolemy I, **[56] Rosamilia 2023, no. 2** (*SEG* IX 1; *IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 010800: 320), which consists of several separate clauses marked out with *paragraphoi* (most of them are no longer visible).[78] Each clause begins a new line, and

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[75] Among these, some are separated from the preceding story by a blank space (sections III at l. 22, VIII at l. 68, XIX at l. 122, XX at l. 125), while some are not even signalled by a vacat, but begin immediately at the end of the previous story (sections IV at l. 33, V at l. 41, VII at l. 54). One may think of a case of misplacement at ll. 9-10 (juncture between sections I and II), where a blank space follows rather than precedes the summative title of the account (τριέτης | [φο]ρά). However, based on what is found at the beginning of sections I at l. 3 and X at l. 79, where a vacat follows a title that starts the line, one could propose that blank spaces were placed both before and after the summative titles in the *antigraphon* on soft material. As for the use of headings or titles of paragraphs within a line, one could compare, for instance, the sacred law of Andania, Gawlinski 2012 (*IG* V.1 1390; *CGRN* 222: 92/1 BCE or 23 CE), and the astynomic law from Pergamon, Saba 2012 (*OGIS* 483: second-century-CE copy of a late Hellenistic text), as well as the Cyrenean cathartic law and the treaty on the judicial assistance between Delphi and Pellana (see below, case no. **[74]**).

[76] Rosamilia 2023, no. 18, A, ll. 3-4 (?), 7-8 (?), 10-11 (?), 20-21, 25-26, 32-33, 39-40 (?), 42-43, 52-53 (?), 62-63 (?), 72-73 (?); B, ll. 90-91 (?), 96-97 (?), 105-106. The question marks after the line numbers indicate that based on the available images, the relevant *paragraphoi* appear to have been lost, but may plausibly be restored.

[77] On this point, compare the discussions of Oliverio 1933, 60-62; Dobias-Lalou 2000, 273-274, 307-308; Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI*, at p. 503; Robertson 2010, 269-270.

[78] Rosamilia 2023, no. 2, ll. 5-6 (?), 15-16, 19-20 (?), 25-26 (?), 31-32 (?), 33-34, 42-43 (?), 45-46, 50-51, 52-53, 55-56. Photo at Rosamilia 2023, tav. 3. Cf. Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 567 n. 28.

when the final line of the previous clause does not occupy the full width of the stele, a blank space is left at its end (ll. 19, 25, 31, 42, 45, 55). Interesting to note, the list of magistrates (ἀρχαί) that closes the document immediately follows the final clause of the *diagramma* in the same line (l. 72), with no mark indicating the beginning of the list.

- Catalogue of sales from Tenos, **[57] *IG* XII.5 872** (late 4th century), containing 47 contracts of sales and dowries registered by the ἀστυνόμοι in two parallel series, all of which were probably recorded in the same archon year.[79] The sales are listed by month, but *paragraphoi* do not distinguish each entry: as far as the inscription's poor state of preservation allows one to ascertain, they merely signal a few of them and occasionally occur at the transitions between one month and the next.
- Lease of land by the phratry of the Antalkidai on a fragmentary stele from Poieessa, **[58] *IG* XII.5 572** (3rd century): two *paragraphoi* (at ll. 12–13 and 17–18) divide the surviving text into three different sections or clauses (there is a blank space at the end of the second at l. 17).[80]
- Dossier of regulations related to the cult of a goddess of Near Eastern origin at Marmarini near ancient Larisa (Thessaly) on a tall, opisthographic marble stele (Fig. 50), **[59] *SEG* LXV 376** (*CGRN* 225: ca. 225–150): on the better-preserved side B-face I (considered the reverse face by the *editores principes* J.-C. Decourt and A. Tziaphalias, but the obverse in Decourt and R. Bouchon's revised edition),[81] clauses are divided from each other either by *paragraphoi* or *diplai stigmai*: in the former case (B, ll. 6–7, 12–13, 16–17, 20–21, 22–23, 50–51, 52–53, 56–57, 64–65), new clauses begin a new line, with a blank space frequently left at the end of the previous one (B, ll. 7, 13, 17, 21, 23, 51, 53, 57, 65); in the latter, they start at the middle of the line (B, ll. 34, 44, 48, 60, 69, 73, 78), though in some instances, *paragraphoi* are also used to indicate the beginning of these clauses (at ll. 44–45, 48–49, 60–61, 69–70).[82] More difficult to assess is the function of the mark on side A-face II due to damage to the stone slab (its left margin, in particular). What seems clear is that *diplai stigmai* were used in the section containing the calendar of the festival of Aloulaia/Eloulaia at ll. 3–18 to separate entries on

[79] Photo available at Kern 1913, pl. 35 (ll. 92–123); cf. *ibidem*, XV: "haec tertii a. Chr. saeculi litteratura non sine fructu cum papyris eiusdem aetatis conferri potest". See further Game 2008, 173–190; Faraguna 2019 (with all previous bibliography); Faguer 2020; Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 325–331.

[80] Drawing available at *IG* XII.5 (F. Hiller von Gaertringen), at p. 151. On the inscription, cf. Osborne 1991, 320; Mendoni 1994, 150.

[81] Cf. Decourt and Tziaphalias 2015; Bouchon and Decourt 2017.

[82] On the possible functions of these lectional signs and their employment in the inscription, see also Carbon 2016, 187 n. 3; Bouchon and Decourt 2017, 170. However, in the digital edition for the online *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (*CGRN*), *paragraphoi* are unfortunately omitted (*diplai stigmai* and vacats are included, instead). Images available at Decourt and Tziaphalias 2015, 16, fig. 2–3; Bouchon and Decourt 2017, 181–186, fig. 1–6.

day-to-day regulations (ll. 4, 9, 15, 17), sometimes in combination with *paragraphoi* (ll. 8, 14), or to introduce upcoming sections (and their internal subdivisions) on the procedures of initiation at ll. 18-30 and the ritual of lifting trays with offerings at ll. 30-38 (as suggested by the heading τελετὴ τῆς θεοῦ at l. 18 and by a reference to a σκάφη at l. 30, both preceded by the mark).[83] Despite all this, it cannot be securely determined whether the apparent pre-eminence of *diplai stigmai* should be understood as a deliberate choice or, as I tend to think of it, as a material accident.

- Lindian Chronicle, **[60]** ***I.Lindos*** **2** (99), a monumental marble stele heavily damaged at the bottom and consisting of two main sections, namely, an explanatory decree running horizontally across the top of the stone (A), republished as Badoud, *Temps de Rhodes*, no. 24, and two different lists written below it in three columns (B, C and D),[84] with two headings slightly indented from the left margin: the first, a catalogue of some forty objects dedicated to Athana Lindia by mythical and historical figures (col. B and C), the second, a collection of the goddess' epiphanies (col. D). *Paragraphoi* are systematically employed to separate each entry in both lists.[85]
- A somewhat different case is the letter of Eumenes II to the guild of the Dionysiac *technitai* of Ionia and the Hellespont regarding their relations with the city of Teos, **[61] Welles,** ***RC*** **53** (*I.Pergamon* 163; Le Guen, *Technites* 47; Aneziri, *Techniten* D12: ca. 170-160), where the *paragraphoi*, in combination with vacats, mark not only major, but also minor sense-pauses.[86] Although the text is divided topically into paragraphs, the diacritical mark, which is employed in addition to the blank space, does not always separate each clause, and thus its use is incon-

[83] Cf. further e.g. ll. 28 and 35, where additional clauses of the relevant sections are separated from the previous ones by *diplai stigmai*. Nothing can be said of other passages on side A-face II at ll. 40-55 since the surface is too deteriorated to allow analysis. In particular, the last section (ll. 48-55), which relates to oaths and is introduced by the heading ὅρκον, could also have been marked out with a *paragraphos* since it starts a new line (as a result, the use of the *diple stigme* would have been pointless in this case). However, this suggestion cannot be definitively proven.

[84] This particular layout, which may also be found, e.g., in *I.Eleusis* 52 or in *IG* I³ 474, deserves proper treatment (on this point, see also Del Corso 2002, 188 n. 87). In general, it can safely be concluded that since such an arrangement of the text cannot be found in papyrological sources, this layout was not influenced by that of draft copies on papyrus or other soft media, but was conceived primarily for public display.

[85] On this point, see also Blinkenberg 1941, col. 150; Higbie 2003, 155-156, with n. 3, further notes that "[i]f the last line of an entry contains only a single word or brief phrase, it may be indented".

[86] For the former, cf. col. I C, ll. 3-4 (?), 9-10, 13-14; II B, ll. 7-8; II A, ll. 3-4, 5-6; II C, ll. 9-10, 15-16 (?); III B, ll. 4-5; III A, ll. 5-6; for the latter, cf. col. I A, ll. 1-2, 3-4; I C, ll. 6-7, 11-12; II B, ll. 4-5; II A, ll. 7-8; II C, ll. 13-14 (?); III A, ll. 7-8. At any rate, the greater or lesser width of vacats does not seem to relate to the nature of sense pauses. An excellent facsimile drawing is provided by Fränkel 1890, 92-100.

sistent with that found in the documents gathered in this section.[87] Moreover, owing to the poor preservation of the fragments, it is often difficult to assess how the sign relates to the lines beneath whose initial letters it is cut.

5. Separating Documents Grouped Together in Epigraphical Dossiers

A further instance of *paragraphoi* separating sections lies in its use to divide different documents from each other within epigraphical dossiers. It should be noted that, despite the examples gathered in this section, the employment of *paragraphoi* in such contexts seems to have been fairly infrequent. Inscriptions in which this phenomenon is seen are listed below:

- Honorific dossier for the grain dealer Herakleides of Salamis on Cyprus (Fig. 51), **[62]** ***IG*** **II³.1 367** (Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI* 95; *Prossenie* 10: 325/4), which contains a set of five documents inscribed at public expenses and arranged on the stone in an order that differs from the chronological order in which they were passed.[88] This well-known inscription deserves careful attention since it offers insight into, *inter alia*, Athenian decision-making procedures and archival practices. It includes not only the definitive Assembly decree proposed by Demosthenes of Lamptrai authorising the erection of the stele and awarding various honours to Herakleides (e.g., the status of *proxenos* and benefactor) for his gift to the people of three thousand *medimnoi* of wheat at five drachmas each in 330/29 and three thousand drachmas for grain purchase in 328/7 (I/5, 325/4), as well as the Council's *probouleuma* for it put forward by Phileus of Oinoe (V/4, 325/4), but also three earlier documents of 330/29-328/7 that shed light on the process behind the initiative to honour Herakleides. In sequential order, these are: Telemachos of Acharnai's original proposal to the Assembly (δῆμος) that the Council (βουλή) draw up an appropriate *probouleuma* that would allow the Assembly to honour Herakleides (III/1); the resulting proposal presented to the Council by his fellow demesman Kephisodotos of Acharnai that Herakleides be honoured and awarded a gold crown for his gift of 330/29 (IV/2); and Telemachos' motion in the Assembly that the honours proposed by the Council be bestowed on him and that an envoy be dispatched to Dionysius of Heraclea to request the return of

[87] On this point, see also Fränkel 1890, 92, who interestingly proposes comparing the combined use of the *paragraphos* and vacat here with that in P.Louvre inv. 9331r + 10438 (TM 61288 / LDAB 2430; MP³ 1235; Cavallo and Maehler 2008, no. 52: Hyp. *Ath.*; mid-2nd century); Welles 1934, liv, 221, 230.

[88] I/5 at ll. 2-28; II/3 at ll. 29-46; III/1 at ll. 47-51; IV/2 at ll. 52-66; V/4 at ll. 67-80. The other documents that accompany the final Assembly decree on the stele are referred to as "the other praises that there have been for him" rather than as proper motions in the publication clause of the final decree itself (at ll. 22-25: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδ|ε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν | καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαίνους τοὺς γεγενημένους αὐ|τῶι ἐν στήληι λιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει). On this point, see esp. Osborne 1999, 353; cf. Liddel 2020, vol. 2, 130 n. 75.

Herakleides' sails (II/3).[89] Blank spaces are left at the end of the final lines of each of the documents inscribed (ll. 28, 46, 51, 66 and 80), but *paragraphoi* are placed only after I/5 (at ll. 28-29) and III/1 (at ll. 51-52), thereby physically dividing the final decree of the Assembly from the preliminary Assembly proposals II/3 and III/1 and the latter from the preliminary Council proposals (*probouleumata*) IV/2 and V/4. It therefore seems inevitable, as several scholars have already noted, that "these features of the organisation of the decrees on the stone, in particular the division between Council decrees and Assembly decrees, reflect the organisation of the state archive".[90] This is all the more remarkable in that it seems to have no parallel elsewhere in Athenian epigraphy. An appropriate comparandum could be a base inscribed on three sides, *IG* II^3.1 306 (343/2), which, in addition to a dedication to Hephaestus by the Council (A, ll. 1-3), contains, in chronological order: (I) a motion in the Assembly that the outgoing Council should be honoured (B, ll. 24-26); (II) a proposal by the Atthidographer Phanodemos in the Council regarding the commemoration of I (B, ll. 17-23); (III) the text of a *probouleuma* of the Council for honouring the Atthidographer Phanodemus for submitting the best proposal in the ninth prytany, arguably II (A, ll. 4-16); and (IV-V) two Council decrees honouring the Council's administrator Eudoxos of Sypalettos (B, ll. 27-33 and C, ll. 43-49). However, no *paragraphoi* are used to separate the texts gathered therein.[91] The closest parallel to the use of the *paragraphos* to mark off documents of different types in Athenian inscriptions is therefore **[63] *IG* II^3.1 429** (ca. 337), the law concerning the rebuilding of the walls in the Piraeus after the battle of Chaeronea, with appended contract specifications for the work to be done in Munychia at ll. 46 ff. ([σ]ṿγγραφαὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ Μουνιχ|[ί]ασι). These are arranged in four columns below the law itself, and

[89] Cf. e.g. Osborne 1999, 352, who speaks of "two sets of honours for Herakleides of Salamis which between them involve five separate motions to the Assembly"; Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 170-171, who refers to "due separate iniziative onorarie" and concludes: "non si tratta di cinque decreti, come comunemente si tende ad affermare, ma di due decreti, registrati e descritti dettagliatamente nel loro cammino deliberativo". On the possible collaboration of the proposers Telemachos and Kephisodotos of Acharnai, see esp. Lambert 2018a, 178-179; Liddel 2020, vol. 2, 17-18.

[90] Lambert 2006, 138 further observes that "the 'earlier praises' had patently not previously been inscribed and were most likely obtained from copies in the Athenian state archive". On this point, cf. also Sickinger 1999, 172; Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 171; Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 518-520.

[91] On *IG* II^3.1 306, see esp. Lambert 2018b, 233-234; Liddel 2020, vol. 2, 36 n. 3. For further instances of distinctly enacted decrees or different motions combined into a dossier in Athenian epigraphic sources, see, e.g., the decrees for Methone, *IG* I^3 61 (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 150: 430/29-424/3); the decrees for the Samians, *IG* I^3 127 and *IG* II^2 1 (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 191 and Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI* 2: 405/4 and 403/2); and the honours for the Pellanians of the Peloponnese (*IG* II^3.1 304: 345/4 and 344/3?). For other examples beyond Athens in which *paragraphoi* are likewise not employed to separate different documents from each other, cf. e.g. *I.Ilion* 1 (ca. 306); *IG* XII.7 8-11 (late 4th or early 3rd century); *I.Ilion* 33 (Welles, *RC* 10-13, ca. 275); and *I.Delphinion* 146 (209/8). On epigraphical dossiers of decrees, see in general Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 24-27; Ghinatti 2004.

are separated from the main text above (ll. 1–45) by a horizontal line at the left margin between ll. 45 and 46.[92]

- Records of the Epidaurian *hiaromnamones* for the westward extension of the 'incubation' hall (the so-called "Abaton") on the noth side of the *temenos*, **[64] Prignitz 2022, no. 22** (*IG* IV^2.1 108A, ll. 1–80: ca. 319), the Epidoteion, **Prignitz 2022, no. 25** (*IG* IV^2.1 108A, ll. 81–158: ca. 318–313) and the transport of timber for the stoa of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, **Prignitz 2022, no. 28** (*IG* IV^2.1 108A, ll. 159–170: ca. 313), which are all incised on the same stone, but separated from each other by *paragraphoi* (at ll. 80–81, 158–159 and at the end of the last account, below l. 170).[93]
- Dossier from Kyme consisting of two decrees of the city (ll. 1–13, 20–55) and a letter from Philetairos (ll. 14–19) that pertain to the provision of ὅπλα for the purposes of φυλακή, **[65]** ***SEG*** **L 1195** (ca. 270), recently re-edited by Virgilio (*SEG* LXVII 916): the three documents, which were set in sequence, are separated from each other by *paragraphoi* at ll. 13–14 and 19–20.[94]
- Three honorific decrees for the Seleucid officer Larichos, **[66]** ***I.Priene B - M*** **29–31** (ca. 281–262), inscribed one after the other on the same marble stele in progressive chronological order.[95] A blank space is left at the end of each, while *paragraphoi* after the first and the second decree separate the three documents.[96]
- Dossier concerning the cultic foundation of a certain Poseidonios at Halicarnassus, **[67]** ***CGRN*** **104** (*Syll.*^{3} 1044; *LSAM* 72: ca. 285–245), which consists of three sections referred to as χρησμός, ὑποθήκη and δόγμα in the publication clause at ll. 49–51: each is set apart by a *paragraphos* (at ll. 11–12 and 22–23),[97] but since the second – the ὑποθήκη ("pledge" or "bequest" of various properties and other sources of revenue to Poseidonios' descendants so that they can fund the cult that he initiated after securing divine approval) – ends at the very beginning of l. 22, and the third – the δόγμα (the "decree" passed by Poseidonios' family regarding the functioning of the cult itself and its rites) – starts immediately after section II, a further, seemingly unusual lectional sign (⊏‾) is used along with the horizontal line between ll. 22 and 23 to mark the transition from section

[92] See the remarks in Lambert 2006, 139–140.

[93] Prignitz 2022, 197: "Außerdem ist 25 durch eine Paragraphos am linken Rand (unter 22 80) und ein Präskript (25 1-2) als eigenständiger Text gekennzeichnet". However, Prignitz reproduces no *paragraphoi* under Prignitz 2022, nos. 25 and 28, while Hiller does.

[94] Photo available at Manganaro 2000, 414; Virgilio 2017, 158. Cf. Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 383-384. See also A. Bencivenni's chapter in this volume.

[95] Photo available at *I.Priene B - M*, vol. 2, at p. 29.

[96] Cf. Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 526 n. 71.

[97] Image available at Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013 (*SEG* LXIII 863), 119.

II to section III.[98] The three parts may well have been inscribed on the stele in chronological order (as in the case of *SEG* L 1195 and *I.Priene B - M* 29-31), but this is by no means certain.[99]

- A series of abbreviated decrees from the Asklepieion at Epidauros recording the appointment of *proxenoi* and *theorodokoi*, **[68] *IG* IV².1 96** (Perlman, *Theodorokia* Ep. Cat. E. 3: ca. 260-240), which were inscribed individually one after another on a single limestone stele: the employment of the *paragraphos* is clearly residual here since the sign occurs only at ll. 71-72 to distinguish decrees XIX and XX rather than carefully articulate each of them (this function is instead performed by the blank spaces).[100]
- Decree of the Ioulietans (Ceos) honouring Charmippos of Rhodes as *proxenos* and benefactor, **[69] *IG* XII.5 599** (2nd or 1st century): a *paragraphos* is placed below the text of the decree (beneath l. 21), but since the stone is broken above and below, it is impossible to assess its actual function. Due to the set of summarised decrees from Epidauros, one may conjecture that the sign here is meant to separate this ψήφισμα from other similar decrees in a series.[101]
- List of private contributions for restoring certain parts of the sanctuary of an unknown goddess (κρήνη, βωμός and θάλαμος) by a group of at least 65 women from Paros, **[70] *IG* XII.5 186** (2nd century): the *paragraphos* between ll. 1 and 2 most probably separates this list, which is preceded by a reference to the eponymous archon, νεωκόρος and priestess at ll. 2-4, from the preceding inscription, incised in nearly its entirety on the block above.[102]
- Four decrees honouring different benefactors inscribed on the front and left sides of a left marble anta block, **[71] *I.Thrake Aeg.* E7-E10** (Abdera, 2nd century): *paragraphoi* are placed at the left margin of the blank spaces following the proxeny decree for Philon of Acanthus (E7) and the decree for C. Apustius and his son P. Apustius (E9), thereby separating the two earlier documents on the left

[98] In connection with this, it is worth noting that though section I ends at the middle of l. 11, a blank space is left after the final word (ἔσεσθαι) and the phrase Ποσειδώνιος Ἰατροκλέους ὑπέθηκεν starts the following line. On the signs employed in the inscription, see also Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 103-104.

[99] On this point, see Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 71.

[100] On the comparable series of Aetolian abbreviated decrees granting citizenship and *proxenia*, see below, § 6.

[101] Cf. however the publication clause at ll. 15-19 that contains provisions for inscribing the decree on a στήλη λιθίνη to be placed in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios. As for the dating of this inscription, it was Fraser and Bean 1954, 161 n. 2 who noted that it "looks as if it might be of the first century B.C.".

[102] Image and drawing are available at *IG* XII.5, at pp. 55-56, where F. Hiller von Gaertringen points out that "[v]s. 1 prima linea _ non ad Σ pertinere, sed paragraphus esse videtur, supra quam hastae pars inferior est. Est igitur hic versus prioris inscriptionis ultimus, quae inscriptio alium lapidem superimpositum obtinuit".

face (E7-E8), as well as those on the obverse face (E9-E10).[103] It is impossible to determine whether two other horizontal dashes were incised after E8 and E10 since the block is broken not only on the right, but also below, where the two decrees ended.

- Letters to the cities of Achaea from L. Mummius and his successor Q. Fabius Maximus regarding privileges conferred on the Isthmian-Nemean guild of Dionysus' *technitai* inscribed on a still unpublished inscription from Argos dated to 146-144, **[72] *SEG* XXXI 307**: *paragraphoi* apparently separate the various letters.[104]

6. The Strange Case of *Paragraphoi* at Mid-Height

This section gathers pieces of evidence upholding the idea that the occasional horizontal dashes that occur at mid-height within lines of text in the Greek epigraphic record should be considered a graphic variant of the "traditional" interlinear *paragraphoi* at the left margin. Since cases are found in which the two co-exist and perform the same function in the same document, they can inevitably be viewed as different forms of one and the same lectional sign. When it comes to texts consisting of several clauses (such as those in § 4), it appears that the employment of either form of the *paragraphos* basically depends on whether a new clause begins in the middle of a line or initiates a new one. In the first case, the transition from one section to the next is marked by a horizontal dash placed at mid-height within the line; in the second, by a "traditional" *paragraphos*. Considering that horizontal strokes at mid-height with separative functions are thus far unattested in Greek papyri (at least as far as I can tell), one could go so far as to conjecture that this variant of the *paragraphos* was intended particularly for epigraphic use and that it already appeared in the final drafts of documents meant for public display. An alternative, albeit less plausible, scenario would be that it was the stonecutters who displaced the horizontal lines from their original location at the left margin while carving texts onto durable materials. Any systematic collection of instances of the employment of *paragraphoi* at mid-height must include the following inscriptions:

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[103] Photo available at Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, pl. 3-6. On the use of *paragraphoi* in this dossier, see also Picard and Avezou 1913, 122. On the archival practices hinted at by the documents in the dossier, see most recently Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 506-507.

[104] The discovery of this over 150-line-long inscription was announced long ago by Charalambos Kritzas (*AD* 28, 1973, 126). On the presence of *paragraphoi* in the text, see Costabile 2001, 165; on the inscription, see also Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 69-70. Ch. Kritzas (*per epistulas*) pointed out to me that "when the leaders of the guild of the Technitai copied from their archives on one stele the successive letters of the Roman magistrates, preceded by an introductory paragraph mentioning that the co-magistrates of Argos gave them the permission to do so, they have separated them with a vacat (a blank strip). In addition, they traced a short horizontal line (παράγραφος γραμμή) at the left margin between the paragraphs, closer to the last line of the preceding (upper) paragraph. This is clearly visible in three cases, and it is probable in one more case. It could also have existed elsewhere, but the stone is worn".

- Treaty establishing the short-lived Hellenic League instigated by Antigonus Monophthalmos and Demetrius Poliorcetes in 303 or 302 and dissolved in 301 after the battle of Ipsos, **[73] *IG* IV^2.1 68** (*Staatsverträge* III 446; *ISE* I 44), inscribed on an opisthographic stele erected in the Asklepieion of Epidauros: despite numerous *lacunae*, it appears that clauses are consistently separated from each other by short horizontal dashes at mid-height within the line.[105] In at least two cases, however, the small bar-shaped marking is placed at the left margin (below the first letters of ll. 90 and 94), making it clear that when the end of a clause coincided with the end of a line, the junction was indicated by "traditional" interlinear *paragraphoi*, as is also the case with the nearly contemporary Ephesian law on the credit crisis and the Aetolian list of *proxenoi* discussed below. A similar pattern is observed both in the opisthographic stele carrying the treaty on the judicial assistance between Delphi and Pellana, **[74] *SEG* XXVII 116** (*FDelphes* III.1 486: ca. 280), and in the inscription recording the sympolity between Myania and Hypnia in West Lokris, **[75] *IG* IX.1^2 748** (*SEG* XXIII 305: ca. 190), since in both documents straight dashes at mid-height are carefully employed to separate clauses (though in the former case *paragraphoi* are paired with heading introducing them).
- Ephesian law regarding a credit crisis on five horizontally adjacent rectangular blocks of a wall that may have originally been part of a building within the Artemision, **[76] *I.Ephesos* 4** (ca. 299), republished by Walser in 2008 (*SEG* LVIII 1303): the various clauses are consistently separated by dashes at mid-height throughout the text of the law, but "traditional" *paragraphoi* are employed in three *loci* to mark the transition between one clause and the next.[106] Two further features are of note here: first, the heading at ll. 42–43 (ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγγύων τῶν ἐγγυωμένων πρὸς | [αὐτὰ] τὰ κτήματα) is marked before and after by two such dashes at mid-height that are further enhanced by the very large vacats preceding and following them; second, situated at the bottom of the right-hand column on block 2 (end of l. 64), which contains only 13 as opposed to 17 lines, is a very large vacat that probably indicates a stronger transition since the left-hand column on block 3 begins with a new clause (at l. 65).
- Decree of Gortyn on the use of bronze coins, **[77] *I.Cret.* IV 162** (ca. 250–200): at l. 2 a short horizontal dash at mid-height separates the enactment formula

[105] Cf. ll. 66, 73, 75, 78, 83, 87, 97, 144. The cases of ll. 15, 23, 40, 60, 125 are highly unclear as the stone is heavily damaged. Image available at Kavvadias 1918, 130.

[106] Photo available at *I.Ephesos* (H. Wankel), Tafel 4–6 (squeezes); Del Corso 2017, 56, tav. 3. This detail was already noted by both Wankel and Walser, but neither of them identified the signs as *paragraphoi*. See e.g. Walser 2008, 14: "Von kurzen Spatien umrahmte waagrechte Linien (–) gliedern den Text in Paragraphen. Unklar ist die Funktion dreier solcher Linien, die auf Block 3 am linken Rand zwischen die Zeilen 78 und 79, 86 und 87 und schliesslich 89 und 90 gesetzt sind". On this inscription, see also F. Santini's chapter in this volume.

followed by the quorum figure (τάδ' ἔϝαδε τ]ᾶι̣ [πόλι] ψα̣φίδδονσι τριαϲ|[κατίων π]α̣ριόντων) from the substance of the decree (ll. 2-13).[107] The same mark performs a similar function in the Trallians' decree that is part of the epigraphic dossier from Magnesia on the Maeander on the recognition of the festival of Artemis Leukophryene, **[78]** ***I.Magnesia*** **85** (*I.Tralleis* 21: ca. 150), l. 14, where a serifed horizontal dash at mid-height distinguishes the section consisting of, *inter alia*, the motivation clause and the purpose clause from one containing the enactment formula and the rest of the document.[108]

- Two documents of the Magnesian dossier on the penteteric Leukophryena, namely, the so-called foundation decree, **[79]** ***I.Magnesia*** **16**, ll. 11, 16, 24, 28, and the mythological history of Magnesia, **[80]** ***I.Magnesia*** **17**, l. 4: in both instances, serifed horizontal dashes at mid-height mark transitions between sections or highlight important sub-sections within the text.[109]
- Rhodian arbitration of the territorial dispute between Samos and Priene, **[81]** ***I.Priene B - M*** **132** (Magnetto 2008: ca. 196-192), displaying what seems to be a residual deployment of the mark at ll. 112 and 185: in the first case, it indicates the transition from one section to the next as it separates the first Prienian argument (ll. 63-112) from the next statement by the Samians (ll. 112-118); in the second case, it is used in the section concerning the new boundary delineation between Samian and Prienian holdings (ll. 180-195), perhaps with the aim of indicating a sub-section.[110] The second of these cases is arguably one of misplacement (by the stonecutter?), since the dash occurs immediately before the conclusion of a sentence rather than after it.
- Grants of citizenship and *proxenia* within the Aetolian corpus of decrees honouring external citizens inscribed on a series of limestone stelae from Thermos (3rd to early 2nd century): the most notable instance of the use of *paragraphoi* at mid-height is probably the one that appears in a long list of *proxenoi* arranged

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[107] Image available at *I.Cret.* IV, at p. 222. On the mark, see also *ibidem*, 223, *ad locum* (M. Guarducci): "Notandum est divisorium e linea transversa constans".

[108] It should also be noted that the decree's various sub-sections are separated from each other by blank spaces (ll. 2, 12, 20, 21). On this document, cf. F. Santini's chapter in this volume.

[109] On these inscriptions, cf. F. Santini's chapter in this volume. However, assuming that the dash preceding τὸγ [χ]ρησμὸν at *I.Magnesia* 16, l. 11 is misplaced (it should probably have followed it), one could conjecture that the *paragraphoi* at ll. 11 and 16 isolate the temporal indication of ll. 11-16 rather than highlight keywords such as τὸγ [χ]ρησμὸν and πρῶτο[ι (as Santini thinks). If that be the case, then the *paragraphoi* would be functioning as markers of both major and minor sense-pauses, as in the case of Welles, *RC* 53.

[110] On the mark, cf. Magnetto 2008, 65-66, who makes the convincing case that its occurrence in the section on the boundary delimitation is probably meant to highlight "il punto del testo in cui si stabilisce un tratto del confine di particolare interesse per Priene". Photos available at *I.Priene B - M*, vol. 2, at pp. 108, 111. See also F. Santini's chapter in this volume.

in two columns on the obverse face of a large stele, **[82] *IG* IX.1^2 17**, ll. 1-96 (before 262), as here both versions of the mark – the "traditional" one at the left margin and the one at mid-height – are employed.[111] The second version also occurs in other lists of *proxenoi*, such as **[83] *IG* IX.1^2 25**, ***a*** (ca. 246-236) and ***d*** (ca. 246-236), **[84] *IG* IX.1^2 29** (210/9) and **[85] *IG* IX.1^2 31**, ***s*** (214/3), as well as in collections of abbreviated decrees awarding proxeny and/or citizenship, such as **[86] *IG* IX.1^2 12**, l. 25, and **[87] *IG* IX.1^2 18**, l. 8: in the first group of inscriptions, the mark almost always highlights entries consisting of the names of the recipients followed by those of their guarantors (ἔγγυοι); in the second, isolated dashes separate the decrees that begin in the middle of lines from those preceding them.[112] In addition to these examples, one should also consider **[88] *IG* IX.1^2 30** (ca. 196/5), a fragmentary list of abbreviated citizenship decrees in which, rather unusually, the mark distinguishes two awardees from each other at ll. 8 and 13.

- Opisthographic list of individuals, arguably new citizens, from Ilion, **[89] *I.Ilion* 64** (assigned to the first decades of the 2nd century), lacking a beginning and consisting of three sub-lists, two of which are preceded by short headings (the first at ll. 1-57, the second, χῆρα[ι], at ll. 58-60, the third, καὶ οἷς ἐδόθη ἡ πολιτεία, at ll. 61-70): all the names (that is, names and patronymics, which are sometimes followed by those of wives, sisters, mothers or sons in the first sub-list) are systematically set apart from each other by short dashes at mid-height.[113] Among the lists in which each of the names assembled is preceded by a horizontal stroke at mid-height, one could also include an extremely fragmentary catalogue from Phoetiae (Acarnania), **[90] *IG* IX.1^2 602** (4th century).
- Delphic copy of two Amphictyonic decrees in honour of the Athenian guild of Dionysiac artists inscribed on the Treasury of the Athenians, **[91] *CID* IV 114** (*F.Delphes* III.2 68, ll. 1-61; *Choix Delphes* 194) and the earlier decree ***CID* IV 12** (*F.Delphes* III.2 68, ll. 61-94; *Choix Delphes* 68), which are separated from each other by a horizontal dash at mid-height.[114]

[111] Cf. Mack 2015, 289 n. 10: "Particular care was taken, presumably because of the length of this list, to separate individual entries with dashes [...], in addition to which *paragraphoi* are also used, especially in the second column, to highlight the beginning of some new entries". The use of engraved monograms on the left of the right-hand column is also noteworthy.

[112] The case of *IG* IX.1^2 18 also makes it clear that whenever a decree starts a new line (as at ll. 5 and 16, for instance), no mark is placed at the end of the preceding one, before the vacat. For an overview of the inscriptions from Thermos recording grants of *proxenia* (and citizenship) by the Aetolian League, cf. Mack 2015, 288-291.

[113] Photo available at *I.Ilion*, Tafel 14-15 (squeezes). Cf. Berti and Kató 2017, 104 n. 124. On the inscription, see esp. the analysis in Brulé 1990.

[114] On the mark, see G. Colin, *F.Delphes* III.2, at p. 74, who also justifies the misleading editorial practice of printing thinner horizontal dashes within lines instead of leaving blank spaces: "A la l. 61, les

- Second Delphic hymn to Apollo performed in the Pythaïs of 128/7, **[92] *CID* III 2** (*F.Delphes* III.2 138; *Choix Delphes* 203-B), composed by Limenios son of Thoinos and inscribed on the southern wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi: according to Reinach, the *paragraphos* at col. II, ll. 6-7, strophe X, points to "une modulation rhythmique".[115] Elsewhere in the hymn, the sign occurs in the form of a horizontal dash at mid-height within the line to perform a similar function, namely, to mark the beginning of a new strophe.[116]

The employment of horizontal dashes at mid-height as lectional devices for purposes of separation was not limited to public documents as it can also be traced in another category of inscribed texts, namely, *defixiones* and the like. If compared to the use of the mark in other types of epigraphic sources, the picture here seems less clear and coherent. Jaime Curbera notes that in Sicilian curse tablets, *paragraphoi* are employed "come nei papiri, per marcare le sezioni fraseologiche o concettuali".[117] In this context, however, the evidence does not seem to permit generalisations since the function of the mark varies considerably from case to case. Among the numerous instances, which deserve an *ad hoc* inspection, I single out the following, most significant ones:

- Four *defixiones* from Kamarina dating to the Classical period, in all of which short horizontal dashes at mid-height with unclear separative functions appear within lists of names: **[93] Arena, *Iscrizioni* II^2 127** (*I.dial. Sicile* I 120; Curbera 1999, 175, no. 4: mid-5th century), ll. 1, 4, 5, 8, an opisthographic tablet resembling a footprint;[118] **[94] Arena, *Iscrizioni* II^2 130** (*I.dial. Sicile* I 119; Curbera 1999, 175, no. 3: end of the 5th century); **[95] *I.dial. Sicile* I 123** (Curbera 1999, 176, no. 8: late 4th century), ll. 2, 3; **[96] *SEG* XLVII 1439** (Curbera 1999, 176, no.

deux décrets sont séparés par un trait. Aux l. 28, 65 et 80, des espaces laissés vides sur la pierre répondent à une forte ponctuation: je le marque ici par un tiret, bien que cette indication soit très capricieusement employée par le graveur". However, as far as one can judge from published photographs, there are no horizontal lines at mid-height where Colin reproduced them. The same problem applies to the honorary decree of the Delphians for the Athenian guild of Dionysiac artists that took part in the fourth Pythaïs, which is inscribed on the southern wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, *F.Delphes* III.2 48 (Le Guen, *Technites* 14; Aneziri, *Techniten* A11; *Choix Delphes* 202: 98/7), since no dashes are visible in the published images (see e.g. Tracy 1969, 389, fig. 19).

[115] G. Colin, *F.Delphes* III.2, at p. 165, *ad locos*. See further V. Bélis, *CID* III, at p. 127.

[116] At col. I, l. 13, strophe III; col. II, l. 21, strophe VI; l. 26, strophe VIII. See V. Bélis, *CID* III, at pp. 99, 106, 113, *ad locos*. Photo available at *CID* III, pl. VII-IX.

[117] Curbera 1999, 163-164. On some layout strategies in Greek *defixiones*, see the preliminary remarks in Centrone 2010; cf. further Lamont 2022; Lamont 2023.

[118] Cf. L. Dubois, *I.dial. Sicile* I, at p. 126: "On constate l'existence d'un signe de ponctuation fait d'un petit trait horizontal"; Arena, *Iscrizioni* II^2, at p. 91: "Va notato il breve tratto orizzontale, che funge anche qui da segno divisorio, usato inconseguentemente". On *defixiones* in the form of either continuous or columnar lists, see Centrone 2010, 95-100; cf. further Gordon 1999; Lamont 2022, 46-49.

10: undated).[119] The same holds true of two of the famous lead *tesserae* discovered in the temple of Athena at Kamarina, **[97] Arena, *Iscrizioni* II^2 126.6** and **126.10** (Cordano 1992), in which the name and patronymic are separated from each other by a straight bar.[120] In connection with these cases, one could also recall two Sicilian tablets of a financial nature, in which comparable marks serve similar purposes, namely, **[98] Arena, *Iscrizioni* II^2 119** (*I.dial. Sicile* I 177: ca. 450–400), ll. 1 and 2, and **[99] *I.dial. Sicile* I 194** (2nd century), ll. 4–5: in the first, they are unclearly employed as interpuncts;[121] in the second, they set apart the names of the first list of ἄμποχοι ("guarantors") at ll. 4–6.

- *Defixio* from Selinous, **[100] *SEG* LV 1025** (Bettarini, *Defixiones* 5, tav. 5), assigned to the late 5th or 4th century: the function of the mid-line horizontal stroke occurring at l. 2 between an abbreviated name and a sort of *diple* that precedes the vacat (and perhaps at the end of l. 3 between an abbreviated name and a vacat) remains unclear.[122] According to the *editor princeps*, the sign was probably meant to denote the abbreviation of the name preceding it (the same would hold true of l. 3), but one cannot exclude the possibility that the two marks here should be interpreted as *paragraphoi*, as Jaime Curbera suggests due to the examples from Kamarina.[123]
- Poetic protective charm (ἐπῳδαί) on a lead tablet from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, **[101] *IG Locri* 92** (5th–4th century, though a date later in this range seems more probable for palaeographical reasons): drawing on the assumption that the written model used by the engraver was likely "arranged according to *stichoi*", Jordan argues that the intralinear dashes at mid-height at ll. 3 (after Ṭετρακο⟨ς⟩ and before Ὄλβιο̣ς) and 4, which could be interpreted as *paragraphoi*, evidently serve "to separate the individual verses – or rather groups of verses".[124]
- Judicial *defixio* with a triple curse on a long lead tablet from Kerameikos (26 cm wide) dated to the early 4th century, **[102] *SEG* LXVIII 101** (Curbera and Papakonstantinou 2018, no. 1), which pertains to three separate legal actions taken against possibly the same defendant: the text is written almost *stoichedon* in three columns, each containing a similar spell cast on three different plaintiffs, separat-

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[119] Image available at Manganaro 1997, 345. However, as noted in *SEG* XLVII 1439, "it is not clear whether the small horizontal strokes printed by ed. pr. in LL. 1, 3 and 6 indicate small lacunas or have actually been engraved on the tablet; the photo is not helpful". On the use of *paragraphoi* in tablets from Kamarina's Passo Marinaro cemetery, see also Lamont 2022, 45–46.

[120] On the *tesserae* from Kamarina, see also Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 169–173.

[121] L. Dubois, *I.dial. Sicile* I, at p. 202: "Le tiret comme signe de ponctuation est d'une usage fantaisiste".

[122] On the possible function of this sign in the form of a *diple*, see Bettarini 2005, 29–30.

[123] Curbera 1999, 163–164, 175–176; cf. Bettarini 2005, 29–30.

[124] Photo available at Costabile 1999, 30, 36, fig. 4, 8; Jordan 2000, 99; on the *paragraphoi*, see also Bettarini 2012, 122. On the continuous long horizontal line below l. 8, see L. Del Monaco, *IG Locri*, at p. 148: "Sotto la lin. 8 è tracciata una linea di separazione con lo scopo di definire il testo e conferirgli un rilievo particolare".

ed by blank spaces in imitation of the *intercolumnia* found in literary papyrus rolls (as the *editor princeps* puts it).[125] A distinctive feature of the tablet is the employment of unusual diacritical marks, including a horizontal stroke at mid-height at the beginning of col. III, l. 1 (before καταδ[έ]ω), which has been interpreted as a wavy *paragraphos* (the sign, however, has not been included in Curbera and Papakonstantinou's recent edition).

- Lead curse tablet against Macedonians and their supporters from Kerameikos, **[103] *SEG* LIV 398** (Costabile 2004-2005, no. IV, fig. 47-52, uncertain date, possibly ca. 317-307), II, in which a short horizontal stroke compatible with a *paragraphos* occurs at the very end of l. 1 at mid-level, possibly to separate the names of the first two *defixi*, Πλẹίσ̣ταρχον at l. 1, the younger brother of Cassander (mentioned at l. 3), and Εὔπολεμον, Cassander's general in Greece, at l. 2.[126]

After this brief analysis of the use of *paragraphoi* at mid-height in Greek curse tablets on lead, I would like to conclude the section by noting the occurrence of a longish horizontal line resembling "traditional" *paragraphoi* in the most famous of the Selinountine *defixiones*, **[104] Bettarini, *Defixiones* 23** (Gager 1992, no. 50; Curbera 1999, 179, no. 29: ca. 500-450), between ll. 16 and 17. Its purpose here is to emphasise that the list of names, which begins in the middle of l. 16, belongs in a different section rather than the main text, and thus to divide the entire *defixio* in two parts (ll. 1-16 and ll. 16-19). Nonetheless, the meaning of this division remains unclear.[127]

7. Prosimetric Texts on Stone

The final group of cases that require examination on the use of *paragraphoi* in Greek epigraphical sources consists of inscriptions containing sections in both prose and verse. Most of the examples referred to here are composite texts into which oracular responses have been integrated. Remarkably, the transition from prose to poetry is generally highlighted by layout devices such as reverse indentation and

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[125] This important judiciary tablet was first published by Felice Costabile (*SEG* XLVIII 354-356) and re-edited by Jordan 2004 (*SEG* LI 328). For a discussion of its alleged resemblance to papyri, see Costabile 2001, 173-186, followed by Del Corso 2002, 185 n. 78, who concludes that this is a clear example of an inscription "impaginata secondo forme proprie del rotolo" (cf. further Del Corso 2003, 36-37; Del Corso 2022, 152-153) and Centrone 2010, 99-100. On its formal aspects, see also the remarks in Costabile 1998, 30-34 (though the idea that the tablet is an exceptional document in terms of form should probably be rejected). Faraguna 2020, 121-122 suggests that a *paragraphos* may have also preceded the initial line of the second curse as there is a gap at the beginning of the second column.

[126] On this *defixio*, see also Gager 1992, 147-148, no. 57. Costabile 2004-2005, 182 supports the conclusion that the curse tablet is "un *katadesmos* 'politico' fatto eseguire dalla parte democratica".

[127] For a discussion of this point, cf. e.g. Gager 1992, 139-140; Bettarini 2005, esp. 115-117, with further references. Image available at Bettarini, *Defixiones*, at p. 122, tav. 23a.

paragraphoi.[128] I have extended my analysis to this particular category of epigraphic texts despite my intention to leave inscribed poetry aside since all the cases discussed here have an intrinsic political dimension that extends far beyond their importance as literary texts and should therefore be regarded as primary historical sources. The relevant cases are as follows:

- Isyllos' inscription, **[105] Kolde 2003** (*IG* IV^2.1 128, ca. 280), consisting of seven segments, five of which are in verse with different metres (I at ll. 1-2: prose; II at ll. 3-9: trochaic; III at ll. 10-26: dactylic; IV at ll. 27-31: dactylic; V at ll. 32-36: prose; VI at ll. 37-56: ionic; VII at ll. 57-79: dactylic): *paragraphoi* regularly separate all the segments (at ll. 9-10, 26-27, 31-32, 36-37) save the first two, but this can easily be explained by considering the fact that section I is written in larger letters than the following lines because it is the actual dedication of the stele (ll. 1-2: Ἴσυλλος Σωκράτευς Ἐπιδαύριος ἀνέθηκε | Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάται καὶ Ἀσκλαπιῶι).[129] Only in two instances (between sections III and IV at ll. 26-27 and between sections V and VI at ll. 36-37) is the sign combined with a significant interlinear space – 15-18 mm and 22-23 mm, respectively – to mark the transition.[130]
- Mnesiepes inscription from the Archilocheion of Paros on two non-joining orthostate blocks (E_1 and E_2), **[106] *SEG* XV 517** (ca. 250-200),[131] containing the remains of four columns of writing – three on the former (E_1 I-III) and one on the latter (E_2 I): the arrangement of the text into columns as well as the occurrence of various lectional devices, such as reverse indentation, *paragraphoi*, vertically aligned triple dots and what has questionably been interpreted by the *editor princeps* as a coronis (at E_1 III, l. 16), has led some scholars to claim that the inscription resembles a papyrus book-roll.[132] However, one could object to this by pointing out that

[128] The combined use of *ekthesis* and *paragraphoi* to mark oracle sections is also found in inscriptions of the Imperial era (cf. e.g. *I.Didyma* 496A).

[129] Photo available at Kolde 2003 (ll. 1-60). The worn condition of the stele makes it impossible to assess whether a *paragraphos* once separated section VI from section VII at ll. 56-57 because the left margin is not preserved here. However, it is worth noting that a large vacat follows the end of section VI at l. 56 (ἰὲ Παιάν, ἰὲ Παιάν) and that the final segment of the inscription is written in smaller letters. Scholars debate whether this should be viewed as a later addition by Isyllos himself or is instead due to the initiative of the engraver, who realised that there was not enough space for this final segment (on this point, see e.g. Herrero de Jáuregui and Goldhill 2019, 72 n. 1, with further references).

[130] On this point, see also Baunack 1890, 18-19; Kolde 2003, 5-6.

[131] Photos available at Clay 2004, pl. 3-9; Ornaghi 2009, 359-360, fig. 12-13; Gomis García 2015, 114, fig. 1.

[132] See e.g. Rotstein 2014, 7, who argues that "[t]he layout is clearly designed to visually represent a papyrus leaf". On the formal aspects of the Mnesiepes inscription, see most recently Gomis García 2015, 113-117, whose analysis, however, contains some flaws (at n. 10, for instance, she wrongly maintains that "[l]a *paragraphos* aparece en algunos catálogos y otros documentos oficiales, incluso de las Cícladas, pero no en leyes, decretos y otros documentos públicos"). On triple dots as an interpunct in Greek inscriptions, see e.g. Guarducci 1967, 392-393; Threatte 1980, 73-84; Lougovaya-Ast 2017.

the frequent use of the columnar format in inscriptional evidence need not have anything to do with the layout of literary texts on papyrus.[133] Moreover, due to the damaged state of the stones, it is not easy to assess the function of the lectional signs in the inscription or distinguish their mutual relationship. This is a problem that applies specifically to *paragraphoi* and *triplai stigmai*, which are sometimes used in combination (as at the end of E_1 II, l. 7 and, perhaps, l. 13).[134] Here the *paragraphoi*, in particular, seem to serve three principal functions: first, to further highlight – albeit not consistently – the indented portions of text, which consist of citations of both oracular responses and Archilochus' poetry;[135] second, to indicate the internal subdivisions of these sections in *ekthesis*;[136] and finally, to mark temporal or other types of transitions within the main prose narrative.[137] As for the remaining occurrences of the sign, the text is preserved in such tiny quantities that it is difficult to determine the purpose of the *paragraphos*.[138]

- Oracular inscription from Akrai, **[107] *SEG* XXXI 822** (2nd century), which may belong with the hexametric dialogue between a goddess referred to as τετραλέα (Artemis?) and Zeus, *SEG* XXXI 821, both re-edited by Leone Porciani in 2014 (*SEG* LXIV 810): the texts incised on the former include a χρησμός (B, ll. 1-20; cf. C, l. 1) as well as two prose sections before and after it (A, ll. 1-5; C, ll. 1-14), whose character remains uncertain due to the poor condition of the stone (only its left margin is preserved).[139] The χρησμός, like the Mnesiepes inscription, is distinguished from what precedes and follows it by two *paragraphoi*, so that the inscription is composed of three distinct parts.[140]

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[133] As suggested by Del Corso 2002, 186, who, however, does not endorse this argument: "Si potrebbe obiettare che impaginare su più colonne il testo di un rendiconto o di un inventario sia una scelta imposta dal tipo di documento da esporre, e maturata, più che per l'influenza di fattori extra-epigrafici, per la volontà di garantire una maggiore leggibilità al testo". On this point, see more below, § 8.

[134] It may be worth emphasising that two other well-known paraliterary inscriptions from the island, the *Marmor Parium*, *IG* XII.5 444 (some time after 264/3), and the Sosthenes inscription, *IG* XII.5 445 (early 1st century), do not reveal the use of *paragraphoi* or other lectional signs. For a recent comparison of the Mnesiepes inscription and the *Marmor Parium*, see Rotstein 2014, who, however, also points to significant differences between the two inscriptions in terms of layout and formal features.

[135] Cf. E_1 III, ll. 8-9 (?), 35-36, 46-47, 50-51; E_2 I, ll. 14-15, 44-45. The beginning and end of the oracular sections at E_1 II, ll. 1-15 and 50-52 (namely, the responses given to Mnesiepes and Archilochus' father Telesikles) are apparently not marked by *paragraphoi*, but only through reverse indentation.

[136] The *paragraphoi* at E_1 II, ll. 7-8 and 13-14 separate the three oracles given to Mnesiepes, while those at E_1 III, ll. 31-32, 32-33, 34-35 and 35-36, as well as at E_2 I, ll. 29-30, 30-31, 34-35, separate quotes of Archilochus' verses (cf. FF 251 and 89 West^2). For additional remarks on this point, see Ornaghi 2009, 163-165 (with n. 77), 282-283, 305-307.

[137] Cf. E_2 I, ll. 50-51 (l. 51 begins with ὕστερόν τε χρόν̣[ον) and perhaps at E_1 III, ll. 42-43 (μετ' οὐ πολὺν] | χρόνον).

[138] Cf. E_1 III, ll. 15-16; E_2 I, ll. 2-3, 4-5, 47-48, 56-57.

[139] On the historical context of the inscriptions, see the remarks in Porciani 2014, esp. 133-134.

[140] Photo available at Manganaro 1981, pl. XLVIII; Porciani 2014, 136, fig. 2.

8. Conclusions

From what has been shown thus far, it appears that the following factors should be taken into account when examining the use of *paragraphoi* in the Greek epigraphic record: *inter alia*, chronology, geographical distribution, document type, the function of the mark, and layout strategies. The analysis of the evidence here has also shown that though *paragraphoi* may occur alone, they are not infrequently paired with other signs, most often vacats, *diplai stigmai* and dots of various type. In a few cases, their occurrence is accompanied by a modification of the text's arrangement with indentations. Less frequently, the mark is combined with headings or sub-headings to introduce new sections (as in the Lindian Chronicle, for example).

To a certain extent, *paragraphoi* can also be said to reflect specific epigraphic habits. It may be far-fetched to adopt a regional approach to the analysis of the evidence, as is often done with other phenomena in Greek epigraphy, but it is worth noting that certain areas across the ancient Greek world (for example, Athens, Argolid, Cyclades, and Asia Minor) apparently saw widespread use of the sign.[141] Related to this, particular emphasis should be placed on the use of marks compatible to *paragraphoi* in documents written in languages other than Greek, but ones derived from cultural contexts that were somehow influenced by Greek documentary practices. Special mention goes to the Agnone Tablet (Fig. 53), ***Imagines Italicae*, Pentri / TERVENTVM 34** (ca. 200-150), an opisthographic bronze inscription written in the Oscan alphabet from right to left that refers to the dedication of statues of several deities, since the horizontal incisions at the right margin separating ll. 1-19 from ll. 20-25 on side A and ll. 1-2 from ll. 2-23 on side B undeniably closely resemble the *paragraphoi* known from Greek inscriptions and papyri.[142] The same holds true of one of the most important documents of Latin epigraphy, the Consular Fasti, ***Inscr.Ital.***

[141] In this respect, I adhere to Del Corso's claim (2017, 44, with n. 10) that though factors such as materiality and palaeography do not traditionally fall within the broad notion of 'epigraphic habit', which has been expanding since its initial use by McMullen (on the development of this notion, see most recently Benefiel and Keesling 2023), "[l']esame di quello che potremmo definire il 'paratesto epigrafico' […] può rivelarsi prezioso nella definizione degli *epigraphic habits* di una regione o di un periodo". Moreover, the influence of something like a local tradition of 'paragraphing' cannot be excluded: one needs simply to recall cases such as that of the fragmentary regulations of the cult of Asclepius from Kos (ca. 242?), *IG* XII.4 289, l. 6 + *SEG* LXVIII 609, ll. 5, 6, in which new clauses that begin within the lines are marked with a sign resembling ꙅ (photo available at Bosnakis and Hallof 2018, 158, Abb. 3). This also seems true of the systematic use of horizontal dashes at mid-height performing a separative function in inscriptions from Magnesia, for example (in addition to the examples noted above, cf. further *I.Magnesia* 181 and *I.Magnesia* 215a: on this inscription, see F. Santini's chapter in this volume).

[142] There is another incision under B, l. 11, but Crawford *et al.* 2011, vol. 2, 1203 argue that it "marks no obvious division". On *paragraphoi* in the Agnone tablet, see also Del Corso 2010, 11 n. 33, who admits the influence of Greek lectional practices.

XIII, 1.[143] Much as in the list of grain deliveries from Cyrene, so here long horizontal dashes at the left margin are desultorily employed to indicate when a single entry exceptionally consists of multiple consecutive lines (Fig. 54). There can be little doubt that these marks, which have no parallel in the Latin epigraphic record from the Republican period, closely recall Greek *paragraphoi*. One could even go a step further and conjecture that the author of the Fasti Capitolini was thinking of Greek lectional practices when compiling the list.

With regard to shape, it seems that in the 5th century the *paragraphos* already evolved from a fairly long horizontal line to an ever shorter one. One cannot exclude the possibility that the considerable variations in the mark's length over time were sometimes dictated by the need to lend monumentality to the physical appearance of inscriptions (as is clear from the Athenian tribute quota lists or the so-called Athena Promachos accounts, for example).[144] Moreover, the case of *paragraphoi* at mid-line reveals that not only the shape, but also the placement of the sign was subject to change. Whether such modifications of the usual location of the mark at the left margin were actually introduced at the masons' initiative or due to other factors, such as the layout of the draft copies on perishable materials, is open to debate. One may be inclined to favour the first alternative based on other instances of the misplacement of *paragraphoi*, such as those on the Damonon stele or the Cyrenean *lex cathartica*, which arguably arose from mistakes by stonecutters and which seem to reinforce the conclusion that they sometimes incised the main text first, then added paratextual elements such as horizontal dashes at the left margin. All in all, however, it seems unlikely that it was the engravers who decided whether to maintain the original layout of the document that they had been called on to accurately reproduce or change it to enhance its legibility – a question that it is probably better addressed on a case-by-case basis.[145] Instead, one could go a step further and conjecture that those who designed the layout were the compilers of the draft copies, be they secretaries of some sort or other qualified individuals on the boards of authorities who are often named in the publication clauses of Greek inscriptions.[146]

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[143] The resemblance of the horizontal lines used in some sections of the Consular Fasti to *paragraphoi* seems to have gone unnoticed thus far. Cf. Degrassi 1947, 21, briefly commenting on the use of such "lineolae".

[144] Variations in the mark's form and size also occur in papyrological sources: see e.g. Barbis Lupi 1994, 414; Del Mastro 2017.

[145] In connection with this, one may recall Del Corso's (2002, 187 n. 83) remark on the alleged coronis in one of the third-century tablets from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, *IG Locri* 23 (cf. Del Monaco 1991-1992): "è chiaro che la sopravvivenza di questo elemento non epigrafico […] è dovuta solo alla scrupolosità dell'incisore, il quale, incerto sul valore da attribuire al segno, ha preferito non ometterlo". On the relationship between cutters and draft copies of inscriptions, see the still fundamental discussion in Robert 1955; cf. further Tracy 1975, 115-120; Mulliez 1998, 824-827.

[146] One may think, for instance, of figures such as the γραμματεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν mentioned in the decree on the inventory of the treasures stored in the Chalkotheke, *IG* II^2 120 (353/2),

This issue, in turn, is related to that of the alleged residuality of epigraphic *paragraphoi*. As noted above, most scholars agree that these marks are redundant or even superfluous elements in inscriptions – ones maintained only sporadically during the transition from soft to permanent materials. However, barring cases where their absence is due to the fragmentary preservation of the medium, many of the examples discussed in this chapter seem to contradict this view and point to the conclusion that epigraphic *paragraphoi* were often conceived as functional signs that could help readers or passers-by navigate difficult texts.[147] Again, one may wonder whether this depended on the choices made by engravers or compilers or whether it was determined by other factors, such as the format of specific document types. Thus, for example, the cases presented in sections 3 and 4 show that *paragraphoi* were employed far more systematically in epigraphic texts that consist of different clauses than they were in catalogues, lists and the like. Yet even in this case, the question has no definitive answer.

In general terms, the importance of examining the use of lectional signs – and of *paragraphoi* in particular – in epigraphy lies in the fact that it may help us better understand the interaction between documents inscribed on durable materials and their copies on ephemeral ones.[148] Many decades of research have led to scholarly consensus on how to interpret this complex relationship in ancient Greek documents. According to common belief, the practice of inscribing texts on permanent media most likely entailed multiple stages that included selecting the relevant pieces of information from a number of sources written on soft media, preparing one or more preliminary copies before the *antigraphon* of the final text that was meant to be publicly displayed was ready, and eventually inciding it on bronze or stone.[149] Yet, as has been rightly emphasised, since records written on tablets, papyrus and the like "were not only, or not primarily, used to produce draft or short-lived, temporary documents to be, at a later stage, 'monumentalized' on a stele and discarded", the relationship between inscriptions and documents on perishable media "did not in conclusion only work in one direction".[150]

ll. 16-17. On secretaries and the publication of inscriptions (with particular reference to the Athenian context), cf. e.g. Henry 2002; Pébarthe 2006, 247-254; Osborne 2012.

[147] See e.g. Del Corso 2002, 184, who argues that the *paragraphos*' function "appare superflua nell'ottica di una scrittura esposta". Cf. further Del Corso 2003, 34. On the "mostly 'residual' character" of epigraphic *paragraphoi*, see also Faraguna 2020, 121, who suggests that "masons only spasmodically and asystematically transcribed and cut them on the stone".

[148] This is what Del Corso 2010, 6 n. 11 calls il "problema del rapporto tra la prima stesura (non epigrafica) del testo e il suo apografo 'esposto'".

[149] Cf. e.g. Del Corso 2002, esp. 180; Davies 2003; Del Corso 2010, esp. 14-15.

[150] Faraguna 2021, 238-239. On this point, see also Chankowski 2020, esp. 65-68, focusing on the organisation of the various registers employed in the preparation of the final account of the Delian sanctuary of Apollo as an instructive case study; on the case of Athenian building accounts, cf. Epstein

In Greek documentary culture, the multifaceted interaction of different types of media – which, in fact, was far from being hierarchical – probably too had a significant impact on the role, functions and distribution of lectional signs. No doubt such signs can be viewed as index fossils since they offer a clue for visualising "the formatting of original records written on perishable materials", as aptly observed by Del Corso,[151] who also points out that the one area in which writings on stone, lead and bronze and writings on papyrus interacted most – even after growing ever more differentiated in the Hellenistic period – is that of individual elements, such as ornaments, diacritical marks and the like.[152] Nonetheless, the question as to whether the use of *paragraphoi* should be regarded as peculiar to papyrological documents still arises.[153] This assumption ultimately derives from Jean Bingen's attempt to downplay the influence and impact of inscriptional writing on book-rolls, as in the case of the so-called *Inschriftenstil* of fourth-century papyri such as P.Derveni (TM 65795 / LDAB 7049; MP^3 2465.1) or P.Berol. inv. 9875 (TM 62931 / LDAB 4123; MP^3 1537), and from his related conclusion that it was, in fact, the other way round. Whatever the case, it is probably better to restrict Bingen's claims to palaeographical matters.[154] In other words, one cannot be certain that the diacritical marks generally regarded as

2013; Carusi 2020; Marginesu 2022, 98–99, who, drawing on instances of "intermedi, forse effimeri, testi redatti su piombo" such as *IG* IX.1^2 874 (see above, § 2), concludes that "[l]e scritture su *chartai*, *sanides*, *leukomata* (ed altro) non dovettero sempre essere effimere e solo funzionali alla realizzazione del testo epigrafico". For additional remarks, see C. Carusi's chapter in this volume. On wooden tablets in the ancient Greek world, cf. e.g. Degni 1998; Worp 2012.

151 Del Corso 2017, 44, followed by Faraguna 2020, 118 n. 29; see also Del Corso 2002, 184.

152 Del Corso 2010, esp. 9–11 argues that this divergence originated from the "accentuato conservatorismo proprio delle maiuscole epigrafiche in ogni epoca" and that it occurred despite the convergence of the period between the late 4th and the early 3rd century, which Bingen (1997, 182) termed *koine*: "Au V^e siècle s'est formée une *koinè* de l'écriture grecque (l'évolution ne se termine pas partout dès ce moment). Disons, en simplifiant un peu trop les choses, que cette *koinè* se généralise indépendamment, d'une part, dans l'écriture gravée des inscriptions, et, d'autre part, dans l'écriture tracée, utilisée pour les livres et dans la formation scolaire".

153 Del Corso 2003, 34 refers to the *paragraphos* as a "segno tipico della scrittura su papiro". See also Del Corso 2017, 44, who speaks of "diacritici di tipo 'papirologico'".

154 On this point, cf. Bingen 1997; Crisci 1999, 37 n. 15; Del Corso 2003, 32–38; Del Corso 2017, 18–20; Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 85–86. On the interaction between "scritture epigrafiche" and "scritture non monumentali", with particular reference to inscriptions that supposedly imitate papyrus book-rolls, see Del Corso 2002, 186–187 and Del Corso 2003, 32–38 (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 72, 42, 45; *F.Delphes* III.5 23–27); cf. further, e.g., Garulli 2014; Faraguna 2020, 118 n. 29, mentioning the three-column layout of *CID* II 49 (340/39), which, according to Bousquet (*CID* II, at p. 35), looks like "un *volumen* manuscrit semblable à son modèle". Starting from the assumption that significant interactions among writings meant to be carved on different media ("interferenze tra sistemi grafici strutturalmente diversi") is particularly visible in epigraphical sources (especially in those from peripheral areas, where Greek epigraphic habits were not well-established), Del Corso 2010, esp. 14–16 analyses cases in which inscriptions on stone, lead or bronze supposedly reproduce the features and even the layout, including the arrangement of lectional signs, of their *antigrapha* on papyrus.

typical of Greek writing on papyrus should actually be understood as having originated exclusively from it. Instead, and on the contrary, one could conjecture that the occurrence of *paragraphoi* in papyrological sources may have been influenced by older documentary practices, especially in view of the mark's diffusion in Greek texts incised on durable materials from the late Archaic age onward.

Before concluding, I would like to consider one further argument in this context. Scholars have often insisted that when used as writing media, ephemeral materials such as papyrus and tablets were employed in differentiated, albeit strictly complementary, ways.[155] However, it may be preferable to go beyond this functional opposition and consider a plausible scenario in which lectional signs such as the *paragraphos* were also frequently employed in texts written on other soft materials, such as λευκώματα, πινάκια, δέλτοι, γραμματεῖα, σανίδες, κεραμίδες, διφθέραι, πετεύρια and the like, which were extensively used as record-keeping devices in various contexts across the ancient Greek world, as epigraphic sources clearly indicate. This idea is strengthened by two further considerations: on the one hand, one must always bear in mind that the apparent pre-eminence of papyri as a source of comparison depends solely on their accidental survival; on the other, it seems reasonable to assume that when *paragraphoi* occur in documents inscribed on stone or bronze that, according to ancient literary or epigraphic sources, ultimately derived from records written on a variety of media (in addition to papyrus), they were probably already present not only in the final draft copy, but also in earlier preliminary ones on various perishable materials.[156] Although the devil's advocate could respond to this observation by stating that in the vast majority of cases, it was papyrus that was used for the final draft copy, the two considerations adduced here remain at any rate significant. As a result, one would probably not be too far from the truth when assuming that as a paratextual device attested in documents of an early date, the *paragraphos* intrinsically belonged within the array of Greek lectional signs regardless of the media in which it was actually used.

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[155] See e.g. Del Corso 2002, 173-180, who, by drawing on the juxtaposition of βυβλίδιον and γραμματείδιον in D. 56.1 (among other sources), concludes that the former was employed for "la fissazione, conservazione e trascrizione di testi nella loro stesura definitiva", whereas the latter was never used "per la registrazione di testi definitivi".

[156] Cases in point are, for instance, the σανίδες purchased in addition to χάρται by the Athenian *epistatai* in charge of the Erechtheion project (*IG* I^3 476, ll. 188-190, 289-292), the λελευκωμένα γραμματεῖα employed by the *poletai* (Arist. *Ath.* 47.2-3: Degni 1998, 75, no. 11) or the πινάκιον λελευκωμένον employed by the *hellenotamiai* referred to in the decree proposed by Kleinias about the tribute of the Delian League (*IG* I^3 34, ll. 43 ff.). On the vocabulary of writing media in ancient Greek, cf. e.g. Del Corso 2002, esp. 171-173 (with n. 52: "L'imprecisione del lessico […] non può essere intesa come indizio di primitivismo nelle tecniche documentarie"); Radici 2018; see now the comprehensive "rassegna terminologica" provided by Boffo and Faraguna 2021, 753-780.

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Layout and Materiality of the *Leukophryena* Epigraphic Dossier in Magnesia on the Maeander – Did They Matter?*

Flavio Santini

Over the past decade, scholarship on the epigraphic cultures of the Greco-Roman world has undergone a significant "material turn". The format of inscriptions, their location, and their interaction with the surrounding monuments are now routinely examined.[1] Epigraphists are also increasingly interested in how potential audiences interacted with inscriptions. These interactions fall within a broad spectrum of possibilities that range from mere viewing to full reading, and opinions on the matter vary.[2] However, few scholars have applied their interest in materiality, layout, and readability to the interpretation of monumental epigraphic dossiers.[3] This is particularly significant for inscriptions designed as an integral part of a monumental landscape and displayed on the same epigraphic surface.

This chapter aims to address this gap in the scholarship by dealing with a specific case study, the *Leukophryena* dossier from Magnesia on the Maeander. The dossier attests to a request that the Magnesians made in 208/207 to seek acceptance of new stephanitic and isopythic games for Artemis *Leukophryene* and to have their city and territory acknowledged as sacred and inviolable.[4] The Magnesians addressed their request through numerous envoys (θεωροί) to kings (Antiochos III, Attalos I, Ptol-

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* I would like to express my gratitude to D. Amendola, C. Carusi, and E. Rosamilia for their insightful feedback. I am also thankful to my friends A.R. Kilman and N.H. Levine for enhancing the clarity of my writing. Unless stated otherwise, all dates are BCE.

[1] E.g., Edmund 2014; Meyer 2016; Berti *et al.* 2017; Bolle *et al.* 2017; Petrovic *et al.* 2018; Faraguna 2020; Rosamilia 2020.

[2] Burrell 2009 ("meant to be read"); Veyne 1988, 3, 11; Cooley 2018, 28-35 ("meant to be seen, not read"); Graham 2013 and 2021 (a compromise between the two).

[3] Exceptions: Kokkinia 2016 and Graham 2021 on the "Archive wall" of Aphrodisias.

[4] *I.Magnesia* 16-87; Rigsby, *Asylia* 66-131; Knäpper 2018, 113-131.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Flavio Santini, *Layout and Materiality of the* Leukophryena *Epigraphic Dossier in Magnesia on the Maeander – Did They Matter?*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.13, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 217-234, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

emy IV, [Philip V][5]), leagues (the Achaian, Boiotian, and Phokian leagues, to mention but a few), and cities (from Syracuse to the eastern Seleucid *apoikiai*). Overall, about 165 respondents are attested, but the number must have been greater.

From an epigraphic point of view, the *Leukophryena* dossier affords a unique context in which to investigate the multiple strategies of display adopted by the local stonecutters. The Magnesian dossier is exceptionally well-preserved, in contrast to other extant contemporary Hellenistic *asylia* dossiers that were displayed on a single surface but are poorly preserved.[6] This allows us to understand not only its overall design but also its elaborate "paratextual" apparatus, which includes prominent titles and appended lists, as well as paragraphing, differentiation in lettering size, and peculiar lectional signs.[7] Hence the value of the *Leukophryena* dossier for the theme of this volume. But the dossier can also offer valuable insights about the readability of ancient epigraphic documents.

This chapter begins by analyzing the collocation of the documents within the dossier, the principles guiding their organization, the relation between formats and document typologies, and the use and meaning of the appended lists. The first section of the chapter aims to unveil the complexity that underlies the dossier, from its conception to its realization. In the second section, the chapter narrows its focus and considers some paratextual elements of the dossier, starting with the large-scale and gradually focusing upon ever smaller, but still significant, features. This section considers issues of *mise en page* and other devices of layout, such as the variation in size of the letters, rubrication, and the use of titles and lectional signs, focusing in particular on two documents (*I.Magnesia* 16 and 17). Ultimately, this chapter proposes that the layout and materiality of the dossier, both at a macro- and micro-scale, functioned to facilitate the documents' readability, at least for some selected readers and on specific occasions, such as during the celebration of the newly established games for Artemis *Leukophryene*, when public readings plausibly took place.

1. Planning a Dossier: Macrostructure and Hierarchy of Documents

The remains of the *Leukophryena* dossier were uncovered in the southwest corner of the agora between during the 1891/1892 excavations conducted by Humann

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[5] Philip V's letter is lost (perhaps only a small fragment survives: *I.Magnesia* 24), but the decree from Chalkis refers explicitly to it (47, ll. 1-2).

[6] Teos: Rigsby, *Asylia* 136-152, 154-157, 159-161; cf. Knäpper 2018, 136-146. Mylasa: *I.Mylasa* 641-663 (cf. Rigsby, *Asylia* 187-200), on which see Carless Unwin 2016 and 2017, 137-149, 155-160, 217-230. Other Hellenistic *asylia* dossiers were preserved on several stelae and/or different stone media, like the one from the *Asklepieion* of Kos: *IG* XII.4 208-245 and Bosnakis and Hallof 2020; for the date (243/242) see Coşkun 2021. We know neither the original location of the stones nor the relative order in which the freestanding stele were displayed: Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 111; Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 288-290.

[7] On the paratextuality of inscriptions: Cooley 2014, 2015, 2019, 271-275; Del Corso 2017.

and his team.[8] This location was significant from an urban planning perspective, as it was one of the two main entrances to the agora, with the *Prytaneion* of the city located nearby.[9] The inscriptions of the dossier faced directly across the agora toward the temple of Zeus *Sosipolis* and the opening in the east stoa that provided access to the *temenos* of Artemis *Leukophryene* (Map 1).

More than seventy documents were discovered during the excavation, with the majority being found *in situ*. However, it is not always possible to determine the exact position of each inscription.[10] The inscriptions were all placed inside the west stoa; some of them (*I.Magnesia* 16-34) occupied the "Pilaster wall" that enclosed the west stoa from the south (Map 2). The dossier began with an introductory section, which included three noteworthy documents: a chronicle of the historical phases that led to the departure of multiple teams of θεωροί to ask for the recognition of new panhellenic games for Artemis and inviolability for the city (16), a document concerning the mythical foundation of the city (17), and a forged decree passed by the Cretan κοινόν at the time of the foundation of Magnesia (20, to which 21 may be attached[11]). Next came the royal epistles (18-19, 22-24), as well as the decrees passed by κοινά and by some cities fully or partially approving the requests of the Magnesian envoys (25-34). The remaining texts (35-87) were inscribed on the southern half of the back wall of the west stoa (Map 3). Except for the decree of Tralles (85) and two unknown Attalid cities (86-87), all the responses had a single round of requests as their source, starting in the summer of 208/207 and ending with the second celebration of the games in 203/202.[12] This narrow date range is confirmed by the palaeographic features of the dossier: with the exception of the last three decrees (85-87), all the documents have formal characteristics that can be traced back to the last years of the 3rd and the first years of the 2nd centuries.[13]

The arrangement of epigraphic corpora has inevitably obscured the complex and carefully planned structure of this epigraphic dossier, creating a series of disembodied texts that follow one another.[14] However, if we focus on the archaeological context, it becomes clear that the documents (or, at least, some of them) were in-

[8] See O. Kern in *I.Magnesia* at pp. 4-5.

[9] On the agora: Humann *et al.* 1904, 107-138; Bingöl 2006; Sielhorst 2015, 42-46.

[10] See O. Kern in *I.Magnesia* at pp. 11-12.

[11] See below, 222.

[12] Sosin 2009. Chronology: Ebert 1982, 202, 216; Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 182; Osborne 2010, 170-172; Iversen 2017, 188-191.

[13] On the palaeography of the dossier see below, 223-224.

[14] Panciera 2006, 585: "In realtà nessuna edizione [...] può mai pretendere di sostituire il contatto diretto con l'originale, il quale [...] non è d'altronde costituito soltanto dal testo e dalla sua forma, ma anche dal suo supporto e da tutto ciò che ne fa parte, per non parlare del suo contesto ambientale". Cf. Graham 2021, 571-574.

scribed following precise organizational principles.[15] To begin with, the Magnesians decided to open their dossier with the three aforementioned documents illustrating the dossier's *raison d'être* (*I.Magnesia* 16, 17, 20+21). Secondly, they established a hierarchy among the various responses, with the royal letters being inscribed at the beginning of the dossier.[16]

The special collocation assigned to the introductory documents and the prominence given to royal letters mark them as a special group. As Ceccarelli has pointed out, the idea of assigning a special status to royal letters is reflected by *I.Magnesia* 16, ll. 28-35, in which the Magnesians state that they succeeded in establishing new stephanitic and isopythic games for Artemis ἀποδεξαμένων *v* τῶμ βασιλέων [κ]αὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ων Ἑλλή]ṿωμ, | πρὸς οὓς ἐπρέσβευσαν, *v* κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ πό[λεις ψηφισα[|μ]ένων (ll. 30-32).[17] Kings are mentioned first, and their letters are set apart from the decrees of the other Greeks, who are further divided into leagues and cities. Additionally, it is worth noticing that the primacy and separation of royal letters from the rest of the responses is also visually marked through vacats.[18]

Effective organization, prioritization, and division of documents are crucial strategies, particularly when the documents were received at different times by different teams of envoys. For example, the letters from Antiochos III and his son (*I.Magnesia* 18-19) were only handed over to the Magnesian θεωροί after 205, when Antiochos was in Antiochia in Persis on his way back from his triumphant campaign in the eastern satrapies of the kingdom.[19] Similarly, the civic decrees passed by the Seleucid *apoikiai*, such as the one from Antiochia in Persis,[20] where the Magnesian envoys met the king and received his letter, must have arrived together with the royal documents but were inscribed almost at the end of the dossier, on the opposite side of the king's letter.[21]

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[15] Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 185; Ceccarelli 2018, 151-152, 175-179.

[16] On royal epistolography and the recognition of *asylia*: Ceccarelli 2018; Knäpper 2021.

[17] Ceccarelli 2018, 177-178.

[18] On the use of vacats see below, 224-225.

[19] Kosmin 2014, 217-218, 233-237. In Santini 2020, 77-80, I argue that other documents inside the dossier might belong to ca. 205, in particular *I.Magnesia* 65a+75, 65b+76, 67, and 70, all of them belonging to Cretan cities.

[20] *I.Magnesia* 61; cf. also 60, in which Antiochos III is presumably mentioned.

[21] In contrast to the Magnesian dossier, the Koan dossier follows a different organizational principle. Each freestanding stele displayed the documents brought by a single team of envoys; opisthographic stelae could accommodate the documents of one or two separate *theoriai* (one: *IG* XII.4 214, 216, 226; two: 221, 223, Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 291-293). Additionally, the documents were not displayed according to a specific hierarchy within each stele; for instance, royal letters were not always inscribed first. See, e.g., Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 291-293: the letters by the Bithynian king Ziaëlas and queen Laodike were inscribed at the bottom of side B of the stone after decrees passed by some Macedonian cities and Temnos.

When it comes to the documents stemming from other political actors, the *Leukophryena* dossier also reveals a logical but less clear structuring. For example, the decrees passed by κοινά (*I.Magnesia* 25, 31–32, 34) are separated from the royal letters and generally precede civic decrees.[22] By and large, the in-between position of the leagues' decrees (less than a royal letter, more than a civic decree) seems to reflect the specific perceived status of such polities (less than a king, more than a city). However, civic decrees passed by two Thessalian cities (26, 33) were inscribed on the "Pilaster wall". It is unclear why this was done, but it may have been to highlight the political and diplomatic importance of such cities.[23] Indeed, Magnesia's Thessalian roots stand out as a constituent part of the local historiographical tradition(s) on the foundation of the city, as crystallized in *I.Magnesia* 17.[24] As for the rest of the civic decrees found *in situ*, it is possible to pinpoint different geographical clusters of responses, but the order and sequence of such clusters do not seem to correspond to a specific rationale.[25]

The Magnesians' meticulous planning is evident not only in how they arranged the epigraphic material but also in their rigorous selection of which responses to inscribe. In at least sixteen cases, they appended the names of cities that had taken a similar decision to the answer of a given city.[26] It is unclear whether this selection was influenced by foreign political actors or was entirely a local decision. While some lists may reflect a "federalist" structure, as seen in the Arkadians' decree (*I.Magnesia*

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[22] Exceptions are the decrees of the Arkadians (*I.Magnesia* 38), Achaians (39), and Messenians (43, ll. 6, 16–17). It should be noted, however, that *I.Magnesia* 38 is actually the civic decree of Megalopolis, to which an appended list with the votes of "the other Arkadians" is attached, and there is no clear mention of federal assemblies or magistrates. With regard to the Messenians, it is true that, as noted by Luraghi 2015, 263, "the designation *koinon* is used only for federal states, with no single exception". However, the title παρὰ Μεσσηνίων, which is certainly added by the Magnesians to the decree of the Messenians, does not include the word κοινόν, as is the case with other federal decrees: *I.Magnesia* 25, 34.

[23] A similar explanation can be advanced for the decree of Kalydon (*I.Magnesia* 28), which was accompanied by a list of Aitolian cities and included in the "Pilaster wall". *IG* IX.1² 4 attests to strong diplomatic connections between the Magnesians and the Aitolians towards the end of the 3rd century, when the Magnesians were granted a seat on the Amphictyony (*F.Delphes* III.2 134b). However, the reason why the Magnesians approached individual members of the league, as well as the league as a whole (Rigsby, *Asylia* 78, which was found in Delphi), remains unclear.

[24] Biagetti 2010, 46–50.

[25] A cluster of Peloponnesian documents (*I.Magnesia* 38–43) is followed by documents from communities on the Ionian and Adriatic seas (44–46; but see 35–36, respectively Same and Ithaka) and a Euboean cluster of decrees (47–48), the latter preceding a group of documents related to islands and coastal cities of Asia Minor (49–57); finally, cities linked to the Seleucids were grouped together (60–61). Thereafter, the dossier's fragmentary status hinders a clear reconstruction. Traces of a Cretan cluster are still recognizable (65a+75, 65b+76, 70, to which also add 67, found nearby the Cretan documents still *in situ*); the Syracuse decree (72) might have been part of a group of western cities; cities under Pergamon's influence were grouped at the end of the dossier (83, 86–87).

[26] The following remarks expand on Santini 2020, 75 n. 59.

38),[27] the redactors employed multiple criteria when shaping the lists. For example, the list attached to the Laodicea on the Lycus decree (59) appears to be primarily geographical, while the Seleucid *apoikiai* listed under the Antiochia in Persis decree (61) reflects a combination of broader political kinship and geographical factors. Additionally, the forged decree of the Cretan κοινόν (20) likely had its own subscription list (21),[28] indicating that the groupings were ultimately determined by the Magnesian redactors, irrespective of any suggestions from envoys or other political actors.[29] Internal organizing factors, such as balancing monumentality and exhaustiveness, may have played a role in the redactors' decision-making process as they sought to draft the lists and manage the considerable volume of documents generated by their request.

Together with the general organization of the different documents, the presence of such subscription lists suggests that the idea of collecting, selecting, and inscribing the epigraphic material in such a conspicuous location was an important part of the project itself. In fact, the Magnesians' envoys broadcasted this idea. Decrees like *I.Magnesia* 64 seem to reveal rather precise knowledge of what the Magnesians intended to do with the responses they elicited, as they allude to the final epigraphic publication of the decree (l. 21: [ὅπως τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀν]αγραφῆ ἐν τῆ στοᾶι αὐτῶν).[30] The Magnesians' decision to determine the placement of the answers returned by the ambassadors during the planning phase provides additional evidence of their careful consideration of the positioning of the texts on the walls of the stoa.

This raises the question of who might have been responsible for creating the dossier. Some sort of specialized personnel, the ἀρχιτέκτονες, were in charge of the erection of epigraphic documents on the walls or doors of some public buildings in Magnesia, as well as in their vicinity, as attested in documents ranging from the be-

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[27] Rigsby 2001.

[28] See already Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 193. The plausible connection of this fragmentary list to *I.Magnesia* 20 may represent a further argument in favor of the sophistication that Chaniotis 2015, 677-680 attributes to the Magnesians' forgery.

[29] Roy 2003, 125-126; Ceccarelli 2018, 153 n. 21.

[30] *I.Magnesia* 67, ll. 5-6: εὖ οὖν ποιήσετε ἀναγράψαν|[τες ἐς τ]ὰν στωιὰν καὶ ὑμέν. It is however worth noticing that some other documents allude to publication not in the stoa but in the sanctuary of Artemis (59b, ll. 18-19; 80, ll. 9-11). Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 185 n. 28 suggested that both cities were "simply ignorant and relying on formula in asking the Magnesians to place the decree in the temple of Artemis *Leukophryene*". It is not surprising that documents could be eventually inscribed in a different location than the one established (cf. *Choix Delphes* 103, ll. 10-11; 104, ll. 9-10). However, it is worth considering that such an anomalous request is consistent with the broader attitude shown by the two cities, Laodicea on the Lycus and Antiochia in Pisidia (?). Both cities passed numerous additional honors (59, ll. 13-28; 80, ll. 14-20) otherwise unattested in the rest of the dossier, which may reflect a particularly strong relationship between those cities and Magnesia. In this sense, the two cities were not fully respecting the "Empfängerformular" practice so widely attested in the *Leukophryena* dossier (Chaniotis 1999).

ginning of the 2nd century to the early 1st century.[31] While speculative, it is possible that the same personnel were involved in the planning and concrete erection of the *Leukophryena* dossier. Furthermore, it is tempting to connect such careful planning and the potential involvement of a local ἀρχιτέκτων with the decision to redesign and monumentalize Magnesia's city center. The *Leukophryena* dossier was positioned facing the two recently constructed temples of Artemis *Leukophryene* and Zeus *Sosipolis*, which were commissioned at the conclusion of the 3rd century to one of the most renowned architects of the era, Hermogenes of Priene.[32]

2. Microstructure: The Documents, their Layout, and Lectional Signs

Even on a more granular level, layout plays a critical role in expressing hierarchies and conveying broader messages. By and large, the documents passed by the leagues and cities were introduced by a heading, as attested in at least thirteen cases, following the formula παρά + genitive, with letters of a larger size (ca. 1.5 cm). These headings allow one to identify, at first glance, the various addressees, besides functioning as a break in the long sequence of decrees and letters; furthermore, they are a product of the Magnesian redactors.[33] Quite differently, the beginnings of the royal letters were marked by the reverse indentation (*ekthesis*) of the first letters of the word βασιλεύς, followed by the name of the sovereign.[34] This means that a different formatting coincided with a difference in the origin of each document.[35]

All these texts were inscribed in elegant letters, carefully carved and regularly spaced, made more visible on the white marble by a dark red/brownish color.[36] The decrees have letters which are 1.0 cm high and have a constant interlinear distance of 0.5 cm. The *ductus* is extremely regular, and all the strokes end in hypertrophic apexes, leaning towards the outside. The introductory documents, along with the letters from the kings, have larger letters (2 cm).[37] By and large, the palaeographic

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31 *I.Magnesia* 93a, ll. 17-33; 100b, l. 24.

32 Ceccarelli 2018, 151-152. On Hermogenes: Hoepfner and Schwandner 1990; Mylonopoulos 2013.

33 *I.Magnesia,* pl. V. An analogous use of headings (but only in genitive plural and only for some of the cities involved) is attested in the *asylia* decrees from Kos (*IG* XII.4 215 I-V, 216A I-IV, 220 I-III, 221A I-II, Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 291 and 293) and in the *asylia* dossier from Teos (see above, n. 6).

34 *I.Magnesia*, pl. III. Reverse indentation is a layout device commonly adopted by masons to highlight the beginning of a new text (cf. the Opramoas dossier from Rhodiapolis: *TAM* II 905; Kokkinia 2000) or section within epigraphic dossiers (cf. the Rhodian arbitration between Priene and Samos: *I.Priene B - M* 132, l. 180; Magnetto 2008, 258). In Magnesia, reverse indentation is adopted graphically to introduce metrical citations, too: see below, 224.

35 Ceccarelli 2018, 174-175, 177.

36 O. Kern in *I.Magnesia* at p. XXX: "Die Linien waren mit brauner Farbe ausgefüllt".

37 O. Kern in *I.Magnesia* at pp. XXIX-XXXIX and pls. III-V. See also Santini 2020, 306-307 (table of diagnostic letters from *I.Magnesia* 31, 43, 58, 61, 65a+75, 65b+76, 73, 85).

vest of the dossier conveys a sense of homogeneity and unity, which almost certainly suggests the work of a single mason.

This visual impression is also obtained through the use of specific punctuation and lectional signs across the various documents, one of the least explored aspects of the *Leukophryena* dossier. In contrast to contemporary epigraphic dossiers from Miletos or Priene, but similarly to later ones, such as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* at Ankyra and Antiochia, the Magnesian dossier stands out because of the variety of lectional signs and the frequency with which these appear throughout the surviving documents.[38] The most common, by far, is the use of vacats. They signal the beginnings of paragraphs, sentences, or parts of sentences. So, for example, in the Akarnanians' decree (*I.Magnesia* 31, l. 36; Fig. 55) vacats were used to separate the different sections of the document, such as the prescript, the body of the decree, and further additional provisions. The same decree shows how vacats are also used to highlight smaller units, such as a particularly relevant sentence or the names of the Magnesian θεωροί (31, l. 42; Fig. 55). Royal letters receive the same treatment: vacats precede the king's name, separating it from the royal title, which, in turn, is indented.[39]

However, the paratextual apparatus of the decrees is rather minimalistic if compared to that of *I.Magnesia* 16 and 17.[40] As previously noted, both documents occupied a privileged position at the beginning of the dossier. My intention is to focus now on three paratextual features of these two documents: reverse indentation (*ekthesis*), the frequent use of vacats, and the presence of peculiar long dashes. I have chosen to focus on these layout features as they are highly relevant to the broader issue of how viewers and readers engaged with the dossier.

Reverse indentation was used in prosimetric documents to indicate the transition from the main text to oracular citations, thereby improving readability.[41] This is why oracle sections in *I.Magnesia* 16, ll. 7, 9-10 and in *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 16-23, 28-35, 38-41 are presented in *ekthesis*. Several parallels can be cited to compare this layout device, such as the inscription of Mnesiepes from Paros, dated to the 3rd century, which features reverse indentation for quotations of Archilochos and citations of oracles.[42] Another example is the dossier from Miletos regarding grants of citizenship

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[38] Miletos: *I.Delphinion* 33-38. Priene: the late Hellenistic dossier of honorific decrees from the walls of the "Heilige Halle" (*I.Priene B - M* 63-85). On the materiality and paratextuality of the *Res Gestae*: Cooley 2015, 2018, 2019.

[39] Royal letters in the *asylia* dossier from Kos show a similar layout strategy: cf., e.g., *IG* XII.4 209, l. 1. However, it is worth noting that in some instances this layout device is not employed: cf. Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 293 (texts III and IV).

[40] See above, 219.

[41] It is also widely attested in documents, commentaries, and lists written on papyrus: see Turner 1971, 9-10.

[42] *SEG* XV 517A, col. 2, ll. 1-15, 50-52; col. 3, ll. 6-8, 31-35, 47-50; B, col. 1, ll. 14-44. On the layout and the use of lectional signs in the inscription: Gomis Garcia 2015, 113-117.

to Cretans in 234/233 and 229/228, which was displayed, among other inscriptions, on one of the walls of the *Delphinion*.[43] In this case, first-line indentation (*eisthesis*) is adopted to separate citations of oracles from the main text.[44]

The apparent function of vacats in *I.Magnesia* 16 and 17, as well as in the other documents in the dossier, is to indicate keywords, relevant phrases, or the beginnings of new sections. However, their presence in *I.Magnesia* 16 and 17 is much more frequent, resulting in a particularly fragmented appearance of the epigraphic surface, especially in *I.Magnesia* 16 (Fig. 56). The detailed dating formula at ll. 11-16, for example, is broken down into smaller units through the use of vacats. The fragmentation of the epigraphic surface may have been an intentional device to facilitate visual interaction with the text. This feature likely helped readers navigate through the elaborate synchronisms and different steps that led to the recognition of new games for the goddess.

A similar function may be shared by a series of dashes in mid-line position with prominent apices (*I.Magnesia* 16, ll. 11, 16, 24, 28), which the stonecutter employs in one case in combination with a vacat (l. 24; Fig. 56).[45] This same kind of dash can be found only once in *I.Magnesia* 17, l. 4.[46] Although the precise relationship between this lectional sign and its role in the text is not evident in every instance, especially when compared to vacats, there are distinguishable patterns in its application. In some instances, it seems to highlight a keyword (*I.Magnesia* 16, l. 11: τὸγ χ[ρ]ησμόν; l. 16: πρῶτ[οι]). In others, it marks the beginning of a new section (ll. 23-24: [γεγο]|ν̣ότων. ›—‹ *vvvv* ὡς δὲ ἐπιβ[α]λόμενοι παρη̣λ̣κ̣ύσθησ[αν]; ll. 27-28: [ἐκέχρησ]|τ̣ο· ›—‹ στεφανηφοροῦντος δὲ Μοιραγόρου τὸν̣ στεφαν[ίτην ἀγῶνα]; 17, l. 4: [..... ca. 10 ..... ψ]ηφισμάτων ›—‹ μέχρι μὲν [τούτων κατὰ νοῦν]).

From a modern standpoint, this is by far the most noticeable lectional sign employed in the whole dossier, mainly because of the scarcity of epigraphic parallels and, to my knowledge, complete absence in the papyrological evidence. It is otherwise unattested in Magnesia except in two instances. The first instance comes from the Tralles decree, which pertains to a later stage in the composition of the dossier (ca. mid-2nd century). In this document, the dash marks the beginning of a new section within the document, preceding the invocation of good fortune and the motion

[43] *I.Delphinion* 33-35 (first series) and 36-38 (second series).

[44] *I.Delphinion* 33f-g (drawing at p. 174).

[45] Ebert 1982, 206 is puzzled by the abnormal length of the vacat; consequently, he posits a *rasura* between ›—‹ and ὡς, suggesting that the phrase may originally have read as follows: οὕτως δὲ ἐπιβαλόμενοι παρηλκύσθησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ στεφανηφόρου (the stonecutter is supposed to have forgotten the second δέ and subsequently to have erased ⟦οὕτ⟧ως to correct the syntax). However, both extant squeezes of *I.Magnesia* 16 do not show any clear trace of *rasura* (Fig. 56). Moreover, vacats and dashes are used together in Ephesos, too: see below, 226.

[46] *Pace* Slater and Summa 2006, 282 n. 25; see *I.Magnesia*, pl. IV.

formula.[47] The second instance is *I.Magnesia* 215a, a 2nd-century CE re-inscription of an allegedly original Hellenistic document (possibly 3rd century) that records a diplomatic mission by two θεόπροποι and comprises the text of an oracle about the organization of Dionysiac θίασοι.[48] Dashes serve here as separators of personal names both in the prose introduction and in the text of the oracle (ll. 11, 32-33). They also isolate groups of one (ll. 13-14, 20-21, 23-24, 27-28, 28-30) or two hexameters (ll. 14-17, 17-20, 24-27) in the oracle. Neither usage is attested in the *Leukophryena* dossier or other Hellenistic inscriptions (see below), which might indicate that this is, in fact, a different lectional sign. After all, it is unclear whether these dashes were already present in the Hellenistic document that the inscription claims to be based upon, or if they were added when the text was re-inscribed in the 2nd century CE.[49]

The presence of this long dash outside of Magnesia is rare, with only a few epigraphic attestations found.[50] These include the so-called "Gesetz über Schuldentilgung" from Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* 4; ca. 299) and the arbitration of Rhodes in the territorial dispute between Priene and Samos (*I.Priene B - M* 132; ca. 196-192). The first document, a law concerning a crisis of the credit market, was inscribed on several blocks of a monumental wall that probably stood in the *Artemision*.[51] The document consistently uses dashes with small serifs, usually placed in mid-line position, to separate different clauses; the dashes are paired with pronounced vacats in two instances, where they isolate titles of broader thematic sections (ll. 42-43: *vvv* ›—‹ *vvv* ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγγύων τῶν ἐγγυωμένων πρὸς [αὐτὰ] τὰ κτήματα *vvv* ›—‹ *vvv*; ll. 74-75: *vvv* ›—‹ *vvv* ὑπὲρ τῶν δανε[ιστ]ῶν τῶν ἐμβεβηκότων εἰς κτήματα *vvv* ›—‹ *vvv*). The second document, from Priene, was part of a wider epigraphic dossier displayed on the northern anta and external wall of the temple of Athena *Polias* in Priene.[52] This document uses long dashes in two instances: first, at l. 112, to introduce a new sec-

[47] *I.Magnesia* 85, ll. 13-14: φιλία πολλαπλασιόνως ἐ[παύξηται ἀκολού]|θως τῆι ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλε[ων φιλοτι]μίαι ›—‹ τύχηι ἀγαθῆι δεδόχθαι.

[48] The document (photo in Henrichs 1978, 124) was engraved following the initiative of a private citizen, Apollonios Mokoldes (*SEG* XLV 1595), who was *mystes* of Dionysus (*I.Magnesia* 215b). For the imperial date of the inscription: Henrichs 1978, 126 with n. 10; Lombardi 2007/2008, 550. Both authors are convinced of the authenticity of the document (cf. *BNJ* 482 F 5), thus placing the diplomatic mission either ca. 275 (Henrichs) or the last decade of the 3rd century (Lombardi). Jaccottet and Massa 2014, 288-289 and n. 4 voice instead skepticism about the authenticity of the oracle, without questioning the Hellenistic origin of the document copied by Apollonios.

[49] Dashes with serifs were indeed used in lists to separate names, sometimes in connection with numerals, in Attic inscriptions of the Roman period: Threatte, *Grammar* I nos. 5, 9 at pp. 90-91. Cf. also *I.Magnesia* 116, a decree from the reign of Hadrian recording a decision to increase the city's daily supply of olive oil for the Gymnasium. There, dashes are used to separate the products and the produced amount of each plot of land (ll. 36-67).

[50] For a survey of the attestations of this lectional sign see D. Amendola's chapter in this volume.

[51] Walser 2008, 11-15.

[52] Magnetto 2008, 245 offers a reconstruction of the whole dossier.

tion where the Samians reply to the claims of the Prienians ([μέρη τινά, διελόντες εἰς] ἄλλους κλάρους πέντε. ›—‹ ἔφα[σαν δὲ Σάμιοι]); and second, at l. 185, within a sentence in the section concerning the delimitation of the border (ll. 180-192), seemingly to emphasize a specific portion of the border that Priene intended to keep in its possession (τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν λόφον καὶ τὰν φάραγγα καὶ τοὺς ἐπικολαφθέντας ὅρους ›—‹ εἴμειν Πριανέων).[53]

The examples above illustrate that the use of the long dash was not confined to a specific type of document. They also seem to suggest that it had a dual function: emphasizing keywords and marking the beginnings of new sections. But caution in this regard is warranted. Closer examination of the aforementioned Ephesian inscription suggests that the dash was in fact not meant to fulfill the first of these functions.

In this inscription, three long dashes are positioned between lines at the left margin of the text columns (*I.Ephesos* 4, ll. 78-79, 86-87, 89-90). These three dashes have puzzled scholars,[54] but they clearly appear to serve as markers for the beginnings of new clauses. This positioning may have been necessary because the clauses to which they refer begin at the start of the line. In this respect, they bear a close resemblance to a *paragraphos*, which is a lectional sign of identical shape. The *paragraphos* was used to separate phraseological or conceptual sections within papyrological and epigraphic documents and was typically placed at the left margin of the text between lines.[55]

It is conceivable that, in the original copy of the law on perishable material, all thematic section titles and clauses started at the beginnings of lines, with the *paragraphoi* placed in their standard position in the left margin of the text columns. The relocation of the *paragraphoi* inside the lines may have been a deliberate decision by the stonecutter to save space and prevent blank lines, possibly achieved by arranging titles and clauses to follow one another without interruption. With the Ephesian example in mind, I suggest that this long dash in mid-line position be construed as a specifically epigraphic rendition of a *paragraphos* that aimed to assist the reader in navigating long and complicated texts. The transfer and relocation of left marginal *paragraphoi* from the perishable template to the mid-line of the epigraphic text could, however, result in mistakes and give the false impression of an effort to highlight keywords that was never actually intended. In reality, this was not a standard function of *paragraphoi*. This appears to be the case in *I.Magnesia* 16, where the dashes at

[53] Photo in *I.Priene B - M* II at pp. 108, 111; cf. Magnetto 2008, 66.

[54] H. Wankel at *I.Ephesos* 4, p. 12: "Die einzelnen "Paragraphen" sind durch Spatien und waagrechte Linien markiert, wenn auch nicht konsequent (auf Block 3 finden sich diese Linien dreimal auch am linken Rand zwischen den Zeilen: vor Z. 79, 87 und 90)"; Walser 2008, 14: "Unklar ist die Funktion dreier solcher Linien, die auf Block 3 am linken Rand zwischen die Zeilen 78 und 79, 86 und 87 und schließlich 89 und 90 gesetzt sind".

[55] Faraguna 2020, 117 with n. 37 and 119-122 on the widespread use of *paragraphoi* in different epigraphic genres.

lines 11 and 16 may have originally served to isolate the elaborate temporal indication (ἐπὶ στε[φανηφόρου] ... Μεσσηνίου) rather than to emphasize two keywords (see above). Similarly, in Priene, there might be a slight displacement: the dash should have come after εἴμειν Πριανέων (l. 185), thereby marking the beginning of a new subsection of the document.[56]

3. Conclusions. Layout, Materiality, and Readability of the *Leukophryena* Dossier

The epigraphic dossier displayed by the Magnesians in the center of their city offers valuable insights not only into a crucial moment of their civic history but also into the dynamics that shaped diplomatic interactions in the Hellenistic world. It illustrates the sophistication with which a polis could display its official correspondence on stone and in monumental form. To fully understand its meaning, it is essential to consider the spatial setting and layout, as well as the "paratextual" apparatus, as integral parts of the message(s) that such epigraphic monuments aim to transmit.

In examining the layout of the Magnesian epigraphic dossier, questions inevitably arise regarding its readability. Was the monument meant to be read, and if so, to what extent and how? These questions have surfaced in the discussion regarding lectional signs and the layout of specific documents, and they are the focus of the chapter's concluding remarks.

The dossier's location in the Magnesian public landscape ensured its persistent presence, both for citizens and residents (especially those who worked on a daily basis in the stores at the back of the stoa). Regardless of the overall literacy of the Magnesian population, it is certain that the documents could be viewed without being properly read.[57] A passerby could still be vaguely aware of the monument's meaning while appreciating it as a visual memento of that specific moment in the city's history.

The monument's location and structure also raise questions about the full readability of the dossier. One concern is whether the documents inscribed on top of the pillars of the southern wall of the stoa, which were located at a height of ca. 4/5 meters from the ground, were visible and readable for someone standing inside the stoa (Map 2). Despite the size of the letters (ca. 2 cm) and their dark red/brownish

[56] I thank the editors of the volume for pointing me to the possible displacement of the dashes in *I.Magnesia* 16 and *I.Priene B - M* 132. For the idea that dashes at mid-height should be regarded as graphic variants of the "traditional" interlinear *paragraphoi* at the left margin see Amendola's chapter in this volume.

[57] To assess the extent and social distribution of literacy in Magnesia during the Hellenistic era is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, for the purpose of my argument, the actual degree of literacy may not be crucial, as I propose that the dossier was intended to be read by specific readers, as discussed below, 229-230.

color, it would not have been easy for someone standing in the stoa to distinguish the letters. Another issue is the orientation of the “Pilaster wall”. According to the archaeological reconstruction of the stoa, the five pillars were flanked by four wide windows.[58] As the wall faces south, the documents inscribed on the pillars may have been against the light of the sun for most of the year, making them harder to read. In contrast, the documents displayed along the southern half of the western stoa were carved at eye level and would have benefited from different sources of light, such as direct light coming through the four south-facing windows and indirect light from the side facing the agora (Map 3).

Despite the challenges posed by the location and orientation of the Magnesian epigraphic dossier, the idea that it was intended to be read should not be abandoned. There are two reasons for this. First, the obstacles are not insurmountable and do not affect the entire dossier. Second, layout devices and lectional signs are functional in the epigraphic context and serve to create a recognizable visual framework for the observer, dividing the texts into logical units. Even if these elements were residual and carried over from a document on perishable material, they still served an epigraphic function in the monument.

One final question remains: what type of reading was intended for the dossier? I propose that at least a portion, if not all, of the dossier was intended to be read aloud in a cultic context.[59] This suggestion is indirectly supported by evidence from Magnesia itself. While we do not possess sources attesting to public readings of the *Leukopryena* dossier, we do know that public readings of other documents displayed in the agora were part of celebrations of cult activities related to Artemis during the 2nd and 1st centuries. For example, in the context of the *Eisiteria*, the appointed secretary of the Council, along with the *antigrapheus*, was responsible for publicly reading the decree regarding the organization of the *Eisiteria* four days before the feast celebration and after the appointment of Artemis’ priestess and the *stephanephoros*, under penalty of a substantial fine.[60] If such public readings were also connected to the *Leukophryena* epigraphic dossier, as I am proposing, we may interpret the dossier as the narrative complement to the celebrations taking place every four years – a vital component of the new games that made Magnesia the center of the Greek world.

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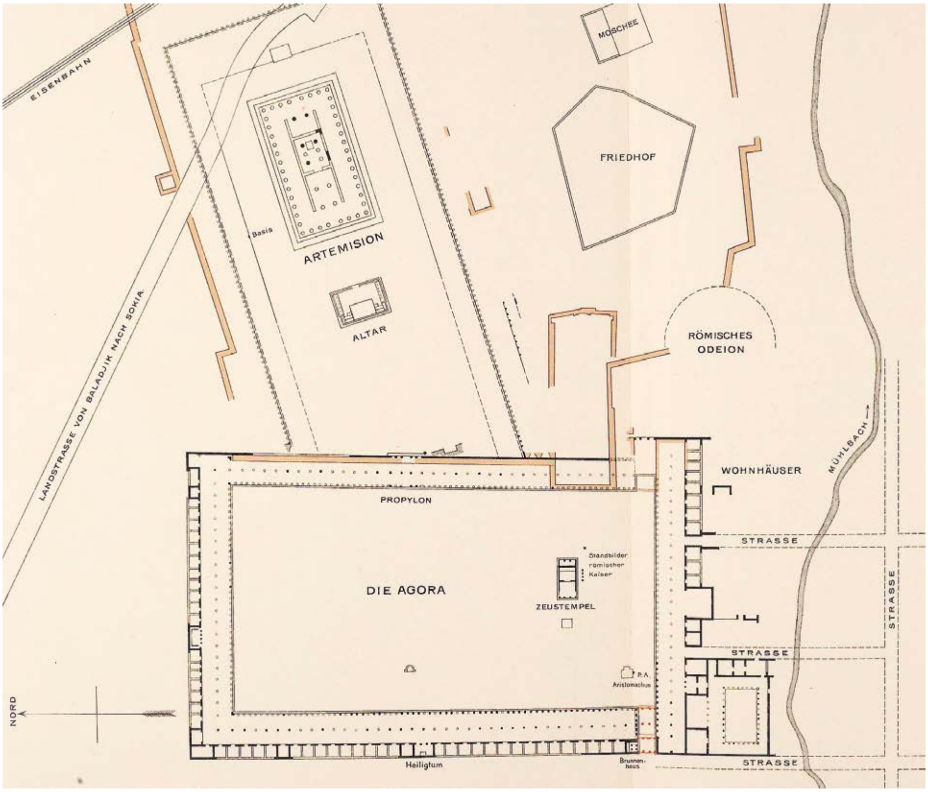
[58] Humann *et al.* 1904, 112-113, 116-117.

[59] Reading inscriptions in cultic and ritual contexts was often the responsibility of specific readers in the Greek world. This practice is attested in various locations, such as Teos and Abdera, where magistrates were obliged to read out the inscription concerning public curses and could even compel scribes to do so (Osborne - Rhodes, *GHI* 102 C.d); in Hellenistic Crete, *kosmoi* were instructed to publicly read interstate agreements in the context of different festivals (Chaniotis, *Verträge*, at pp. 125-126); funerary inscriptions were also meant to be read out loud (*TAM* V.1 687, ll. 20-25).

[60] *I.Magnesia* 100b, ll. 26-35.

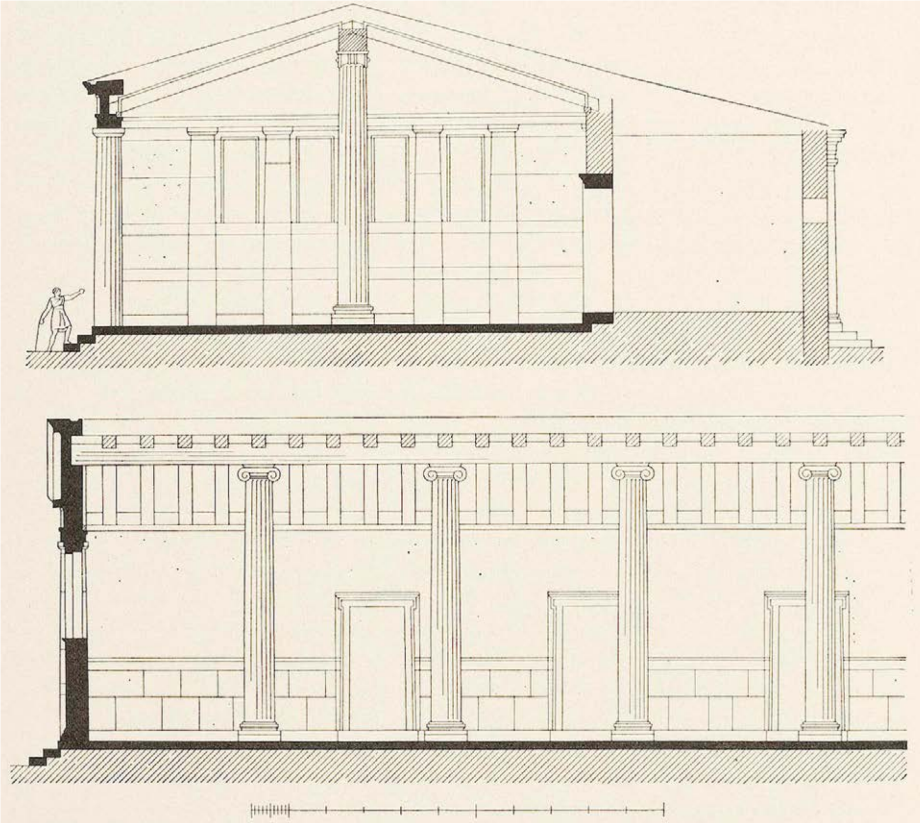
The dossier should be viewed in the context of the performative aspect of the celebrations honoring Artemis.[61] Drawing on epigraphic testimonies that detail the processions during the feast in honor of Zeus *Sosipolis* and the *Eisiteria* for Artemis (*I.Magnesia* 98, 100a–b), Hammerschmied has suggested that a procession would have taken place during the *Leukophryena*, passing through the agora *en route* to the *temenos*.[62] Participants, including local priests and priestesses, magistrates, citizens, and foreign θεωροί, would have traversed the four porticoes of the agora counterclockwise, eventually arriving at the imposing dossier located in the west stoa. Procession attendees may have beheld the tangible markers of the Magnesian diplomatic effort with their own eyes while someone, perhaps a herald or the secretary of the Council and his *antigrapheus* (as in *I.Magnesia* 100b), read selected portions of the dossier aloud.



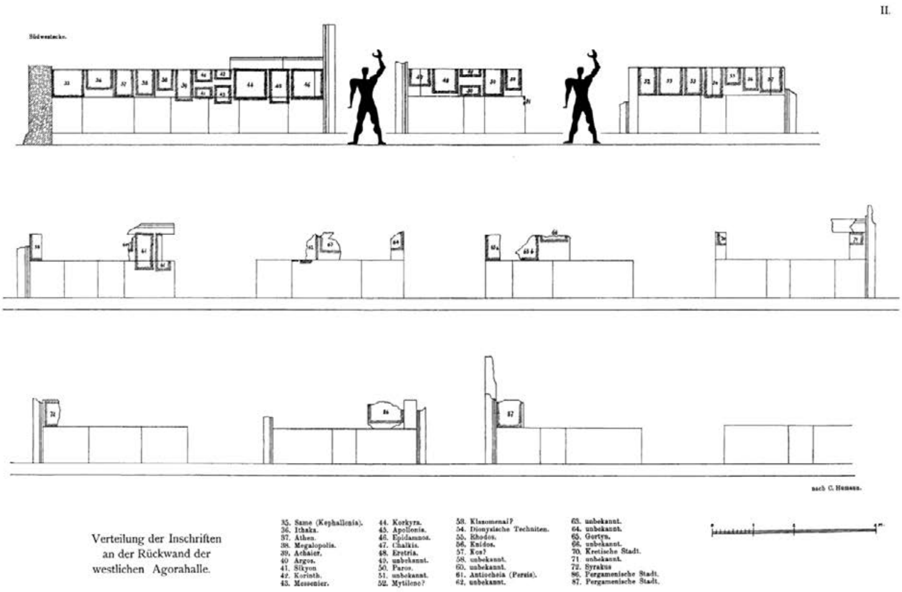
Map 1. The agora of Magnesia on the Maeander and the *temenos* of Artemis Leukophryene. From Humann *et al.* 1904, pl. II.

[61] Ceccarelli 2018, 151–152; Santini 2020, 6 with n. 25.

[62] Hammerschmied 2018, 98–110.



Map 2. The "Pilaster wall" and the southern sector of the west stoa.
From Humann *et al.* 1904, 116.



Map 3. The *Leukophryena* dossier: the back wall. From *I.Magnesia*, pl. I, modified.

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Stone to Stone. Patterns and Layouts in Re-Engraved Dedicatory Inscriptions

Leon Battista Borsano

The aim of this chapter is to analyze whether and to what extent layout played a role in re-engraved inscriptions. By these I mean new versions of older texts that were carved into new blocks of stone or elsewhere on the original stone at a later point in time.[1] In particular, I discuss whether stonecutters who re-engraved older epigraphic texts reacted to their original layout, whether they recognized specific features and tried to reproduce them, or whether they dismissed them as irrelevant in order to meet new requirements in terms of layout. While some aspects of re-engraved texts, such as the transition from dialects to *koine* and from one alphabet to another, have been thoroughly investigated,[2] layout issues – as far as I know – have not been addressed.

This chapter has two parts. In the first, I discuss – by drawing on several examples – the factors we must preliminarily consider when dealing with re-engraved texts. In the second, I focus on case studies drawn from the genre of dedicatory inscriptions, where layout issues may or may not have been affected by the existence of previous versions of the inscription. Before getting to the heart of the matter, however, I must note several caveats. First, even if we assume that many texts are later copies of pre-existent ones, this phenomenon can be ascertained

1 Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are BCE. For the sake of convenience, I use the word "original" for older versions even though they were clearly copied from perishable texts. For the distinction between original and copy, cf. Rousset *et al.* 2015, 443 n. 8 following the considerations of G. Rougemont in *CID* I, p. 87 n. 363. I do not consider here media engraved with different texts at different times or multiple engravings of the same text made on different media at the same moment – two widespread phenomena in ancient epigraphy. I thank the editors of the volume and the anonymous referees for their advice, which prompted me to better clarify my line of argument, as well as M. Santini and M. Garré for their suggestions in the early stages of this chapter.

2 Cf. the stele from Sigeion (*IG* I^3 1508) and especially Minon 2009.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Leon Battista Borsano, *Stone to Stone. Patterns and Layouts in Re-Engraved Dedicatory Inscriptions*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.14, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 235-255, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

only in a few cases.[3] Even rarer are cases in which multiple versions of the same text are at least partly preserved. To my knowledge, there has been no systematic study of these cases to date, of which a preliminary survey allowed me to identify seventeen (Table 1).[4] Second, not all the inscriptions that I have collected have been published with high-quality photos, squeezes, or facsimiles of both versions. This means that observations on layout cannot be made in some cases because the visual evidence is inconclusive. Finally, the small size of the corpus does not allow for any quantitative assessments.

1. Re-engraving Epigraphical Texts

Not all re-engraved texts are alike. When considering the relationship between original and copy, three different factors must be taken into account: distance in space, distance in time, and distance in purpose.

The first, distance in space, refers to the spatial distance between the original and its subsequent versions. When that distance is zero, the later version of the inscription is re-inscribed over the previous one, after the latter has been deleted. This is a borderline case, and it may be difficult to verify it when the erasure was properly carried out. For example, on the funerary base of Parmenon, son of Nikias (Fig. 57), a Cretan who died in Cyrene, the previous version can still be read – just barely – beneath the later one.[5] Since the name (Παρμένων) is long and both the patronymic (Νικία) and the ethnic (Κρής) are short, the stonecutter initially decided to arrange the text on two lines of approximately equal length. They slightly increased the spacing in the first line and the width of the first *ny* in order to align the two lines along both margins. Later, a portion of the text was erased, probably by the same hand, and the same name was re-engraved but in a different arrangement, so that the patronymic was now in the first line and reconnected with Parmenon. The stonecutter reused some of the previous letters (notably, *pi* and the right stroke of *my*), but was "forced" to tighten the letters of the first line and to center the text of the second. Rubrication may have partly hidden the pastiche. Although the reasons behind this decision are difficult

[3] Chaniotis 1988, 234-257 is the indispensable starting point, though the documents he collects are based on a wider selection, i.e., all cases in which texts (regardless of the status of their originals) were published on stone at a later time.

[4] In my survey, I was not able to include short funerary inscriptions on which single names of the dead were later re-engraved. Re-engraved funerary inscriptions are difficult to identify as descendants bear the same names as their ancestors, and their brevity generally has a modest impact on layout issues. Moreover, from a chronological point of view, I do not take into consideration "original" documents later than the Hellenistic period.

[5] Oliverio, *Doc. Africa italiana* 81 (with photo and facsimile). Cf. Beschi 1970, 204 (for base typologies in Cyrene) and *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 024000.

to determine,[6] the case shows how a stonecutter could engage with the layout – albeit hesitantly and with after thought – during the process of re-engraving.

In terms of spatial distance, cases in which the two versions cohabit the same medium and, when possible, the same surface are more common: in such instances the dialogue between the two texts is particularly meaningful, as both versions must have been visible simultaneously to passers-by (more on this below). Such cohabitation on the same medium also led to major physical constraints for the layout (in terms of size, space already taken, etc.). In cases where the old and new version do not cohabit the same medium, the new one may appear at an increasing spatial distance from the older one: on a medium that replaces the older one at the original setting, on another medium elsewhere in the same city, or even in places far away from it. A case in point is that of the late Hellenistic aretalogy of Isis from Aeolian Cyme, which, according to its own words, was copied from a stele standing in the temple of Hephaestus (i.e., Ptah) in Memphis.[7] Few other inscriptions are as specific in reporting the previous epigraphic versions from which they derive and their precise sites. The so-called "Cippus of the Labyadai" in Delphi specifies that some of the regulations reported on it "are written at Panopeus on the rock, inside", and then proceeds to quote them.[8] The rupestrian inscription mentioned in the Cippus happens to have survived in Panopeus, where it was recently rediscovered and published, without, however, shedding any light on the meaning of the adverb ἔνδω ("inside, inwards"), used on the Cippus to describe the precise location of the original.[9] A third example comes from Halicarnassus, where a list of priests of Poseidon was re-engraved circa the year 100. Although we do not have the original version, the prescript assures us that the list was transcribed from a specific stele.[10]

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[6] Since the funeral base is limestone rather than marble, C. Dobias-Lalou in *IG Cyrenaica*[2] 024000 thinks that the inscription was simply an exercise for an apprentice stonecutter. However, the block has two moldings: it seems too much effort for a simple exercise.

[7] *I.Kyme* 41, ll. 3-4: τάδε ἐγράφηι ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐν Μέμφει, ἥτι|ς ἕστηκεν πρὸς τῷ Ἡφαιστιήωι, "these things were written from the stele in Memphis that is located at the temple of Hephaestus".

[8] *CID* I 9; *Choix Delphes* 30D, ll. 29-31: Τοιάδε κῆμ | Φανατεῖ γέγραπται ἐν τ|ᾶι πέτραι ἔνδω.

[9] Rousset *et al.* 2015, no. 1 (*SEG* LXV 361). Cf. especially p. 443 for ἔνδω: the inscription "lies in the open", not in a cave. The first editors thought this might mean inside the *temenos* of an open-air sanctuary or other structure. I would add that ἔνδω may simply indicate a location inside the upper city, in the part protected by the walls.

[10] *Syll.*[3] 1020, ll. 1-2: μεταγράψαι [ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας] | [σ]τήλης τῆς παρεστώσης τοῖς ἀγά[λμασι κτλ., "(proposed to) transcribe from the [ancient] stele found at the simulacra etc."; cf. Isager 2015, 132-133 and n. 6 (*SEG* LXV 956). Even if ἀρχαίας is restored, a similar adjective is required. Lists are a type of epigraphic document that is easily subject to re-inscription. One outstanding example is the list of *stephanephoroi* from Miletus (*I.Delphinion* 122), of which an older partial copy was recently found: see Blümel 1995, 56-58 (*editio princeps*), *I.Milet* 1360, *I.Nordkarien* 170, and Driscoll 2019 (minor improvements in the reading of the text). The lack of context for the older copy – it was found reused in a mosque 20 km from Miletus – and its fragmentary state make it difficult to establish whether the more recent list was copied directly from the previous one. In this respect, the only item of interest here con-

The greater the spatial distance, the potentially greater the number of intermediate steps. It seems unlikely, however, that these intermediate stages, presumably transmitted through perishable media such as papyrus or parchment, retained specific features of the original epigraphic version such as layout and letterform. Between the third and second centuries, the people of Iasos passed a decree stipulating that a two-century-old Attic decree concerning the granting of proxeny to three Iasians be engraved (again?).[11] The antiquity of this latter decree is suggested by the discovery of three fragments of the Attic stele bearing the same text, all aspects of which – paleography, iconography, prosopography, etc. – point to the years 410-390.[12] The text of the decree must have been brought to Iasos on perishable media. It may have been engraved at that time, or simply kept in the city archives. Although the practice of re-engraving inscriptions is well documented for Iasos, it is impossible to establish whether the Hellenistic re-engraving was based directly on some perishable copy of the decree or on a locally erected older inscription.[13] Certainly, a comparison of the Athenian to the Iasian version shows that one feature – the heading with the name of the *grammateus*, which was clearly conceived for the layout of the former – was partly misunderstood in the layout of the latter. Thus, what in the Attic stele was written in larger letters and placed in full view beneath the frieze, in the Iasian version is not set apart from the rest of the text, which leads to an unnecessary repetition of the name of the *grammateus* (ll. 16-17 and 21-22).

The second factor to consider in the relationship between original and copy is distance in time. In terms of chronological distance, zero-value occurs when versions of the same text are engraved at the same time. Multiple engravings of the same text, however, are a borderline (and widespread) case that falls beyond the scope of this chapter.[14] At least one or two generations, if not several centuries, separate the different versions of most of the inscriptions analyzed here, including those that originated in the Classical Age and were re-engraved during the early Principate. In such cases, the survival of both ancient and more recent versions ensure that we are not

cerns the use of *obeloi* for every ten names in both lists. In the second column of the more recent list, six of these *obeloi* are engraved incorrectly and later corrected. The stonemason of the more recent version should have been able to avoid this mistake if he had the older version (on which the *obeloi* were engraved correctly) before their eyes. See also D. Amendola's chapter, cases nos. **[41]** and **[42]**.

[11] Maddoli 2001, 16-21 (*SEG* LI 1506).

[12] *IG* II^2 3+165. Cf. Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 71-87.

[13] At least two other cases testify to this: the regulations concerning the priesthood of Zeus Megistos (*I.Iasos* 220 and Fabiani 2016, 163-164 (*SEG* LXVI 1186)) and the decree for the sons of Peldemis (Pugliese Carratelli 1985, 154-155 (*SEG* XXXVI 983) and Pugliese Carratelli 1987, 290-291 (*SEG* XXXVIII 1059); for both versions, see also Fabiani 2013, 318-322).

[14] Examples are countless: e.g., the so-called Athenian Standards Decree (*IG* I^3 1453).

dealing with late "forgeries", that is, retrospective recreations of the past.[15] When only the allegedly later version has been preserved, caution is in order. Versions of texts far removed in time from their antecedents can easily be identified when there are noticeable inconsistencies between dating prescripts, language, and/or paleography. A case in point is the dedication of Droaphernes, *hyparchos* of Lydia, to Zeus of Baradates: here, the prescript dates the dedication to the thirty-ninth year of Artaxerxes, possibly Artaxerxes II Mnemon (365/4), while letterform clearly points to the second century CE.[16] In general, however, the authenticity of the alleged originals is difficult to ascertain, as in the case of the controversial letter (composed in Greek? Or in Aramaic?) putatively sent by Darius I to Gadatas, and preserved in an epigraphic copy from Magnesia on the Maeander dated several centuries later.[17]

Along the same lines, one may wonder whether the aforementioned Isis aretalogy from Cyme was actually copied from a previous epigraphic version in Memphis, either in Egyptian or in Greek, even if the cultural milieu on which it originated was definitely Greco-Egyptian.[18] Other later copies of the same aretalogy have been preserved elsewhere in the Mediterranean: a Hellenistic one in Telmessus (Lycia), and three Roman ones in Thessalonica, Ios, and Kassandreia that range from the late first century BCE to the third century CE.[19] A slightly different version of the same aretalogy is reported by Diodorus, who traced it back to another (epigraphic and fictitious) original, a stele on the tomb of Isis at Nysa, in Arabia.[20] A brief comparison of certain formal aspects of the different epigraphic versions suggests that all of these texts were derived from a literary original. The versions from Telmessus and Kassandreia both begin with a reference to the Egyptian stele in Memphis.[21] By contrast, the one from Ios begins with a standard heading (the names of the honored deities), before continuing with the aretalogy *ex abrupto*.[22] Since the sentence

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[15] Chaniotis 1988, 265-267 concerning the concept(s) of authenticity, and 270-273 on identifying forgeries. For the concept of intentional history, cf. Gehrke 2019 (with p. 95 n. 1 for his previous works on the topic).

[16] The dedication was published by Robert 1975 (cf. *SEG* XXIX 1205). According to Briant 1998, 210-213 and 222-224, probably only the first section of the inscription (the dedication itself) is the result of re-engraving. For an overview of the subject, see also Debord 1999, 367-374. A similar example is the Roman decree from Tralles (*I.Tralleis* 3), whose prescript is dated to the time of Artaxerxes and Idrieus.

[17] *I.Magnesia* 115; Briant 2003. The authenticity is still supported by some scholars: see e.g., Tuplin 2009.

[18] Žabkar 1988, 156-158; on aretalogies, cf. Jördens 2013.

[19] *RICIS* 306/0201 (Telmessus), which to the best of my knowledge is still unpublished (cf. Moyer 2017, 319 n.2); *RICIS* 113/0545 (Thessalonica), 202/1101 (Ios), and Veligianni and Kousoulakou 2009 (*SEG* LVIII 583; Kassandreia).

[20] D.S. 1.27.3.

[21] Veligianni and Kousoulakou 2009, ll. 3-4.

[22] The beginning of the version from Thessalonica is missing.

on the epigraphic origin of the aretalogy is not specific to the stele from Cyme, we can assume that it was not a local innovation by its author. Most likely, the author of the Ios version (which is dated to the mid-third century CE) either discarded the narrative framework or relied on a later copy from which this feature was already missing. In any case, all of these versions, though chronologically distant from each other and belonging to different epigraphic milieus, show some similarities in their layout, namely, the use of vacats or dots to separate sentences, which is consistent with a common (literary) model.[23]

The third factor to consider is distance of purpose, that is, the extent to which the original purpose of the first inscription was re-functionalized in subsequent versions. Here too we can posit a zero-value when the re-engraved text is a simple replacement of the previous one, generally due to the deterioration of the latter.[24] However, replacement is not necessarily a straightforward process. In fact, the decision to re-engrave a text can result in either the obliteration or preservation of the previous version. In the first instance, the new version tends to cancel the previous one, as if the latter had never existed. In the second instance, the new version acknowledges the existence of the previous one; therefore, the relationship between the two goes beyond replacement and explicitly enters the realm of quotation.

The distance in purpose may also increase. During the process of re-engraving, previous inscriptions can be modified, merged with other texts, quoted within them, or even totally decontextualized. For example, we can well understand the astonishment experienced by Louis Robert when he published a *graffito*, found in a cave located in the surroundings of Teos and dated from the late Roman Age, bearing the phrase βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐπέγραψε.[25] The author of this *graffito* – clearly not Antiochus the Great – was certainly aware of the many letters the Seleucid kings had sent to the city of Teos, some of which must have still been visible in their time. The phrase βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος was thus recontextualized in what can be interpreted as nothing but a joke.

Replacement and quotation follow different principles, which may affect many features, including layout. In principle, we might expect that in the case of simple replacement, stonecutters were likelier to retain the layout of the original version, whereas in that of quotation they would have given precedence to the layout of the secondary text. I will put this theoretical assumption to the test later in the chapter. Yet, while the reasons behind mere replacement are self-evident, those behind quotation are more intriguing. All the examples of explicit quotation mentioned above – the aretalogy of Isis, the Cippus of the Labyadai, and the list of priests from

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[23] Moyer 2017, 324-326.

[24] See the Kallippos base below (§ 2, no. 3).

[25] Baran and Petzl 1978-1979, 305-308 (*SEG* XXVII 724); *BE* 1980, 443.

Halicarnassus – show that direct reference to previous epigraphic versions is a phenomenon closely related to the sacredness of the text.[26] This is particularly true for the text from Halicarnassus, where the epigraphic antecedent is said to have been set up amidst other votive offerings (ἀγάλματα). The explicit quotation of texts from earlier epigraphic versions makes the link with the past, be it real or fictitious, particularly tight and holy.

In these cases, special layout choices could emphasize the link. For example, the two facsimiles of the Halicarnassus list examined by S. Isager confirm A. Wilhelm's hypothesis that the original version corresponded to the first column of the later version. Afterwards, Athenippos, who held the priesthood when the list was re-engraved, added his own name at the beginning of the second column.[27] Following his death, other hands added the years of his tenure and the names of the next four priests. The two-column layout was clearly an innovation of this new version, meant to set the name of the incumbent priest, Athenippos, at the beginning of the right-hand column and thus on an equal footing with the first priest listed in the left-hand column (the mythical Telamon, son of Poseidon). While the left-hand column reproduces the original list, the right-hand one signals a new beginning of sorts. This decision is entirely understandable in the atmosphere of the erudite recovery of the past that characterized the Hellenistic Age.

In sum, these three factors (time, space, purpose) interact with one another in multiple ways. In terms of layout, the most interesting cases are those in which the space between and function of the original text and its re-engraved version are contiguous. More specifically, this means a very short spatial distance, possibly the same medium, and significant adherence to the original purpose. As for time, a certain distance needs to exist between the two for us to rule out cases of multiple engravings. Only in cases where all three factors are so combined can we imagine that stonecutters had a chance to see previous versions and possibly became interested in

[26] A fourth example might concern the famous maxims of the Seven Sages. An inscription from Ai-Khanoum in Afghanistan (Robert 1968, 421-450; *IG Iran Asie centr.* 97) attests that a certain Klearchos carefully copied (ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράψας) the sapiential maxims at Delphi and brought them to Bactria. According to this text, the original of the maxims ἀνακεῖ[τα]ι (…) Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέαι (ll. 1-2: "are dedicated in the most holy Delphi"). The verb ἀνάκειμαι is generally used for votive offerings, so one can imagine that the original referred to what was written on stone somewhere in the Delphic shrine. Although Robert's hypothesis that Klearchos was Clearchus of Soloi is nowadays questioned (see e.g., Lerner 2003-2004, 391-395; Mairs 2015), the emphasis on the careful copying of the maxims in Delphi itself suggests that copies of lesser quality (without autopsy) could be around. *I.Miletupolis* 2 (late fourth century), from the Propontis region, preserves part of these maxims, with a good degree of correspondence to the literary version of the list. Unfortunately, we lack the beginning of this list, so we do not know how it was introduced to readers in Miletupolis.

[27] *Syll.*[3] 1020, ll. II 8-9. Although the stone is allegedly preserved in Liverpool at the Garstang Museum, there is no existing photo of it. For the facsimiles, cf. Ormerod 1914 and Isager 2015, 136.

reproducing them as faithfully as possible. Otherwise, the existence of intermediate versions makes layout choices less meaningful.

Understanding how layout affected engraving and re-engraving helps us restore texts more effectively and better visualize epigraphic "originals" of which we only have re-engraved versions. It also sheds light on the reception of monuments. These questions are also key to understanding the extent of stonecutters' awareness of layout issues in their two-fold capacity as readers and re-writers of ancient monuments.

2. Seven Case Studies

1. The monument dedicated by the Athenians after their victory over the Boeotians and the Chalcidians in 506 consisted of a bronze chariot on a stone base,[28] of which we have a first version (a), i.e., a two-block base dating to the aftermath of the war and probably damaged during the Persian invasion, and a second version (b), consisting of a single block, dating half a century later. Despite the fragmentary state of both versions, the epigram, which consists of two elegiac couplets, is well known thanks to Herodotus.[29] However, the hexameters of version (a) are reversed in version (b) (the one Herodotus saw); this is proven by the fact that the vertical alignment of the pentameters in version (a) and (b) differs, which can only be explained if we accept the possibility that the hexameters of the two versions were reversed, as confirmed by Herodotus' version.

From the standpoint of layout, the most remarkable feature is that the four lines of poetry were engraved on two lines of text instead of four. This has no parallel in other contemporary Athenian epigrams, where generally each line of poetry occupies one line of text, space permitting.[30] This decision is completely understandable in version (a), since the two couplets of the original epigram have nearly the same number of letters (l. 1: 37 (hex.) + 30 (pent.) = 67; l. 2: 34 (hex.) + 33 (pent.) = 67).[31] Here, punctuation consisting of three dots was used to separate the hexameters from the pentameters. Another detail that sheds light on the relationship between poetic composition and epigraphic layout is the fact that the second epigraphic line (the poem's lines 3-4) is divided perfectly in half on the two blocks: the three-dot punctuation was carved precisely on the left edge of the right block (Fig. 58, left).

Both lines of the first version reveal guidelines engraved above and below the writing line, with a space between them. The so-called "*plinthedon* layout" has been

[28] *IG* I[3] 501A-B; cf. *DAA* 168 and 173, and Kaczko, *Attic Dedicatory Epigrams* 1a-b. See Appendix, no. 1.

[29] Hdt. 5.77. On the relationship between the literary and the epigraphic version, see Kaczko 2009, 112-114 and S. Kaczko, *Attic Dedicatory Epigrams* at pp. 3-6.

[30] *IG* I[3] 608; 635; 642; 647; 652; 722 etc.

[31] For the restoration of the adjective ἀχνυέντι or ἀχνυόεντι, cf. the comprehensive analysis of S. Kaczko, *Attic Dedicatory Epigrams* at pp. 7-11.

proposed for the vertical alignment of the letters.[32] Such a layout consists of a grid wherein letters are arranged in a checkerboard pattern rather than in vertical rows, as can clearly be seen in the stele commemorating the members of the Erechtheis tribe who died at Marathon.[33] In my opinion, however, this is not the case for the inscription discussed here. First, all alleged examples of the *plinthedon* layout, scarce as they may be, lack space between the lines.[34] In fact, the absence of spacing and the *plinthedon* layout always appear to go in tandem. On the one hand, the checkerboard pattern makes it easier to compress the space between the lines; on the other, the lack of space between the lines necessitates a checkerboard to ensure that the letters in different lines do not overlap each other. Second, it is difficult to detect a regular *plinthedon* pattern in the preserved fragment. The space between the letters in the second line varies quite a bit, and the *plinthedon* style is limited to a mere portion of the text.[35] Perhaps it is no coincidence that the increased spacing of l. 2 corresponds to the three-dot punctuation of l. 1. Whereas the punctuation of l. 2 (carved on the edge) does not occupy any space on the line, the punctuation of l. 1 needs its own space, potentially disturbing the visual balance of the two couplets. In my opinion, the first stonecutter's primary concern was to emphasize the length of the monument base as well as the visual balance of both hexameters and pentameters and the two couplets.[36]

As for the second version (b), the common view is that this base is a mid-fifth-century remake, possibly executed after one of the coeval Athenian victories over the Boeotians (e.g., Oinophyta, in 457).[37] Two priorities seem to have guided the stonecutter's re-engraving: maintaining the two long lines, each consisting of one hexameter and one pentameter, and updating the layout according to the taste of the time, namely, by adopting a perfect *stoichedon* arrangement (Fig. 58, right).[38] As noted

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[32] Keesling 2012, 141-143.

[33] Steinhauer 2004-2009 (*SEG* LVI 430).

[34] S. Kaczko, *Attic Dedicatory Epigrams* at p. 6 n. 23. In addition to the Marathon stele, see *DAA* 54 and 190; in *DDA* 71, 88, 94, 226 and 228 the *plinthedon* style is not consistent (the starting and/or ending of lines are vertically aligned in *stoichedon*) and randomness appears to prevail.

[35] The first preserved letter of l. 1 and the first preserved letter of l. 2 are almost vertically aligned. The *plinthedon* alignment occurs in the middle part of the preserved section, while at the end letters appear to be moving back towards a vertical alignment.

[36] The stonecutter of (a) may not have worked alone: the *ny* has a quite different shape and the *pi* has been engraved in a much smaller size than allowed by the guidelines of the second line; nevertheless, the result is well balanced.

[37] For an overview of the historical context, cf. A.E. Raubitschek, *DAA* at pp. 203-204.

[38] For a theoretical overview of the *stoichedon* arrangement, cf. Osborne 1973; Keesling 2003, 45-47. Regardless of what S. Kaczko proposes in *Attic Dedicatory Epigrams* at p. 9, nothing suggests that a less regular *stoichedon* was used, and specifically that one single *iota* shared a *stoichos* with another letter as a result of a "slight adaptation". In the perspective of the stonecutter of (b), there was clearly no need to balance the two lines. Each preserved *iota* occupies its own *stoichos*, and the second line is longer than

above, the two hexameters have switched places in this version. The reason for this inversion is difficult to determine; perhaps, the Athenians wanted to place greater emphasis on the peoples over whom they had triumphed. While this information follows the first long line in the original version, it appears at the very beginning of the epigram in the new version. In any case, this inversion had an impact on the layout: the two lines that were of the same length in the original version, are clearly not so in the new version (l. 1: 34 (hex.) + 30 (pent.) = 64; l. 2: 37 (hex.) + 33 (pent.) = 70).[39] The difference in length amounts to six letters. The use of the *stoichedon* in this version is fairly sophisticated as it prevents a single line of poetry from being broken down into different lines of writing: in fact, an empty space is left at the end of the first line of poetry, while the second hexameter starts at the very beginning of the second line of writing.

2. At about the same time, the Athenian knights set up on the acropolis an honorific base with a knight leading a horse (*IG* I^3 511).[40] In the first version of this monument (a), the non-metrical inscription is a perfect *stoichedon*, providing the names of the three *hipparchontes* under whom the knights fought as well as that of the sculptor. Following a strict *stoichedon* principle, each line ends by cutting words in the middle, and three-dot punctuation is used throughout the text. The inscription was re-engraved twice during the early Imperial Age: once on the same base upside-down on the back (b), and a second time on a different base (c). This monument was seen by Pausanias, who speaks of it when describing his tour of the acropolis as he crosses the Propylaea.[41] However, since Pausanias mentions multiple horsemen, it is unclear whether the two bases existed at the same time or whether Pausanias saw only the replica, which bore more than one horseman.

In any case, at some point the original base had so deteriorated that the block had to be turned over and reinscribed – a widespread practice in both the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. What is remarkable is that at least one of the stonecutters, the one responsible for the second base (c), tried to replicate not only the shape of the letters, but also the *stoichedon* layout and the three-dot punctuation, which he clearly perceived as key features (Fig. 59). By contrast, the stonecutter of (b) did not reproduce the layout and eliminated all punctuation (Fig. 60). A.E. Raubitschek argues that this stonecutter's failure to recognize the *stoichedon* arrangement led them

the first one, so no such adaptation seems necessary. S. Kaczko also reflects on the fact that if version (a) was indeed in *plinthedon* style, then the second line must have been indented on the left, and thus could have had one letter less than the first line (66 instead of 67). To me this seems unlikely for, as mentioned above, version (a) is hardly arranged in the *plinthedon* style. In any case, the caution that the scholar shows in their final assumptions (p. 11) is entirely understandable.

[39] Keesling 2003, 51-52.

[40] *DAA* 135. Later versions are 135a and 135b. See Appendix, no. 2.

[41] Paus. 1.22.4.

to expand and contract the spaces between letters in a highly irregular manner.[42] As the stonecutter of (b) lacked a direct view of the original, which was on the other side of the base and turned upside down, it may have been more difficult for them to replicate the layout with the same degree of accuracy as did the stonecutter of (c), who worked on a different block.

3. A honorific base for the astronomer Kallippos, son of Euhippos, from Cyzicus, was set up in Delphi most likely soon after his death in the late fourth century.[43] The dedicatory epigram consists of two couplets, in this case arranged in four lines. The epigram shows a close relationship between poetic composition and layout: since the two hexameters are of the same length (38 letters), the stonecutter opted for a *stoichedon* layout in which the longer lines fully occupy the writing area of the base, while the pentameters fall short of eight and four *stoichoi*, respectively.[44] As in the previous case, so here the monument eventually required restoration. In around 200, its base was turned upside down so that the lower surface could be used as a new support for the statue of Kallippos. The stonecutter tried to chisel away the old inscription, but with mixed results. As they did not finish the job, we can still read the old version. After the base was turned 180 degrees, the stonecutter rewrote the epigram, adjusting it to their own taste.[45] First, they suppressed the *stoichedon*, which at this point was no longer perceived as fashionable. Then, they indented the two pentameters slightly and increased the spacing between the letters to grant visual uniformity to the hexameters and the pentameters that make up the poem. The elimination of the *stoichedon* also enabled limited changes to the text to make it more readable and understandable (e.g., αἶα instead of αἰών). In my view, the stonecutter also increased the spacing between the third and fourth lines, emphasizing the final pentameter, which is syntactically autonomous with respect to the three other verses.

4. A base in honor of Tellon, son of Daemon, a boy who won a boxing competition, was set up in Olympia in the fifth century (Fig. 61).[46] The first, late archaic version of the dedication is engraved on the left side of the upper face of the block on which the statue stood. The three lines run alongside the slots for the figure's feet and perpendicular to the actual statue's front. The inscription is quite unobtrusive and does not exceed the length of the front foot. This decision forced the stonecutter to arrange the elegiac couplet in three lines, despite the abundance of space elsewhere on the base. The late Hellenistic version of the same couplet was also inscribed on the upper face, but in front of rather than next to the statue. On

42 A.E. Raubitschek, *DAA* at p. 148.

43 Bousquet 1992, 180-183; cf. *CEG* 881.

44 See Appendix, no. 3.

45 The whole process is perfectly illustrated in Bousquet 1992, 182.

46 *CEG* 381. This dedication was also seen by Pausanias (6.10.9).

the one hand, this decision did not entail a total departure from the previous version, as the second stonecutter did not move the inscription to the block's front side; on the other, it served as an update of the inscription, as it deeply modified its layout. More specifically, the three-line arrangement was abandoned in order to restore the elegiac couplet to its more usual two-line arrangement.

5. One of the two epigrams from Thebes recently published by N. Papazarkadas probably pertains to Theban soldiers who died in war.[47] It was first inscribed (*ante* 450) in the local archaic alphabet on one face of a slim stele. At least one century later, it was re-engraved in the Ionic alphabet immediately below the first inscription, with one blank line between the two versions. The second version, save minor adjustments to the Ionic alphabet, accurately reproduces the earlier one. The damage on the left side of the stele seems to date to a later time in the life of the stone as it affects both versions. There is thus no evidence that the replacement was due to this physical deterioration. Unfortunately, the poor condition of the left side does not allow us to compare the lines' alignment. In any case, the second version is a visual double of the first though updated to new graphic standards. Here, the rationale lies not only in the replacement, but also in the re-enactment of the dedication. The emphasis on the visual continuity of the two versions was meant to enhance the pious act with additional symbolic meaning.

6. The second epigram from Thebes recently published by N. Papazarkardas was inscribed twice on opposite sides of a slim, non-fluted *kioniskos*, a type of medium that in itself signals the dedication's antiquity.[48] This epigram explicitly evokes the shield that Croesus dedicated to Amphiaraus and possibly echoes a famous passage in Herodotus, where the historian speaks of the votive offerings set up in Greek shrines by the Lydian king.[49] Despite the epigram's complexity (see the text in Appendix, no. 4), we may assume the following sequence of facts: (i) at the end of the sixth century, a supposed shield of Croesus was present at a Boeotian sanctuary; (ii) something was stolen and found again beneath the shield with the help of divination; (iii) the overseer (?) of the temple dedicated an ex-voto to Apollo, which was displayed above the *kioniskos*; (iv) a century and a half later, the dedication was re-engraved on the same *kioniskos*. In the first version (a), the eight lines of poetry are vertically aligned from top to bottom, each corresponding to one of the eight lines of text. Since the top of the *kioniskos* is not well preserved, the first two to three letters of each line of poetry are missing. Furthermore, as the second hemistichs are lost, we

[47] Papazarkadas 2014, 224-226 (with photos). See also *SEG* LXIV 409.

[48] Papazarkadas 2014, 245-247. See also *SEG* LXIV 405. Another (fluted) *kioniskos*, which was discovered in Thebes and is probably contemporary, was published by Aravantinos 2012 (*SEG* LVI 521).

[49] Hdt. 1.50-51. For two different historical interpretations of the correspondence between Herodotus and the epigram, see Porciani 2016 and Thonemann 2016.

must assume that the text continued on another drum below. Both the paleography and arrangement of the text point to the late sixth century.

Differently from the previous case, there was no space left on the inscribed face here when need arose for a re-engraving. For this reason, during the re-inscription phase, the *kioniskos* was rotated 180 degrees – a common practice, as we have already seen elsewhere. Version (a) ended up hidden from sight and replaced completely by version (b) (Fig. 62). The vertical alignment of version (a) was suitable to the slimness of the *kioniskos* (diameter 29 to 31.5 cm). However, by the time of version (b), this vertical alignment seems to have been regarded as outdated, which is probably why a re-engraving came to be seen as necessary and a horizontal alignment was chosen. Nevertheless, the elongated form of the *kioniskos* remained a major constraint for the second stonecutter, as can be seen from the fact that the lines of text are rather short, and each line of poetry extends across about two and a half lines of text. This outcome could have been avoided either by making the letters smaller or forcing viewers to move around the *kioniskos* to read lines that extended beyond the front surface of the *kioniskos*. Apparently, the stonecutter rejected the former solution and tried to minimize the need for the latter because they wished to preserve as much as possible the visual similarity to version (a) and the way in which viewers enjoyed the monument. Dedications are generally engraved in larger letters than are other documents because they need to attract the attention of viewers. It is also possible that the layout of version (b) was meant to recall the elongated layout of version (a). Although version (a) was not visible, version (b) occupied virtually the same space. These two examples (nos. 5-6) show how even in the same place, in the same period, and in the case of similar artifacts (two dedications), stonecutters could intervene in different ways during the re-inscription process.

7. In 1962 G. Pugliese Carratelli published two versions of the same text inscribed on two different blocks, both found in the 1930s in the area of the Fountain Terrace in Cyrene.[50] The first block was already in poor condition when discovered and was later lost in the 1960s (Fig. 63), while the second is well preserved (Fig. 64). The text, consisting of two elegiac couplets, is a dedication to Artemis by Hermesandros, son of Philon, after a hecatomb (see Appendix, no. 5). Based on their paleography, L. Gasperini argued that version (b) had to date at least a century later.[51] Since the dimensions of the first block are unknown, it is impossible to determine whether the second one was an exact replacement of it made for the same monument. While the left edge of the first block is not pre-

[50] *Suppl. Cirenaico* 160-161. Cf. the thorough analysis of Dobias-Lalou in *IG Cyrenaica Verse*[2] 023 and 054. I am indebted to E. Rosamilia for bringing this case to my attention.

[51] Gasperini 1996, 366-368.

served, a clamp-hole is visible on its right edge. This block, therefore, seems to have been anchored to something on its right, possibly due to some repair.[52] In the second version, no such holes are carved into the block. Nothing is known about the upper side or back of this second block, but the slab is so narrow (12.5 cm) that we can assume that it was inserted into some sort of slot.[53] Indeed, though the dimensions of the first block are unknown, the photo suggests a greater ratio of length to height vis à vis the second one (at least 2.3, versus 1.8 of the second block).[54] Perhaps, what had been a larger monument at the time of the dedication of Hermesandros was later rearranged in a different format, possibly to meet the needs of a restoration.[55]

The difference in layout is likewise striking. On the first block, each line of poetry fits into one line of text. Lines are set well apart, and the longest one (l. 1) dictates the size of the letters and the alignment of the text on the left.[56] The general layout emphasizes the length of the monument. On the second block, each line of poetry fits into two lines of text. Nonetheless, the stonecutter managed to overcome the discrepancy between line lengths by aligning both margins of the text. Therefore, the decision to separate lines of poetry into hemistichs was probably intended to create sub-units that were more regular than those of hexameters and pentameters. If the height of the two blocks was similar, the writing area of the second block was put to better use because the large blank spaces between the lines of the first block were avoided. The result is a perfectly "justified" text, the neatness of which suits both the stand-alone nature of this later dedication and the reference to κόσμος (l. 4) – all the more so if the epigram is praising itself rather than a statue.[57] These differences, along with the shape of the blocks and the paleography, go against the idea of multiple contemporary dedications by Hermesandros, as proposed particularly by F. Chamoux: the two layouts probably derive from different visual needs.[58]

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52 For repairs, cf. Ismaelli 2013, 298-300. The precise archaeological context of the dedication of Hermesandros is unknown: the two blocks were found on the so-called Fountain Terrace, and, according to the text, were probably placed above the fountain itself (ὑπὲρ κράνας). However, there is no trace of an inscription slot in the rock's surface. Cf. Ensoli Vittozzi 1996, 90-94 and Ismaelli 2018, 377-379.

53 Although the dimensions of the first block are unknown, judging from the photograph (Fig. 63) it too could be a slab. However, we do not know whether this was its original shape or the result of reuse.

54 Even more so since the left side of the block is broken.

55 Gasperini 1996, 364; *IG Cyrenaica Verse*[2] 054.

56 However, the restoration of l. 3 seems a bit too long. One wonders if the first version had the Doric form βῶς instead of βοῦς. See also Dobias-Lalou 2000, 98.

57 This conclusion is retained by Dobias-Lalou in *IG Cyrenaica Verse*[2] 054 (cf. n. 50 above).

58 Chamoux 1975, 272-273, partially reaffirmed in Chamoux 1991, 26-29.

3. Conclusions

As we have seen, it is not easy to draw general conclusions. The context of any re-engraving is crucial to understanding whether the layout of the earlier version of the same inscription was valued or set aside. However, in dedicatory inscriptions a general departure from the initial layout can be recognized in the phase of re-inscription. Even in cases where the second version intervened to replace the previous one, prolonging its life to some extent, few elements of its layout were retained. The tendency was to omit the most characteristic visual aspects of earlier versions: hence the rejection of vertical alignment in the Classical Age, and of the *stoichedon* arrangement in the post-Classical period – two features that later stonecutters considered outdated and unacceptable. Indeed, in some cases (e.g., the *kioniskos* from Thebes) the desire to replace the old layout was among the reasons for the re-inscription. A partial exception to this lies in the late imitation of the *stoichedon*: it occurred only in Athens as part of a broader, archaizing trend.[59] What is important to note, however, is that this was not a pure stylistic quirk, but probably an attempt to recover the material aspect of the monumental heritage of Athens, as *IG* I^3 511 proves. Yet, the general trend seems to be different; although later stonecutters occasionally entered into dialogue with older versions, the demand to update layout arrangements usually prevailed, even in cases of replacement.

Appendix

1. *IG* I^3 501

(a) [δεσμôι ἐν ἀχνύεντι (?) σιδερέοι ἔσβεσαν hύβ]ριν ⁝ / παῖδε[ς Ἀθεναίον ἔργμασιν ἐμ πολέμο] / [ἔθνεα Βοιοτôν καὶ Χαλκιδέον δαμάσαντες] ⁝ / τôν hίππος δ̣[εκάτεν Παλλάδι τάσδ’ ἔθεσαν].

(b) ἔθνεα Βοιοτôν καὶ Χαλκιδέον δαμά]σαν[τες] / [παῖδ]ες Ἀθεναίον ἔργμα̣[σιν ἐμ πολέμο] / [δεσμôι ἐν ἀχνύεντι (?) σιδερέοι ἔσβε]σαν [hύβριν] / [τ]ôν hίππος δεκ̣ά̣τ̣[εν Παλλάδι τάσδ’ ἔθεσαν].

(a) “The sons of the Athenians by their deeds in war extinguished the arrogance with painful iron chains | taming the peoples of the Boeotians and Chalkidians; as a tithe of this they dedicated to Pallas these horses”.

(b) “Taming the peoples of the Boeotians and Chalkidians, the sons of the Athenians by their deeds in war | extinguished the arrogance with painful iron chains; as a tithe of this they dedicated to Pallas these horses”.

[59] Archaizing style is a concept explored especially for sculpture and literature. For epigraphic cases, albeit quite fragmentary, cf. a limited list in A.E. Raubitschek, *DAA* at p. 149, and a short comment by Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*² at pp. 389-390.

2. *IG* I³ 511

hοι hι[ππ]ῆς [⁝] ἀπὸ τ̣ôν [πο]λεμίον ⁝ hιππαρ[χ]ό[ν]-
τον ⁝ Λακεδ̣αιμονίο [⁝] Ξ̣[ε]νοφôντος ⁝ Προν[ά]π[ο]-
ς ⁝ Λύκιο[ς ⁝ ἐ]ποίησεν [⁝] Ἐλευθερεὺς [⁝ Μ]ύ̣[ρ]ο̣ν̣[ος].

“The knights (dedicated this monument) from the enemy spoils under the command of Lakedaimonios, Xenophon and Pronaps. Lykios son of Myron of Eleutherae did it”.

3. Bousquet 1992, 180-183

(a) [οὔτ]ι[ν]ά σοι [με]ρόπων, [ἄσ]τ[ρ]ων περὶ θεῖον [ἀ]ριθ[μό]ν,
[Κάλλιππ’ Εὐ]ί[ππο]υ, Κύ[ζ]ικ[ος ἔ]σ[χ]ε πάτρα
[θνητῶ]ν ἶσον, [ὅσους τ]ε [φ]έρει Διὸς ἄμβροτος αἰών·
[Φ]οίβωι δ’ [ἔ]ν[θα σ]έ[θε]μ [μνῆμα πέλ’] εἰν ἑτάροις.
(b) οὔτινά που μερόπων, ἄστρων περὶ θεῖον ἀριθμ[όν],
v Κάλλιππε Εὐίππου, Κύζικος ἔσ̣χε πάτ[ρα]
θνητῶν ἶσον, ὅσους τε φέρει Διὸς ἄμβροτος αἶα·
Φοίβωι δ’ ἔνθα σέθεμ μνῆμα πέλ’ εἰν ἑτάροις.

“Kallippos son of Euippos, no man, as far as the divine science of the stars is concerned, your homeland Cyzicus had equal to you among mortals, those whom the everlasting epoch (version b: earth) of Zeus brings forth. There where your grave is, become one of the companions of Phoebus!”.

4. Here I reproduce the reconstruction of the text based on N. Papazarkadas’ edition (2014, 245-247) and my transcription of version (b), with some changes from the first edition of this version.

[σοὶ] χάριν ἐνθάδ’, Ἄπολο[ν, ⏑ – ⏕ – ⏕ – ⏓]
[κἐ]πιστὰς ἱαρô στᾶσε κατ[ευχσά]μενος
[μα]ντοσύναις εὑρὸν hυπὸ τὰ[γ χρυσ]οῖο φαενὰν
[ἀσπ]ίδα τὰγ Ϙροῖσος κα[λϝ]]ὸ̣ν ἄγαλ[μα θέτο?]
[Ἀμ]φιαρέοι μνᾶμ’ ἀρετ[ᾶς τε πάθας τε ⏑ – ⏓]
[. .]μεν ἃ ἐκλέφθε ΦΟ[⏕ – ⏕ ⏓]
[Θε]βαίοισι δὲ θάμβος Ε[– ⏕ – ⏕ – ⏓]
[. .]πιδα δαιμονίος ΔΕ[⏕ – ⏕ ⏓]

1. Ἄπολο̣ν̣ ἄ[ναχς Porciani 2. [θεσ]πιστὰς Thonemann, [hὂ]πιστὰς Tentori Montalto 3. Porciani; ΤΑ[....]ΟΙΟ Papazarkadas 6. [..?] α̣ἰ̣χμὲν ἅ Porciani, [..]μενα Thonemann, [κε]ιμένα Tentori Montalto 8. [ἀσ]πίδα Porciani, Thonemann.

"In gratitude to you, Apollo, […] overseer of the temple erected (this) as an ex-voto, after having found by divination under the shining [golden] shield that Croesus dedicated, as a stupendous offering, to Amphiaraus, in memory of his own virtue […] that was stolen […] and for the Thebans a cause for amazement […] heaven-sent […]".

Π … Ι̣Α
ΩΣΤΑΣΕΚΑΤ̣
ΜΕΝΟΣΜΑΝΤΟΣ̣
ΣΕΥΡΩΝΥΠ̣ΟΤ̣Α̣
ΟΙΟΦΑΕΝΝΑΝΑ̣
ΙΔΑΤΑΝΓΡΟΙ
Ο̣ΝΑΓΑΛΜ
Α̣Ρ̣Ε̣Ω̣Ι

In l. 2, an *omega* is clearly visible at the beginning of the line before the first *sigma*. In late classical Boeotian epigraphy, -ω is the standard form for the genitive ending;[60] the end of the word ἱαρ]ῶ can be recognized thanks to version (a). Like στᾶσε instead of στῆσε etc., this confirms that the Ionic-Attic influx is limited to the alphabet. In l. 3, the initial and final letters (*my* and *sigma*) are not visible from the photo's angle. This means that viewers had to move around the *kioniskos* to read the entire text. One can say the same about the first letter of l. 4 (*sigma*), the strokes of which are barely visible on the edge. At the end of l. 5, after the last *ny*, I detect the left side of an *alpha* (left diagonal stroke and its conjunction with the horizontal one). This must be the first letter of the accusative ἀσπίδα, which is only partly preserved in both versions.

L. 1 remains quite a mystery. Only one letter, the central *alpha*, is certain. A vertical stroke is visible on the left of this *alpha*.[61] M. Tentori Montalto sees a letter at the very beginning of the line, but his suggestion that it is a *gamma* is questionable: a second vertical stroke makes it look more like a *pi*.[62] A reconstruction of the number of letters that need to be restored between each of these short lines may be helpful. Ll. 3-5 in (b) correspond to l. 3 in (a), i.e., the hexameter of the second distich. Between one and the other of these three short lines, which are the least damaged of (b), several letters (between four and five) need to be restored. Since the preserved portion of l. 1 is shorter than the following lines, we must restore three more let-

[60] Blümel 1982, 238.

[61] Interpreted as a *my* by Papazarkadas 2014, 239; as a *ny* by Porciani 2016, 105.

[62] Tentori Montalto 2017, 134. The *theta* seen by Thonemann 2016, 156 after the *alpha* is imperceptible to me.

ters between the *alpha* and the beginning of l. 2, thereby bringing their number to seven/eight. This leads to an impasse: if we counts back from the *omega* of l. 2, the middle of l. 1 should correspond to the first preserved letters of -]πιστάς. It is impossible to read the hypothetical end of l. 1 of version (a) in this section of l. 1 in version (b), except at the price of compressing too many letters (eleven to twelve) on the right-hand side of (b) l. 1.[63] I wonder whether we could interpret the traces of this line – Π… Ị̣A – as -]π[ισ]τ̣ά[ς.[64] This would lead to the opposite problem – not enough letters – which, at any rate, can more easily be justified than can the other case (e.g., if the surface was already damaged and the stonecutter was forced to leave some spaces blank). Therefore, the caution of the first editor is entirely in order. At the same time, we must bear in mind that the *kioniskos* is slightly flared. This means that the circumference varies up to 15 cm between the top and bottom of the preserved section: one should therefore expect progressively longer lines as we go down the *kioniskos*.

5. *IG Cyrenaica Verse*² 023

[Μνᾶ]μα τόδ’ Ἑρμήσανδρος ὑπὲρ κράνας ὁ Φίλωνος
[θῆ]κ̣ε θεᾶι θ̣ύσας Ἀρτέμιτος τελετᾶι,
[βοῦς] ἑκατὸν κατάγων κ̣αὶ ἴκατι· τῶν τάδε κεῖται
4 [κόσ]μ̣ος καὶ μνάμα καὶ κλέος εὐδόκιμον

“Hermesandros son of Philon dedicated this monument above the water source, after sacrificing one hundred and twenty oxen to the goddess during the celebration of Artemis by leading them down. Of them these (words) stay as ornament and memory and honored fame”.

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[63] As in Thonemann 2016 and Tentori Montalto 2018.

[64] Perhaps, after the *alpha* of (b) l. 1, the lower stroke of a *sigma* is visible (better than a *theta*: cf. n. 62 above).

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Table 1. (*) indicates that the two versions coexist on the same face of the same medium. A = Archaic, LA = Late Archaic, C = Classical, LC = Late Classical, H = Hellenistic, LH = Late Hellenistic, EE = Early Empire. The last column refers to case studies discussed in part two of the chapter.

"Original"	"Copy"	Primary Place	Secondary Place	Same Medium	Span of Time	No.
IG I^3 1508	*IG* I^3 1508	Sigeum	Sigeum	yes*	LA / LA	
Syll.^{3} 4	*Syll.*^{3} 4	Cyzicus	Cyzicus	yes*	LA / H	
IG I^3 501A	*IG* I^3 501B	Athens	Athens	no	LA / C	1
SEG LXIV 409	*SEG* LXIV 409	Thebes	Thebes	yes*	LA / C	5
SEG LXIV 405	*SEG* LXIV 405	Thebes	Thebes	yes	LA / C	6
SEG LXV 361	*CID* I 9	Panopeus	Delphi	no	LA / LC	
I.Nordkarien 170	*I.Delphinion* 122	Miletus	Miletus	no	LA / H	
IG I^3 511 *IG* I^3 511	*DAA* 135a *DAA* 135b	Athens Athens	Athens Athens	yes no	C / EE C / EE	2
I.Iasos 220	*SEG* LXVI 1186	Iasos	Iasos	no	C / LC	
SEG XXXVI 983	*SEG* XXXVIII 1059	Iasos	Iasos	no	C / H	
IG II^2 3+165	*SEG* LI 1506	Athens	Iasos	no	C / H	
CEG 381	*CEG* 381	Delphi	Delphi	yes*	C / LH	4
CEG 794	*CEG* 795	Pharsalus	Delphi	no	LC / LC	
Bousquet 1992, 180–183	Bousquet 1992, 180–183	Delphi	Delphi	yes	LC / H	3
IG Cyrenaica Verse^2 023	*IG Cyrenaica Verse*^{2} 054	Cyrene	Cyrene	no	LC / H	7
IG Cyrenaica^2 024000	*IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 024000	Cyrene	Cyrene	yes*	H / H	
I.Labraunda 1A	*I.Labraunda* 1B-2	Labraunda	Labraunda	no	H / EE	
Dubious cases (an epigraphic original version is mentioned but missing)						
-	*IG Iran Asie Centr.* 97	Delphi	Ai-Khanoum	no	- / H	
-	*Syll.*^{3} 1020	Halicarnassus	Halicarnassus	no	- / LH	
-	*I.Kyme* 41	Memphis	Cyme	no	- / LH	
-	*RICIS* 306/0201	Memphis	Telmessus	no	- / H	
-	*SEG* LVIII 583	Memphis	Cassandrea	no	- / EE	

Monumental Transformations: Two Copies of a Letter from Hadrian at Aphrodisias

Abigail Graham

1. Introduction. Reading a "Copy"? Context, Cues and Content

It is only in very rare circumstances that one has the opportunity to compare different copies of a monumental inscription. Examinations of "same text" or "copy" inscriptions in Aphrodisias have already observed how similar texts do not always result in similar inscriptions.[1] This case study will compare two copies of a letter from Hadrian to the people of Aphrodisias, which were set up by different individuals at different times and places, and with different roles in the urban landscape. Using the commentaries and translations by Joyce Reynolds and focusing on physical differences in both the reading context and the presentation of writing, the survey will examine how public documents could be monumentally transformed into different roles and contexts within the urban landscape.

The first monument, *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, was reused in paving a road between the Hadrianic Baths and the Civil Basilica (Map 1, nos. 19-21).[2] The white marble panel preserves four documents from the reign of Hadrian dating from 119-125.[3] A later version of this letter survives at the top of Column III on the so-called "Archive Wall" more accurately described as a dossier at the theatre (Map 1, no. 13), where it was inscribed between the mid- to late 2nd c. and the first quarter of the 3rd c.[4] The chronological difference between the first and second versions is ca.

[1] Reynolds 2000; Graham 2017; Graham 2018. Except where otherwise stated, all dates in this chapter are CE.

[2] Reynolds 2000, 5.

[3] On Hadrian's letters to Aphrodisias see also Thornton 2008.

[4] The so-called "Archive Wall" was not a functional archive but a monumental dossier (Kokkinia 2016, 10 n. 2; Graham 2021, 572 n. 13). While its date is not secure (there is more than one period of carving), it is accepted that construction postdates Antonine renovations and predates the second half of the 3rd c. (Reynolds 1982; Kokkinia 2016, 19; Graham 2021, 572 n. 9).

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Abigail Graham, *Monumental Transformations: Two Copies of a Letter from Hadrian at Aphrodisias*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.15, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 257-275, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

50–100 years. These monumental inscriptions illustrate the importance of context and visual association in the urban landscape. They also raise a key question: was a monumental document, set up in a different time and space, meant to be seen as a "copy" or should each inscription be treated in its own right?

Reynolds' scholarship provides an excellent commentary and detailed catalogue of many discrepancies between the two texts. Despite numerous differences or "inaccuracies", which are often abbreviations or omissions, she notes that there is "no difference in the overall meaning between the two versions".[5] This is an important factor to consider when contrasting the two different monumental inscriptions. The series of "inaccuracies" in the later version of the text (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.24) lead Reynolds to conclude that the subsequent copyist and/or carver was not as assiduous or precise.[6] While this may be true, changes to the text did not result in significant compromises in its meaning. The assumption that a text had to be a faithful copy or that subsequent changes and/or omissions were made in error, suggests that changes were accidental, rather than deliberate. By examining the presentation of writing, one can explore how and why changes were made, and whether these changes increased, decreased or had no impact on the arrangement (or *ordinatio*), appearance and/or the accessibility of the monumental inscription for a broader audience. The following discussion will consider differences between both the text and the appearance of these monumental inscriptions in the urban landscape.

2. A "Copy" versus an "Original" Document

One of the great limitations in understanding the transformative journey from text to monument is the fact that modern scholars seldom have the "original" version of a document or manuscript. In a modern context, our original text of a document is often a surviving monumental copy. Our ability to gauge the extent and significance of changes that may have taken place, therefore, is limited. A further issue in assessing monumental copies also lies in the term itself: what do we mean by a "copy"? How an inscription was presented to ancient viewers and the way that inscriptions are presented in modern publications can impact both the perception and analysis of these materials; so how we define and apply "copy" matters.[7]

There is often an assumption that a copy was intended to be a perfect imitation of the original. Its success in this endeavour, therefore, is a factor of how well it replicates the text. Changes to the "original" are then often seen as errors, the sign of a less successful copy. In reality, a copy could also be an illustration, a replication of

[5] Reynolds 2000, 15.

[6] Reynolds 2000, 15. Reynolds 1982, 112 and 118 discusses "abnormalities" in this version of the letter.

[7] For more discussion cf. Graham 2018, 275–277.

the original message, which did not necessarily require a faithful rendering of the exact text, merely its content and overall message.[8] This is a crucial distinction, especially in the case of a monumental document, which is not only the conveyor of a textual message but also a physical one. In a monumental landscape of passing viewers, an inscription not only had to read like a document, it had to look like a one, by means of a recognisable visual framework and cues.[9] Assessments of physicality and framework of writing include a broader audience of neuro-diverse viewers in a public context: one need not be literate to recognise the form of a monumental document or to connect its meaning to orality and/or oral performance.[10] From a practical perspective, it was quite difficult to compare the full text of monumental documents in different places without standing in the two places at once. One could, however, compare the experience of viewing these monuments: their physical appearance, layout, and urban context. Do different appearances and textual versions convey varying functions and objectives?

Documents were subject to alterations both in the transition from one medium to another and when subsequent copies were made. These alterations in the text and visual framework of writing are a testament to the evolving nature and expectations of urban viewers: changes are not only reflected in letterforms but also in the presentation and arrangement of writing.[11] Skills in arranging and articulating inscriptions in architectural spaces develop alongside the use of visual cues (spaces,[12] dots, *hederae distinguentes*, and *litterae notabiliores*).[13] These changes in the visual framework are not only decorative but often functional: catching the eye of the viewer and offering greater accessibility in engaging with and identifying types of monumental writing. Subsequent recarvings of a monumental document could fundamentally alter the presentation and therefore the perception of writing in a public context. These "copies" do not need to be an exact version or the original text, nor is it assumed that they carried the same function or meaning.[14] A key factor in understanding the role of monumental documents is a consideration of why and for

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[8] Chaniotis 2015, 682–685; Graham 2018, 276–278; Graham 2021, 588.

[9] Cooley 2014, 143–144; Kokkinia 2016, 51; Graham 2021, 599.

[10] Slater 2008, 260–269; Graham 2021, 577.

[11] For copies in building dedications cf. Graham 2017; 2018. For the role of visual cues and location in monumental writing cf. Cooley 2014, 143–155; Eastmond 2015, 251–255; Graham 2021, 575–599. For visual cues in letter writing cf. Sarri 2018, 114–123.

[12] In addition to blank spaces (vacats) or indentations in the margins, the increased space surrounding decorations or dots can also enhance visual emphasis around certain words or expressions.

[13] While a poorly inscribed text can be made at any time, the regularization of letterforms, use of serifs, spaces, margins and decorations, as well as formulaic elements, tend to increase in the Imperial period alongside the epigraphic habit of production.

[14] For example, see comparisons of monumental versions of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, especially the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, in Cooley 2012 and Kokkinia 2021.

what purpose a monumental copy was made. Addressing different locations and visual frameworks for writing, therefore, is not simply a question of visible aesthetics but a fundamental part of understanding how inscribed monuments were intended to function in an urban landscape.

3. The Reading Context: Reading a Copy

Recent studies in cognitive neuroscience have proven what carvers, publishers, readers and writers have known for millennia: people do judge a book by its cover. The way that writing is framed (e.g. the use of margins, paragraphs, blank spaces, punctuation, decoration, and lettering) plays a fundamental role in the reading process, be it a text or a visual landscape.[15] As readers we not only expect this framework, we are reliant upon it, and often take it for granted. Scholars of epigraphy, raised on beautifully arranged Oxford Classical texts, often stumble with their first inscribed monument: inscriptions are their own genre of writing with a different experience, audience, and skillset. To understand how an audience at Aphrodisias viewed monumental documents as copies, one needs to consider how an inscribed copy could reflect changes in function, meaning and the expectations of a viewing audience. Viewers of monumental documents were aware that other versions were available in the city's archives, where the experience of reading, limited to an elite literate audience, was fundamentally different.[16] By contrast, monumental writing, situated in a bustling urban atmosphere, where it lay in competition with sensory distractions (light, sound, colour, touch), included a broad neuro-diverse audience of happenstance viewers. Differences in context, medium, and expectation of the reader shape the perception and meaning of documents in ancient and modern contexts.[17] The ability of a reader to differentiate reading contexts and versions (original vs. copy, papyrus vs. stone) is also a product of format and approach.[18]

A monumental document was, by definition, a copy of a text with a different context, function and meaning, which often had to be integrated into a broader urban landscape and/or a monument. The assumption that readers had to engage with the text in order to engage with the monument may be misleading. Passing readers were probably not going to halt in their tracks to read Hadrian's letter concerning taxes

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[15] Deheane 2009, 13-18 and 157-159; Willingham 2017, 2-5; Jansen 2014, 280-281; Graham 2021, 575-578.

[16] Cooley 2012, 159-161. In an archival context, documents were written on a wooden white board or papyrus and stored in a place where they could be read or consulted. These materials, like modern publications (e.g. Reynolds 1982 or *I.Aphrodisias 2007*), were created primarily for a literate audience: the intent of the reader and the function of the writing, in both cases, was to access specific information.

[17] Berti 2017, 3-5; Eastmond 2015, 5-8; Petrovic *et al.* 2018, 16-20; Graham 2021, 576-599.

[18] Modern published formats can diminish physical elements and the urban context of an inscription, both of which were primary points of interaction for the ancient viewer (Graham 2013 and 2021).

on nails. A monumental collection of imperial correspondence validating Aphrodisias' privileges, however, had applications both as symbolic illustration of the city's importance and as a tangible means of reinforcing these rights.[19] One need not be literate or to read these documents in detail to recognise their role as representations of imperial authority and protection.[20] An analysis of monumental factors – location (the context of reading) and appearance (the presentation of writing with formulaic elements and visual cues) alongside textual changes – is a means of examining the differing values and expectations that applied to reading in a monumental landscape.

4. Reading Hadrian's Letter to Aphrodisias: *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, ll. 13–27

4.1 Assessing the Urban and Reading Contexts of *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412

I.Aphrodisias 2007 11.412 was discovered in 1994 on a road surface close to the Basilica, at the south west corner between the Portico of Tiberius and the Hadrianic Baths (Map 1, nos. 19–21), where it appears to have been affixed to a wall.[21] Whether it was connected with the bath building or the nearby Civil Basilica is uncertain.[22] The large panel (0.815 m wide and 0.89 m high) carried some traces of red paint with letters ca. 1.4 cm in height.[23] The collection of letters consists of two full documents and two shorter letters, which Reynolds labels as "defective".[24] How does "defective" apply in a monumental context: are the texts defective as monuments or as textual copies? Reynolds' comment, important from a textual perspective, illustrates how scholars can retrospectively apply modern expectations of the term "copy" to ancient documents: namely, that a copy must be an accurate rendering of the original. The transformation from text to monument, however, was not only a physical transition of medium and place, it was also a transformation of text within a finite monumental space. In addition to a scholarly textual analysis, one must also consider the expectations of an ancient audience: did viewers expect an exact replication of the original document, or merely a version that was visually recognisable in message and appearance? Given the variation in literacy rates between ancient

[19] Kokkina 2016, 51; Graham 2021, 599.

[20] Ma 2012, 149: "… place lends or even creates authority. By associating their presence with pre-existing prestigious places or monuments, inscriptions aim at making the reader accept them as obvious parts of durable physical ensembles".

[21] Reynolds 2000, 5. Nail holes survive at the corners of the text. However, there is no surviving wall in the vicinity. Reynolds suggests that the text had been reused.

[22] While copies of inscriptions are known in the Baths of Hadrian (Graham 2018, 294–298), document collectives have also been observed at the Civil Basilica (Stinson 2008; Reynolds 2008).

[23] Reynolds 2000, 5. Reynolds notes that the red paint was lost when the text was cleaned of limescale deposits (Reynolds 2000, 8 n. 6).

[24] Reynolds (1982, 112; 2000, 5) notes a number of incomplete and/or defective documents in collective monuments at the so-called "Archive Wall" and the Hadrianic collective respectively.

and modern readers, perhaps one should not assume that modern expectations reflect those of an ancient viewer.

Reynolds notes other oddities in the collection of letters, which would be unusual if this inscription was meant to be used as an archive. The four documents from the reign of Hadrian were not inscribed in chronological order, nor do they record four different events.[25] While the subject of the second letter (ll. 13–27), regarding an exemption from taxation on nails, may not seem to be a riveting read, Hadrian's reaffirmation of Aphrodisias' privileges was clearly important after his succession.[26] Nail tax and/or prohibitions on iron production were the subject of a number of inscribed documents at Aphrodisias, suggesting that it was a significant and recurring issue.[27] The nail tax may also have been relevant to the context: the Hadrianic Baths and the Civil Basilica required many nails for their construction.[28] The collection of documents, the last two of which refer to the construction of an aqueduct, may have functioned more broadly as a testament of imperial support and collaboration.[29]

4.2 Visual Cues and Formulaic Elements

Although the text has been carefully laid out with a number of decorations (Figs. 65A–65B), there appear to be difficulties in execution: the text in the right-hand margin sometimes exceeds the border, which is both unsightly and difficult to read. Reynolds accurately describes the inscription's appearance as "orderly without being monotonous … but it would not, I think, tempt a modern passerby to decipher it … and one may wonder whether it was attractive to an ancient reader".[30] She raises key distinctions both between ancient and modern audiences as well as the act of perception: whether writing, however legible, was likely to engage a passing viewer. Perception can transcend questions of literacy in monumental writing: as the epigraphic habit developed, the role of public writing shifted from a primarily symbolic record to a recognisable form of visual art, which had to captivate and compete with imagery in the urban landscape. A papyrus in an archive may not have needed to entice an audience to get their attention, but a monumental document did.

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[25] Hadrian's letters do not appear in chronological order. The first two letters date from 119. The later letters, concerning an aqueduct, dating to 125 and 124, were abbreviated (Reynolds 2000, 5).

[26] The letter dates to 119, less than two years after Hadrian's succession (Reynolds 2000, 16).

[27] Kokkinia 2005, 259–262 provides a detailed consideration of monumental inscriptions pertaining to the subject of nail tax, including both the texts from this article, the title text of her work (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 12.510), and another surviving letter from a Roman official (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 2.307, 2nd–3rd c.).

[28] Reynolds 2000, 16.

[29] Similar examples of this type of monument are observed at the theatre of Aphrodisias such as the "Artemidorus Monument" and the dossier wall respectively (Reynolds 1982, 11, 33–37; Kokkinia 2016, 31–35, 51; Graham 2021, 578, 584–587).

[30] Reynolds 2000, 8.

I.Aphrodisias 2007 11.412, ll. 13-27[31]

(previous document's main body) • εὐτυχεῖτε ❦ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίας Παυλείνης.
[Αὐτοκράτ]ω̣ρ̣ Κ̣α̣ῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνὸς Τραιανὸς
[Ἁδριανὸ]ς Σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τρίτον,
[ὕπατ]ο̣ς [τ]ὸ τρίτον, Ἀφροδεισιέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
[χαί]ρειν. • τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπάρξαντα
ὑ̣μεῖν τὰ παρά τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐβε-
βαίωσα πρόσθεν. • ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ διὰ πρεσβείας περὶ τῆς τοῦ σιδή-
ρου χρήσεως καὶ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἥλων, καίπερ ἀμφισβητησίμου τοῦ
πράγματος ὄντος διὰ τὸ μὴ νῦν πρῶτον τοὺς τελώνας ἐπικεχειρη-
κέναι καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγλέγειν ὅμως εἰδὼς τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα τει-
μῆς οὖσαν ἀξίαν, καὶ ἐξῃρημένην τοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχείας τύπου,
ἀπαλλάσσω αὐτὴν τοῦ τελέσματος καὶ γέγραπφα Κλαυδίῳ *vv*
Ἀγριππείνῳ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου, παρανγεῖλαι τῷ μεμισθωμέν[ῳ]
τὸ ἐν Ἀ̣σ̣ί̣ᾳ τοῦ σιδήρου τέλος ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως.
εὐτυχεῖτε ❦ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Ὑψικλέους ἥρωος. ⊙Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ κτλ

"(previous document's main body). Farewell. (In the first stephanephorate of) Claudia Paulina. The imperator Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the third time (119 CE) greets the magistrates, the council and the people of Aphrodisias. Your freedom, autonomy, and other privileges given to you by the senate and the emperors who have preceded me I confirmed earlier. But having been petitioned by an embassy about the use of iron and the tax on nails, although the matter is controversial, since this is not the first time that the tax-collectors have undertaken to collect it from you too, nevertheless knowing that the city is in other respects worthy of honour and is removed from the *formula provinciae*, I release it from payment of the tax and I have written to Claudius Agrippinus my *procurator* to instruct the contractor for iron tax in Asia to keep away from your city. Farewell. (In the stephanephorate of) Claudius Hypsikles, *heros*. The imperator Caesar etc. (translation by J. Reynolds)".

Leaves (cf. ll. 13, 27) are not only ephemeral and/or decorative in this document, but serve to highlight key transitions from one document to the next (Figs. 65A-65B). As an inscribed text, one can imagine how a few lectional signs and decorative elements, as well as blank spaces often surrounding these decorations may

[31] The text presented here differs from the one edited by Reynolds in what concerns some of the visual cues. The revision has been carried out on the basis of the available photographs. The sign • indicates what in the text appears to be a dot, while the sign ⊙ indicates what Reynolds calls "scroll".

have served to visually distinguish some aspects of formulaic elements, such as the *formula valetudinis*, noting the name of the author, the recipient, a greeting and a closing,[32] and to provide practical information for Greek and Roman audiences, such as dating either by means of a local official (stephanophorate) or by imperial titles.[33] Crowding and excesses in this part of the margin also illustrate the carver's attempt to maintain an *ordinatio* with key words in the prominent left-hand margin, where the reading eye begins: Αὐτοκράτωρ (emperor, l. 14) and Ἁδριανός (Hadrian, l. 15).[34]

4.3 Content: Textual Changes

Expressions of dating, though important, were not standardized in the inscription: while the local stephanophorate is named at the start of each document, the expression of imperial titles varies, even in the first two letters recording the same date.[35] Although Pompey was mocked for his deliberations on how to record his third consulship (*consul tertium* or *COS TERT*) in his theatre dedication, the episode illustrates the roles that titles and numerals could play in monumental inscriptions: in addition to providing a date, a title could also offer a degree of flexibility in organising the text.[36] Reynolds rightly observes discrepancies in numerical expressions, which she considers as weaknesses in the replication of the original text; in fact, these discrepancies (a long numeral τὸ τρίτον or an abbreviated one: τὸ $\overline{\gamma}$) often reflect practical compromises in the execution of the inscription.[37] These changes

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[32] Reynolds 2000, 8: "Within the text there are either plain dots or vacant spaces, usually at helpful places, but their distribution is not invariably satisfactory". The opening lines of the first two letters reveal a careful arrangement of text in the margins (cf. n. 34 below). As the documents progress, visual emphasis (decorations and vacats) fall away from more visible space in the margins towards the middle of a line (ll. 4, 9, 17, 19), where they are less easy to find.

[33] These offices were often given to women or deceased men as a *postmortem* dedication (Reynolds 2000, 12). Similar dating features are also found on Salutaris' foundation at Ephesus: letters are dated by the local Ionian calendar and/or a consular date (*I.Ephesos* 27).

[34] Similar compromises are made in the first document, since the carver begins the collective (ll. 1–4) with indentations, decorations and line breaks that prioritise key information in the left-hand margin, where the reading eye begins: l. 1 the stephanophorate, l. 2 imperial titles (imperator), l. 3 name of the author (Hadrian), l. 4 the name of the recipient (Aphrodisias). He makes significant compromises in the right-hand margin in order to achieve this, abbreviating a numeral (l. 2) and exceeding the margins in ll. 2- 3.

[35] Reynolds (2000, 8) notes the varying citations of the consular figures, which go back and forth between a longer numeral τὸ τρίτον and a simple τὸ $\overline{\gamma}$. These forms of citation vary in all four documents: cf. n. 37 below.

[36] Gel. 10.1.7: "Tiro, Cicero's freedman once wrote: When Pompey was about to dedicate the temple of Venus Victrix … and was writing the text for the inscription of his name and title, he began to ask others whether it was proper to write *consul tertio* or *consul tertium* … Cicero persuaded him to abbreviate it as *COS TERT*".

[37] The shorter numeral occurs when the carver is trying to fit a date at the end of a line (l. 3: δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατος τὸ $\overline{\gamma}$) or towards the end of a long document (l. 44: δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ $\overline{\eta}$, ὕπατος τὸ $\overline{\gamma}$). When spacing and line breaks are not an issue, longer titles are used as at ll. 15–16: δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας

had little or no impact on the text but they can illustrate how carvers prioritised the placement of key information in prominent spaces.[38]

The inclusion of a local stephanophorate may have been a practical consideration but it was by no means necessary or common; it is unprecedented in imperial and/or administrative letters at Aphrodisias.[39] The prominent positioning of Claudia Paulina's name, in particular, is noteworthy (Fig. 65A): inscribed in slightly larger letters and indented in the top frame of the text (l. 1).[40] This office was also visually emphasised in the second document (l. 13) with a leaf, before exceeding into the right margin (Fig. 65B). In a text with few focal points, why was visual emphasis afforded to a name that was probably absent from the original letter? While the inclusion of the local official may have had an archival or referential function, highlighting a name was also a means of honouring a person in the local community.[41]

Paulina's name survives on a number of inscriptions, including an honorary base and a building dedication from the Civil Basilica.[42] The prominent inclusion of her role in this document could have provided a further connection between her civic roles and benefaction in the city. There are similar monumental parallels in Aphrodisias, such as the prominent rendering of Zoilos' name in a letter on the "Archive Wall", who also featured in a large monumental dedication on the stage building and elsewhere in the city.[43] A similar juxtaposition of letters and monumental dedications also survives at the *bouleuterion* in Ephesos, where the Vedii Antonii rededicated the stage and were honoured in an imperial letter.[44] If Claudia Paulina and/or her family were connected with a monumental dedication from the Long Hall's east colonnade at Civil Basilica (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 6.2), then a series of inscribed imperial letters featuring her name in or around that context would

τὸ τρίτον | [ὕπατ]ο̣ς [τ]ὸ τρίτον; ll. 29-30: δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἔνατον | ὕπατος *vac.* τὸ τρίτον. It is also worth noting the caver's error at the start of the third document (ll. 29-30): an abbreviated numeral τὸ $\overline{\gamma}$ was inscribed, erased and then reinscribed with the longer numeral τὸ τρίτον.

38 The only way to notice these inconsistences in numerals was to read all four documents in one sitting, which few people were likely to have done.

39 All recorded letters begin with imperial or administrative titles: *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.2, 8.24, 8.25, 8.29-31, 8.33-37, 8.99, 8.100-104, 12.25, 12.538, 15.330.

40 *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, l. 1: [ἐπὶ Κλαυδίας Παυλείνη]ς τὸ • $\overline{\alpha}$ •.

41 Reynolds (2000, 12) suggesting that a stephanophorate may have been a matter of local interest or a reference to a civic file where a master-copy was kept; both refer to another copy for readers.

42 Paulina's name survives on an honorary base (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.50). The title "daughter of the city" suggests a significant civic benefaction, which could refer to a Flavian building dedication at the Civil Basilica (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 6.2), but the identification is by no means certain (Reynolds 2008, 136; Stinson 2016, 125).

43 The text of *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.29 begins with Zoilos' name, towards the top of column IV (Graham 2021, 586-587), which can be seen in the right-hand corner of Fig. 66. The "Artemidorus monument" is another example of a collective monument at the theatre (Reynolds 1982, 11).

44 Bier 2011, 98-106; Kalinowsky 2021, 299-317; Kokkinia 2003, 203-207.

fit well within the epigraphic habit of the mid-2nd century.[45] The subsequent inscription of a series of imperial documents (Diocletian's price edict, early 4th c.) on the north façade of the Civil Basilica could suggest that other documents were kept in or around this structure.[46]

4.4 Conclusions

Reynolds describes this version of monumental document as "generally better" than its later counterpart, on the basis that it seems to reflect a more accurate version of the original letter.[47] In this respect, she is correct. However, it is worth asking: were passing readers considering accuracy or were they more likely to engage with the presentation of writing? While the text of the document was more accurate, the presentation of the writing was somewhat challenging and not likely to engage a reader, as Reynolds herself observes.[48] The lettering is fairly small and the documents were only minimally distinguished with visual cues, which could have operated as signals for seasoned readers or points of emphasis for an oral performance, but do not provide a readily recognisable image of a document or a collection of letters for a passing viewer. While one could argue that this dossier of Hadrianic letters formed part of an archive, the theory is somewhat impractical in application: the letters are not all complete or in order, nor are they easy to find within the inscription.

The experience of viewing this document as a monument was fundamentally different from reading these letters in an archive, not only in medium, location and presentation of writing but also in terms of message. Hadrian's letter on nail tax is inextricably part of a collective, attesting the emperor's continued contact and support of the city. The monument's message and associations were also different: the prominent presentation of Claudia Paulina, who was likely added to the inscribed text, suggests an honorary acclamation.[49] This feature could explain anomalies in the last two documents: they were of lesser importance and space was limited. As a collection of letters, this inscription was a testament to the city's special status, a tangible talisman of civic pride and protection, and a means of honouring local individuals. It was not, however, a faithful record of imperial correspondence or an easily accessible and/or functional archive. While some aspects

[45] For dating of the Basilica cf. Reynolds 2008, 133–140 (doc. 1); Stinson 2008, 83; Stinson 2016, 16–19.

[46] See Stinson 2016, 5, 21–22, for a diagram of the inscribed documents on the façade.

[47] Reynolds 2000, 16.

[48] Cf. n. 29 above.

[49] Her name continues to be mentioned in inscription in the 3rd c. at Aphrodisias (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 13.618 records a fifth (*postmortem*) stephanophorate in the second quarter of the 3rd c.).

of the original letters were maintained, others were changed to accommodate the text's new role as a public monument.

5. Reading a Later Copy on the Dossier Wall: *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34

5.1 Assessing the Urban and Reading Contexts of *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34

The second copy or version of the letter was inscribed ca. 50–100 years later. Like the first inscribed text, the letter was part of a larger collection of monumental documents inscribed along a key urban thoroughfare: the north *parodos* wall, which served as a main urban entrance to the theatre at Aphrodisias.[50] In comparison with the earlier inscription, the size and scope of this monumental dossier was massive: a selection of imperial correspondence from over 300 years was inscribed in five columns along the wall, across a space that is nearly 11 m in width, ranging from ca. 5 m (column II) to 2.5 m (columns III –V) in height.[51] One advantage of this copy of the letter is that it remains *in situ*, so more can be understood regarding its accessibility and role in the urban landscape. Today, one can easily access the writing, which is still legible. In antiquity, however, the experience of viewing was likely constrained by the context's location and function: on a performance day the entrance was often crowded and noisy. Therefore, it would have been somewhat inconvenient to stand and/or read for a protracted period. Although few would engage in a full reading, passing viewers with varying levels of literacy could recognise focal messages as well as formulaic elements and the visual framework of a letter.[52]

Within the collective dossier, this document fell at the top of column III, just below the arch of a barrel vault (Fig. 66). The size of the inscribed panel was slightly larger (0.90 m by 0.61 m) as are the inscribed letterforms (ca. 2–2.5 cm high). The arrangement of these forms affords an advantage to the reader as they are seldom, if ever, crowded into the margins; across seventeen lines there is only an instance of hyphenation (ll. 8–9). This careful arrangement provided a visual framework that was absent from the earlier inscription and probably from the original letter.[53]

[50] For a detailed assessment of the monument cf. Reynolds 1982 (text); Kokkinia 2016 (design of inscription and presentation); Graham 2021 (experience of reading and use of visual cues).

[51] Dimensions for the wall are from Kokkinia 2016, 12–13, with lettering from Reynolds 1982, 33.

[52] Kokkinia 2016, 47; Graham 2021, 574–575.

[53] While surviving Roman period letters in papyrus and wood often display a more limited use of visual cues, such cues are evident on some surviving letters and seem to increase as layout features of Roman letter writing at this time (Sarri 2018, 116–121).

I.Aphrodisias 2007 8.34 (*I.Aphrodisias and Rome* 15)[54]

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός
θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός Τραϊανὸς Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστός,
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ̅,
Ἀφροδεισιέων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν.
τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
τὰ ὑπάρξαντα ὑμεῖν παρά τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ
τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐβεβαίωσα πρόσθεν.
Ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ διὰ πρεσβείας περὶ τῆς τοῦ σιδή-
ρου χρήσεως καὶ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἥλων καίπερ
ἀνφισβητησίμου τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος διὰ τὸ
μὴ νῦν πρῶτον τοὺς τελώνας ἐπικεχειρηκέναι
παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγλέγειν, **Ὁ**μῶς εἰδὼς τὴν πόλιν
τά τε ἄλλα τειμῆς οὖσαν ἀξίαν καὶ ἐξῃρημένη<ν>
τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας, ἀπαλάσσω αὐτὴν
τοῦ τελέσματος καὶ γέγραπφα Κλ(αυδίῳ)· Ἀγριππείνῳ
τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου παρανγεῖλαι τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ
Τὸ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τέλος ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως.

"Imperator Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the divine Trajanus Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, *pontifex maximus*, holding the tribunician power for the third time, greets the magistrates, council and people of the Aphrodisians. Your freedom, autonomy and other (privileges) which were given you by the senate and the emperors who have preceded me, I confirmed earlier. I have been petitioned through an embassy about the use of iron and the tax on nails. Although the matter is controversial, since this is not the first time that the collectors have attempted to collect from you, nevertheless, knowing that the city is in other respects worthy of honour and is removed from the *formula provinciae*, I release it from payment and I have written to Claudius Agrippinus, my *procurator*, to instruct the contractor for the tax in Asia to keep away from your city (translation by J. Reynolds)".

5.2 Visual Cues and Formulaic Elements in *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34

There are a number of different visual cues in operation in this inscription, and though they will be addressed individually, it is important to consider how these elements functioned collectively in the presentation of the text. In comparison to the

[54] The text presented here differs from the one edited by Reynolds in what concerns some of the visual cues. The revision has been carried out on the basis of the available photographs. Capital letters in bold are used to highlight the *litterae notabiliores*. The sign at l. 15 indicates what appears to be an *ano stigme*.

earlier inscription, this version is more visually appealing and articulate, presenting not a block of text but a series of different clauses with more dramatic emphasis on key information and formulaic elements. The text was set in a prominent visual context at the top of column III within a collective of beautifully presented documents whose execution artfully reflects their form, function and meaning.[55] Surrounded by space at the top, a clear margin on the left and an architectural margin on the right, this inscription offered an impressive image of writing and control.

Within this framed space, further visual cues offered more subtle distinctions within the letter. The use of indentations and capitulation (*litterae notabiliores*: slightly larger letters in the left-hand margin of ll. 1, 8, 17 and the middle of l. 12) draw attention to key messages and grammatical breaks in the text, some of which are unmarked in the earlier inscription. A break between the opening section and the main body of the letter, marked in the earlier text by a dot (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, l. 17), is conveyed in this version by a slightly indented T at the beginning of l. 5, which heralds an affirmation of the city's privileges.[56] The only other pause in the earlier inscription (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, l. 19), a dot before a clause about freedom from the iron tax, is visually highlighted in the later version (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34, l. 8) with larger E and an indentation in the left-hand margin. The later version provides two additional points of visual emphasis: a *littera notabilior* O in the middle of l. 12 signifies the city's worthiness, and a *littera notabilior* T, indented in the left margin (l. 17), which emphasises the end of the letter and a directive for tax officials "to keep away" from the city. The space produced by the use of a *littera notabilior* at the beginning of the next letter (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.31, l. 1: Αὐτοκράτωρ) visually differentiates between separate documents on the column. On the whole, the later version presents a visually discernible document, which was more readily recognizable in form, function, and message.

Visual cues such as indentations, margins, blank spaces and line breaks emphasise messages about the city's special privileges and imperial protection of these rights. This visual network operates on two levels: aiding a potential reader and providing a recognizable visual framework for the passing viewer. Painstaking efforts in arrangement and execution of the text are also evident in the line breaks. The impressive organization of *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, which broke only four words across line breaks, is improved: there is only a single word break (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34, l. 8).[57] This remarkable framework, however, came at a cost. Textual changes as well as ligatures were used to facilitate this organisation

[55] For a detailed analysis cf. Kokkinia 2016, 19–20; Graham 2021, 589–590.

[56] While this letter is not larger than those on two lines beneath it, which also begin with a *tau*, the letter is visually out of line with the adjacent rows and it appears to be more heavily serifed.

[57] This word break was also in the earlier version (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, l. 19), suggesting that the first inscription may have been used for the planning of the second.

(cf. ll. 13–14) and to prevent word breaks over lines. The excellent execution of *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34 reflects the values and careful planning that are often observed in the dossier wall.[58]

5.3 Content: Textual Changes

In this unusual case of two surviving copies, we have a rare opportunity to observe how and why textual changes were made. Firstly, there are a number of omissions. The name of the local *stephanephoros*, a key element of the first monumental inscription, is absent here. On a functional level, this omission did not impact ones' ability to date the text: the emperor's tribunician powers are recorded on l. 3. The visual framework of the first four lines created a distinctive section for the heading or *formula valetudinis* (naming the author, recipient and greeting of a letter). Arranging the text within this space, however, required a bit of editing. To create a visual break between the emperor and his titles (ll. 1–3) and the recipient (l. 4), the emperor's consulships were omitted and an abbreviated numeral was used for his tribunician power: τὸ $\overline{\gamma}$ instead of τὸ τρίτον. To fit the recipients on l. 4, connectives and definite articles were omitted.[59] This arrangement also allowed for visual emphasis on the start of the first clause (l. 5) with a slightly emphasized T and an indentation.

Similar compromises occur at the end of the text. A vacat in the right-hand margin of the earlier inscription (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, ll. 24–45) drew attention to the name of the *procurator*, Claudius Agrippinus, although his two names were split across the lines. In the later version (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34, l. 15) the name Claudius was abbreviated as ΚΛ with an *ano stigme*, so that the carver could fit the full name of the *procurator* at the end of the line. The final line was also abbreviated to fit in the space: τοῦ σιδήρου was omitted and the closing εὐτυχεῖτε, "farewell", was cut.[60] These changes were not mistakes but deliberate alterations to create an image of writing that clearly conveyed the form and function of a monumental document. Such an arrangement was not possible without editing the original text. From the perspective of the viewer, these compromises, which had little impact on meaning, created a more visually engaging and accessible image of writing.

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[58] Kokkinia 2016; Graham 2021.

[59] Compare *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, l. 16 (Ἀφροδεισιέων <u>τοῖς</u> ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν *vac.*) with *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.34, l. 4 (Ἀφροδεισιέων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν *vac.*). Similar omissions are evident in documents on columns III and IV of the dossier wall: shorter imperial titles with no numeral are observed in *I.Aphrodisias and Rome* 12–15 (Reynolds 1982, 101–118; Graham 2021, 588).

[60] The "farewell" is often absent in copies of letters on the dossier wall but this omission also served to integrate the letter into the monumental collective (Graham 2021, 588 and 593–594). Imperial titles can also be abbreviated in these letters, which are also not in chronological order (Reynolds 1982, 112; Kokkinia 2016, 51; Graham 2021, 593).

5.4 Conclusions

What is the point of comparing two similar copies of an inscribed document? In this case, one is allowed a rare insight into a process that is often veiled in mystery: the editorial transformation of a written text into an inscribed monumental document. One can see how underlying variations in text and appearance may reflect the differing functions that monumental documents played on the urban landscape. Collections of letters set out by different individuals at different times, in different places, convey different images of writing, with varying messages and points of emphasis. How these points of emphasis were conveyed, however, through the use of visual cues and a visual framework, suggest that a similar set of visual criteria applied to monumental documents and their urban viewers.

Monumental documents do not conform to modern concepts of expectations of a copy. Rather, these copies suggest that a number of criteria applied to the organisation and arrangement of a monumental inscription. The physical presentation of writing on the dossier wall suggests that the carver and/or the commissioners of the monument were guided primarily by the expectations of an audience, the context and the objective of the monument. With little compromise to the meaning of the original text, the collective monument offered an overall consistency in terms of message and appearance of inscribed documents as larger than life testaments to the city's special status.[61] Set within a broader collective of letters and documents, this later copy of Hadrian's letter reflects not only a different physical space and arrangement but also different associations within the collective.[62] As a result, the image, message and function of this letter changed significantly from its predecessor.

6. Conclusions on Monumental Documents as Copies

The criteria we apply impact how we view and interpret copies. The resulting conclusions are also very different. If we are looking for an accurate technical copy of a document in a monumental inscription, then we are probably employing a set of criteria and expectations that are quite different from those of viewers in the urban landscape. Reynold's close and careful reading of the two texts observes that the first copy is the most compelling and "accurate" version of the document. From the perspective of a passing viewer, however, one could argue that the later copy of this document was a "better" version of a monumental inscription: it was more engaging and accessible, conveying a message to a broader audience through carefully constructed a visual framework. Neither set of conclusions must exclude the other, both have an important role in understanding the concept of a copy and how it

[61] Kokkinia 2016, 51; Graham 2021, 599.

[62] Similar themes of imperial intervention and the importance of the city are visually drawn out across this collective (Graham 2021, 593-595).

can be perceived in different ways. This study adds a further perspective on monumental documents, reflecting the values of a commissioner and an urban audience.

One can understand why Panciera seeks to differentiate "documents" in his classification of what defines an inscription.[63] The transformation of a document from its original version into an inscribed monument often marked a shift in appearance, audience and function of writing: in short, it became a distinct object.[64] This transformation raises broader questions of terminology: how does the way that we describe and classify documents impact how we view and interpret these sources? While one cannot provide a detailed answer, this study seems to suggest that labels and approaches can play a fundamental role in both the perception and analysis of an inscription. Therefore, as the editors of *I.Aphrodisias 2007* (Roueché, Reynolds and Bodard) have done, we should consider carefully how we define and present inscriptions, and whether or not modern classifications reflect how these sources would have been experienced by ancient viewers. For example, when copies of building dedications existed in different parts of the same building, connections between these texts were likely to be made.[65] The lack of connection between copies of Hadrian's letters, however, seems to suggest that documents carved in different places and different times may not have been viewed as copies. In this respect, the *I.Aphrodisias 2007* publication of these texts as unique documents is well-justified.[66]

In a modern context, one often witnesses the transformation of an object or image that, once released in the wilds of social media, can take on quite a different function and/or meaning. Although some documents, such as the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*, stipulate that copies were to be present in specific spaces, it is important to remember that these prescribed monuments may not have been the only copies in circulation.[67] It seems possible, perhaps likely, that the existence of numerous copies of official letters, inscribed in different urban contexts, was not so rare a phenomenon as it might seem. A document could be reinscribed and reused by different people or institutions for a variety of functions and meanings that went well beyond its original form.[68] It is this possible divergence in functions and

[63] Panciera 2012, 5–7.

[64] Davies 2004, 325–326; Eastmond 2015, 249–254; Graham 2021, 599.

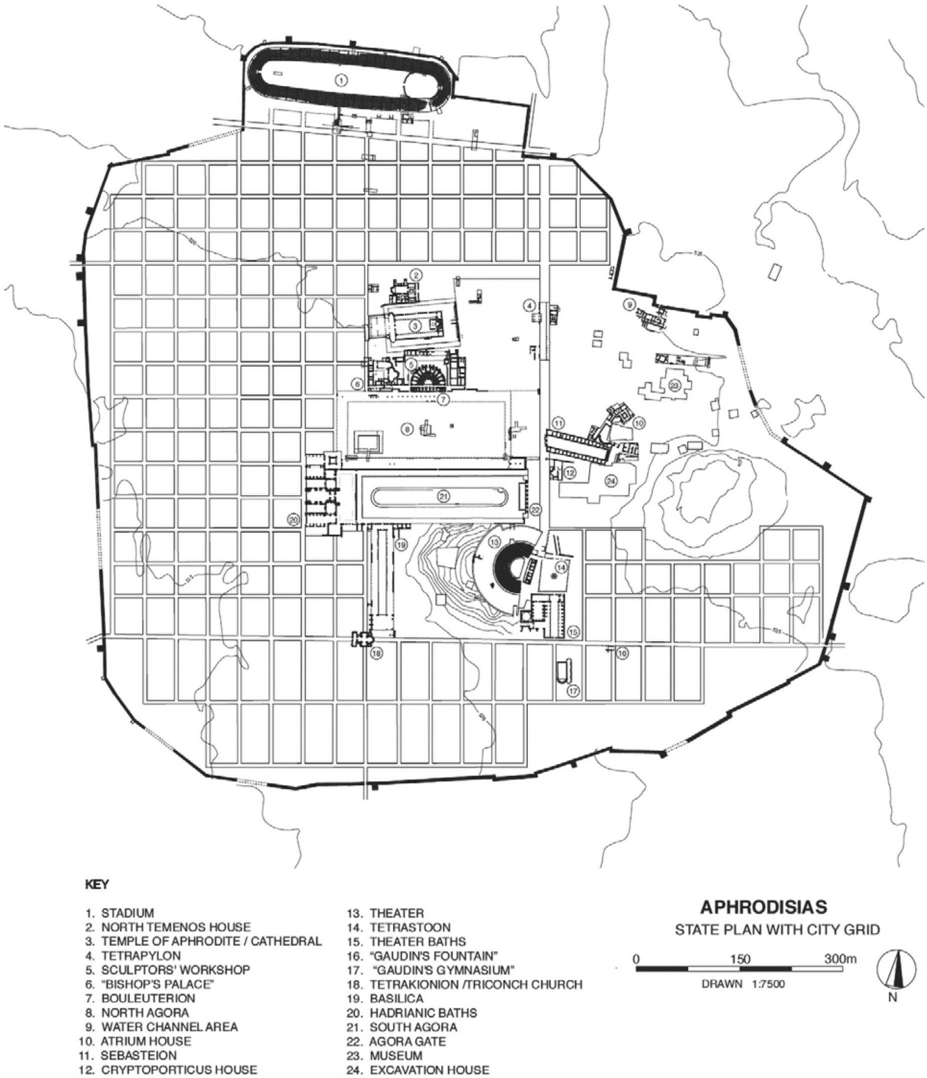
[65] Graham 2017; 2018.

[66] A note connecting the two versions of the inscriptions on the website, however, might be useful.

[67] Cooley 2012, 162–164, 178–179. Corbier 2013, 17. In the case of letters regarding iron production (Kokkina 2005, 259–262), it seems likely that that there were at least two additional letters on this topic in the urban context at Aphrodisias, one in the *bouleuterion* (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 2.307) and one reused in the city wall (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 12.510).

[68] For scholarship on the subsequent reuse of inscribed materials at Aphrodisias cf. Sitz 2019. For copies in art cf. Small 2008, 227–251. For different uses of document copies as part of a larger dossier cf. Kokkinia 2016 (the so-called "Archive Wall") and Kokkinia 2021 (the *Monumentum Ancyranum*).

meaning that one needs to keep in mind when studying and publishing inscribed documents, especially texts that a modern reader might classify as a "copy". Like the original ingredients of a recipe, the text is only part of the story; for the resulting monument, the proof is in the pudding: execution, context and intention impact the outcome every time.



Map 1. Aphrodisias. Courtesy of NYU excavations at Aphrodisias.

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Large-Letter Displayed Writings on Portable Media: Indirect and Direct Evidence from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt

Bianca Borrelli

The notion of displayed writing, as defined by A. Petrucci, refers to any type of writing on a surface exhibited in an open or even closed space, written in such a way as to be readable by several people and from a distance.[1] This definition includes both texts written on durable materials, such as marble, stone, and metals, and those written on perishable materials, such as papyri, whitewashed wooden tablets, textiles, and wall plaster. While the writings on durable materials have survived the centuries, those on perishable materials, which were conceived as temporary from the beginning, have been lost; one exception, however, is wall plaster[2] and, as far as Egypt is concerned, papyri. Indeed, in addition to several inscriptions as well as much indirect evidence of the practice of exhibiting different kinds of documents (such as official announcements, ordinances, decrees, responses to petitions, and so on), Egypt has given us a limited number of papyri written directly to be posted up or as drafts to be reproduced on other materials and then posted up.[3]

In this chapter, I will focus on a formal feature of displayed writings on portable media from Egypt, specifically whitewashed wooden tablets and papyri, namely, the use of large letters. I will discuss some case studies that provide both indirect and di-

[1] Petrucci 1985, 88; see also Susini 1989, 271-277, on the different kinds of displayed writings and their placement in public spaces.

[2] As noted by Fioretti 2012, 415-416, the only surviving *tabulae dealbatae* are, in fact, two wall writings from Pompeii and Herculaneum, painted within whitewashed lined squares in order to look like real tablets.

[3] A quantitative and typological overview of Greek inscriptions from Egypt has recently been offered by Clarysse 2020, 159-165. On the publication of announcements, ordinances and edicts in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see von Schwind 1940, 70-127; on the exhibiting of petitions, see Mascellari 2021, 1023-1024, with previous bibliography. A study on the posting of public notices in Graeco-Roman Egypt was recently conducted by Schubert 2022.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Bianca Borrelli, *Large-Letter Displayed Writings on Portable Media: Indirect and Direct Evidence from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.16, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 277-291, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

rect evidence of this particular formal feature. Moreover, through comparison with displayed writings on durable materials, I will try to establish how the typology of document influenced the format choice and to what extent the use of large letters was aimed at improving the document's readability.[4]

1. Large Letters on Displayed Whitewashed Wooden Tablets: Indirect Evidence

1.1 The μεγάλοιϲ γράμμαϲιν Writing of the Tax-Farming Regulations: The Cases of P.Hib. I 29 and P.Rev.

In a recent contribution, E. Rosamilia has shown that few inscriptions contain provisions concerning the layout and characteristics of the letters employed in texts to be displayed in public; so far, P.Hib. I 29 has been considered the only papyrus providing prescriptions on writing a large-lettered document for public display.[5] However, since the typology and content of this document have been matters of discussion among scholars and still need further investigation, I will examine the text of the papyrus in detail, in order to define exactly the type of document it mentions.

P.Hib. I 29 comes from the ancient Ankyron Polis in the Herakleopolite nome and is dated about 265 BCE; written on both sides, by the same hand, it bears the remains of regulations by Ptolemy II Philadelphus for the farming of taxes.[6]

The recto side (Fig. 67)[7] contains part of a regulation dealing with a tax on slaves. Even though the poor state of preservation of the papyrus prevents its precise nature from being understood, what is clear is that the first lines of the text concern penalties provided for violations: anyone failing to register a slave through the offices of the *agoranomoi* or to pay taxes to the detriment of the tax-farmer will be deprived of the slave (ll. 2-4). In the event of a dispute, the appointed tribunal will pass judgement and the informer will obtain one third of the value of the slave when sold; if the informer is the slave himself, he will be freed after paying the due taxes (ll. 4-7). Thus far, the definition of the category to which the slaves mentioned in this section of the regulation belong has been based on the meaning attributed by scholars to the verb

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[4] Studies on the phenomena of interaction between writing on papyrus and writing on stone or marble have so far mostly focused on the influence of the former on the latter: see, for example, Del Corso 2010a; Crowther 2020, 227-230.

[5] Rosamilia 2020, with a complete analysis of all the Greek decrees and official documents containing publication clauses on the characteristics of the letters to be employed, that is, depth of the engraving, letter size, and generic readability.

[6] On the El Hibeh mummy *cartonnages* and their discovery in general, see P.Hib. I, at pp. 1-12: the dating of P.Hib. I 29 is based on the other documents extracted from the same mummy. A reprint of both sides of the papyrus, without any difference from the *editio princeps*, is in W.Chr. 259, while R. Scholl in C.Ptol.Sklav. 6 only republished the recto. I refer to the latter for a full discussion of the previous bibliography. On the tax-farming system in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Manning 2010, 152-157.

[7] Digital reproduction of both sides of the papyrus available at the link: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/295e0e45-ea11-41eb-a36a-183940f66950/>.

ὑποτίθημι, the scanty remains of which are perhaps to be read at ll. 2 and 6: while the editors, B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, interpreted it in the sense of "to assign" or "to make subject to", other scholars have argued for the meaning of "to pledge".[8]

The provision that the secretary of the *agoranomoi*, the *antigrapheus*, and the tax-farmer write καὶ ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις follows (ll. 7–8): its interpretation deserves more attention, since it affects the understanding of the following lines. For the main part, scholars have attributed a meaning to the phrase ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις related to the verb ὑποτίθημι that occurs, as I said, a few lines before;[9] however, based on the context of the ordinance described above, I think that here the word ὑπόθεσις must be taken in its sense of "Prozeßgrund, Streitanlaß, Klagegegenstand".[10] If this is the case, this makes the three officials responsible for registering the lawsuits brought against the transgressors.

This acquisition has an impact on the understanding of the following provisions, which concern writing in large letters for a document to be displayed in public. The nature of this document is a matter of discussion since the term identifying it is partly in lacuna. Below I reproduce the text as published in the *editio princeps*. The only difference concerns the supplement of the lacuna in question:

ὁ δ̣ὲ τελώνης τὸ̣ [διά-
γραμμα τ[όδε] γράψας εἰς λεύκωμα μ[ε]γάλο̣ι̣ς γράμ̣μ̣α̣ς̣ιν ἐκτιθέτ̣[ω πρὸ
τοῦ ἀ̣γο̣ρ̣α̣ν̣[ομί]ου ἑκάστης ἡ̣[μ]έρας, ἧ̣ι δ' ἂν ἡ̣μ[έρ]α̣ι̣ ἡ̣ ἔκ̣θ̣[εσις μὴ γίνηται
ἀποτινέτω (δραχμὰς) ̣ ἐ]πίτιμ[ο]ν, προσαποτινέ[τω] δὲ κα[ὶ ±11

"The tax-farmer shall write this ordinance on a whitewashed wooden tablet, in large letters, and exhibit it publicly before the office of the *agoranomos* every day;

[8] In P.Hib. I 29, 2 comm., Grenfell and Hunt cautiously suggested supplementing ἐὰν δέ τις ἀλλάξ[ητ]αι τ[̣ ̣ ̣] ̣ ὑ[ποτεθ]έν, while they supplemented ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὑ̣[ποτε]θ̣εὶς μηνύσηι at l. 6. For the meaning of "to pledge", see Schönbauer 1924, 89, with a different supplement at l. 2 (ἐὰν δέ τις ἀλλαχ[ῆι ποιήσηται]ι ὑ[πόθεσ]ιν), and W.L. Westermann in P.Col. I, at pp. 38–39, who followed the text of the *editio princeps*. On the other hand, thinking of misappropriated slaves, Scholl proposed supplementing ἐὰν δέ τις ἀλλα ̣[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] ̣ ὑ̣[φείλ]ε̣ν (*sic*) and ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὑπ̣[αιρε]θ̣εὶς (*l.* ὑφαιρεθείς) μηνύσηι, respectively; nevertheless, both supplements can be questioned: at l. 2 we would expect the subjunctive rather than the indicative, while Scholl's supplement at l. 6 forces us to correct the text of the papyrus.

[9] Grenfell and Hunt provided the translation "these assignments (?)". However, besides being based on an otherwise unattested meaning of the term, in my opinion this translation makes no sense at this point in the regulation. Moreover, the term cannot designate the pledges of slaves, as Schönbauer 1924, 89 thought: the meaning of "hypothekarische Verpfändung (= ὑποθήκη)" recorded in *WB*, *s.v.* ὑπόθεσις, 4 was based on the presumed occurrence in SB I 5285 verso, which has proven to be wrong (cf. *BL* X 183, where the reading ὑποθήκ(η) is reported). As far as I know, there is no other attestation of this meaning of the word in the papyri: in P.Flor. III 384, 112, the correct reading is probably ὑποθ[ή]κ̣ης rather than ὑποθ[έσε?]ως. On the other hand, it should be noted that although Westermann in P.Col. I, at p. 39 argued that the term applied to the mortgages of slaves, he translated the expression more literally as "cases under discussion".

[10] *WB*, *s.v.* ὑπόθεσις, 3; for the possibility of the term having this meaning in the papyrus, see Rosamilia 2020, 129 n. 1. Recently, Käppel 2021, 396 also considered the expression to be unconnected to the allegedly mortgaged slaves, translating it as "auch diese [*scil.* die zuvor aufgeführten] Regeln".

on the day the exhibition [happens not to take place, he shall pay *x*] drachmae as a fine and pay in addition [...]".

At ll. 8-9, Grenfell and Hunt supplemented τọ[ῦτο τὸ] | γραμματ[εῖον], meaning that it was the aforementioned document, that is, the ὑποθέϲειϲ, that had to be written in large letters and displayed publicly. On the other hand, A. Wilhelm proposed supplementing τọ̀ [διά]|γραμμα τ[όδε], thus deeming the whole document in the papyrus to be a royal ordinance.[11]

In my opinion, all the main objections that scholars have raised against Wilhelm's proposal can be questioned: firstly, the text is perfectly consistent with a *diagramma*; secondly, although there is no other evidence that the tax-farmers were responsible for publicly displaying ordinances, there is no reason to say that they were not, as the *logeutai* were;[12] finally, if my interpretation of the ὑποθέϲειϲ is correct, it does not make any sense that they had to be exhibited every day, whereas it would be totally justified to assume the daily publication of an ordinance.[13] As a matter of fact, the following sources give evidence of provisions for exhibiting law texts on a daily basis: 1) the passage from Demosthenes' *Against Timocrates* (24.23) mentioning the so-called ἐπιχειροτονία τῶν νόμων, which prescribes that any Athenian proposing a new law must write it on a whitewashed wooden tablet and display it every day at the monument of the Eponymous Heroes (ἀναγράψαϲ εἰϲ λεύκωμα ἐκτιθέτω πρόϲθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων ὁϲημέραι) until the assembly meets;[14] 2) an early second-century BCE decree from Halasarna, Kos (*IG* XII.4 103), concerning the creation of a list of participants in the cults of Apollo and Herakles, which states that the same decree, written on a whitewashed wooden tablet, is to be displayed every day (τὸ ψάφιϲμα τόδε ἀνα|γράψαντεϲ εἰϲ λεύκω|μα ἐκτιθέντω πᾶϲαν | ἁμέραν), visible for whoever wishes to read it, for the entire duration of the registration (ll. 66-72); 3) a fairly recently published inscription from Limyra (Lycia), which contains a *prostagma* of a Ptolemy (who is more likely to be Ptolemy Philadelphus rather than Ptolemy Euergetes). This third document is of particular interest for our topic, since it includes the provision that every day, before the tax collectors' offices, the *oikonomoi* must exhibit the tax-farming laws, ordinances,

[11] Wilhelm 1909, 247, whose proposal, mentioned in W.Chr. 259, at pp. 306-307, and P.Hal., at p. 42, was accepted by Schönbauer 1924, 90 and most recently by Käppel 2021, 396. On the other hand, in favour of Grenfell and Hunt's supplement, see, among others, Westermann in P.Col. I, at p. 39 n. 113; Scholl in C.Ptol.Sklav., at p. 47; Rosamilia 2020, 129. On the different sources of Ptolemaic law, see Lenger 1964, XIX-XXI.

[12] Some doubts about these aspects were raised by Westermann in P.Col. I, at p. 39 n. 113, but on this kind of *diagrammata*, see Mélèze Modrzejewski 2014, 58. On the involvement of the *logeutai* in the public posting of laws, cf. P.Rev., IX, 1-6, on which see also below.

[13] On the contrary, see Scholl in C.Ptol.Sklav., at p. 47.

[14] On the ἐπιχειροτονία τῶν νόμων, see most recently Canevaro 2020 with discussion of previous bibliography.

and revisions written on whitewashed wooden tablets (καὶ τοὺϲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὠνῶν νόμουϲ καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα καὶ τὰ διορθώ|ματα ἐκτιθέναι ἑκάϲτηϲ ἡμέραϲ πρὸ τῶν λογευτηρίων ἐν λευ|κώμαϲιν γεγραμμένα, ll. 12-14).[15] In all these cases, the obligation of daily display has nothing to do with updating the document, but probably depends on the practice of relocating the tablets within the office after making them available for public consultation.[16] However, it seems to me that comparison with these documents leaves no room for doubt as to which document P.Hib. I 29, 8-9 sets out to be written in large letters.

The size of the letters to be used in writing a document that was to be publicly displayed is perhaps also referred to in the so-called "Revenue Laws papyrus" (P.Rev.), which consists of two rolls, probably coming from the Arsinoite nome.[17] These rolls contain at least eight different royal regulations (*nomoi* and *diagrammata*, with some emendations), dated in their most recent parts to 259/8 BCE, which are in fact documents governing tax-farming contracts concluded between the king and the farming companies.[18] Here I provide my transcription of one of the very mutilated fragments of the second roll bearing the regulation on farming the *ennomion* or pasture tax, namely Fr. 5(d) (Fig. 68):[19]

– – –
] οἱ τὴν ὠν̣[ὴν ἔχοντεϲ
] ̣ τοῖϲ λογ[
] γίνεϲθαι ̣[
με]γάλοιϲ δ̣ε̣[
] ̣ιν ἐν ἡμ[έραιϲ
]θαι ἑκα̣[ϲτ-
– – –

1.] οἱ τὴν ὠν̣[ὴν ἔχοντεϲ :]οι την ω[νην Grenfell :] οἱ τὴν ὠ[νὴν Bingen 2.] ̣ τοῖϲ :] τοῖϲ Grenfell, Bingen. 3.] γίνεϲθαι ̣[:] γινεϲθαι [Grenfell :] γίνεϲθαι [Bingen 4. με]γάλοιϲ δ̣ε̣[: α]λλοιϲ Grenfell :]αλοιϲ ο[Bingen 5.] ̣ιν :]ιν Grenfell, Bingen ἐν ἡμ[έραιϲ Bingen : εν ημ[Grenfell 6.]θαι ἑκα[ϲτ- :]αρ[̣] εκα̣[Grenfell :]θ̣αι ἑκα̣[ϲτ- Bingen

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[15] For a complete discussion of the inscription, see the *editio princeps* in Wörrle 2010 (*SEG* LX 1536).

[16] On this practice, see Susini 1989, 274-275.

[17] See Grenfell 1896 for the *editio princeps* of the papyrus and Bingen 1952 for a second complete edition; for a new edition of the second roll, with a complete rearrangement of the fragments in which it has come down to us, see Borrelli 2017.

[18] On the nature of the two rolls, in which originally independent *cahiers des charges* were glued together for administrative or private use, see Bingen 1978, 8-9.

[19] A digital reproduction of the frame in which the fragment is housed together with others is available at the link: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/16a15209-5139-4726-a561-973cc76c9f02/surfaces/ca6d1655-b414-4905-baf9-3eee9374925a/>. On the *ennomion* in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Préaux 1939, 225-227.

Despite the complete absence of context, its belonging to the regulation on *ennomion* is certain on palaeographic and bibliological grounds. At l. 4, after three lines on which nothing can be said except that tax-farmers (l. 1) were involved, the new reading of the adjective με]γάλοιϲ may suggest the supplement δ̣ὲ̣ [γράμμαϲιν based on comparison with P.Hib. I 29.[20] On the basis of the little text surviving in the following lines, it seems possible to conjecture that this point of the regulation prescribed that a certain document should be written in large letters within a certain number of days from a given date and that it should be publicly displayed every day: at the beginning of l. 5,]ϲ̣ιν (presumably the termination of a subjunctive in the third person plural) can be read, enabling the assumption that ἀφ' ἧϲ ἂν ἡμέραϲ occurred immediately before the phrase, while l. 6 can be completed as ἐκτίθεϲ]θαι ἑκά̣[ϲτηϲ ἡμέραϲ.[21] Based on the parallels discussed above, it seems reasonable to think that the document to be published was the pasture tax-farming regulation and that the specification of the medium on which to write it, that is, whitewashed wooden tablets, has been lost in the lacuna.

If this is the case, notwithstanding the partial nature of the papyrological documentation, we may assume that large letters were a formal feature specifically and programmatically imposed by the Ptolemies (or, at least, by Ptolemy II Philadelphus) for publicly displayed tax-farming laws and ordinances on whitewashed wooden tablets. It is not surprising that P.Hib. I 29 and P.Rev., which define every single aspect of the tax-farming contracts between the king and farmers, provide such detailed information.[22]

But how large did these letters have to be? Obviously, we cannot say with any certainty because of the lack of direct evidence. However, it can be assumed that they must have been as large as those used in texts displayed on stone or other materials rather than in the archival copies on papyrus, so that they could be readable to all at a certain distance;[23] in this regard, a parallel might be offered, for example, by the aforementioned *prostagma* of Limyra, in which the letters are between 1.6

[20] In]γαλοιϲ, part of the horizontal bar of the *gamma* reaching the *alpha* is visible (cf. γινε, l. 3); after the *sigma*, the shadow of a triangular-shaped letter can be made out under a detached fibre and then a right-concave semicircle can be gleaned on the break edge, theoretically fitting with either an *epsilon* or a *sigma*.

[21] What remains of the presumed initial *sigma* of l. 5 is a horizontal stroke, slightly ascending from left to right, in ligature with the *iota*.

[22] I believe that, like the regulations collected in P.Rev., P.Hib. I 29 is also a document governing the tax-farming contract between the king and the farmer.

[23] On large letters as a device to provide readability for exhibited writings, see Rosamilia 2020, 128-136; on the need for these regulations to reach the entire population so that the Crown would not suffer economic damage, cf. Peremans 1982, 144-145, who gave this as the explanation for the custom of publishing them in both Greek and Egyptian.

and 1.8 cm high.[24] I do not think it is by chance that P.Rev., IX, 2-5 does not specify if tax-farming law, exhibited inside a building (οἱ ἐν τῶι ἐμπορίωι λ[ο]γευταὶ [ἐκ]τιθέτωϲαν | ἐ[ν τ]ῶι τελωνίωι ἐν ἡμέρα[ιϲ] δέκ`α´ τὸν τ[ῆ]ϲ | [ὠνῆϲ νό]μον γράψαντεϲ γράμμαϲιν ἑλλη[νικοῖϲ τε | καὶ ἐγχ]ωρίοιϲ), should be written in large letters: in this case, since the exhibition place was not accessible to all, it would have been pointless for the writing to be highly legible.[25] On the other hand, the lack of indications in the inscription from Limyra about the size of the letters to use when writing the regulations for display before the tax collectors' offices might be because of the nature of the document itself, which did not require such specifications.

1.2 *Ampliores litterae* as a Distinctive Device in the *tabulae albi professionum*: The Case of P.Mich. III 166

A different kind of evidence, in which the use of large letters does not seem to depend directly on the display of the document, is provided by a well-preserved, originally sealed, wax tablet diptych of unknown provenance, P.Mich. III 166 (CPL 151). This document contains the certified copy of a *professio*, that is, a declaration of the birth of a legitimate Roman child, the girl Herennia Gemella, dated April 13th, 128 CE.[26] The certificate follows the usual structure: after indicating the date of the copy and the place of issue, Alexandria (*pag.* 2, ll. 1-4), there is a statement that it was made and verified *ex tabula profesionum* (*l. professionum*) *quibus liberi nati sunt*, which had been posted *in Foro Aug(usti)* (*pag.* 2, ll. 5-7).[27] It is followed by the text of the *professio* as set out in the *tabulae professionum*, while also giving the heading with the imperial year starting on August 30th and the consuls then in office (*pag.* 2, ll. 9-13); in particular, *pag.* 3, ll. 1-3 indicates the *tabula* and the *pagina* of the register where the *professio* was recorded: *tab(ula) VIII pag(ina) II amplioribus litteris | scriptum est L(ucio) Nonio Torquato Asprenat[e] | II M(arco) Annio Libone co(n)s(ulibus) et post alia pag(ina) IX*. As has been noted, the declaration was indeed recorded on the ninth *pagina* of the eighth *tabula*, while the second *pagina* contained, in larg-

[24] Wörrle 2010, 360.

[25] As far as the medium is concerned, see U. Wilcken in W.Chr. 259, at pp. 306-307, for the view that, if it is not specified that a document was written on a tablet, it must be assumed that it was written on papyrus; on the contrary, on the unsuitability of papyrus compared to wooden tablets as a writing medium for posting public notices, see Schubert 2022, 211 and 217.

[26] Digital reproductions available at the links: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-3121/766pii___tif> and <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-3121/766pi-iv.tif>. On the birth certificates of Roman citizens, see, among others, Schulz 1942, Montevecchi 1948, and Sánchez-Moreno Ellart 2001; for an updated list of the birth certificates of Roman citizens from Egypt, see Bernini 2018, 50-52.

[27] It should be noted that all other certified copies of *professiones* refer to a publication *in Atrio Magno*, with the exception of P.Mich. inv. 3944l, which mentions a publication *in exedra*: see the discussion on the subject with previous bibliography in the edition of the latter papyrus by Bernini 2018, 46-47.

er letters, the names of the new consuls in office under whom the declarations from 1 January onwards were made.[28]

The diptych sheds light on an aspect of the layout of the *tabulae professionum*, namely the use of larger letters to mark the transition to a new section of the register. The enlargement of the letter form in section headings is a quite common formal device in papyri, where it is often associated with greater care in execution and other formal devices.[29] Again, we cannot know the size of the letters in which the *professiones* in the register were copied nor how much larger the letters were for the names of the consuls; however, if comparison with documents on papyrus is relevant, we can assume that rather than legibility from a distance, the aim was to highlight the names of the consuls, by differentiating them visually from the rest of the text, in order to give the layout a clearer and neater appearance.

2. Large-Letter Placards on Papyrus: Direct Evidence

While we cannot say how large the letters used in the above-examined writings were since they have not survived, the direct evidence that I am now going to discuss shows how large the letters of displayed writings on papyrus actually appeared.[30]

The most famous example of a papyrus that was (or was to be) posted up is SB XIV 11942. From the necropolis of Saqqâra (Memphis), it contains the order of a certain Peukestas, probably one of the two commanders to whom Alexander the Great entrusted the command of his troops in Egypt at the time of his departure for Asia in 331 BCE, not to enter the chamber of a priest.[31] This kind of prohibition was usually inscribed on stone: a later example from Ptolemaic Egypt is offered by *I.Ptolemaic* 84, a short *prostagma* found in El Kanais (east of Alexandria) and assigned

[28] See, in particular, Schulz 1942, 89.

[29] See, for example, the already mentioned P.Rev., LVII, 1-2 with pl. XII, where besides being written in larger letters with a slower *ductus*, the title of the revision of the law on oil monopoly farming ([δ]ιόρθωμα το[ῦ νόμου ἐπὶ τῆ]ι | [ἐλ]αικῆι) is set in *ekthesis* and separated from the following text by a wider line spacing. Among Latin papyri, see, for example, P.Louvre inv. E 10490 (162 CE), a military report published by Salati 2020, 149-152, in which the consular date, at l. 1, is written in large capital letters and separated from the rest of the text, in old Roman cursive, by a 1.6 cm blank space; see also P.Mich. III 162 (Ch.L.A. V 283; 193-197 CE), a military list registering the soldiers based on the consular year of enlistment: its scribe does not write the names of the consuls in larger letters, but highlights them visually by writing them in the centre of the line (cf. Salati 2020, 87 and 95). It is worth noting that enlargement of the letter form in section headings is also an expedient used in papyri with literary content: see, for example, PSI X 1181 (third century CE), bearing the remains of two poems generally ascribed to Bacchylides, where the title of the second one (l. 38) is written in larger letters and flanked on both sides by an asterisk with a function both as an ornament and to draw attention (cf. Nocchi Macedo 2011, 20 and Prodi 2016, 1172-1173 and 1177-1178).

[30] The case studies presented here, which make no claim to completeness, were mostly selected by searching the word "placard" in the *DDbDP* metadata and browsing through the main palaeographical catalogues of papyri (Turner 1987; Seider 1990; Cavallo and Maehler 2008; Harrauer 2010).

[31] *Editio princeps* in Turner 1974, with plate.

to the reign of Ptolemy XII Auletes, which forbids unauthorised persons from entering the sacred treasuries of temples.[32] The choice of a material such as papyrus for the order of Peukestas was probably linked to the temporary nature of the notice, which was perhaps addressed to the Greek troops then stationed in the necropolis.[33] The sheet, preserved in its original size and written in large letters (2 cm high on average) *transversa charta*, is 35.8 cm wide and 13.4 cm high and has four holes along the right-hand half of its top edge through which pins to fix it might have passed;[34] in the first line, the letters are larger (the 4.1 cm high *kappa* is impressive) and more widely spaced than in the following two lines, as already noted by the editor, E.G. Turner, to "catch the eye" and point out the author of the order.[35] In general, the scribe must have aimed for maximum legibility and was probably aware that he had to try to reproduce the impression of an inscription. This explains the use of such large letters and the epigraphic form of some of them, such as the *alpha*, sometimes with a broken crossbar and the right-hand oblique stroke exceeding the vertical upper line like in the *delta*, the rectangular *epsilon* with shorter central bar, the round *theta* with central dot, the four-barred *sigma* with divergent outer strokes, and the suspended *omega* with open loop and extended finials; obviously, as the text is written on papyrus and not on stone, some letters and strokes (for instance, the bar of the *alpha*) show a more fluid and rounded tracing.[36] The use of a brush instead of a pen may also have been intended to obtain maximum clarity and visibility, giving the script an accentuated *chiaroscuro* effect.[37]

The same characteristics – large format, large letters and marked *chiaroscuro* effect provided by the use of a brush or soft reed – are found in a much later papyrus, P.Oxy. XLI 2950 (Ch.L.A. XLVII 1414) (Fig. 69). The fragment, 26 cm wide and 23 cm high, is broken to the left and right, while the upper and lower margins are preserved: it bears, written in large rustic capitals about 3.5 cm high, the remains of a dedication to Diocletian and Maximian by the *vexillatio* of the fifth Macedonian

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[32] See Fraser 1970, with other similar cases.

[33] Turner 1974, 242. On the temporary character of the notice, which justifies the use of papyrus as the writing medium, see again Schubert 2022, 217.

[34] As Turner 1974, 239 noted, inexplicably there are no balancing holes in the top left.

[35] Turner 1974, 241.

[36] Previous palaeographic analyses of the papyrus can be found, among others, in Turner 1974, 239-240, also with epigraphic parallels, Turner 1987, 136, Seider 1990, 131-134, Cavallo and Maehler 2008, 28, Harrauer 2010, 173-174, and finally Messeri 2012, 18-21, according to whom the presence of non-epigraphic letters, similar in form to those found seventy years later in Alexandrian chancery writing, betrayed the scribe's familiarity with the chancery style in use at Alexander's itinerant court and its presumable creation in Pella. Photographic reproductions of the papyrus are available in all these contributions. For an overview of the palaeography of Ptolemaic inscriptions, see the recent Crowther 2020, 232-250.

[37] So, Turner 1987, 136.

legion and possibly other army units. According to Turner's reconstruction, it must originally have been four times as wide.[38] The editor identified it as a placard, perhaps displayed on a temporary triumphal arch on the occasion of Diocletian's visit to Oxyrhynchus in 298 CE, but did not rule out that it could be a full-size model to be reproduced on stone; however, the use of the rustic capitals would rather suggest a temporary document to be displayed on a temporary written medium.[39] The readability of the message seems to be helped not only by the size and clarity of the letters, but also by some distancing between the words, which, except for the emperors' *praenomina*, *Gai]ọ* and *Mar]co* (ll. 1 and 2), written in full, are all abbreviated using medial dots.

The earlier PSI XIII 1307 verso (Fig. 70) and P.Mich. VII 459, assigned to the first to second century CE, are different cases, since the texts in rustic capitals they preserve were undoubtedly not displayed writings or drafts to be reproduced, but exercises by scribes training to write texts meant to be displayed.[40] However, it is interesting to note the large size of the letters (about 2 cm high in PSI XIII 1307 verso, 3-5, and 2.5 cm in P.Mich. VII 459 recto, 4, and verso, 1-2), which suggests that while the apprentice scribes practiced they had to bear in mind the imposed form of displayed writing.

P.Oxy. LXVIII 4670, 15 cm wide and 13 cm high, assigned to the fourth century CE (Fig. 71), is written along the fibres on the verso of an account mentioning the twentieth year of Diocletian and the nineteenth of Maximian, which provides us with a *terminus post quem* of 303/4 CE. The text, consisting of three lines plus traces of a fourth, is complete at the top, to the left, and to the right, while it is broken off at the bottom; it is apparently centred on the sheet[41] and written with a pen in a quite large script (about 1 × 1 cm on average) in which each letter is executed with the greatest number of constituent strokes (see, for example, the *epsilon* and the *omega* in three movements): letters with a soft, rounded form

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[38] The reconstruction of the original width of the sheet is based on the assumption that the titles were repeated in full for each of the two emperors, but of course other possibilities cannot be excluded. For an overview of rustic capitals, see Fioretti 2014, with plates.

[39] Harley *et al.* 2006, 116-117 favour the identification of the papyrus with a temporary placard; see also Del Corso 2010b, 206-207, who pointed out the similarities with the inscriptions from Leptis Magna.

[40] On these papyri see, respectively, Cavallo and Fioretti 2015, who proposed dating both to the Hadrianic age, and Iovine 2020, with a reproduction of the two joined fragments of P.Mich. VII 459 (separately reproduced at the link: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-2063>) and first-century-CE dating. I do not focus on the Greek exercise in PSI XIII 1307 verso, 1-2 or the Latin one in P.Mich. VII 459 recto, 1-3 as it is unclear whether we are dealing with exercises for displayed writings or simply for official writings (cf. Cavallo and Fioretti 2015, 116). For a digital reproduction of PSI XIII 1307 verso, see the link: <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;13;1307>.

[41] As noted in the *editio princeps*, the side margins may be original, but the top edge is broken, so there might have been other text above.

(*epsilon*, *upsilon*, *chi*, *omega*) alternate with letters with a more rigid, typically epigraphic form (particularly, the *alpha* with the broken crossbar reaching the baseline and the straight-sided *my* in four movements); the presence of hooks, serifs, and blobs at the ends of the strokes is remarkable. As for the layout, it is worth noting the height of the line spacing, almost equal to that of the letters, and the slight enlargement of the letters in the first line (particularly of the initial *epsilon*), which is also separated from the following line by wider spacing. Both the script and the layout give the document an impression of clarity and elegance that enhances its readability. Below I reproduce the text of the *editio princeps* with a new reading proposal at l. 4:

εὐτυχῶϲ
Περγαμίῳ
καλὴ ἡμέρα
Π̣ε̣ρ̣γα̣[μίῳ
– – –

It is difficult to define the exact nature of the document, which reads "Good luck to Pergamius, a good day to Pergamius".[42] In his edition, P.J. Parsons labelled it as a "notice" and proposed to identify it as a doodle, a covering note for a present or a draft for a placard for a private individual or public authority. However, as the editor himself noted, the word εὐτυχῶϲ is of common use in acclamations;[43] moreover, both the repetitiveness of the text, restored by the new reading at l. 4, and the layout of the document support the third hypothesis: indeed, both the use of epigraphic letters and the enlargement of the writing in the first line to draw the readers' attention suggest that this text was written for display, certainly on a temporary basis as can be assumed from l. 3. Comparison with similar exhibited texts written on other materials is also instructive: for instance, with a *dipinto* written on a block of plastered wall found in a building in Ahmeida (Dakhleh Oasis), *SEG* XXXVIII 1685A (SB XX 14876), apparently celebrating a βαϲιλικὸν πρόγραμμα; the writing is in very large letters (6.5 cm high in the first two lines and 4 cm high in the third one) and shows an epigraphic design (see, in particular, the *alpha* with the broken

[42] The editor read τ. . . . .[, but, in this handwriting, the bar of the *tau*, unlike that of the *pi*, shows a hook at the left end, which is absent here. The following traces are consistent respectively with the upper curve of an *epsilon*, with the top of the loop of a *rho*, with the right end of the bar of a *gamma*, and with the intersection point of the two diagonals of an *alpha*.

[43] For the possibility that the acclaimed person was Flavius Pompeius Pergamius, *praeses Thebaidis* in 375/6 CE, see P. J. Parsons, P.Oxy. LXVIII, at pp. 109-110; on Flavius Pompeius Pergamius, see now Agostini 2020, who, however, does not include the papyrus among the sources on this figure.

crossbar).[44] Although it cannot be ruled out that P.Oxy. LXVIII 4670 was a placard to be displayed, its short format suggests that it was a draft, which however, must already have set out all the graphic and layout features to be reproduced on the placard.

P.Oxy. LXVIII 4671 (11 × 4.7 cm), tentatively assigned to the fifth century CE, is yet another different case (Fig. 72). It is broken at the top and to the right and preserves the remains of a *tabula ansata* ("tablet with handles") framing the name Ἀρκαδίης, followed by a cross; as noted by Parsons, the original height of the *tabula* must have been about 5 cm and that of the sheet about 7 cm, while the original width cannot be estimated, since there may have been more text after the cross which has been lost. The writing is in quite large (about 1-1.5 cm high), rough letters, among which the *alpha* with the broken crossbar stands out; however, like in the previous document, the writing instrument used is a pen, not a brush. As for the type of document, the editor suggested that it was an inscription or a draft for a stone-cutter celebrating a person named Arcadia (perhaps the daughter of the emperor Arcadius) or a governor of the Egyptian province of Arcadia, or a draft or substitute of a mummy-label. The Ionic ending -ης cannot be relied on to more accurately identify the nature of the text, since, besides being literary, as Parsons pointed out, it is also found in documentary papyri. However, both the use of large epigraphic letters and the presence of the *tabula ansata*, aimed at drawing attention to the framed text, enhancing its readability and immediately informing the viewer of its function, suggest that it was a piece of (to be) displayed writing, imitating similar texts written on other materials or having the same graphic features and format.[45]

3. Conclusion

The few cases of displayed writings on papyrus examined hitherto clearly show that the use of large letters was dictated by the function of the document and the need to make it readable at a certain distance. This is confirmed by the fact that the use of a large script is often associated with the use of other palaeographic and layout devices, such as *chiaroscuro*, enlargement of letters in the first line, and in one case reproduction of a *tabula ansata*, which aim to increase the visibility of the text.

The influence of exhibited writings on durable materials on exhibited writings on perishable materials is also evident: the most representative case is the use of *al-*

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[44] See Wagner 1987, 77-78 with pl. XXXIV, who dated the *dipinto* to the third century CE, defining the writing, in my view not appropriately, as *de chancellerie*, and believed that the dedication was to a βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς; on the contrary, for the idea that the *dipinto* celebrated a βασιλικὸν πρόγραμμα, perhaps of religious rather than administrative content, see Kruse 2002, 1036-1037 n. 366.

[45] To the best of my knowledge, the only other examples of *tabulae ansatae* on papyri are found in literary texts, in which they frame and decorate the work title, as in P.Oxy. XVII 2084, or the colophon, as in the Montserrat miscellaneous codex (TM 59453). On *tabulae ansatae* in the Late Antiquity as a monumental element improving the readability of a displayed text, see Leatherbury 2019, with some case studies.

pha with the broken crossbar, which, as Parsons noted in his introduction to P.Oxy. LXVIII 4670, aims to create "a monumental effect"; it is noteworthy that, in spite of the dynamism of the writings on papyrus, this form remained unchanged over the centuries, following the model of the much more fixed epigraphic writings.

The indirect evidence provided by P.Hib. I 29 recto, 8-11 and P.Rev., Fr. 5(d) on the large-letter writing of exhibited royal ordinances confirms the framework of a graphic choice determined by functionality, that is, the need to make the text as easy to read as possible. Moreover, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to assume, especially based on the comparison with SB XIV 11942, that the writing of these texts on whitewashed tablets was similar not only in the size of the letters used in the inscriptions, but also in their shape.

On the other hand, remarkable evidence can be gleaned from exhibited writings such as P.Mich. III 166, in which, if I am right, the large letters have an essentially ornamental function; even in a case like this, it is possible to recognise similarities between layouts used on different media.

In general, it can be observed that it is the function, be it the need to improve the readability of the entire text or the desire to emphasise a specific part of it, that determines the use of large letters.

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Crossing Abbreviations, Monograms, and Symbols. Preliminary Survey of *chi-rho*, Staurogram, and *stauros* in Greek Documentary Papyri from Egypt[*]

Nicola Reggiani

When mentioning the symbol ☧ *chi-rho* one immediately associates it to early Christianity. The monogram representing the first two letters of the name Χριcτόc was indeed ubiquitous in ancient Christian symbolic representations, and its origins and diffusion have been investigated by Max Sulzberger in a wide study published in 1925, which concluded that "les monogrammes de Jésus sont de simples abréviations, empruntées à l'écriture païenne, qui peu à peu sont devenus des symboles assimilés à la croix" and "le monogramme ☧ ne paraît pas avoir existé, comme monogramme chrétien, avant Constantin. Il était fréquent dans tout le monde grec, avec toutes sortes de significations. Au début du IVe siècle, il est possible qu'il présentât un ou plusieurs sens aux yeux des païens aussi, et Constantin croyons-nous pouvait l'adopter ouvertement sans faire encore profession de christianisme".[1] Sulzberger's analysis, though deep and detailed, lacks the evidence of Greek papyri, concentrating on literary, epigraphic, and numismatic sources. My current purpose is therefore to integrate his study with a preliminary survey of the occurrences of the monogram *chi-rho* and the related symbols in Greek documentary papyri.

[*] This contribution falls into the framework of the PRIN 2017 Project "Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum: Texts, Contexts, Readers" (P.I. Lucio Del Corso, University of Salerno), research unit at the University of Parma (coordinator Nicola Reggiani). The starting point of my interest in these abbreviations was the occurrence of the monogram ☧ in Greek medical papyri, for which see below, § 5. The preliminary status of this overview is due to the fact that currently I am not able to check every picture of the hundreds of involved papyri as well as to the inconsistency of the editorial representations of the considered abbreviations, which requires the quantitative queries on the database papyri.info to be integrated with several different possible cross-researches and with the control of the images. I hope that future studies can complete the survey.

[1] Sulzberger 1925, 448. The definition of "monogram" for this symbol complies with the traditional scholarly literature. Beside Sulzberger himself, see e.g. Blanchard 1974, 4-7; Montevecchi 1988, 290; Gonis 2009, 172-175.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Nicola Reggiani, *Crossing Abbreviations, Monograms, and Symbols. Preliminary Survey of* chi-rho*, Staurogram, and* stauros *in Greek Documentary Papyri from Egypt*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.17, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 293-303, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

1. Χριcτοc in Greek Documentary Papyri

Sulzberger's statement that "en Orient, [la croix monogrammatique ⳨] est plus fréquente que le ☧" and that "elle est rarement usitée comme abréviation"[2] finds confirmation in the papyrological evidence. As a matter of fact, almost all the Byzantine documents feature either the simple cross (*stauros*, †) or the staurogram (⳨), which is another important early Christian symbol,[3] inserted as mere Christian marks at the beginning and/or at the end of the texts.[4]

The Christian use of ☧ in the post-Constantinian documentary papyri is very limited. Actually, a simple and quick survey conducted on the papyri.info database shows that documents from the early 4th century onward exhibit ☧ in 510 cases,[5] which is a rather large amount of attestations. However, almost all of these instances can be traced back to either the non-Christian abbreviations discussed below at § 4 or to editorial shortcomings, consisting in the erroneous encoding of an original staurogram as a *chi-rho*.[6] The only instance of Christian ☧ that I have been able to find so far is P.Cair.Masp. III 67289 (unknown provenance, 6th CE, from the Dioskoros archive), a private account containing the invocation Χρ(ίcτε) βοήθ(ει) (l. 8), in which the divine name is rendered with the monogram (Fig. 73).

In other cases, Christ's name in documentary papyri is abbreviated following the rules of the *nomina sacra*,[7] with the letters χρ overlined and followed by the appro-

[2] Sulzberger 1925, 448.

[3] It might have been a simplification of the christogram ☧ in the shape of a cross (cf. Sulzberger 1925, 417 and 448; Black 1970) or an even earlier representation of the crucifixion of Jesus (cf. Hurtado 2006, 135–154), possibly influenced by the Egyptian hieroglyph for "life" *ankh*, the famous *crux ansata* that was a constant attribute of the gods (cf. Hurtado 2006, 143–145).

[4] On the use of Christian symbols in Greek documentary papyri cf. Carlig 2020 and Amory 2023.

[5] Due to the encoding strategies of papyri.info, the research is to be conducted by typing the string "chirho" in the search box. Query conducted on May 8, 2024.

[6] The Leiden+ code for *chi-rho* is *chirho,☧*, corresponding to XML <g type="chirho"/> and displaying the ☧ symbol in the page output; conversely, the code for staurogram is *rho-cross*, corresponding to XML <g type="rho-cross"/> and displaying the ⳨ symbol in the page output (cf. Reggiani 2019b, App. 17–19). Among the many possible examples, see P.Ross.Georg. III 33 (a lease of a farm from 522 CE Aphrodito), which clearly shows three consecutive staurograms at the end of l. 22 (correctly transcribed in the printed edition) that have been encoded as three ☧; or also e.g. BGU XVII 2711 (grain receipt, Aphrodito, 6th c. CE), with the typical staurogram in the middle of l. 1 (again, correctly transcribed in the printed edition), which is encoded as a ☧. The same exchange occurs also in some Latin letters like P.Ryl. IV 609 (Hermopolis, 505 CE), where the staurogram before the greetings formula *bene uale* is encoded as ☧. In the case of BGU XIX 2786 (grain account, Hermopolis, 5th c. CE) the digital encoding of ☧ instead of ⳨ at the beginning of l. 5 depends on the wrong transcription in the earlier printed edition of the papyrus as P.Bingen 127, while the BGU edition prints the staurogram correctly.

[7] The *nomina sacra* are the special abbreviations used in the Christian literary texts to express the divine names, rendered with few relevant letters overlined. Cf. Paap 1959; Hurtado 2006, 95–134; Overcash 2019.

priate grammatical ending,[8] or according to the common Byzantine abbreviating system, i.e. the letters χρ with the ρ crossed by a diagonal stroke.[9]

2. *Chi-rho* in Ptolemaic Papyri

In Ptolemaic documentary papyri, the monogram ☧ is frequently used to abbreviate common words beginning with χρ-. Terms connected with χρυϲόϲ "gold", especially referring to golden coins (χρυϲίον, χρυϲικόϲ), are abbreviated in such a way as early as in the Zenon archive. P.Cair.Zen. I 59021, 6 (written in Alexandria and found in Philadelphia, 258 BCE) deploys the pure monogram to render χρ(υϲίου) (Fig. 74), while later instances add a υ over the monogram.[10] That the use of the monogram was not a strict rule is clear from other occurrences, in which similar terms are abbreviated plainly with χρ and overwritten υ (Fig. 75).[11]

Another set of technical terms commonly abbreviated with ☧ are those expressing the skin color in official personal identifications: the first part of the word, indicating the color, is written in full, while the suffix -χρῶϲ is abbreviated (Fig. 76);[12] in one case an ω is written above (Fig. 77).[13] Again, that the use of the monogram was not a strict rule is revealed by the fact that some other occurrences are abbreviated with the two letters χρ only (μελίχρ(ωϲ) in P.Tebt. III 817, 35 – Tebtynis, 182 BCE) (Fig. 78),[14] sometimes overlined (e.g. μελίχρω(ϲ)

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[8] P.Col. XI 301, 2 (unknown provenance, 4th c. CE) $\overline{\text{χρϲ}}$ = Χρ(ιϲτό)ϲ; P.Warr. 10, 1 (unknown provenance, 591/2 CE) $\overline{\text{χρϲ}}$ = Χρ(ιϲτό)ϲ; PSICongr.XVII 20, 2 (Antinoupolis, 4th c. CE) $\overline{\text{χρϲ}}$ = χρ(ιϲτιανό)ϲ; P.Bodl. I 37, 2 (unknown provenance, 600 CE) $\overline{\text{χρυ}}$ = Χρ(ιϲτο)ῦ; P.Bodl. I 62, 1 (unknown provenance, 6th/7th c. CE) φιλο$\overline{\text{χρτω}}$ = φιλοχρ(ίϲ)τῳ; P.Naqlun II 22, 1 (unknown provenance, 623 CE) $\overline{\text{χρϲ}}$ = Χρ(ιϲτό)ϲ. Some variants: SB XXVI 16442, 1 (unknown provenance, 6th/7th c. CE) χρϲ = Χρ(ιϲτό)ϲ; P.Prag. I 48, 2 (615 CE) χρ$\bar{\text{υ}}$ = Χρ(ιϲτο)ῦ.

[9] P.Oxy. LXIII 4394, 11 (written in Alexandria, found in Oxyrhynchus, 494 CE) φιλοχρ(ίϲτ)ῳ; P.Gron. 13, 1 (unknown provenance, 5th/6th c. CE) Χρ(ιϲτόϲ); CPR XIX 42, 2 (Herakleopolites, 591-602 CE) Χρ(ιϲτοῦ); P.Gron. 14, 1 (unknown provenance, 6th/7th c. CE?) Χρ(ιϲτόϲ). Some variants: P.Cair.Masp. III 67289 verso (unknown provenance, 6th c. CE) φιλ̣οχρ(ίϲτῳ) with ρ crossed by a sinusoid; SB X 10464, 1 (unknown provenance, 7th c. CE) Χρ(ιϲτο)ῦ with ρ crossed and an overwritten υ. A different abbreviation is found in P.Rain.Cent. 125 (Memphis, 575 CE?) Χρ(ιϲ)τ(οῦ) with an overwritten cross.

[10] P.Eleph. 14, 8 (Apollonopolis?, 223/2 BCE) χρυ(ϲίου); P.Mich. III 200, 14 (unknown provenance, 181/0 BCE?) χρυ(ϲοῦ); P.Heid. IX 423, 12 (Herakleopolites, 158 BCE) χρυ(ϲοῦϲ).

[11] E.g. P.Tebt. I 60, vii 102 (Kerkeosiris, 117 BCE) χρυ(ϲικοῦϲ); P.Hawara 12, Greek subscription (Aueris, 100 BCE) χρυ(ϲοῦϲ).

[12] CPR XVIII passim (Theogonis, 231 or 206 BCE) μελίχρ(ωϲ), μελάγχρ(ωϲ); P.Enteux. 17, 11 (Hiera Nesos, 218 BCE) μελίχρ(ωϲ); P.Dryton 2, 15 (Latopolis, 150 BCE) μελίχρ(ωϲ); P.Tebt. III 972, passim (Tebtynis, 2nd c. BCE *ex.*) μελίχρ(ωϲ); P.Köln. IX 365, 18 (Arsinoites?, 2nd c. BCE) λευκ] όχρ(ωϲ). On the practice of indicating skin color in official personal identifications cf. Hasebroek 1921, 108; Caldara 1924, 49-57; Yiftach 2019, passim.

[13] P.Mich. III 190, 34 (Philadelphia, 172 BCE) λευκόχρω(ϲ).

[14] Perhaps also μελίχρ(ωϲ) in P.Tebt. I 32, 23 (Arsinoites, 145 BCE), though the papyrus is partially damaged in the relevant point: in the space before κ̣λαϲτόϲ it seems possible to accommodate μελιχρ rather than μελι☧.

in P.Grenf. II 23a, ii 3-4 – Pathyrites, 107 BCE – the overline being certainly a cursive simplification of ω) or with ω written above (e.g. μελίχρω(c) in P.Adl. 7, 6 – Pathyris, 104 BCE).[15]

A third group of words treated in the same way comprises derivatives of χρῆμα (παραχρῆμα, χρηματιστής, χρηματίζω, χρηματιcμός). In this case, an overwritten cursive η is always added above when the monogram is deployed (Fig. 79).[16] Once more, other similar terms are simply rendered by means of the letters χρ with η added above (Fig. 80).[17] These facts show that no standard rule was followed by the scribes, who could employ several different writing strategies according to their own habit or knowledge.

Three more monograms in Ptolemaic papyri are of uncertain interpretation.[18]

3. *Chi-rho* in Roman Papyri (31 BCE – 313 CE)

In Roman pre-Constantinian documentary papyri the trend of using the monogram ☧ in the cases already attested in the Ptolemaic texts seems to decrease considerably. It is attested in just two uncertain occurrences in relation to χρυcόc[19] (Fig. 81)

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[15] I could not check an image of με]λ̣άνχ̣ρ(ωc) in P.Adl. 18, 4 (Pathyris, 99 BCE) but it is likely that this abbreviation corresponds to that of P.Adl. 7 due to the similar context of provenance. Another instance from the same context – μελίχρ(ωc) in SB XVIII 13168, 23 (Pathyris, 123 BCE) – is supplied in lacuna. μελίχ[ρ(ωc)] in P.Freib. III 12b, 19 (unknown provenance, 172-162 BCE) is partially damaged. Other cases that I was not able to check: P.Trophitis passim (Arsinoites, 160-158 BCE) μελίχρ(ωc), μελάγχρ(ωc); SB XXVIII 16852, iii 28 (Antaiopolis, 132 BCE) μελίχρ(ωc); P.Stras. II 81, passim (Thebes, 115 BCE) μελίχρ(ωc); PSI IX 1024, passim and 1025b, 17 (Hermonthis, 104 BCE) μελίχρ(ωc); P.Stras. VIII 761v, 7 (Arsinoites, 2nd c. BCE) μελάνχρ(ωτοc).

[16] P.Hels. I 3r, 15 (Arsinoites, early 2nd c. BCE) π̣α̣ραχρῆ(μα) (?); BGU X 1968, 11 (Upper Egypt, 184 BCE) παραχρῆ(μα); P.Tarich. 8, 1 and P.Tarich. 1, 1 (Tanis, 189-184 BCE) χρη(ματιcταῖc); P.Dryton 2, 33 (Latopolis, 150 BCE) κεχρη(μάτικα). I was not able to check the following instances: P.Lille I 3, iv 2 (Magdola, after 216/5 BCE) cυνχρ(ηματι); P.Stras. II 104, 19 (Techtho, 210 BCE) χρ(ημάτιcον); P.Tebt. III 770, 6 (Tebtynis, 210 BCE) χρ(ηματιcτῶν); O.Bodl. I 249, 1 and 250, 1 (Thebes, ca. 190 BCE) χρ(ημάτιcον).

[17] E.g. P.Köln. XI 454, 3 (Herakleopolites, 157 BCE) κεχρη(ματι-); BGU III 996, iii 12 (Pathyris, 112 BCE) κεχρη(μάτικα); P.Tebt. I 65, 20 (Kerkeosiris, ca. 112 BCE) χρη(ματιcμόν); UPZ II 190, 21 (Thebes, 98 BCE) κεχρη(μάτικα). A possible exception is represented by SB XXIV 16154v (Aueris, 99 BCE) χρ(ημα)τ̣(ιcθεῖcα), but the reading of the overwritten τ is uncertain and it could well be a very cursive η connected with an ink stroke to the ρ below (see the digital picture at <https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de>).

[18] BGU VI 1213, 15 (Arsinoites, 3rd c. BCE) καὶ τοῦ προcδοθέντοc χρ( ) [; P.Hels. I 3r, ii 38 (Arsinoites, early 2nd c. BCE) π̣υ̣( ) χρ( ); P.Köln. VIII 347, 1 (unknown provenance, 193 BCE?) χρ̣( ) (only the lower part of the monogram is preserved). I could not check P.Tebt. III 832, fr. 1, i 1 (Oxyrhyncha, 2nd c. BCE) Χρ( ). A further instance (P.Petr.Kleon 124, 11 καταχρ(ηcθείcηc)) will be discussed below, § 5.

[19] P.Bingen 77, 9 (Alexandria?, 2nd c. CE) χρ(υcοῦ) (?); T.Mom.Louvre 1020v (unknown provenance, 271/2 CE) χρ(υcόχοοc) (?).

and only once for μελίχρ(ωc).[20] Two cases of χ(ει)ρ(όγραφον)[21] anticipate a later fashion (see below, § 4). The monogrammatic abbreviation of χρ(ονιcθέντι) in SPP XXII 11, 5 (Philadelphia, 133 CE) is most likely influenced by literary conventions.[22]

A sort of evolution of the monogram can be retrieved in some instances, in which it is shaped with the loop of ρ directly appended to the upward diagonal stroke of χ.[23] This looks like a sort of forerunner of the staurogram and/or an intermediate development towards cases where a complete ρ is directly appended to the upward diagonal stroke of χ,[24] which is seemingly an innovation in Roman-age scripts (or at least I could not find Ptolemaic examples of that). It must be noted that the involved terms are still belonging to the same groups as described above for the Ptolemaic documents,[25] and that they could be also abbreviated without the use of the monogram.[26]

[20] P.Turku. 99, i 1 (unknown provenance, 1st/3rd c. CE?).

[21] SPP XX 45v (Marmarike, 237 CE); P.Sakaon 64v (Theadelphia, 307 CE).

[22] χρόνοc-related terms are rendered with the monogram ⳩ in some literary and paraliterary papyri of Roman age. For example, we find them in a copy of Philodemus' *De dis* III from Herculaneum (P.Herc. 152, viii inf., 21, 1st c. BCE), in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* (P.Lond.Lit. 108 passim, Hermopolis, end 1st – early 2nd c. CE), in an ethical treatise (P.Berol. 9780v passim, Hermopolis, mid 2nd – mid 3rd c. CE); in two grammatical school texts dealing with the conjugation of ποιέω (P.Ryl. III 533, 11 μ[έ]ϲ̣ο̣υ μέλλοντοc χρ(όνου) ἐν[ίκα], unknown provenance, 3rd c. CE; P.Rein. II 86, 2 & 11 τῶν τοῦ ῥήμ]α̣τοc χρ(όνων), unknown provenance, 4th c. CE). These cases certainly point to the professional scribal habit of brachygraphy. Cf. McNamee 1981, 109 with further attestations.

[23] E.g. P.Oxy. I 45, 20 (Oxyrhynchus, 95 CE) χρ(όνοc); SB XIV 11705, 25 (Arsinoites, 213 CE) χρη(ματίζω); P.Yale III 137, i 10 (Philadelphia, 216/7 CE) χρ(ηματίζει).

[24] E.g. BGU IV 1167, 55 (Alexandria, 13/12 BCE) χρ(όνον); O.Mich. I 17, 2 (Arsinoites, 4 BCE) χρη(μάτιcον); SB V 8034, 38 (Oxyrhynchus, 52 CE) κεκχρη(μάτιcται); P.Fay. 344r, 15 (Arsinoites, 1st/2nd c. CE) παραχρῆ(μα); P.Bagnall 34, 32 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 1st/2nd c. CE) κεχρη(μάτικα); P.Oxy. IV 714, 38 (Oxyrhynchus, 122 CE) χρό(νοc); SPP XXII 44, 4 (Arsinoites, 124 CE) χρη(ματιcμοῦ); SB XXVI 16528, viii 30 (Hermopolites, 176 or 208 CE) κεχρ(ονιcμένον); P.Freib. II 10, 14 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 196 CE) κ̣ε̣χρη(μάτικα); O.Wilck. 683, 4 (Thebes, 205 CE) χρυ(coῦ); P.Lond. III 1243, 6 (Hermopolis, 281 CE) χρη(ματίζω); P.Lips. I 5, ii 5 (Hermopolis, 292 CE) χρη(ματιζούcηc); P.Oxy. XLIV 3193, 13 (Oxyrhynchus, 309 CE?) χρη(μάτων); P.Col. X 284 + P.Heid. V 343, 22 (Oxyrhynchus, 311 CE) χρη(ματίζω). In P.Oxy. 714, the upward stroke of χ is almost horizontal, giving the combination of letters the outline of a sort of rudimentary staurogram.

[25] With the only new addition of χρόνοc (the abbreviation χρ̣(όνον) in P.Tebt. I 124, ii 33 from 118 BCE Tebtynis is uncertain and I could not retrieve it clearly in the digital image of the papyrus available online). Note also that χρῆμα-related terms are always abbreviated with the overwritten η (or, sometimes, followed by a sinusoid representing η) as in earlier times.

[26] E.g. P.Fouad 46, 2 (unknown provenance, 22 BCE) χρ( ); P.Mich. II 121r, iii, 1, 2 (Tebtynis, 42 CE) χρ̅ = χρυ(cῶν); P.Oxy.Census, 134 (Oxyrhynchus, 91/2 CE?) cαρποχρ̅ = Cαρποχρά(τιδοc); P.Lond. II 266, viii 223 (1st/2nd c. CE) παραχρ̅ = παραχρ(ῆμα); P.Fay. 344r, 15 (Arsinoites, 1st/2nd c. CE) χρ° = χρό(νον); O.Quseir 56 (Leukos Limen, 1st/2nd c. CE) χρ( ); P.Oxy. XLIX 3491, 6–7 (Oxyrhynchus, 157/8 CE) χρ̅ = χρυ(coῦ); P.Amh. II 90, 21 (unknown provenance, 159 CE) χρο̅ = χρόν(ον); P.Panop. Beatty 1, passim (Panopolis, 298 CE) χρ/ = χρ(όνῳ); P.Oxy. XLIII 3120, 15 (Oxyrhynchus, 310 CE) χρ/ = χρ(υcoῦ).

Beside an apparent decrease in the use of the monogram ☧ for common words in the Roman documents, we must note a peculiar case involving a technical term of the Roman military sector, *centurio*, which is translated as ἑκατοντάρχηc / ἑκατόνταρχοc in Greek.[27] This word is usually abbreviated by means of a ρ – representing the numeral 100 – with a χ – representing the root -αρχ- – on its top (ρ̽) (Fig. 82).[28] In some instances, however, we can find it rendered with the monogram ☧ (Fig. 83).[29] The earliest attestations are found in the ostraca from the garrison of Didymoi, between the early 2nd and the early 3rd century CE.

4. *Chi-rho* in Roman Papyri after 313 CE

The decrease in the use of the monogram ☧ for common words, which we noted in the Roman documents before 313 CE, is even more striking after that turning point. Even more remarkable is the fact that none of the common words that we discussed above appears to be abbreviated in such a way. Conversely, we find new instances: χρ(ῆται), containers recorded in some accounts on ostraca from Trimithis and Kysis;[30] χρ(έοc) "obligation, debt" in a very late loan contract;[31] ἐχρ(ήγματι) in P.Mich. XV 740v, 22 (unknown provenance, 6th century CE) (Fig. 84). There are also some further instances of ἑκατοντάρχηc.[32]

The most important use of the monogram ☧ from the 4th century onwards is however to render the terms χ(ει)ρ(όγραφον) "autograph"[33] (Fig. 85) and χ(αί)ρ(ειν)

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[27] Cf. Mason 1974, 41-42.

[28] P.Worp 55, 1 (Thebes?, 1st c. CE); O.Did. 80, 1 (Didymoi, early 2nd c. CE); O.Claud. II 360, 1 (Mons Claudianus, 137-145 CE); BGU II 600, 12 (Arsinoites, 140 CE); BGU I 4, 1 (Arsinoites, 177 CE); O.Did. 71, 2 (Didymoi, late 2nd – early 3rd c. CE); O.Did. 143, 2 (Didymoi, early 3rd c. CE); BGU I 98, 1 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 211 CE); BGU I 275, 1 (Karanis, 215 CE); P.Flor. I 76, i 4 (Arsinoites, 266 CE); P.Cair.Isid. 91, 4 (Karanis, 309 CE). In O.Did. 48 (Didymoi, early 2nd c. CE) the χ is reduced to a horizontal line.

[29] O.Did. 436, 2 (Didymoi, early 2nd c. CE); O.Did. 69, 2 (Didymoi, early 3rd c. CE); P.Prag. II 204v, 15 (Theadelphia, 253 or 256 CE); P.Giss.Bibl. III 27, 19 (Theadelphia, 3rd c. CE). In P.Giss. I 111, 23 (unknown provenance, end 2nd c. CE) the χ is reduced to the upward diagonal stroke only, so that the monogram resembles a sort of staurogram.

[30] O.Trim. II 578, 3 (Trimithis, end 3rd – first half 4th c. CE); O.Douch, passim (Kysis, 4th – early 5th c. CE).

[31] P.Grenf. II 86v (Hermopolis, 596 CE) χρ(έοc) cίτ(ου) (ἀρταβῶν) ϛ δ´ κ( ) γενόμ(ενον) εἰc Φοιβ[άμμονα.

[32] P.Louvre II 120, 29 (Hermopolites, ca. 340 CE); SB XXII 15768, 3 (Oasis Parva, 364 CE); P.Flor. III 320, 3 (Hermopolites, 373 CE).

[33] E.g. P.Col. VII 145, 1 (Karanis, 335 CE); P.Köln. II 102v (Oxyrhynchites, 418 CE); BGU XII 2188 (Hermopolis, 526 CE); P.Leid. inv. 1948/3.5, passim (unknown provenance, 6th c. CE); BGU XII 2210 (Hermopolis, 617 CE); CPR IX 29v (Hermopolites, 631-641 CE). See above for a couple of attestations before 313. The term is also frequently abbreviated with the monogram ⳩ after its iotacistic variant χιρόγραφον, cf. e.g. P.Oxy. IX 1196v, 1 (Oxyrhynchus, 212/3 CE); P.Oxy. VII 1040v (Oxyrhynchus, 225 CE); SB XIV 11385v, 1 (Karanis, 326 CE); SB XIV 12109v, 1 (Karanis, 377 CE);

"greetings".[34] Both cases are surprising in that the monogram does not express the first two letters of the terms, since the ρ belongs to the middle of the word. It is possible that they derive from earlier, longer abbreviations like χειρ( )[35] and χαιρ( ),[36] later further contracted.

Other abbreviations involving the group χρ- develop the shapes already noted above: the ρ appended to the upward diagonal of χ, with or without further indications of suspension;[37] the ρ appended to the downward diagonal of χ, with or without further indications of suspension;[38] the plain sequence of letters χρ, with or without

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P.Köln. XIV 586v (Oxyrhynchites, 477 CE); BGU I 295v (Krokodilopolis, 591 CE); P.Grenf. II 88v (Krokodilopolis, 602 CE). Sometimes the ι of χ is traced with a top leftward loop, which has led to certain misinterpretations: for example, the editors of BGU 295 and P.Grenf. 88 transcribed χρ(έος), but a new reading of the former, proposed through the database papyri.info by Nikolaos Gonis, correctly resolves the monogram as χι(ρόγραφον) = χειρόγραφον (<https://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;1;295>), which must be applied to P.Grenf. 88 as well.

[34] E.g. P.Gascou 66, 9 (Hermopolis, 5th/6th c. CE); P.PalauRib. 24, 5 (Aphrodito, 6th c. CE); BGU XII 2188, 6 (Hermopolis, 526 CE); BGU XII 2200, 6 (Hermopolis, 561 CE); P.Cair.Masp. I 67097v, A, 1 (Aphrodito, 571/2 CE); P.Rein. II 107, 3 (Koptites, 573 or 588 or 603 CE); P.Lond. V 1728, 7 (Syene, 584 or 585 CE); BGU XIX 2834 (Antinoopolis or Hermopolis, 590 CE – here the monogram displays a further "tail" appended to the upward diagonal of χ, interpreted as an abbreviating marker by Kruit and Worp 2003, and a seeming horizontal bar; the "tail" also appears in SPP XX 164, 1 from 5th c. CE Herakleopolites and the horizontal bar in P.Lond. V 1794, 7 from 488 CE Hermopolis). All the instances predate 313 except for SB V 7741, 2 (Herakleopolites, 126–133 or 164–167 CE), where the monogram shows the shape with ρ appended to the upward stroke of χ (similarly PSI VII 835, 2, Oxyrhynchus, second half 6th c. CE). In SB XXIV 16288, 11 (Arsinoiton Polis, 600 CE) the word is written plainly χρ with a crossing, almost horizontal stroke.

[35] This is attested since the Ptolemaic age, cf. χειρ(ογραφίας) in P.Köln. X 412, fr. A, i 14 (Arsinoites, 178 BCE?); several other χειρ-words are abbreviated like that before and after 313 CE, especially the term χειριςτῆς: e.g. P.Princ. I 8, passim (Philadelphia, 46/7 CE) χιρ(ιςτῶν); for other terms cf. e.g. χιρ(ὶ) ἀρι(ςτερᾷ) in P.Stras. IV 289, 9 (unknown provenance, 48 CE).

[36] This abbreviation is not attested in Ptolemaic papyri but it appears as early as the first decades of the Roman rule in Egypt (BGU XVI 2588, 2: Herakleopolites, 10/9 BCE; BGU XVI 2652, 1: Herakleopolites, ca. 10–2 BCE) until the Byzantine age (e.g. BGU I 255, 4: Memphis, 599 CE).

[37] E.g. P.Oxy. LXIII 4357, 9 (Oxyrhynchus, 317 CE) χρη̅ = χρημ(άτων); P.Giss. I 53, 2 (Hermopolis?, 4th c. CE) μέ]χρ(ις); SB XVI 12614, 11 (unknown provenance, 4th c. CE) χρ/ = χρ(όνοις); SB XX 15070, 6 (unknown provenance, 4th/5th c. CE) χρ(όνοις); P.Oxy. LVI 3861, 25 (Oxyrhynchus, 4th/5th c. CE) χρ/ = χρ(όνοις); SPP X 185, 7 (unknown provenance, 4th/5th c. CE) χρ/ = χρ( ); SB XVIII 14004, 5 (unknown provenance, early 5th c. CE) χρ/ = χρ( ); P.Mich. XI 624r, 20 (unknown provenance, early 6th c. CE) χρ(όνοις); SPP VIII 1244, 5 (unknown provenance, 6th c. CE) χρ( ); O.Petr.Mus. 557, 3 (unknown provenance, 6th c. CE) χρ/ = χρ(υςοῦ) or χρ(εία); SB XXII 15635, 9 (unknown provenance, 6th c. CE) προχρ/ = προχρ(είας); SPP VIII 977, 3 (unknown provenance, 6th c. CE) χρ/ = χρ( ). Several are the instances of χρ/ ν̊ = χρ(υςοῦ) νο(μιςμάτια).

[38] E.g. P.Ryl. IV 627, iii 63 (Hermopolis, early 4th c. CE) ἰδιόχρ(ωμοι); P.Oxy. LXV 4493, 23 (Oxyrhynchus, first half 4th c. CE) χρ̅ = χρ(όνοις); P.Ammon II 41, 38 (Alexandria or Panopolis, 348 CE) χρ(όνου); SB XXII 15471, 10 (unknown provenance, early 5th c. CE) χρ̣(όνοις); P.Oxy. XVI 1913, iv 49 (unknown provenance, ca. 555 CE) χρ/ = χρ(είαν); P.Rain.Unterricht 93v, 11 (unknown provenance, 7th c. CE), χρ( ).

further indications.[39] Such further indications are often the diagonal strokes crossing the vertical bar of ρ, according to a very common Byzantine writing convention.

5. *Chi-rho* in Medical Papyri

A special field in which the monogram ⳩ frequently appears is medicine. In Greek medical papyri of prescriptive typology,[40] it is used to express the term χρῶ̣, which originally was the imperative "use" in the sections of the recipes containing the instructions for the employment of the described remedies: see P.Oxy. LXXX 5250, 6 (Oxyrhynchus, 3rd century CE) χρ(ῶ̣) δὲ κα̣ὶ̣ πρ(ὸϲ) γαγγραίν[αϲ "use also against gangrenes". In the evolution of the prescriptive language, it gradually lost its syntactic function, becoming a sort of formulaic mark, especially when represented in the graphical form of the monogram:[41] see particularly the cases in the Tebtynis *receptarium* PSI X 1180 (2nd century CE), where it is used at the very end of some recipes (Fig. 86) (fr. G, 8 – compare with SB XIV 12175, 6,[42] unknown provenance, 2nd century CE), in some occasions even centered in the line and accompanied by the abbreviation of ὕδ(ωρ), i.e. "use with water" (fr. B, ii 14, iii 10, 19). The instances just mentioned are comparable with P.Oxy. LXXIV 4977, 1 (Oxyrhynchus, late 2nd – 3rd century CE) ὕδωρ χρ(ῶ̣) isolated at the end of a recipe, with the last two letters of ὕδωρ oddly written as the monogram ⳩ and the formulaic expression followed by the duplicated indication μεθ' ὕδατοϲ – circumstances suggesting that the phrase was by then felt as a purely semiotic indicator (Fig. 87). The asyntactic role of monogrammatic χρ(ῶ̣) is clear also in both sides of P.Princ. III 155 (unknown provenance, 2nd/3rd century CE), each containing a complete prescription for an eye-salve: οἴνου χρ(ῶ̣) "use with wine" (front side, 7) (Fig. 88) inflects the name of the substance in the genitive as the ingredients of the preceding list instead of the regular μετ' οἴνου or οἴνῳ; ὕδωρ χρ(ῶ̣) ἕωϲ | γένητ(αι) γλυοῦ τὸ | πάχοϲ "use with water until it achieves a glutinous consistency" does not inflect ὕδωρ at all (expected:

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[39] E.g. P.Harr. I 107, 27 (Hermopolis?, early 4th c. CE?) χρς = χρ(όνοιϲ); P.Oxy. LX 4087, i 29 (Oxyrhynchus, 4th c. CE) ἀχρ(ου); P.Cair. Masp. II 67141 (Aphrodites Kome, end 6th c. CE) χρ/ = χρ(είαν); P.Giss. I 56, 3 (unknown provenance, 7th c. CE?) χρ(όνον); P.Oxy. LVIII 3943v (Oxyrhynchus, 606 CE) προχρ/ = προχρ(είαϲ); P.Oxy. LVIII 3946v (Oxyrhynchus, 606 CE); προχρς = προχρ(είαϲ); P.Oxy. LVIII 3944v (Oxyrhynchus, 606 CE) προχρ/ = προχρ(είαϲ); CPR XIV 46, 19 (unknown provenance, 8th c. CE) η̣ρακϲοχρ̄ = Ἡ̣ρακϲοχρ( ).

[40] On the typology of the medical recipes attested on papyrus see Gazza 1956a and 1956b, out of date as far as the catalogue of the texts and ingredients is concerned, but still valid for the discussion of the general structure of the textual type. On the expressive features and the medical practice of prescribing cf. Andorlini 2017, 3-36 and 85-98, and Andorlini 2019. On the topics of textual transmission and the material aspects of recipes and collections of recipes on papyrus cf. Reggiani 2018, 2019a, and 2020; Jördens 2021; Monte 2024.

[41] See more details in Reggiani 2022, 125-128.

[42] χ̣ρ̣(ῶ̣), "seemingly ⳩" according to the edition of Youtie 1978.

μεθ' ὕδατοϲ or ὕδατι) just as in the aforementioned cases (and in other cases without the monogram).[43]

Though a compound of the verb χράομαι is abbreviated with ☧ in a Ptolemaic documentary papyrus,[44] the attested use of ☧ for χρῷ seems limited between the 2nd and the 3rd century CE, but I wonder whether a couple of staurograms, traced at the end of medical recipes of Byzantine age,[45] should be interpreted as a sort of later evolution of this peculiar medical ☧, rather than an example of the scribal habit mentioned above, § 1. In particular, these cases can be compared with the two "staurograms" traced in the margins of two pages of the so-called Michigan Medical Codex, a collection of medical recipes on papyrus codex dated to the 4th century CE (P.Mich. XVII 758, folio H recto, 10; folio M recto, 9) (Fig. 89-90). These are usually interpreted as critical indicators of useful passages just as the marginal ☧ with the meaning of χρηϲτόϲ, which is used in a medical *receptarium* (P.Oxy. VIII 1088, iii 69: Oxyrhynchus, 1st century CE) as well as in several other literary papyri, where again they sometimes appear as staurograms.[46] It must be noted, however, that proper staurograms could be used in the medical texts too, as in MPER N.S. XIII 14 (unknown provenance, end of the 6th – 7th century CE), where such marks frame the titles of each prescription in a collection.

6. Conclusions

The fact that the monogram ☧ is not used systematically in any context (documentary papyri, medical texts) shows that there was not a stable rule – it likely depended on the personal habits of individual scribes or on local administrative customs. It is however interesting that a sort of change or transition in the use of the monogram can be perceived from the Ptolemaic to the Roman age, and from the first centuries of the Roman Empire to the Byzantine period. I do not think that the rise of Christianity influenced these uses; conversely, it is possible that the consolidated use of ☧ in documentary writings prevented the Christian meaning of the monogram to be applied to non-literary papyri. The only possible Christian influence might be seen in the use of the staurogram ⳨ instead of ☧. Further details must certainly be added to the present survey,[47] but I hope I provided a starting point for further discussion, even on the digital side of the textual encoding of papyri.

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[43] On this papyrus and its texts see Andorlini 2019, 6-9.

[44] P.Petr.Kleon 124, 11 (Arsinoites, ca. 260-236 BCE) καταχρ(ηϲθείϲηϲ). I could not check the abbreviation for χρ(ηϲίμου) in BGU XIV 2441, iii 50 (Herakleopolites, 2nd/1st c. BCE).

[45] P.Cair.Masp. II 67141 2r, 20-29 (Aphrodito, 6th c. CE; a medical recipe in a private notebook from the Dioskoros archive); P.Ant. III 132, fr. 1, side B, 6 (Antinoupolis, 6th c. CE). These are interpreted as abbreviations for χρ(ῷ) also by McNamee 1981, 108.

[46] See McNamee 1981, 109; McNamee 1992, 20-21 and Table 3.

[47] Anna Monte – to whom I express my gratitude for useful bibliographical references about the matter – will be publishing soon a contribution about the *chi-rho* in Byzantine papyri.

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From Texts on Walls to Walls of Text: The Layout of Late Antique Greek Documents Inscribed on Architecture

Anna M. Sitz

1. A Break with Classical Layout at Mylasa

To those trained in classical Greek epigraphy, the *forma generalis* of the praetorian prefect Flavius Illus Pusaeus Dionysios (*I.Mylasa* 613) perhaps comes as something of a surprise. This lengthy document, dating to 480 and inscribed at Mylasa (Milas, Turkey) presumably shortly thereafter, settles a tax dispute in the province of Caria.[1] But it is not the content of the inscription that strikes the viewer. It is the inscription's visual aspects: its *mise en page*, that is, the layout of its twenty lines on its stone medium, as well as the irregularity of the script itself (Fig. 91).[2] The document stretches across the podium wall of the first century BCE Temple of Augustus and Roma in lines 4.50 m in length, *without* division into columns or sections.[3] No reading aids are provided. The letter size of some lines is larger than others; some lines are squeezed in before or after horizontal block breaks (Fig. 92). The text ends with a flourish at odds with the rest of its angular Greek script: a *kalends* date in cursive Latin (Fig. 93). In short, the *forma generalis* at Mylasa presents itself as a sizeable

[1] The inscription was first copied down by Richard Pococke in the eighteenth century and rediscovered by Louis Robert in 1934: Robert 1935, 158; Robert 1937, 542-546. The latest edition of the text and discussion of its context and material qualities is Feissel 1994. The *forma generalis* joined an earlier fifth century dossier on the podium of this temple: letters between Theodosios II and his *comes sacrarum largitionum* concerning the financial benefits for Mylasa's harbor (427-429; *I.Mylasa* 611 and 612). Unless otherwise stated, all dates in this chapter are CE. I wish to thank the volume editors for many stimulating comments and corrections on this essay, as well as the other participants in the original conference session for their important questions and insights. Wang Banban and I had a productive discussion of the material, and Denis Feissel and David Hendrix kindly made photographs of inscriptions available to me.

[2] For terms including *mise en page* and layout, see Ast *et al*. 2015; Chang *et al*. 2021, 1-5 (these editors also propose "impagination" as a term to capture different levels of arranging the text on a writing bearer, including dynamic, constantly changing layouts, as on digital screens or graffiti walls).

[3] Feissel 1994, 269. For the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Mylasa, see Rumscheid 2004.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)
Anna M. Sitz, *From Texts on Walls to Walls of Text: The Layout of Late Antique Greek Documents Inscribed on Architecture*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.18, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 305-315, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

wall of irregularly inscribed text. It is these material qualities (layout, letterforms, mixed styles, and sheer monumentality without divisions) that surprises the viewer trained on the neat and tidy inscribed public documents of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Imperial periods.

The visual characteristics of this late antique document at Mylasa indeed represent a substantial departure from the *mise en page* and visual features of earlier Greek inscriptions. As seen in other contributions in this volume, in Asia Minor documents in Greek were often inscribed in neatly-ordered columns stretching across a wall space. Lines as long as those at Mylasa are uncommon in earlier documentary inscriptions (excluding here dedications, which frequently interact with their writing bearer differently than decrees, laws, and letters did). If the document to be inscribed was particularly long and the inscribing field was wider than high (as was usually the case with wall space), cutters generally preferred to inscribe the text in columns, as was already the case with the archaic law code at Gortyn.[4] The tendency to inscribe long Greek documents, or dossiers of documents, in columns on walls was especially prevalent in Hellenistic-period Asia Minor: see, for example, the dossier on the stoa of the agora at Magnesia on the Maeander (208/7 BCE and later), the lengthy royal letter on the wall of the Temple of Athena at Pergamon (second century BCE), and the dossier on the west wall of the stoa of the sanctuary of Athena at Priene (130 BCE and later), to name a few.[5] Various Roman Imperial-era inscriptions in Greek likewise exhibit this layout. These documents were added to the walls of already-standing temples or stoas, sometimes centuries after the original construction of the monument.[6] Although the visual effects of these *mise en page* choices are not always articulated by present-day epigraphers, these Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions project the concepts of "order", "control", and "exclusivity" through their material characteristics, even to the illiterate.[7] These texts harnessed the regularity of their columnar layouts to add weight to decrees, letters, and other official documents.

So, then: the development of this columnar layout for the inscribing of documents on architectural writing space in the Archaic and early Classical period and its progression into the Hellenistic and Roman periods are clear, as are the reasons for it: *poleis*, kings, and emperors were all eager to visually demonstrate their own control over the forces of disorder through these orderly texts on walls. But the eventual dissolution of this practice in Late Antiquity – the partial abandonment of the

[4] For the development and earlier use of columnar formatting, especially on stelae, see Meyer 2016, 2017; Berti and Kató 2017; Faraguna 2020.

[5] Magnesia on the Maeander: *I.Magnesia* 16-87. Pergamon: *I.Pergamon* 163. Priene: *I.Priene B - M* 63-70. See von Hesberg 2009; Roels 2018a; 2018b. Cf. also F. Santini's chapter in this volume.

[6] Sitz 2017.

[7] Dietrich *et al.* 2023.

tendency to inscribe lengthy documents or dossiers in columns – has received little attention, despite the exceptional scholarly interest in the "materiality of texts" over the past decade. The result of this dissolution was the *forma generalis* on the temple podium at Mylasa: a wall of text, without columns, without divisions, irregular.

What led to this dramatic shift in layout, from clean-cut Hellenistic documents carefully organized as discrete columns of text on walls to Mylasa's wall of text? Some scholars of an earlier generation might perhaps have given a one-word answer: "decline". In this view, stonemasons had lost the skills and patience of earlier inscription cutters, and instead simply replicated what they saw on a papyrus original on the wall, right down to the Latin cursive date. But was it really easier for the stone cutter to carve the lengthy lines of the Mylasa text instead of breaking them down into units? Did the Latin date not require skill and patience to replicate on stone at several times the size of the original? And was this prominent epigraphic commission on one of Mylasa's historic monuments really cutting corners, that is, inscribing in an easy, even lazy, manner?

Instead of assuming "decline" as a simplistic explanation for any visual features that do not correspond with classical epigraphic ideals, I here chart the shifts in layout and conception of what a document on a wall was *supposed* to look like from the Early Imperial period to Late Antiquity. I am primarily focused on the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor. By considering the changing layout of Greek inscriptions in these periods as elements of style rather than "decline", I offer a clearer articulation of the visual strategies at play on Mylasa's inscribed temple and a more comprehensive view of the aestheticization of inscriptions in Late Antiquity.

2. The Roman Period: Texts on Walls

As already stated, many inscribed Greek documents in the Roman Imperial era continued to use a columnar layout for inscribing texts on walls. But the relationship between inscribed documents and the walls on which they appeared evolved. Above the Greek version of the *Res Gestae divi Augusti* at Ankara, a heading in large letters runs across several meters of wall space, above the neat and orderly columns of the *Res Gestae* itself. This heading imparted important information to the reader (*I.Ancyra* 1, heading): "The deeds and gifts of the god Augustus, which he left behind engraved on two bronze stelae at Rome, translated and written below".[8] Although headings in larger letters were used in Greek documents on stelae in earlier periods,[9] the length of the heading at Ancyra (which would have required both the stone cutter, and anyone reading the text, to physically move along the side of the temple as they carved/read) was unusual: it signaled a new integration of the in-

[8] Translation after Cooley 2009, 28-29.

[9] Rosamilia 2020, 134-136.

scribed document within its architectural context, highlighting through its extended length the expansiveness of both the document and the temple wall. In short, the layout of this heading complemented the wall space on which it was inscribed.

We see a similar phenomenon at Aizanoi, where a consular letter of 12 BCE was inscribed with an opening line declaring that the letter had been sent "from Pergamon" (*MAMA* IX 13, l. 1). This paratext was not written in larger letters than the rest of the inscription, but it was set apart above the text of the letter itself, centered and separated from it by blank space. The explicit framing of both the *Res Gestae* and this letter from Aizanoi as merely copies of an original touches upon the conceptualization of inscriptions in this period and the way that they constructed authority, but I will not consider that subject here. Instead, I note that the use of headings and paratexts not only made these inscriptions more user friendly: it changed their aesthetics. Select parts of the inscription were given a visual prominence beyond other parts, simultaneously drawing attention to themselves and unifying the remainder of the text.[10]

This manipulation of visual prominence was taken to a new level by the stone carvers at Aphrodisias. The so-called Archive Wall at the entrance into the city's theater displays select documents epitomizing Aphrodisias' long and fruitful collaboration with the Roman senate and emperors, inscribed in the early third century, with later additions in the middle of the same century. Until recently, the focus of researchers has been on the substantial historical importance of these letters and decrees. But taking a step back from the texts and taking in the monument as a whole reveals it to be spectacularly innovative in its layout.[11] Here the columnar formatting on the wall – so familiar to viewers in Asia Minor – has been adjusted to conform to visual aims. Many of the individual documents organized into six broad columns are inscribed with a greater focus on horizontality: that is, the documents are wider than they are tall. Although not all blocks are fully preserved (due to the fact that many blocks were later taken and reused in Aphrodisias' defensive walls), it appears that the entire face of the nearly eleven-meter wide wall, above the level of the orthostates, was *covered* in text. What is more, the headings of select letters are much larger than surrounding text and stand out visually on the wall.

As Christina Kokkinia demonstrated, the layout of the wall was carefully planned to feature the most important texts at its center, in the fourth column. In particular, ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ ("to good fortune") is written in huge, 8-cm letters at the wall's upper center, opening the letter of Augustus to Stephanos in which he declares (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.29, ll. 3–4): "This one city [Aphrodisias] I have taken for mine out of

[10] Cf. Graham 2013 on Roman inscriptions at Ephesos.

[11] Kokkinia 2016; Graham 2021.

all of Asia".[12] It is obvious why this text would receive pride of place in the Aphrodisian dossier. In another letter from Augustus, his glowing praise for Aphrodisias is highlighted by star decorations framing the relevant line (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 8.32, l. 7), while a letter from Trajan, like those of Augustus, is laid out with ample blank space around its opening and closing (*I.Aphrodisias* 2007 8.33). The other texts of the dossier frame these most significant imperial letters, and the wall makes use of a number of cognitive aides to draw the eye to these important documents, as convincingly argued by Abigail Graham.[13] The Archive Wall at Aphrodisias is still in the tradition of older inscribed walls with columns of text in Asia Minor, with its emphasis on neat and orderly carving and the use of columns as a macro-organizing unit. But the overall impression is very different from its Hellenistic and earlier Imperial Roman predecessors: not texts on a wall, but a wall of text, impressing the viewer both through its regularity and order *and* through its sheer scope and connection with its writing bearer.

3. Late Antiquity: Walls of Texts

The evolution of the layout of inscribed Greek documents continued in Late Antiquity.[14] A columnar format was still sometimes used: at Magnesia on the Maeander, a census probably dating to the mid-fourth century was inscribed across seven meters of the wall of the Temple of Zeus, organized into columns.[15] This inscription took its place in the same agora that housed the old Hellenistic dossier on the stoa, mentioned above. Was there an intentional visual echo of these older inscriptions in the census document, or was a columnar format simply the easiest and most intuitive way to organize this information (a list of properties, individuals, and tax obligations)?

As we have already seen with the *forma generalis* of the praetorian prefect Dionysios at Mylasa, however, the columnar format was completely abandoned in other inscribed documents, resulting in inscriptions that are visually quite distinct from Hellenistic and Roman examples. So too did reading aids and spacing intended to subdivide the text fall by the wayside.[16] The visual staging of the *forma generalis* was not the idiosyncratic decision of a stone carver at Mylasa: we have two other inscribed copies of the same document from other Carian cities, Keramos and Stratonikeia.[17] Dionysios had commanded that his decision on this tax dispute be put up for every-

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12 Translation by J.M. Reynolds in *I.Aphrodisias 2007*.

13 Cf. A. Graham's chapter in this volume.

14 Wang Banban is preparing a study of the agents behind the inscribing of documents in Late Antiquity and their display locations within late antique cities: Wang in preparation.

15 *I.Magnesia* 122. Harper 2008, 86-88; Huttner 2018, 3-5. See also Agosti 2015 for the continued use of columns to organize poetry in Late Antiquity.

16 Cf. L. Del Corso's chapter in this volume.

17 *I.Keramos* 65 and *I.Stratonikeia* 1019.

one to see, "on stone or on bronze".[18] As Denis Feissel noted, these three copies of the *forma generalis* are similar in their layouts: in each case, the stone carver carved Dionysios' prefectoral titles as the opening of the document, allowing the length of this first line to determine the length of the remaining lines.[19] The three inscriptions therefore had similar, elongated formats well-suited to monumental writing bearers: presumably walls (although the copies from Keramos and Stratonikeia are fragmentary and their original contexts unclear).

The visual impression of a "wall of text" is even greater at the site of Kasai in Pamphylia (Asartepe, Gündoğmuş, Turkey). On the apse of the Yazıtlı Kilise (Inscribed Church), letters concerning military matters, exchanged between an emperor (probably Zeno, r. 474–491) and his *magister officiorum*, are carved on the exterior east wall of the church and the apse (Fig. 94).[20] The texts are inscribed in long lines stretching across twenty-three blocks (many now fallen); they flow seamlessly from the flat eastern wall onto the curved apse. These inscriptions work with the architecture and give the impression of being inseparable from it, a quite distinct effect than that of the Hellenistic and Roman columns of text simply laid on top of architectural wall space. The visual effect at Kasai is of an "inscribed skin" wrapping around the church. Here I am modifying Elizabeth Bolman's phrase, "painted skin", which she uses to describe the extremely ornate, polychromous painted programs that wrapped around interiors of late antique churches primarily in Egypt.[21] The "painted skin" in these Egyptian churches added faux marble and faux curtains to their architectural settings, similar to how the inscription discussed here added a certain *text*ure to the wall space it was inscribed upon.[22] At Kasai in Pamphylia, the visual effect of the military letters on the exterior of the apse was heightened by spoliated Roman inscriptions built into the church elsewhere.[23] These were quite literally walls built of texts.

Similar aesthetic effects are visible on other late antique inscriptions. A bilingual rescript of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, dated between 372 and 378, stretches across three panels of the base of the Octagon on the Embolos at Ephesos; the lines are longer than the text is high.[24] A sixth-century letter of the scribe John to property owners in Kaisareia / Hadrianopolis, Paphlagonia (Boncuklar, Turkey) is carved,

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[18] *I.Mylasa* 613, l. 15: λίθῳ ἢ χάλκῳ.

[19] Feissel 1994, 269.

[20] *I.Westkilikien Rep.* Kasai 5. Feissel 2016, 670–684; Onur 2017, 143.

[21] Bolman 2010.

[22] A house at Hierapolis (Pamukkale) provides a fascinating example of a similar phenomenon in the private sphere: a Biblical verse was painted on the interior of a room, wrapping around all four walls in continuous script. Zaccaria Ruggiu 2013.

[23] Bean and Mitford 1970, 51; *I.Westkilikien Rep.* Kasai 16.

[24] *I.Ephesos* 43.

not on a wall, but on a reused rectangular base.[25] The text nonetheless takes up all available space on three faces of the stone (face A was already occupied by a dedication to Commodus), rejecting the orderly layout of a column of text centered on the stone in favor of filling *all* blank surfaces. At Thessalonica, a donation of Justinian II to St. Demetrios in 688/9 was commemorated in a sixteen-line inscription that stretched in elongated lines across three blocks presumably from a wall (found in excavations near the Church of St. Demetrios).[26] The inscription ends in an ornamental scroll; visually it is very close to the *forma generalis* at Mylasa in terms of its overall impression (Fig. 95). Inscriptions like these indicate a departure from earlier Greek inscribing practice and a completely new relation of the text with its writing bearer, primarily walls.

These "walls of text" are best understood within wider late antique epigraphic aesthetics. While ancient Greeks had applied inscriptions to already-standing architectural walls, there is usually no indication that inscriptions were planned for by the architects when they initially designed temples and stoas in the Greek East.[27] At Ankara, the already-finished wall blocks of the Temple of Augustus had to be smoothed in order to receive the *Res Gestae*; the three-fasciae Ionic architraves so popular through the Roman period in Asia Minor make for cramped, visually-unsatisfying writing space. Aesthetic planning in ancient temples extended only to the architecture itself. Rather, temples, stoas, and other monuments bore texts as add-on elements: "texts on walls".

In Late Antiquity this changed. Inscriptions both became particularly ornamental themselves and were at times planned for by the architects and stone carvers in the design-phase of building projects: they took up space previously reserved on or in buildings for architectural decoration. Constantinople provides two magnificent examples of this phenomenon. At the Church of St. Polyeuktos (524-527), a lengthy epigram celebrating the church's founder, Anicia Juliana, undulates its way around the church's interior on the cornice topping niches with peacock conches (Fig. 96).[28] The architectural planning had left this cornice a blank, flat fascia, which was then carved in the negative to create the inscription (i.e., the letters are raised from the surface instead of being carved into it). The time-consuming technique of carving the inscription in the negative (carving away the background field) emphasized that this was an element of the church's decorative program, a messaged intensified by the carefully-planned

[25] Marek, *Pontus-Bithynia Nord-Galatia*, Appendix 6, 10; *SEG* XXXV 1360. Feissel 2010, 223-250.

[26] *IG* X.2.1 24. Vasiliev 1943; Bauer 2013, 247-249.

[27] For an exception, see the Temple of Zeus at Labraunda, completed by the Hekatomnid ruler Idrieus between 351-344 BCE: the Ionic architrave of this building, which should normally have three fasciae, has only two fasciae. This allowed for a dedication in large letters on the spacious upper fascia. The architect had planned for the inscription in his design. See Hellström and Thieme 1982.

[28] Connor 1999; Avagliano 2013.

metrical verses. The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (ca. 530), the private church of Justinian and Theodora, has a similar raised inscription winding around its interior entablature; again, the cornice was left available by the architect and building team for inscribing (Fig. 97).[29] The dedicatory inscription has been carefully composed by a poet to custom-fit the architectural space: the names of Justinian and Theodora, separated by several verses in the epigram as it appears on paper, appear almost exactly across from each other on the south and north walls of the church, respectively.[30]

Meanwhile, monograms, also present at Sergius and Bacchus on the column capitals just below the inscribed cornice, became popular in numerous late antique churches.[31] At Hagia Sophia, these monograms, again of Justinian and Theodora, are carved into the column capitals as integral parts of their ornate, basket-weave carving.[32] These too were planned for by the teams commissioned to create the capitals for the Great Church. Other forms of writing in Late Antiquity, from staurograms and christograms to the *alpha* and *omega* accompanying crosses, took on inherently graphical, aesthetic roles; inscribed texts became decoration in their own right on mosaics, inscriptions, and wall paintings.[33] These graphic signs – simultaneously word and image – were intended to express messages beyond their textual content. Given the interest in variety within the aesthetics of this period, it is perhaps no surprise that documents, such as the *forma generalis* at Mylasa and Justinian's rescript to Didyma (533), incorporate paleographical elements from the papyri original documents: the cursive Latin kalends date at Mylasa; "celestial letters" (*litterae caelestes*) at Didyma.[34] These elements not only served to verify that these were faithful copies of the perishable original text, but also played into this wider late antique trend for epigraphic aesthetics and variety.[35] While the carefully-planned and artistically-carved inscriptions at churches such as St. Polyeuktos and Sts. Sergius and Bacchus may seem quite different from the irregular carving of documents such as the Mylasan *forma generalis*, they do share one important visual strategy in common: in all these cases, the inscribed texts seem to almost melt onto the wall surface, becoming indistinguishable from it as the negative (uninscribed) space in the layout shrinks.

[29] Bardill 2017, 76.

[30] Ousterhout 2019, 189.

[31] Eastmond 2016; Garipzanov 2018, 131–159.

[32] Stroth 2021, 19–54.

[33] Essays in Eastmond 2015; Leatherbury 2019; 2020. Cf. also L. Del Corso's chapter in this volume.

[34] Didyma: *SEG* LIV 1178. Feissel 2010, 251–324; Manservigi and Mezzetti 2017. Earlier Hellenistic verse inscriptions sometimes already incorporated aspects of "book hands" in their letterforms: see Garulli 2014. For later developments see Orsini 2012.

[35] Given that people in Late Antiquity were viewing, and even reading, the older Greek/Roman-period texts that filled cities in this period (Sitz 2023), this change in epigraphic aesthetics was surely recognizable.

4. Conclusion

The field of late antique studies has acknowledged in recent decades that change does not have to equal decline: late antique architecture, art, and yes, epigraphy must be understood on their own terms, rather than as degenerated versions of classical paradigms. Some aspects of late antique aesthetics only become clear when we consider the preceding Greek and Roman periods. I have here followed the epigraphic habit of inscribing lengthy documents or dossiers on walls in columnar formatting, from its Hellenistic heyday through its subtle evolution in the Roman Imperial period. This evolution culminates in the late Roman period, when inscriptions began to look strikingly different from earlier examples, as we saw at Mylasa. I have argued that these inscribed layouts and *mise en page* reflect a new understanding of the connection between architecture and text and a preference for imposing "walls of text" rather than discrete "texts on walls". One could even talk in this period of a new form of archi*text*ure (the synergy of architecture and text), distinct from its classical predecessors, which continued to flourish in the Middle Ages and beyond.

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Epigraphic Habits and Writing Conventions in Late Antique Egypt*

Lucio Del Corso

1. Introduction

In the 8th century there were no longer many Greeks in the glorious Antinoupolis, the "city of fine living" (*euktiton*) – in the verses of the notary and poet Dioscoros of Aphrodito, who borrowed an epithet from Homer[1] – and the seat of the *dux Thebaidos*. By then, the great public buildings of the previous centuries had been reduced to quarries from which building materials were extracted, to be re-used in other constructions, and the great martyrium of St. Colluthus, one of the most important centers of Christian life in the city, had already entered into an irreversible decline.[2] By this time, moreover, much of the Coptic community had moved further to the south, on a plain where another walled city, Ansina, had sprung up; and there life continued even after the arrival of Saladin, in the 12th century.[3]

Yet, in the great necropolis that was north of the wall erected by Diocletian, funerary Greek inscriptions were still written and displayed, continuing a centuries-old practice capable of transcending any human turnover of power. The most recently discovered one dates from a year between 744 and 753, when the Abbasids

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* I wish to thank the current director of the Archaeological Mission of the Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" at El Sheikh 'Abadah, prof. Francesca Maltomini, and the former director, prof. Rosario Pintaudi, for granting me permission to study the Greek inscriptions found during the excavations, and to publish here the text of I. inv. Ant. gr. 331. In order to reflect the discursive tone of the original presentation, I have preferred to add only a light apparatus of footnotes, mostly limited to the most recent bibliography and to select aspects of the texts discussed. Unless otherwise stated, all the dates are CE.

[1] P.Aphrod. Lit. IV 14, 34.

[2] See Grossmann 2014.

[3] The story of Ansina is still largely unknown, and its remains have not been yet properly explored, except for a recent survey by Alison Gascoigne, still unpublished (see Pintaudi 2017a, 524); the most relevant evidence known so far is collected in Grossmann 1969.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Lucio Del Corso, *Epigraphic Habits and Writing Conventions in Late Antique Egypt*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.19, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 317-336, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

were about to replace the Umayyads in Fustat (Fig. 98).[4] Unfortunately, as the entire upper half of the text is missing, much information is lost: we do not have any details about the identity of the deceased, not even his or her name. This individual's passing away was metaphorically indicated with the passive aorist ἐκοιμήθη, "(he/she) fell asleep", according to a typical formula that had been used in the city's inscriptions for at least three centuries;[5] after this, we find a prayer, employed as a sort of strengthening clause (ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἀνάπαυсον, "God, give him/her rest").[6] The juxtaposition of the two syntagms, which were not usually employed together in the standardized formulary of Antinoupolis funerary inscriptions, in itself reflects a greater attention to the role of the text, a need to provide a more articulate and complex message; all this would be clearer if we had the first lines of the text, where a reference to purification or atonement of sins (π̣τ̣αισμάτων) also occurs, in terms that are not paralleled by standard formulas.

The physical features of the inscription are as interesting as the text itself. Even at first glance, one gets the impression to face a sort of "epigraphic *pot-pourri*", where contrasting elements interact. The epitaph is inscribed on a well-cut slab of Proconnesian marble (probably re-used from a previous building), a material which had been employed only for a small number of funerary inscriptions in the previous centuries, because of its value. In accordance with the chosen material, the stonecutter strove to give the layout a "monumental" texture: the letters are geometrically arranged on the available space, avoiding any unevenness, even though the interlinear spaces are never the same; the main part of the text, with the invocation of God's *pietas* on the dead, is separated by the closing formula through a frame which develops from a Greek cross with ornate ends; finally, beneath it, in order to fill a large *agraphon*, another, more elaborate cross was added, with the motif of the so-called knot of Solomon, a Coptic version of a magic symbol attested in funerary inscriptions[7] as well as other types of texts, from *ostraka* to codices.[8] The script, however, makes a different impression, and deserves some further reflection. The text was engraved by a hand that does not seem too confident about working with a marble surface, in a far from accurate version of the upright ogival majuscule;[9] some of the letters

[4] I. inv. Ant. gr. 331. Full text in the Appendix, below; see also Del Corso 2019, 239-240.

[5] See Tudor 2011, 164-165 and 264-265; Del Corso 2019, 251-252.

[6] This is a typical prayer formula found in funerary inscriptions from Antinoupolis: see Tudor 2011, 258-259.

[7] See e.g. the funerary stele for the priest Severos, from the Kalabasha region, now in the Bankes collection. The text, assigned to the 7th-9th century, is published in van der Vliet and Worp 2015, 34-38 no. 3; see also Delattre *et al.* 2016, 388-389 no. 28 (with further comparisons).

[8] Horak 1995, esp. 45, with a list of relevant material.

[9] On the intrinsic limits of the comparisons between "book scripts" and scripts used for publicly displayed texts in Late Antiquity, see Orsini 2012, esp. 630-631 (with further bibliography).

are written in different forms (e.g. *alpha* sometimes consists of three strokes, in a wedge shape, sometimes of two, with the first and the second traits joined in the same curve); moreover, we find some abbreviations by suspension, which are typical of parchment and papyrus scripts.[10]

This juxtaposition of elements allows us to regard the Antinoupolis inscription not just as one of the many signs of the "collapse" of a previously widespread epigraphic culture – which in any case did occur, as is clear from the many orthographic mistakes and paleographic irregularities. Indeed, this epitaph can be regarded as the consequence of a process of ethnic and cultural resistance, to put it boldly, which found concrete expression at the level of writing practices, in an effort to keep the centuries-old tradition of the funerary epitaph alive. Such an attitude is all the more striking considering that, in the same period, epigraphic culture had undergone a radical evolution, which extended to the ways in which the dead were commemorated. In Constantinople, from the 7th century stone or marble epitaphs became the prerogative of a few elite families: the latest text that can be referred to a "middle-class" individual is the funerary inscription of a soldier from Heraclius' army, dated 710;[11] one century later, the anonymous author of the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, a sort of topographic guide to the New Rome, had some difficulties trying to read surviving inscriptions that had been quite legible for his predecessors, such as Socrates of Constantinople and Hesychius of Miletus.[12]

The "epigraphic resistance" of Antinoupolis is not an isolated case in Egypt. Further south up down the Nile, in Latopolis (Esna), a substantial production of marble and limestone funerary stelae is attested, which continues throughout the 7th century.[13] The latest explicitly dated Greek funerary inscription, discovered so far, come from this city: the epitaph for Pitronia, which was inscribed on a limestone slab on April 30th, 890.[14] This second text is as complex as the first. Against a multicultural background, made clear by the simultaneous reference to the Era of the Martyrs and the Hegira year, the usual formulaic patterns are combined with quotations from the Old and New Testament. In the last lines (ll. 12-13), the expression παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς – which would have suggested more mundane pleasures to a Greek citi-

[10] On the so-called "upright ogival majuscule" see Crisci 1985 and, more recently, Cavallo 2008, 111, and 2009, 132-133. Ogival scripts are quite common in "Byzantine" inscriptions: see Mango 1991, 242-245 and Orsini 2012, 630-631; on the palaeographic relationship between ink-written and "exposed" ogival scripts, with a focus on the early Byzantine period, see Orsini 2015.

[11] Mango 2015, 34. For the text of the inscription see Zuckerman 1998.

[12] Mango 1991, 240-241; but see Rhoby 2017, 269 (decline is not the same as disappearance).

[13] See below, 329.

[14] Egyptian Museum inv. 9243; Milne 1905, no. 75; *I.Chr. Egypte* 541; Sauneron and Coquin 1980, no. 29, with commentary. On the date range for Christian funerary inscriptions in Egypt, see also Tudor 2011, 137-142.

zen living a few centuries earlier – is a reference to the Paradise lost by Adam in *Gen.* 3.23; and a few words before, the wish to find rest ἐν κόλπῳ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, "in the womb of Adam, and Isaac, and Jacob" is a clear echo of Luke 16:22 (the miracle of Lazarus). We do not have a photographic reproduction of the stele: it was carried to the storerooms of the Egyptian Museum at the end of the 19th century, after Albrecht snatched it from the hands of some *fellahin* who were going to turn it into lime;[15] since then, it has been impossible for scholars to inspect it. Nevertheless, the description and the *facsimile* drawn by Seymour de Ricci[16] point to a roughly engraved text, with small, uneven letters (6-11 mm in height), some squared, some more rounded, but all arranged on the writing space in a geometrical and orderly fashion, with the addition of crosses and filling elements in the *agraphon* at the end. As for the Antinoupolis epitaph, the layout is designed to enhance the visual impact of the script, which in any case no longer displays the degree of formal elaboration and geometrical accuracy characteristic of "exposed writings"[17] from the previous centuries.

If considered in terms of their materiality as written objects, the two inscriptions acquire an emblematic value that goes beyond the information we can infer from them, however important this may be. Behind the stonecutters' uncertain strokes, and their orthographic mistakes, we may see the endpoint of a process that, in certain respects, brings Egypt close to other regions of the *pars Orientis*,[18] while at the same time reflecting specificities that deserve to be examined.[19] However, in order to do so, it is necessary to examine – without any claim to exhaustiveness – some characteristic patterns in the production of Greek inscriptions in Egypt, as they emerge from the Severan reforms onwards, both in the public and in the private sphere, from the point of view of the relationship between text, script, and layout. In order to make their interweaving clearer, let us go back a few centuries, and shift our attention from funeral monuments to official celebrations.

2. Scripts and Layout in Public Inscriptions

Within a few decades, the Romans' arrival in Egypt sparked the development of new graphic conventions, in the frame of a general evolution of the epigraphic habits. For "exposed writings" of public interest, this entailed the diffusion of a model of

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[15] Sauneron and Coquin 1980, 251.

[16] de Ricci 1902, 146.

[17] The expression "exposed writings" alludes to the Italian category of "scritture esposte", introduced by Armando Petrucci (see e.g. Petrucci 1985, esp. 88 for a short definition); for its application to Greek and especially Roman epigraphy see Susini 1989.

[18] See the theoretical framework sketched out by Tantillo 2017.

[19] The problems related to the specificity of Greek epigraphy in Egypt are brilliantly outlined in Bingen 1989 (later translated into English as Bingen 2007), mostly focusing on earlier periods, but with some suggestions which are valid also for Late Antiquity.

epigraphic communication largely based on the use of a "grammar of legibility" – to borrow an expression coined by Malcom Parkes for a completely different category of written items, and a different period.[20] This model was designed to emphasize specific parts of the text, without abandoning the canons of geometry and regularity typical of Ptolemaic public inscriptions, through the adoption of specific layout arrangements and signs.[21] To this general phenomenon another one was added: the increase in "civic" epigraphic production, as a consequence of the spread of "Greek" forms of civic life from the 2nd century, culminating in the general introduction of city councils under Septimius Severus.[22]

The need for self-representation felt by the new, strongly local bouleutic class, the multiplication of gloriously epichoric agons and ephebic games, besides the obvious wish of the new *poleis* to show their complete adhesion to Roman imperial ideology, encouraged the display of marble or stone inscriptions. These were all quite similar in terms of phraseology and layout – which were designed to serve the same communicative needs – but different in terms of their scripts and lettering: each city would appear to have adopted its own epigraphic style (an "official style", we might say), recognizable thanks to specific paleographic features, which sometimes are so characteristic as to become a sort of local tag.

Some examples may help to clarify this point. The fine ephebic list from Leontopolis, written in 220,[23] was accurately engraved using a peculiar script, a sort of Greek version of the so-called Latin rustic capital of Severan age (as it is clear, e.g., from the marked apices added to the letters in the first lines).[24] In the same period, the extant official dedications from Koptos – whose layout is structured so as to draw

[20] Parkes 1992, 23.

[21] Del Corso 2017, 49-54. For a more detailed study of the palaeography and layout of Ptolemaic inscriptions see Crowther 2020.

[22] On such a crucial moment in the history of Roman Egypt, with its cultural implications, besides the seminal study by Bowman 1971 see esp. the further reflections by Bowman and Rathbone 1992 and Bowman 2008 (though limited to the case study of Oxyrhynchus); on the impact of the Severan reforms on the production of texts see, more recently, Graham Clayton 2018 (focused on the production of everyday documents).

[23] First published by Tod 1951, but assigned to Leontopolis by Jeanne and Louis Robert (*BE* 1952, 180 pp. 194-196) and *SEG* XL 1568.

[24] On epigraphic rustic capital in Latin inscriptions see J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward Perkins in *IRT*, p. 6, and Del Corso 2010a, 208-209; for a more general discussion of the characteristics of this script, taking account of both epigraphic and papyrological evidence, see Fioretti 2014. The Greek equivalent of the script is well attested in Egypt: see e.g. the dedication of a statue of a gymnasiarch in Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. M 59, published in *I.Alexandrie imp.* 31 (*I.Breccia* 148). The date of the latter, however, is problematic: Evaristo Breccia dated it to the 2nd-3rd c., without justifying this choice (*I.Breccia*, p. 87); François Kayser instead assigns the text to the 1st-2nd c., based on the use of a peculiar title: the addressee is called ἀρχιπρεσβευτής, "chief of the embassy" (sent to Rome), and Alexandrian embassies to the emperor are attested especially in the first two centuries of our era (*I.Alexandrie imp.*, p. 132). The palaeography, in any case, points to a later date, such as the one proposed by Breccia, and it is noteworthy that

the reader's eye to the most important names and information – were written in a lighter ogival script, less decorated and more widely spaced.[25] Indeed, it is in Antinoupolis that we may follow the phenomenon across a broader chronological span. Here the surviving public inscriptions – a small minority compared to the previous epigraphic glory – are engraved in two characteristic epigraphic styles: the first is essentially a "monumental" version of a script especially attested in Greek papyri, the rounded majuscule;[26] the other, even more interestingly, is characterized by strongly angular letters and is very close to a script, first described by Margherita Guarducci, typical of some Hadrianic inscriptions from Athens and other cities in mainland Greece.[27] This "angular majuscule" is used in many ephebic lists, and in dedications (such as the famous base for the philosopher Flavius Mecius Severus Dionysodoros, now in the British Museum).[28]

In the following centuries, especially from the Tetrarchic period onwards, we witness an abrupt turnaround. In public epigraphy there is no longer the need to arrange the information in a hierarchical order, so as to help the reader to understand the text following its segmentation; therefore, we find a gradual reduction in the use of signs and other graphic devices aimed at dividing the main parts of the text, which becomes a compact block again, where the letters are carved according to geometrical rules, not their meaning. As in other periods, the epigraphic space serves as a surface where the writing is envisaged first of all as a meaningful decoration.

Signs of such an evolution can be detected in epigraphs from different parts of Egypt. In Antinoupolis the base erected in 385-387 for Flavius Ulpius Erythrios, governor of the Thebaid (Fig. 100),[29] is inscribed with a tortuous metrical panegyric, whose layout makes it difficult even to just distinguish the hexameters from the pentameters, without a careful reading, as line-ends do not coincide with verse-ends. Indeed, the difference compared to the past is even clearer in places where texts from

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Kayser himself assigns to the Severan age other inscriptions written in the same script, such as a dedication to Serapis (*I.Alexandrie imp.* 52) and a fragment mentioning the fleet in Alexandria (*I.Alexandrie imp.* 116).

[25] See e.g. the dedication in the Cairo Museum, inv. 9248, republished in *I.Portes du désert*, Koptos 86.

[26] On this script see in general Cavallo 2008, 95-98; some remarks on its epigraphic use in Del Corso 2010b, 14, and 2015, 5-7.

[27] Guarducci 1967, 378-379 (where it is called "a lettere angolari"); Del Corso 2019, 246 (evidence from Antinoupolis). Though considered by Guarducci typical of Athens, as remarked above, the script is well attested outside Attica: good parallels are offered by 2nd- and 3rd-century inscriptions from Thessaloniki and other centres in Macedonia (see e.g. the inscription in the Museum of Beroia, inv. Λ 234, dated June 229, published in *I.Beroia* 68, with a plate; incidentally, at l. 16, the enlarged and rounded *epsilon* in ἔτους, very different from the angular forms of the letter used in the previous lines, is clearly influenced by the cursive script in the papyrus draft used for the inscriptions, as well as the salutation formula at the very end, whose palaeographic appearance is completely different from previous lines).

[28] British Museum, inv. 1648; *I.Portes du désert*, Antinoupolis 14.

[29] Cairo Museum, JdÉ 29876 (= inv. 9290); *I.Portes du désert*, Antinoupolis 20 (*I.Egypte métriques* 123).

different periods are displayed together. In the sanctuary at Philae, where we have a stratification of inscriptions in different languages extending for almost a millennium, the epigram dedicated by Catilius to Augustus (Fig. 99),[30] on the southern pylon, stands out not only for its script – a remarkable epigraphic transposition of the papyrus script called "*epsilon-theta* style"[31] – but also for its layout, which was designed so well as to place the name of the dedicatee in a special position, close to that of the emperor himself. On the contrary, such devices are completely missing in later texts. The great dedicatory inscription to Diocletian and Costantius I on a base at the entrance of the sanctuary already shows all the characteristics of the new epigraphic language of power, designed to emphasize an abstract geometrical disposition of the letters and lacking any cues that might help the reader to understand the information provided.[32]

Later on, such a trend becomes more pronounced. In the long series of inscriptions that commemorate the restoration of sections of the *teichos* encircling the island, in the 5th century, all textual subdivisions disappear. Only extraordinary information is distinguished from the main text: for example, in the inscription that recalls the restoration sponsored by the abbot Daniel between 449 and 468, after the indication of the year of indiction we find the reference to one Satyros, who took care of the engraving of the text.[33] In some cases, the geometry of the forms seems designed to inspire a sort of reverential admiration. The inscription that commemorates the "recovery" and final Christianization of the temple, with its dedication to Saint Stephen, around 537 (Fig. 101),[34] was carefully carved using a monumental script based on the unimodular variant of the Alexandrian majuscule,[35] with a *stoichedon*-like disposition of the letters; only slight fluctuations in letter size prevent the full achievement of this effect, revealing the artificial nature of the operation. Other inscriptions, which recall the event on the perimeter walls of the cella, are set up in a similar way, though their script is less decorated and only generically rounded.[36]

Diacritical signs similar to those employed in books are not completely lacking. In the dedication to Theodorus, *dux* and *Augustalis* in Thebaid, dated to 577, diaereses are found on vowels at the beginning of words, while in the last line *dicola* too

[30] *I.Philae* 142.

[31] Cavallo 2008, 78; Del Corso 2006-2008, 245-247; some epigraphic attestations of this script are discussed in Del Corso 2010b, 3-5.

[32] British Museum, Dept. no. 1359; *I.Philae* 185.

[33] *I.Philae* 194 (facsimile at pl. 103).

[34] *I.Philae* 202.

[35] On such a script, which is not so well attested in inscriptions, see Cavallo 2008, 101, and 2009, 129-131.

[36] See e.g. *I.Philae* 204 (pl. 51).

are employed to mark the final clause;[37] but these are tiny signs within dense and irregular lines, and can be seen only by a careful and proficient reader, who knows how to follow the order of the text. In other, rarer cases the signs used serve a merely decorative function and are quite unrelated to the contents of the inscription. In a later text engraved for the restoration of another section of the *teichos*, the stonecutter rather systematically employs a typically Latin sign, the *hedera* (according to the facsimile by Seymour de Ricci, which is nonetheless indicative of the general appearance of the epigraph).[38] Such *hederae*, though, are not intended as word dividers, as is usually the case in "Classical" epigraphy, but rather serve as elaborate abbreviation marks; thus, they represent more of an obstacle than an aid to the understanding of the text.

The loss of attention towards the legibility of inscriptions is clearly a general trend in the Greek East, at least from the age of Diocletian. Indeed, in Egypt the break with previous conventions seems even sharper, at least judging from the surviving evidence. In Ephesus, as in other nearby *poleis*, many public dedications, engraved in the 4th or 5th century, still retain the layout typical of previous centuries. To provide just one example, in the encomium carved on the statue base for Andreas, probably governor of Asia between the late 4th and the 5th century (Fig. 102), *tricola* are used to help even a casual bystander to grasp salient aspects of the composition, and to enjoy even the bold similarities between the addressee and figures such as Minos, Lycurgus, and Solon.[39]

In short, in Egypt we witness the polarization of a phenomenon affecting the whole East: the selection of the recipients of the epigraphic messages. The scripts and layout arrangements employed in the first centuries of the empire are the product of a codification process stemming from a double necessity: to corroborate the authority of written documents and, at the same time, to communicate the relevant information both to the minority of literates who could understand all the elements of a text, and to the much wider group of individuals who were only partially educated, and who needed some help to understand at least some crucial points (a date, or a name). In Late Antiquity the authorities no longer felt the need to make an effort to convey part of the content of texts on public display: indeed, inscriptions became less and less formulaic, and more rhetorically involuted, so much so that they could only be understood by a "specialized" audience; as far as all other people were concerned, the only important message to transmit was a self-celebratory show of power. Consensus-building processes did not involve the public display of texts, the making of writings to be "exposed" with a coherent layout.

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[37] *I.Philae* 216 (facsimile at pl. 106).

[38] *I.Philae* 225 (facsimile at pl. 104).

[39] *I.Ephesos* 1301.

From a paleographic point of view, the evolution just described goes hand in hand with (and is expressed by) the disappearance of the particularism of local epigraphic styles and, more generally, of any graphic model. Epigraphic scripts become structurally dishomogeneous: stonecutters often juxtapose letters with basic forms – sometimes square, sometimes ogival – with no particular aesthetic pretensions; but in other cases they create highly idiosyncratic writings, which may originate from a patchwork of letter-forms taken from contemporary ink-written scripts on papyrus or parchment.

3. Some Evolutions of Funerary Epigraphy

An evolution of the communicative function of written displays can be seen also in the private sphere, as it seems clear even through a superficial survey of the largest category of extant inscriptions, namely funerary epitaphs.

Written words, and sometimes even books, always played a significant role in the complex economy of Graeco-Egyptian funerary practices. Yet, it is only from the Imperial period onwards that we find a relevant number of stone or marble stelae with painted or carved epitaphs, which represents the "classic" way of commemorating the dead for the Greeks and Romans.[40] In the private dimension of such texts the typical particularism of public epigraphy can be perceived even earlier, and in radical ways. A few concrete examples, quite familiar to anyone interested in texts of this sort, will help provide a better understanding of the characteristics of this phenomenon.

On the Rosetta branch of the Nile, around 70 kilometers north-west of Cairo, there lay the town of Terenouthis (present-day el Tarrana). Its necropolis (kom Abu Bellou), though pillaged by *sebbakhin* for many decades, has yielded the largest number of funerary stelae in all of Lower Egypt: around 400 limestone stelae, almost all inscribed, and arranged according to such peculiar conventions that their provenance can be easily understood even when the excavation records are no longer available.[41] At the current state of our knowledge, their dates are elusive: we can only say that the necropolis was quite well frequented in the 4th century, as many coins found there can be assigned to the period between the reign of Claudius Gothicus and that of Constantine II, though some tombs must certainly date from the beginning of the Roman age.[42]

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[40] Firon 2020 (on the cultural relevance of epigraphic practices see esp. 145-156 and 205-216), with further bibliography.

[41] See the survey by Vitali 1984 (though the estimates concerning the number of surviving stelae, and the proportions between uninscribed and inscribed stelae, are no longer reliable, due to the publication of new findings); general reflections on the necropolis and the stelae, together with the editions of new texts and further bibliography, can be found in El-Nassery *et al.*1978, 231-235; Cribiore 1997; Bagnall *et al.* 2019-2020 (esp. 28-32).

[42] Vitali 1984, 256; Cribiore 1997, 6-8; King 2018, 110-112.

The most characteristic stelae from Terenouthis show an interaction between a text and a figurative scene: in the extant *corpus* (considering also the most recent discoveries), only around sixty items have images without any inscriptions, while sixteen provide only a text, without an image. The figurative reliefs are designed to express the mourning through fixed schemes, and without any physiognomic portrait of the deceased: thus, we may find female or male figures, standing with raised hands or recumbent on a triclinium, alone or with other companions, as in the micro-Asiatic *Totenmalreliefe*; small columns, arches, shelves with some objects, or a dog – a lonely personification of Anubis – may add some depth to the scene.[43]

In such cases, the text serves first of all to complement the representation. Therefore, it is arranged in the available space according to the figurative economy of the scene: words are added in the lower part, set within a specific space[44] or encircled by a frame;[45] in other cases the text is inscribed laterally, within a sort of "stele in the stele" displayed by the deceased in a "meta-epigraphic" gesture that might seem bitterly ironic to today's viewers.[46] In any case, the epitaph was always added by the stonecutter at a second stage, using a script that had been in use for centuries. When required to engrave a text that was not limited to only a name and a greeting, the stonecutter would be given a draft first, which sometimes he could even misinterpret. For example, in the stele of Zenarion, son of Zenon (Fig. 103),[47] we find an incomprehensible ΦΛΗΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΟΛΡΕΙΩ (l. 4) which can only be understood as μηνὸς Καισαρείῳ (a solecism for Καισαρείου), and such a confusion can only be explained by positing the misunderstanding of an antigraph written in a script too cursive for the stonecutter, who must have mistaken a sinuous M for the group ΦΛ, and then the group ΣΑ for ΟΛ.[48] A further hint in this direction is offered by an interesting paleographic feature: the use of letters in simplified, cursive forms together with their slow, "epigraphic" counterpart, as we see especially for *epsilon*[49] and *zeta*.[50] In some other cases, the need to "display" the text led to some drastic changes: in the recently published stele for Heliodora *mathematike*,[51] in order to list the pe-

[43] For the different iconographic schemes see Vitali 1984, 247-255; Thomas 2000, 8-9; King 2018, 107-108.

[44] Stele of Euangelos: El-Nassery *et al.* 1978, no. 31 (pl. LXXVI).

[45] Stele of Hierakammon and Nemesous: El-Nassery *et al.* 1978, no. 7 (pl. LXXI).

[46] Stele of Hermine: Wagner 1972, no. 6 (pl. XXXIV).

[47] Wagner 1972, no. 8.

[48] The orthographic mistakes of the stele are discussed in Wagner 1972, 149.

[49] This letter is mostly ogival in shape, with a dot instead of the middle stroke, as in other texts from this necropolis; but at the same time we also find a quicker, two-stroke version, with the middle stroke joined to the upper part (see e.g. l. 2, φιλάδε̲λφος; l. 3, χρηστέ̲).

[50] Written in two strokes: l. 1, Ζ̲ήνωνος.

[51] The stele, now at the University of Missouri, has been published and extensively discussed in Bagnall *et al.* 2019-2020.

culiar titles of the deceased, the stonecutter had to gain more space by breaking the lower part of the frame and chiseling the surface below it.

All details aside, from such elements we may infer the existence of a preliminary *ordinatio*, as Jean Mallon called it,[52] aimed at arranging the text on the available surface not only with a decorative purpose, but also in order to emphasize some basic information, such as the name of the deceased and the date of her/his death. This can also clearly be perceived in the case of the few stelae from Terenouthis where the inscription is not accompanied by a figurative relief. For example, in keeping with his profession, one Erenios – ποιητής and ἐπειγραματογράφος (*sic*)[53] – asked to have only a written (albeit not metrical) epitaph: in order to lay out the words, the stonecutter clearly considered both the size of the stele and the meaning of the text, keeping the main blocks of information together on the same line.

Similar points could be made about other groups of stelae dated to the same period, but coming from other parts of Egypt, such as Abydos, where funerary inscriptions show an interaction between text and image similar to what we often find in Terenouthis epitaphs, but with a different lettering;[54] or Akoris, where usually short, highly formulaic texts have been engraved in plain lettering on undecorated limestone stelae.[55]

Besides the "standard" epigraphic production, many Egyptian sites have yielded texts where feelings of mourning are expressed in verse. In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the textual and stylistic characteristics of such metrical epitaphs: to appreciate their complexity and fascination, the works of Valentina Garulli[56] and Gianfranco Agosti[57] are now crucial references in relation not only to Egypt but to the Greek East as a whole.

Here I recall only a specific element: in such inscriptions the complexity of the text is always associated with a neat layout and the use of reader-oriented critical signs. Graphic devices such as the indentation of the pentameter, the division of *cola* across several lines, the use of plain or elaborated *diplai*, and of *paragraphoi*, *dicola* and other marks are often not just residual traces of a papyrus draft, or ways of imitating the columns of a bookroll, but attempts to create a "grammar of legibility" that might help the reader to understand the text while remaining within the epigraphic dimension. The epitaph of Heras from Memphis is one of the most striking examples of this atti-

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52 Mallon 1952, 57-58; Susini 1997, 34-44.

53 El-Nassery *et al.* 1978, no. 3.

54 See e.g. the stele of Apollonios, son of Hermogenes, 2nd c., now at the Louvre, Dép. des Antiquitès égyptiennes, inv. C 131 = C 319; *I.Egypte Nubie Louvre* 91 (pl. 53, though erroneously labelled as 52).

55 The most substantial group of funerary texts is published in *I.Akoris* 42-173 (with a general introduction at pp. XXIV-XXV).

56 See e.g. Garulli 2014 and 2019.

57 Among his many contributions on this topic, see Agosti 2015 and 2020.

tude towards the function of epigraphic texts.[58] The epigram consists of an imaginary dialogue between a passer-by and the small lion that was originally sculpted on the stele. Through their words, we are informed about the sad passing away of the young man, who was greatly appreciated both in his homeland and beyond it. To help readers to understand all the subtle nuances of the composition, the change of speaker is signaled by a *dicolon*, while the *stigme* helps to understand the syntax; the indentation of the pentameter and the *paragraphoi* at the end of each verse clarify the metric scheme; finally, the diaereses help solve the problems of word division. All this is counterbalanced by an attention towards the orderly and symmetric disposition of the writing lines, achieved through the addition of guiding lines traced before the engraving, as well as of dots, which showed the stonecutter the starting point of each verse.

From the 4th century onwards, such communicative strategies undergo a noticeable transformation. Even if local peculiarities can be still detected, especially in terms of the textual formulas employed, the extant evidence allows us to identify a general tendency: a disarticulation of the layout, functional to merely exhibit and emphasize the script as a sequence of traits and signs.[59] The necropolises of Antinoupolis, which have yielded hundreds of funerary inscriptions (still largely unpublished), may help us to understand this phenomenon.[60] Here, from the 5th to the 7th century, the most common type of inscribed stele was a rectangular or square limestone slab, used to cover or close the tomb.[61] The inscriptions on them show a marked degree of textual standardization (in most cases they are limited to the phrase "NN the blessed fell asleep", followed by the day of the month and the indiction), as well as many orthographic mistakes. At the same time, they present some common paleographic characteristics: the letters, large and square, are well cut, with marked and thick strokes; the letters are rubricated, and thus more evident to the eye; the writing surface is sometimes crossed by deep lines, aimed at aligning the words, but intended above all to serve as decoration; finally, to catch the attention of passers-by, the unwritten spaces are often painted in red or other bright colors, and crosses or other Christian symbols are drawn on them.[62]

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[58] Cairo Museum, inv. 11/11/(19)32, first published by Edgar 1927 (with a plate); cf. *I.Egypte métriques* 68; Garulli 2012, 149-150, and 2019, 112-114 (with a full discussion of the signs employed in the inscriptions).

[59] For a survey of Christian inscriptions from Egypt see Brown 1986 and, more recently, Tudor 2011.

[60] On the necropolises of Antinoupolis see the general surveys by Donadoni 1974, for the South Necropolis, and Manfredi 1998, Pintaudi 2008, and Minutoli 2018, for the North Necropolis and other areas excavated under the aegis of the Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli", University of Florence, as well as for a general presentation of the different activities of the Italian archaeological mission, now directed by F. Maltomini. For a list of the Christian funerary inscriptions published so far see Nachtergael and Pintaudi 2017, 677.

[61] Donadoni 1974, 144-149; Calament 2005, 270-279; Tudor 2011, 59-60.

[62] Del Corso 2019, 246-256.

In many inscriptions from the cemeteries of Latopolis (Esna)[63] or Panopolis (Akhmin)[64] it is not difficult to perceive the same attitude, despite the choice of different phrases, which are usually repeated with a few variations and many mistakes.

However, even in the last part of the Greek presence in Egypt, the tradition of expressing the mourning with complex textual forms, in verses or prose, was not abandoned. In Antinoupolis such epitaphs are mostly written on marble slabs, usually taken from buildings of the Imperial age, while in Latopolis limestone is more common. Regardless of the material employed, in both cities textual complexity is not associated with an effort to give a more monumental aspect to inscriptions: the scripts do not follow fixed models and often try to offer a poor imitation of contemporary "book" scripts, though the outcomes are inconsistent and far from uniform, if only because of the difficulties that stonecutters apparently had in producing letters of the same size; the lines are never really parallel, but rather arranged to fit the edges and shape of the stone, which on its turn was not properly prepared before being engraved; in general, there was not a preliminary planning of the layout. The inscription of Isaac from Antinoupolis (Fig. 104), full of references to Paul and Gregory of Nazianzus,[65] and the above-mentioned epitaph of Pitronia from Latopolis[66] are clear examples of such dichotomy between the aspiration to complexity of such texts and their poor appearance.

4. Conclusions

This survey, albeit general, points to a range of oppositions that encapsulates the complexity of the phenomenology of writing in Late Antiquity and of its social implications. The graphic features of the inscriptions discussed here cannot be simply connected to a drop in the number of literate individuals: indeed, one of the characteristics of the cities of the Thebaid and of the Delta is the spread of a refined written culture, as extant papyri (or at least some of them) clearly show; likewise, the presence of "epigraphic" scripts with "book" elements implies the persistence of some sort of familiarity with complex texts.

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[63] Some examples are offered by the stelae in Sauneron and Coquin 1980, nos. 9-11. For an overview of French archaeological work on this site see also Sauneron 1969; on late-antique funerary stelae from Latopolis see also Thomas 2000, 12-14, and Tudor 2011, 104-105.

[64] E.g. the epitaph for Kyros, now at Louvre, Dép. des Antiquitès égyptiennes, inv. E 8410; *I.Egypte Nubie Louvre* 108 (pl. 63). Other stelae from Akhmin are kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria, in the Coptic Museum at Cairo, and in other European collections, though no mention can be found of their discovery: see Tudor 2011, 87-89 for a survey (with bibliography).

[65] I. inv. Ant. gr. 75, published in Del Corso and Pintaudi 2014. The script of the epitaph shows some points in common with that used on the funerary marble stele of Leontios, at the Louvre (Réserve Napoléon, inv. MA 4758; *I.Egypte Nubie Louvre* 112). Because of this similarity, it is tempting to imagine that the latter, whose provenance is missing, comes from one of the Antinoupolis cemeteries, which were looted over the centuries; a further hint in this direction is the use of the formula ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακαρίτης at the beginning (l. 1), which is typical of funerary inscriptions from the city (above, n. 5).

[66] Above, n. 14.

Therefore, the transformations that took place in funerary epigraphy are possibly the consequence of a deeper process. In epitaphs from the Imperial Age, the interaction between contents, layout, and sometimes image(s) was intended to express a range of messages: certainly, remembrance of the dead, but even more so adherence to a social model and the assertion of "identitarian" traits, which were more useful to the living than to the dead.[67] More complex texts, such as finely inscribed funerary epigrams, reflect a further aim: to affirm an individual's belonging to a more exclusive cultural elite, which shared the same framework of values. By contrast, during Late Antiquity new needs emerged. Funerary inscriptions were not primarily conceived as a means to keep the memory of the deceased alive, since the fixed formulas that were used ended up depersonalizing them. Indeed, in most cases the setting up of such inscriptions was intended as a purely symbolic, self-referential gesture, coherent with a process of transfiguration of written words that began in Late Antiquity and reached its completion in the Middle Ages: in short, letters and scripts came to be widely perceived as images with a symbolic value, and as such they were able to express a message beyond their literary meaning.

This "synthetic figural" approach[68] to the written text is clearly visible in many graphic manifestations, mostly designed to establish a contact with God, and to ask for his help and mercy: e.g., the graffiti and painted inscriptions (mostly prayer passages from the Scriptures) that cover the walls of monks' cells in Kellia, similar to a shield against the attacks of the Adversary,[69] or the invocations engraved by many pilgrims, together with their names, on the columns of the churches where they stood in prayer.[70] It is not surprising, then, to recognize similar intentions in funerary epigraphic practices as well.

In such a perspective, extant stelae can be seen to reflect a structural reversal of the connections between signifier and meaning, complementary to the reversal – already seen in the sphere of public epigraphy – in the graphic display of the relationship between power and individuals. In both cases, the relevance accorded to the figural component was the prelude to a redefinition of the role of written displays in the communicative system, and lastly of their decline, in the frame of a drastic

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[67] Firon 2020, 166-222.

[68] The idea of a "synthetic-figural" (originally "sintetico-figurale") perception of writing was first introduced in palaeographical studies by Armando Petrucci, who used it to explain certain features of Christian book production in the West (Petrucci 1977, drawing upon Assunto 1967; see also Bartoli Langeli 1995, esp. 5-6). However, this concept was soon more generally applied to the study of late-antique and medieval writing culture; more specifically, for reflections on the "synthetic-figural" value of Greek written displays, from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Middle Age, see Cavallo 1988; Cavallo 1994; Cavallo 2015, 98-100; Orsini 2012, 629-625; Orsini 2013, 38-40; Rhoby 2017.

[69] See esp. room 45 in the Kellia monastic complex: Kasser and Partyka 1999.

[70] This is the case with the graffiti on the columns of the so-called Church of Ionic Capitals in Antinoupolis: Pintaudi 2017b and Delattre 2017, 497-508.

change in lifestyles. If this is so, it is worth considering once more the late epitaphs from Antinoupolis and Latopolis that we mentioned at the beginning of our discussion. In such longer and more articulated texts, written at a time in which epigraphic practices had generally become very different, we find a desire of resistance, expressed on two different yet inextricably linked levels: religion, which was even more important to people whose rulers prayed a different God in a different language, and the defense of an even older heritage, the Hellenic one, which required that commemoration, and memory itself, were achieved through the employ of the right words, and as a consequence encouraged the search for proper, more sophisticated expressions. In this way, in its public and "exposed" dimension, the choice of writing in Greek centuries after the Arab conquest seems to acquire an even deeper value: from a mere identitarian assertion, it becomes a conscious political act.

Appendix: A New Greek Funerary Inscription from Antinoupolis

I. inv. Ant. gr. 331 (Northern Necropolis. Recovered on February 3rd, 2013); see Fig. 98.

Proconnesian marble stele, broken at the top and on the right side; 32.5 x 34 x 2 cm; letters: 2.5 cm; interlinear space: 1-1.5 cm. In the *agraphon* beneath the text two crosses: one on the left, with ornate ends, the other on the right, bigger than the previous one, in the shape of a Solomon's knot.

Date: 744-753 (cf. dating at l. 5)

– –
[– – – – – – –] καὶ ΕΠΙ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – –].ΕΝΟΣ ΕΛΕΘΕΘΕΡ̣[– – – – – – – – –]
[– – –] π̣τ̣αισμάτων (*vac.*) [– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[ἐ]κ̣οιμοίθ(η) δὲ ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι [– – – – – – – – – –]
ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ · $\overline{\text{υξ}}$[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
† ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἀνάπαυσον αὐτ(---) μετὰ Τ[– – – – –]
†

4. ἐ]κ̣οιμοι$^{\theta}$: *l.* ἐκοιμήθ(η).
6. α$^{\tau}$υ : *l.* αὐτ(όν) *vel* αὐτ(ήν).

2. [– – –].ENOC. Before the break, traces of a vertical stroke point to [– – –] μ̣ενοc, possibly a participle (in this case, the stele would probably commemorate a deceased man).

ΕΛΕΘΕΘΕΡ̣[– – –]. The stonecutter possibly had a form of the verb ἐλευθερόω in mind, or of the noun ἐλευθερία. Neither term is attested in Christian inscriptions from Egypt (and they are quite rare in funerary epigraphy even outside Egypt), but both have a long-standing tradition in Christian literature.

3. π̣τ̣αισμάτων. The *tau* is almost certain (traces of both vertical and horizontal strokes can be seen), unlike *pi* (only part of the second horizontal stroke of the letter survives). The reading is quite certain; though not attested in other inscriptions from Antinoupolis or other Egyptian cities, it is found in funerary texts from other regions (see e.g. *I.Gerasa* 314, from Jarash, dated 533; Barth and Stauber 1993-1996, no. 663, from southern Troas, assigned to the 9-10th c.). As synonymous with ἁμάρτημα, the term is often used in Patristic literature (many references in Lampe 1961, *s.v.*). Moreover, it is sometimes found in association with ἐλευθερία / ἐλευθερόω: see e.g. [Chrys.] *annunt.*, *PG* LX, col. 758, ἐλευθερῶ σε τοῦ πταίσματος; Cyr. *dial. Trin.* 5.579a Durand, τὸ καὶ πταισμάτων ἐλευθεροῦν. If we consider ΕΛΕΘΕΘΕΡ̣[- - -] in l. 2 to be related to this semantic sphere, we should infer that the engraver here wished the deceased to be freed from his/her sins.

5. This is one of the few Christian dated funerary inscriptions, and the only one with a complete reference to the Era of the Martyrs, found in Antinoupolis so far, as these usually only have the year of indiction and the month (with or without the day): see Del Corso 2019, 252-253. Since the last number is missing, any year between 460 E.M. = 744 and 469 E.M. = 753 is possible.

6. The formula (with its variants) is typical of funerary inscriptions from Antinoupolis: see Tudor 2011, 258-259; Nachtergael and Pintaudi 2017, 694 (comm. on inscr. 13, ll. 5-6, especially on the use of nominative where a vocative would seem required). For ἀνάπαυσον with the acc. of the demonstrative pronoun see SB I 1561 (from Antinoupolis).

μετὰ Τ[- - -]. Perhaps μετὰ τ[ῶν δικαίων], never used in Antinoupolis, but see e.g. *CIG* 9278; *I.Smyrna* 561 (Smyrna, 541), ll. 3-4: ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύσῃ | τὴν ψυχήν σου μετὰ τῶν δικαίων.

For other late-antique funerary inscriptions with the motif of Solomon's knot, see 318 above.

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Inscriptions

Papyri and Ostraca

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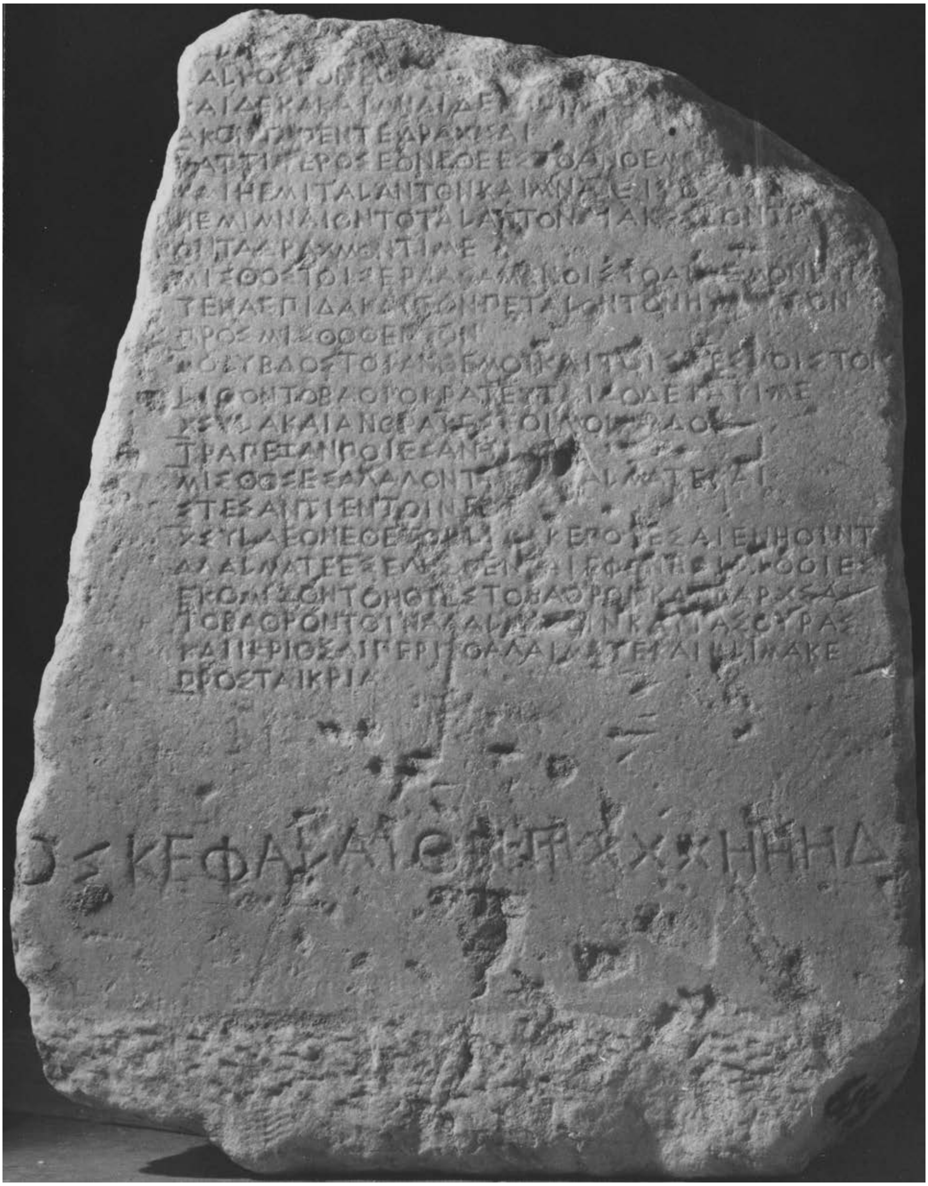
1. Athens, *IG* I³ 449, fragments D, E, and A; 434/3 BCE

2. Athens, *IG* I³ 460; 438 BCE

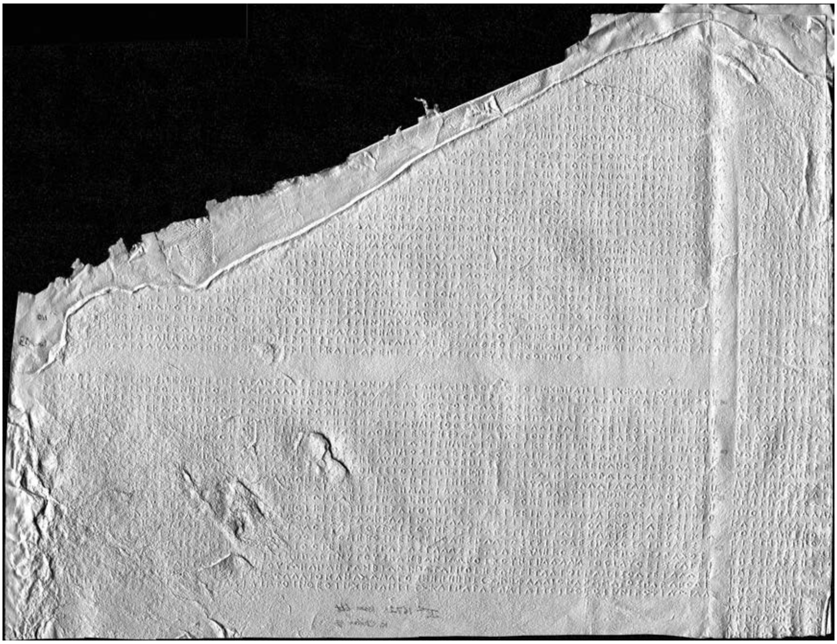


3. Athens, *IG* I³ 472, fragment C; 421–416 BCE

4. Athens, *IG* I³ 474, fragment II; 409/8 BCE

PLATE IV

5. Athens, *IG* I³ 476, fragment XIII; 408/7 BCE

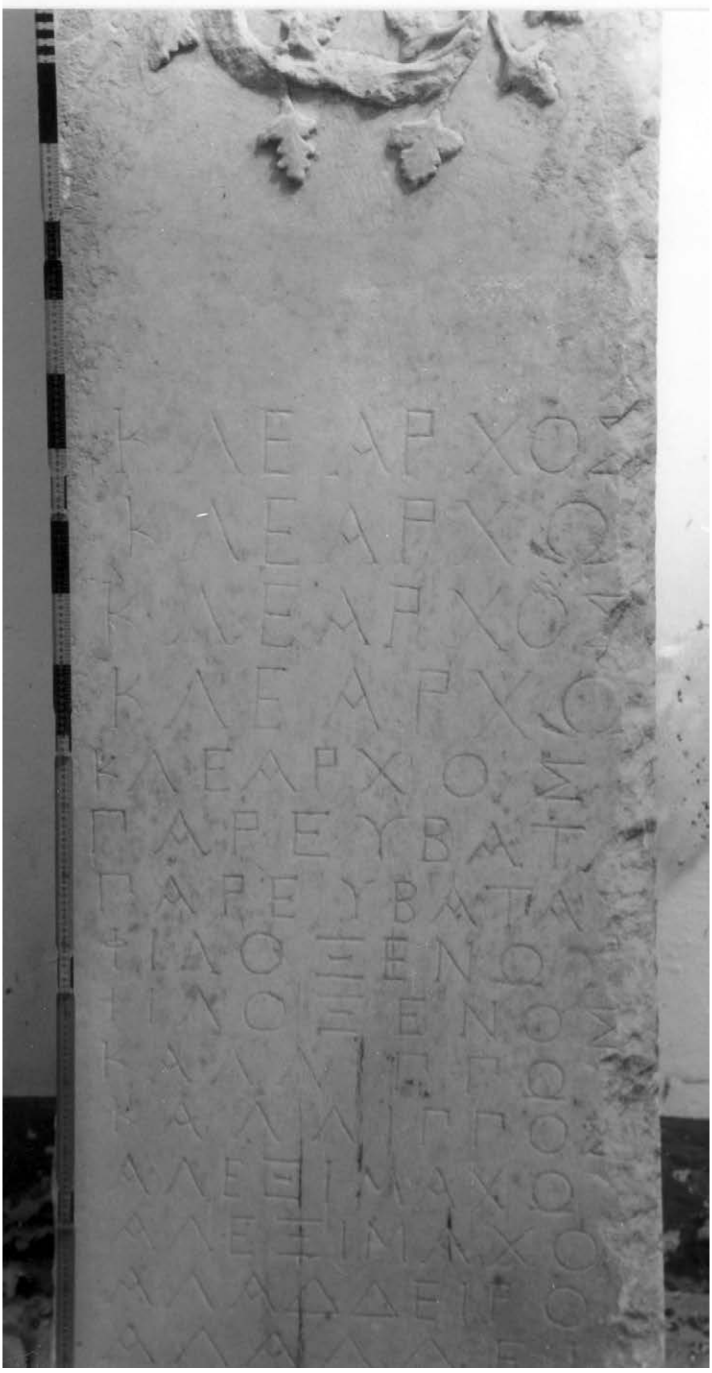


6. Athens, *I.Eleusis* 177 (squeeze, detail of l. I.140–198, II.343–400); 329/8 BCE

7. Athens, *IG* I^3 435, fragments E and F; early 440s BCE

8. Athens, *SEG* XXXV 134 (inv. 2242 Kerameikos); mid-4th c. BCE

9. Chios, stele of Heropytos; early or mid-5th c. BCE

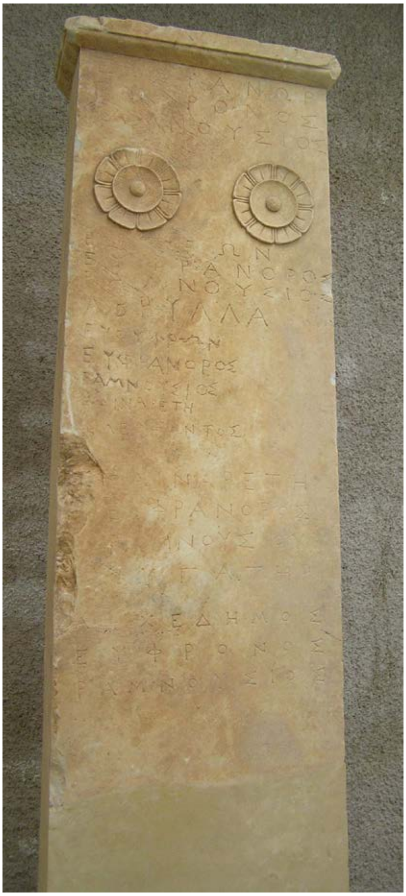


10. Cyrene, stele of Klearchos; 1st–early 2nd c. CE?

PLATE VIII

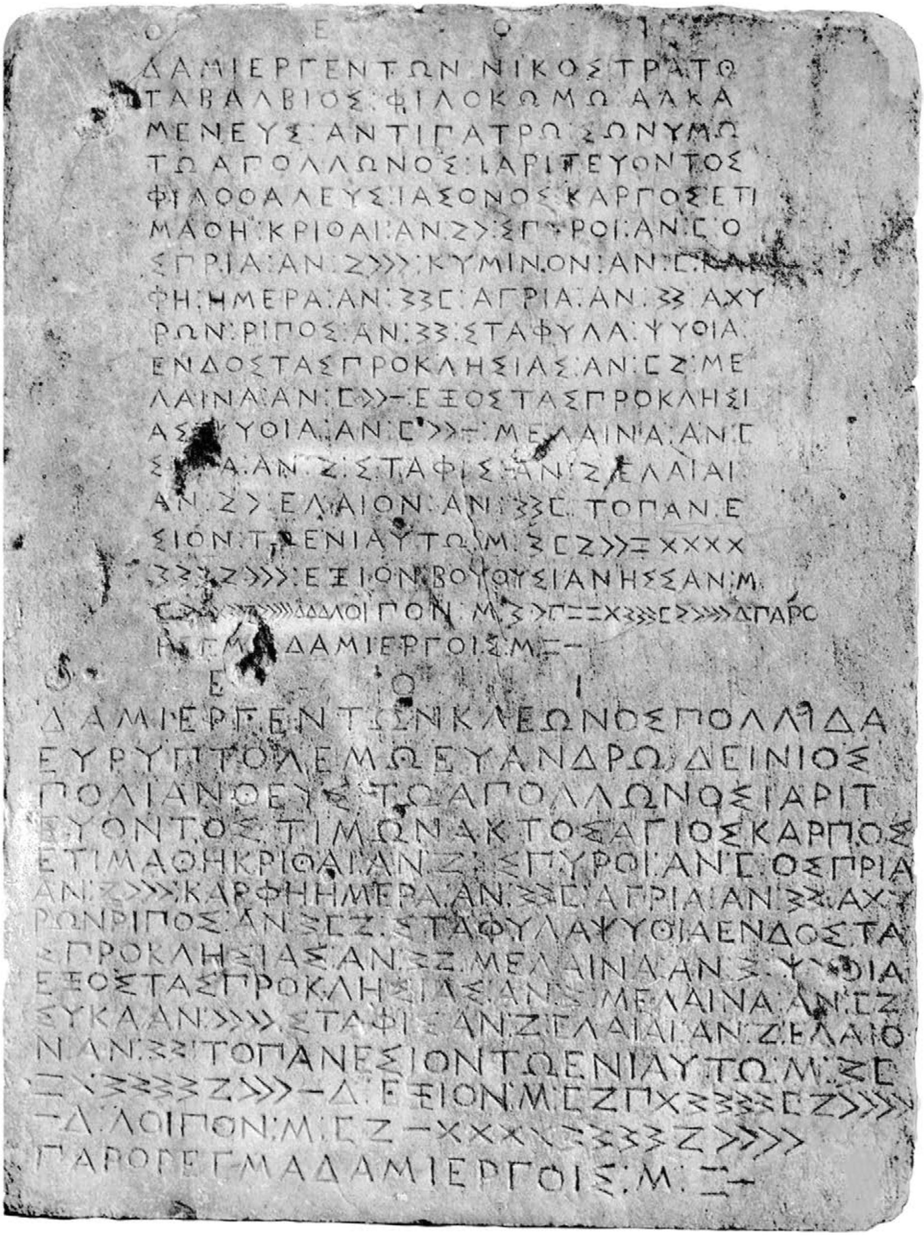
11. Athens, stele of Aristeas' family; ca. 430-390 BCE

12. Myrrhinous (Attica), stele of Meidon's family; late 5th-early 4th c. BCE

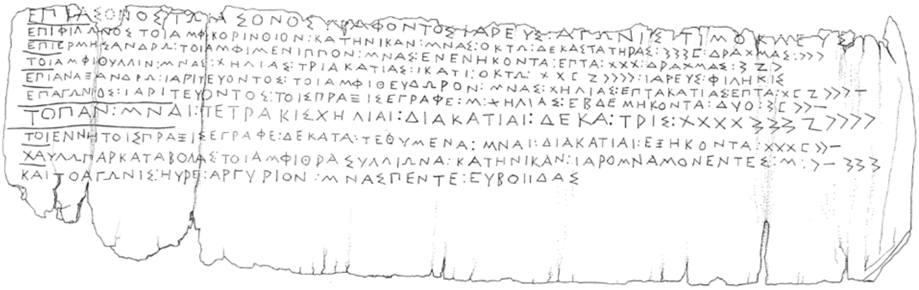


13. Rhamnous (Attica), stele of Euphranor's family; second half of the 4th c. BCE

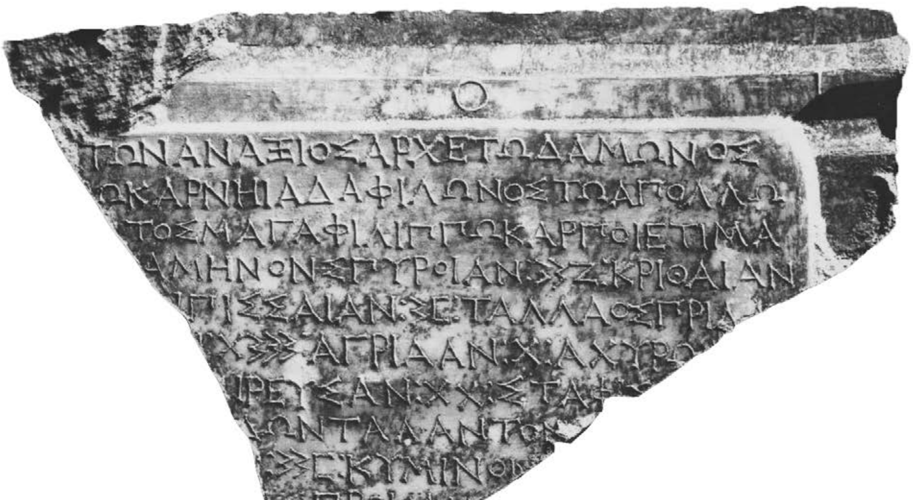
14. Oe (Attica), stele of Themyllos' family; first half of the 4th c. BCE



15. Cyrene, marble plinth inscribed with five accounts of the *damiergoi*, front side. Above, account of the year of Philothales son of Iason (*IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011400); ca. 335 BCE. Below, account of the year of Timonax son of Agis (*IG Cyrenaica*[2] 011500); ca. 330 BCE

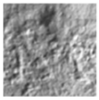
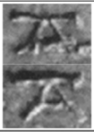
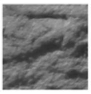


16. Cyrene, lead tablet from the western side of the Agora mentioning the *hiaromnamones* (*IG Cyrenaica*² 081200); ca. 390 BCE

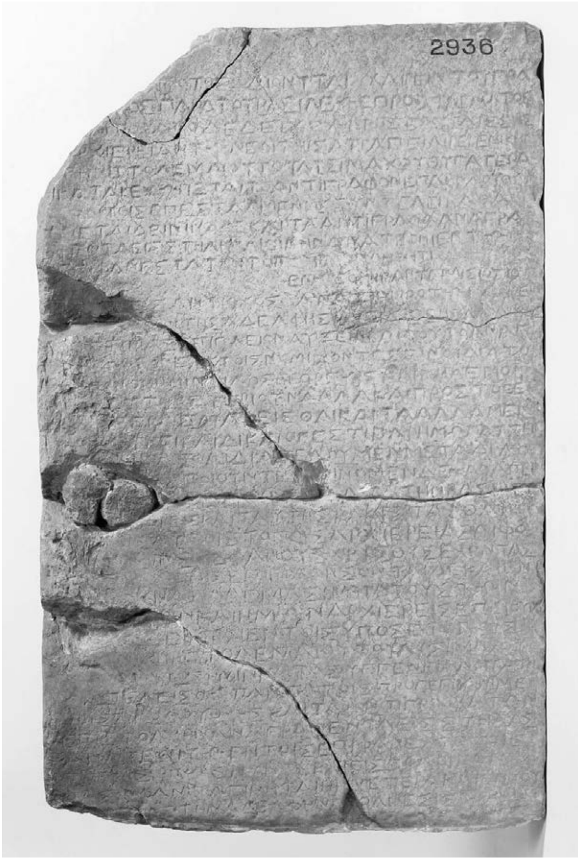


17. Cyrene, account of the *damiergoi* (*IG Cyrenaica*² 063900); ca. 285 BCE

18. Cyrene, fragments of an account of the *damiergoi* (*IG Cyrenaica*² 014300); ca. 220 BCE

		Units of measurement			Crops		
		μέ(διμνος) μέδ(ιμνος)	τά(λαντον)	σμ(ιρεύς)	πυ(ροί)	κρ(ιθαί)	κύ(αμοι)
Phase 3B	*IG Cyrenaica* 014100 (Rosamilia 2023, no. 56)				[- - -]	[- - -]	[- - -]
Phase 4A	*IG Cyrenaica* 014300 (Rosamilia 2023, no. 57)						
	IG Cyrenaica 014600 (Rosamilia 2023, no. 58)				[- - -]	[- - -]	[- - -]
	IG Cyrenaica 014200 (Rosamilia 2023, no. 59)		[- - -]	[- - -]			Written in full
Phase 4B	*IG Cyrenaica* 014500 (Rosamilia 2023, no. 61)		[- - -]	[- - -]	Written in full	Written in full	Written in full
	IG Cyrenaica 014400 (Rosamilia 2023, no. 62)		[- - -]	[- - -]	Written in full	Written in full	Written in full
	IG Cyrenaica 107150 (Rosamilia 2023, no. 63)	[- - -]	[- - -]		[- - -]	Written in full	Written in full

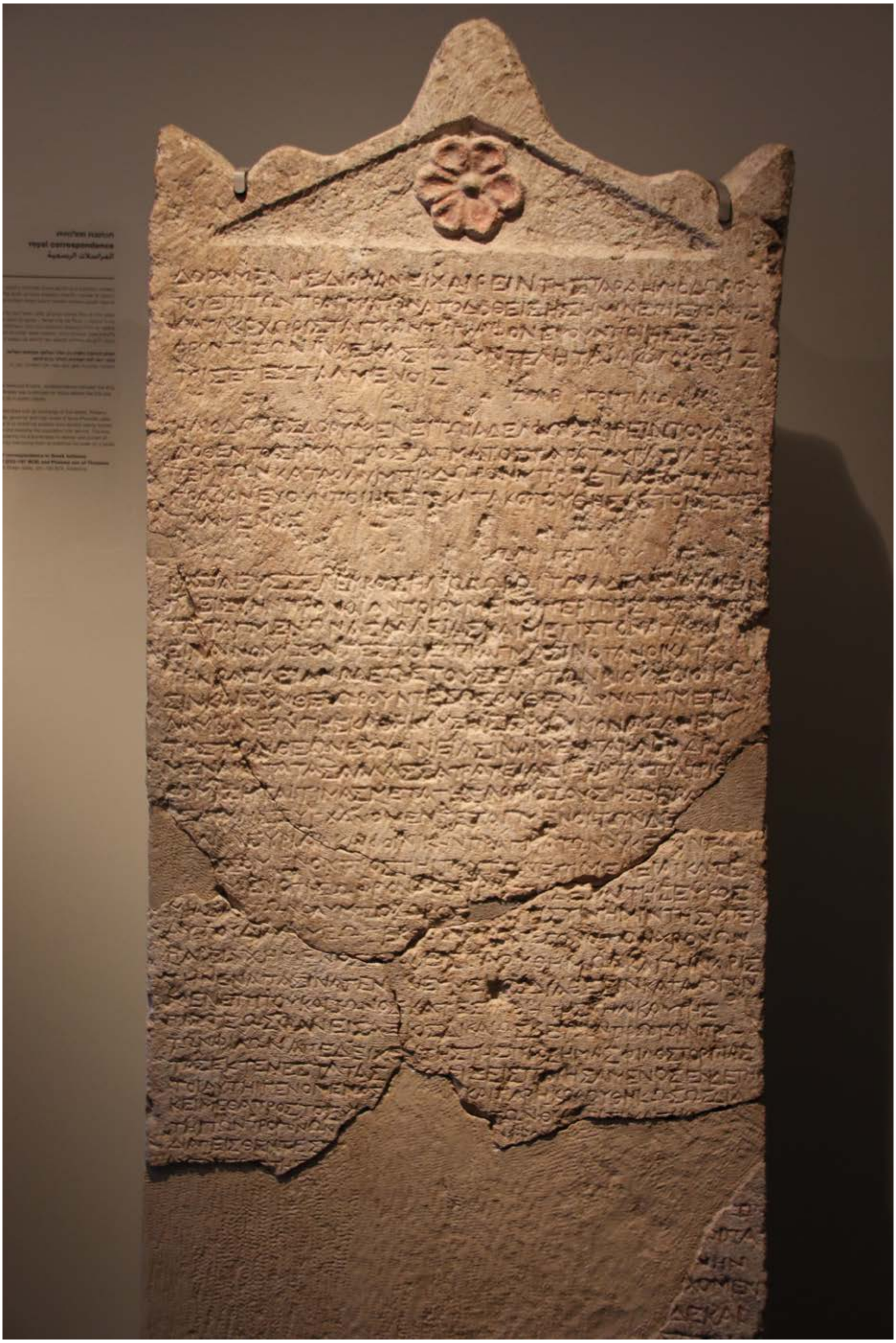
19. Occurrences of ligatures and abbreviations for crops and units of measurement in Phase-3 and Phase-4 accounts of the *damiergoi* from Cyrene



20. Dodurga, dossier including the letter-πρόσταγμα of Antiochos III (Holleaux 1930); 193 BCE

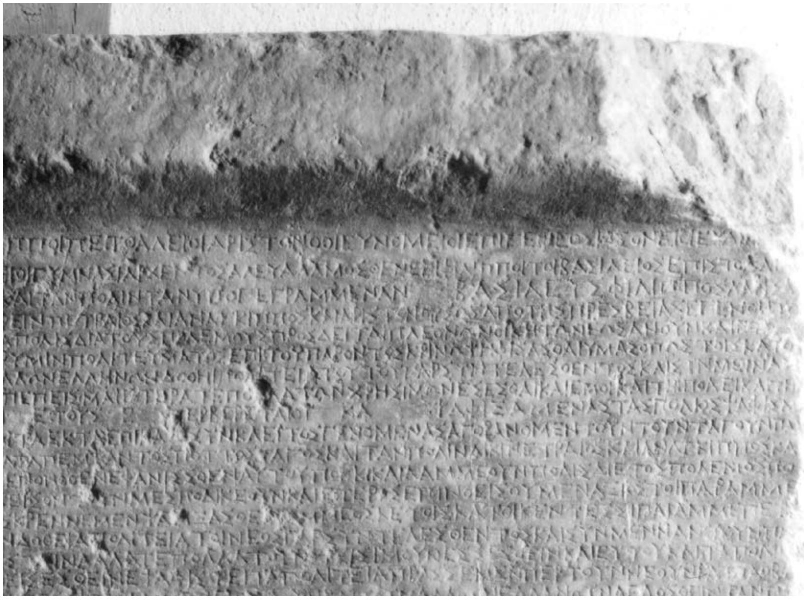
21. Kermanshah, dossier including the letter-πρόσταγμα of Antiochos III (*IG Iran Asie centr.* 68); 193 BCE

22A–22B. Laodikeia, dossier including the letter-πρόσταγμα of Antiochos III (*IG Iran Asie centr.* 66); 193 BCE



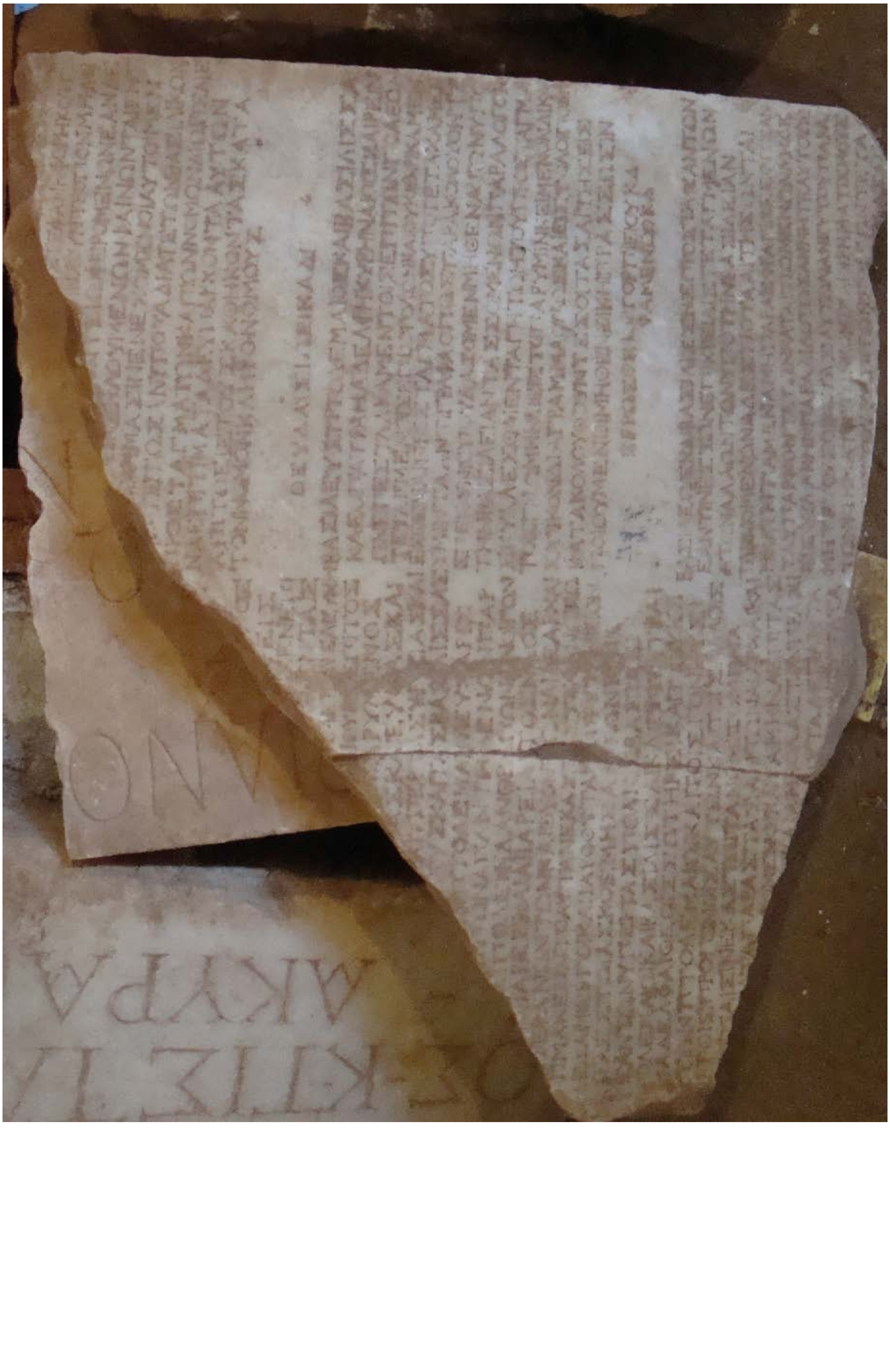
23. Maresha, letter of Seleukos IV to Heliodoros preceded by two letters from Seleukid officials (*CIIP* IV 3511); 178 BCE

24A. Larisa, dossier of documents including two letters by Philip V (*IG* IX.2 517); 217–215 BCE



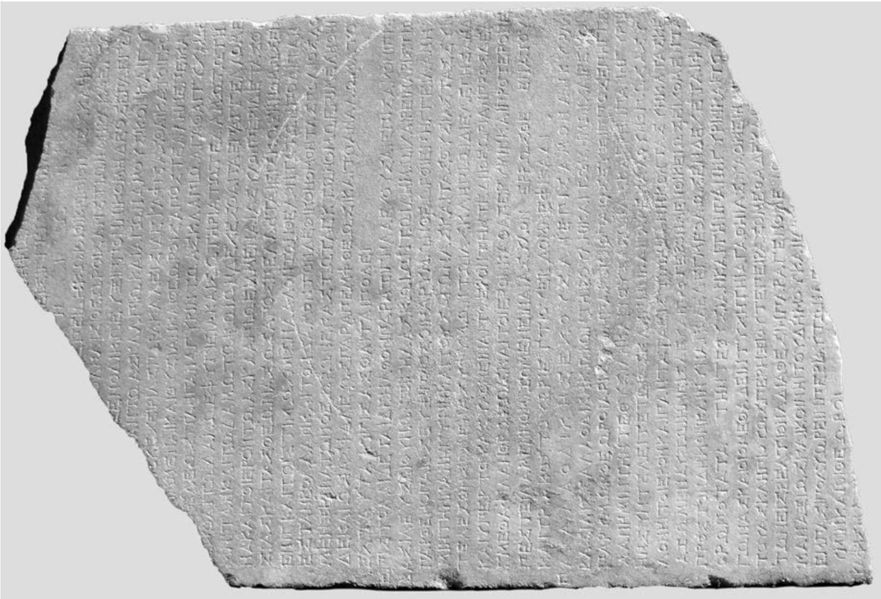
24B. Larisa, dossier of documents including two letters by Philip V: detail of the first lines (*IG* IX.2 517); 217–215 BCE

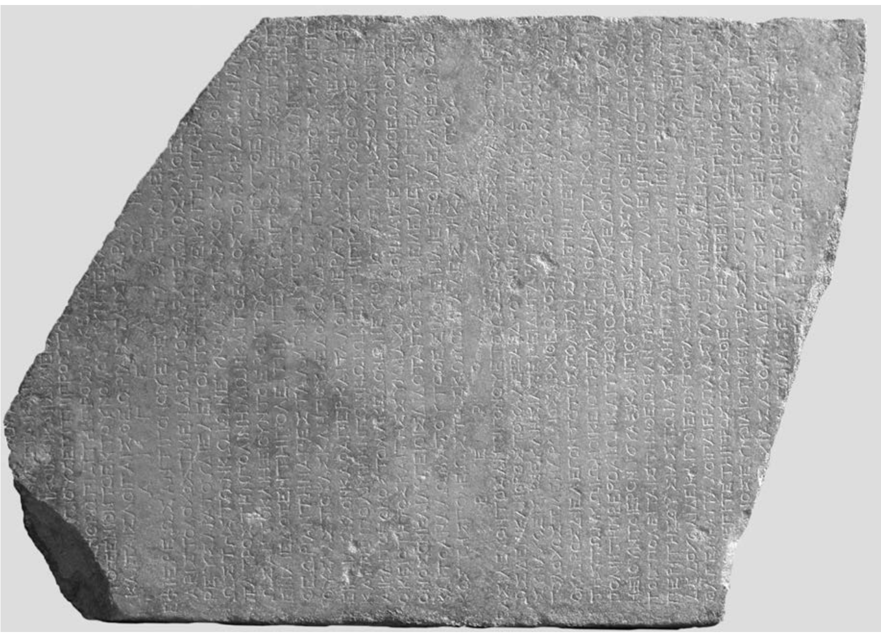
25. The Philae Obelisk: on the base, the dossier including two letters of Ptolemy VIII, Kleopatra II, and Kleopatra III (*I.Egypte prose* 22); 124–116 BCE



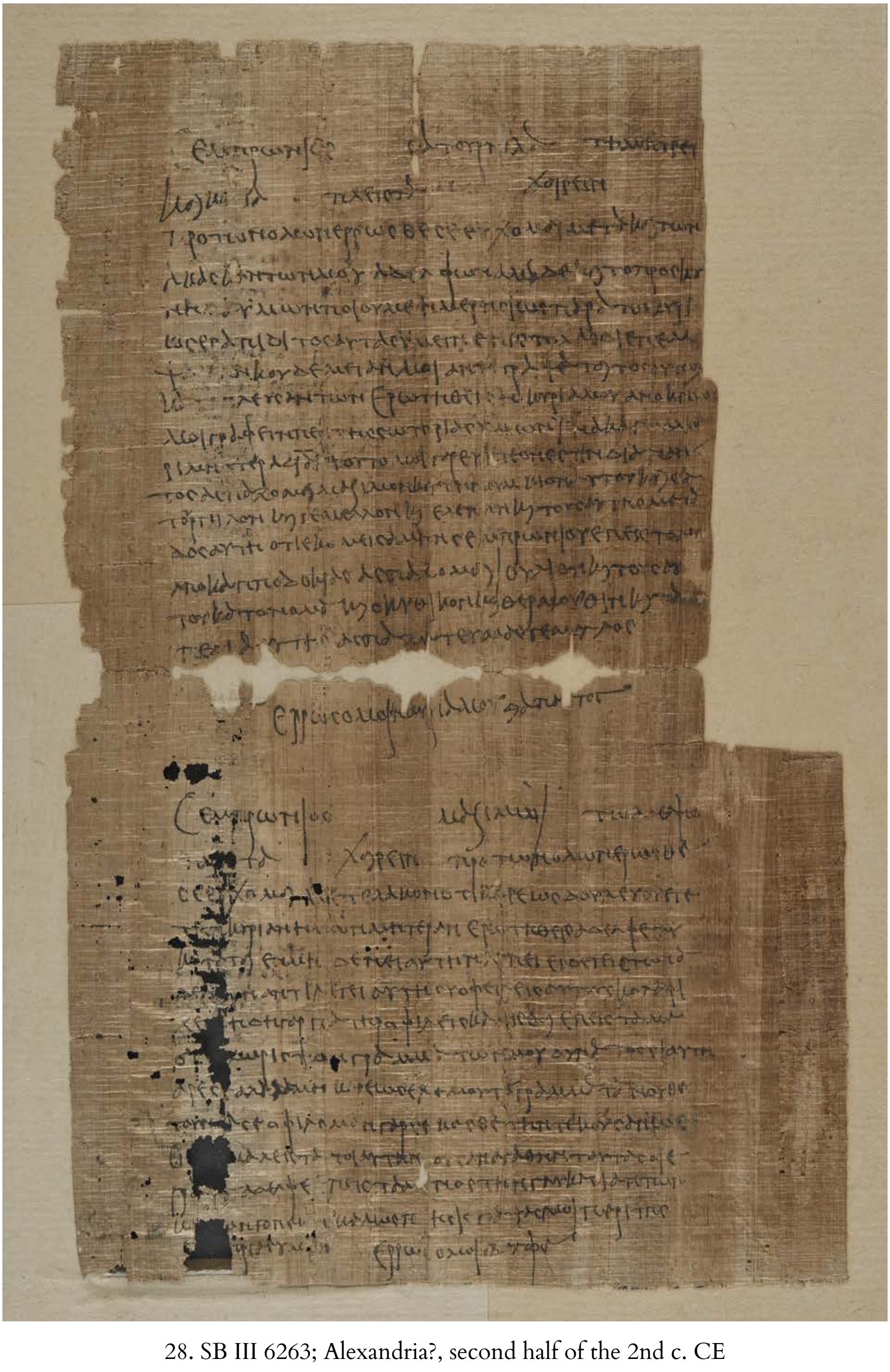
26. Cyrene, dossier including a letter of Ptolemy IX Soter II and Kleopatra Selene (*IG Cyrenaica*^{2} 011100); 108 BCE

PLATE XX



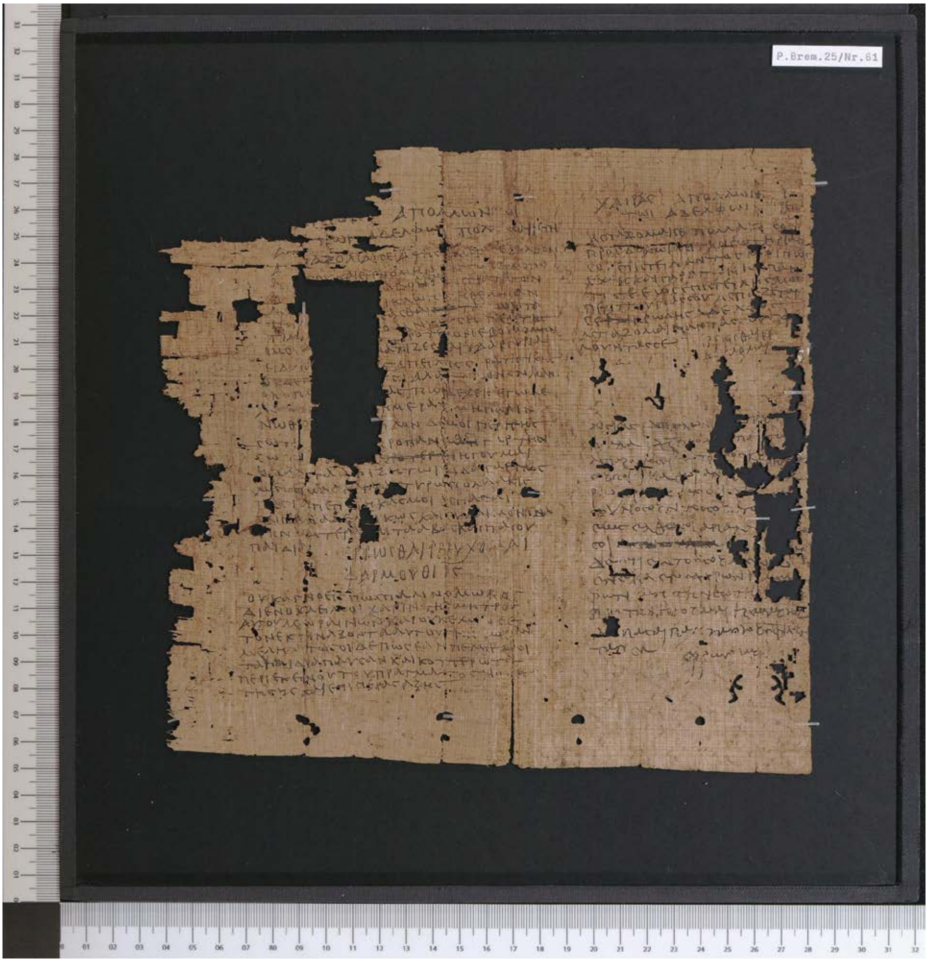


27A–27B. Cos, opisthographic stele – side a and b – with six ἀσυλία decrees and two royal letters (Bosnakis and Hallof 2020); 243 BCE

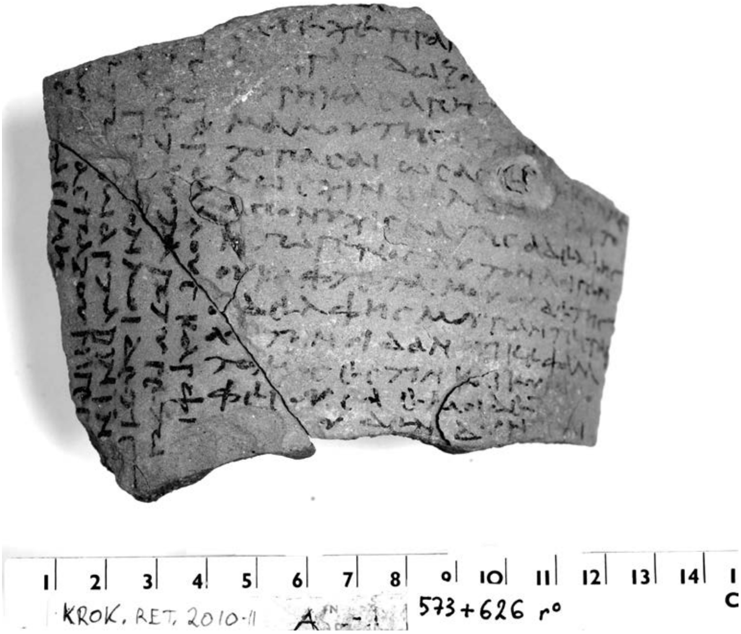


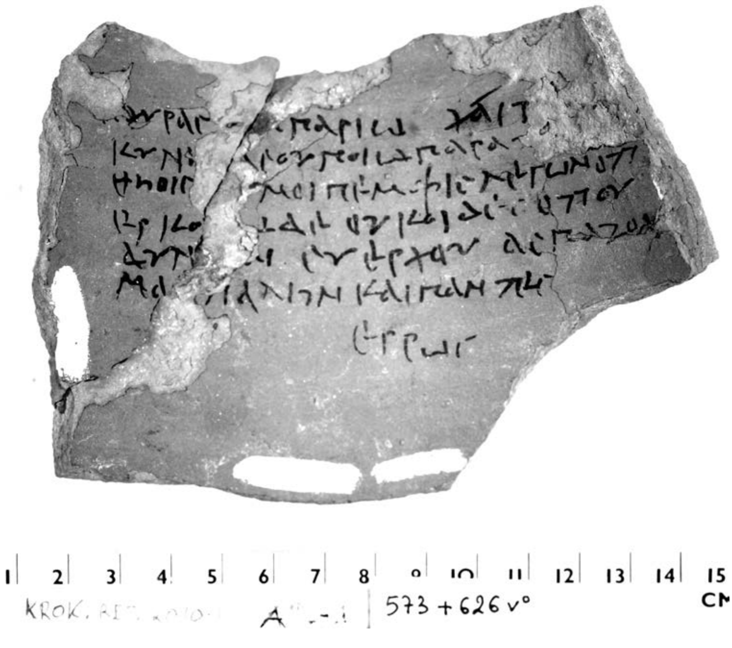
28. SB III 6263; Alexandria?, second half of the 2nd c. CE

PLATE XXII

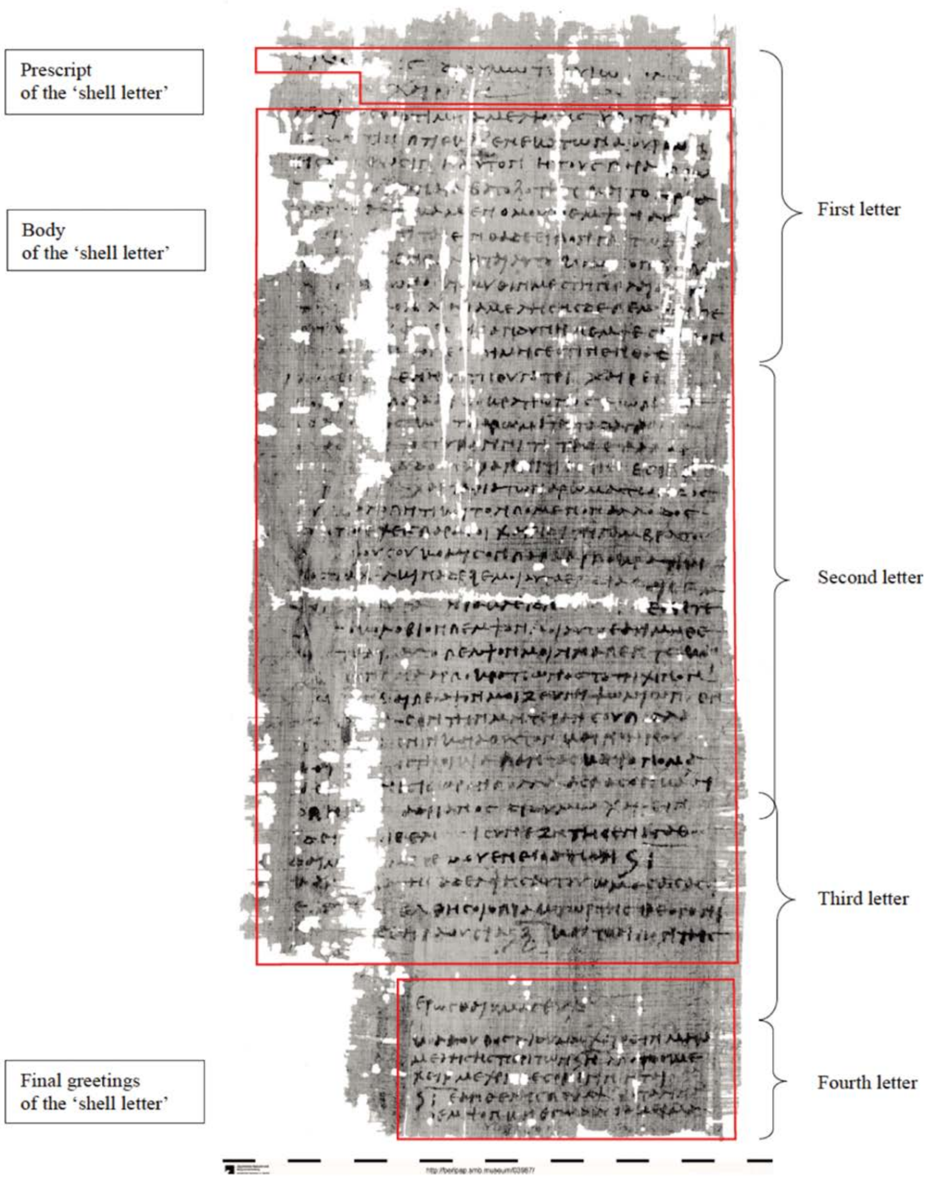


29. P.Brem. 61; Hermopolis?, 2nd c. CE





30–31. O.Krok. II 296; Krokodilo, 98–117 CE



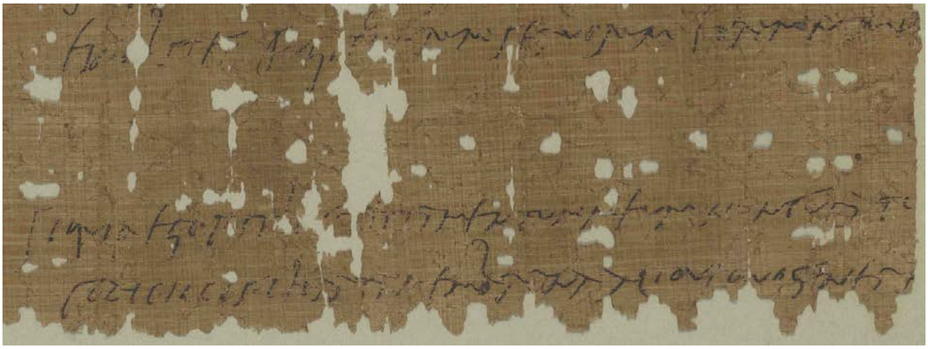
32. SB III 7244; Tebtynis, first half of the 3rd c. CE

33. P.Hamb. I 72, detail, II 6: *in lege Fufia · Caninia ·*; 2nd–3rd c. CE

34. P.Hamb. I 72, detail, II 15: *hóc*; 2nd–3rd c. CE

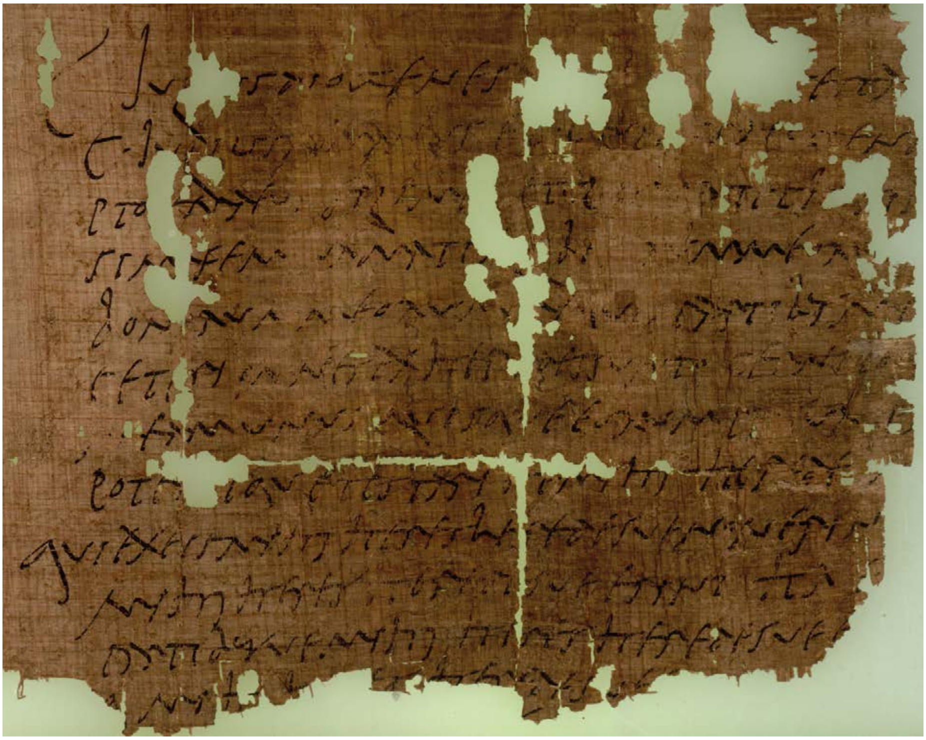
35. P.Hamb. I 72, detail, II 19: *q[u]ọ́*; 2nd–3rd c. CE

36. P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, detail, I 1: *[Ti· Claudius Ti· l· Alexander - - -]* ̣ ̣ vac. *t(estamentum) f(ecit)·*; 134 CE



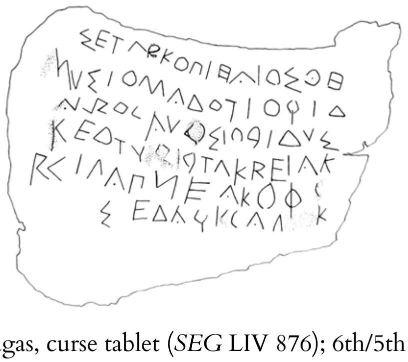
37. P.Hamb. I 72, detail, II 8–10; 2nd–3rd c. CE

38. P.Hamb. I 72, detail, II 17–20; 2nd–3rd c. CE

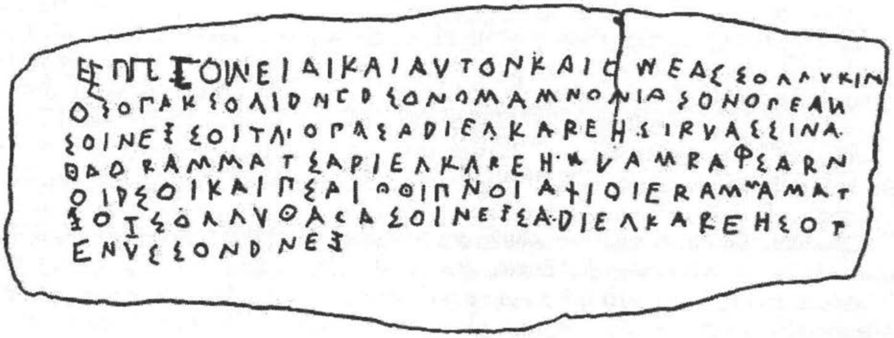


39. P.Oxy. LII 3692; 2nd c. CE

40. P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857, detail, II 1–2: Τ̣ι̣[βέ]ρ̣ι̣ο̣ς Κλαύδιος Τιβε[ρί]ου [ἀπ]ελεύθερος Ἀλέξανδρος διαθή|κην ἔθ[ε]τ̣[ο]; 134 CE

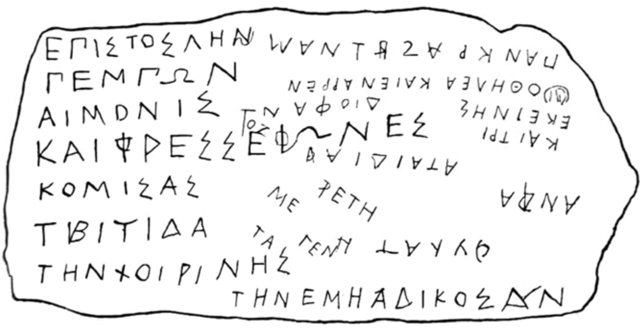


41. Akragas, curse tablet (*SEG* LIV 876); 6th/5th c. BCE

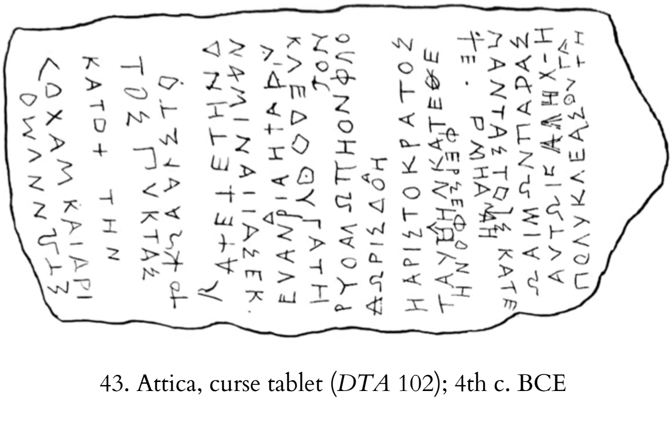


42. Selinous, sanctuary of Malophoros, curse tablet (Bettarini, *Defixiones* 24); mid-5th c. BCE

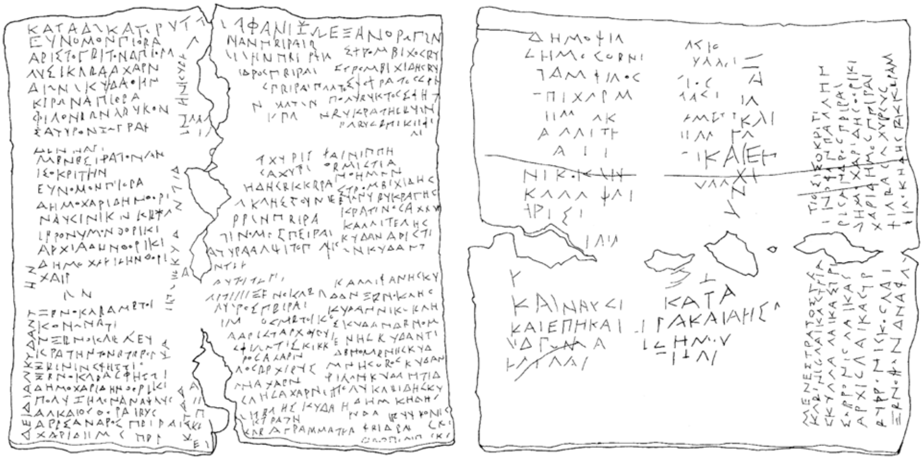
a



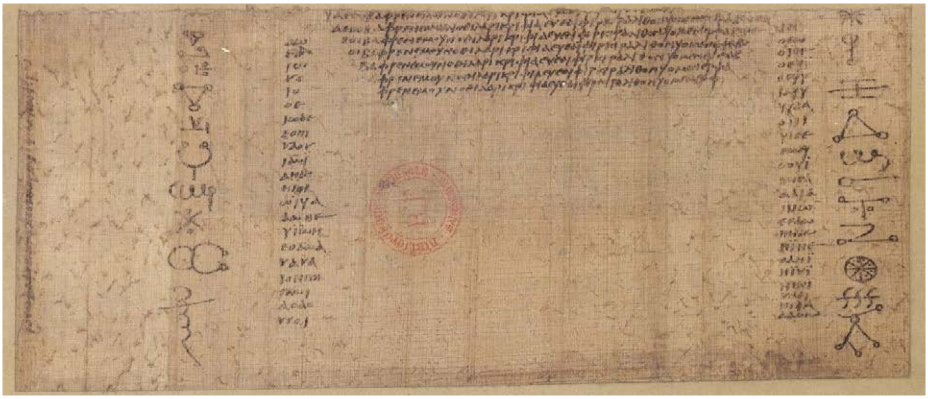
b



43. Attica, curse tablet (*DTA* 102); 4th c. BCE

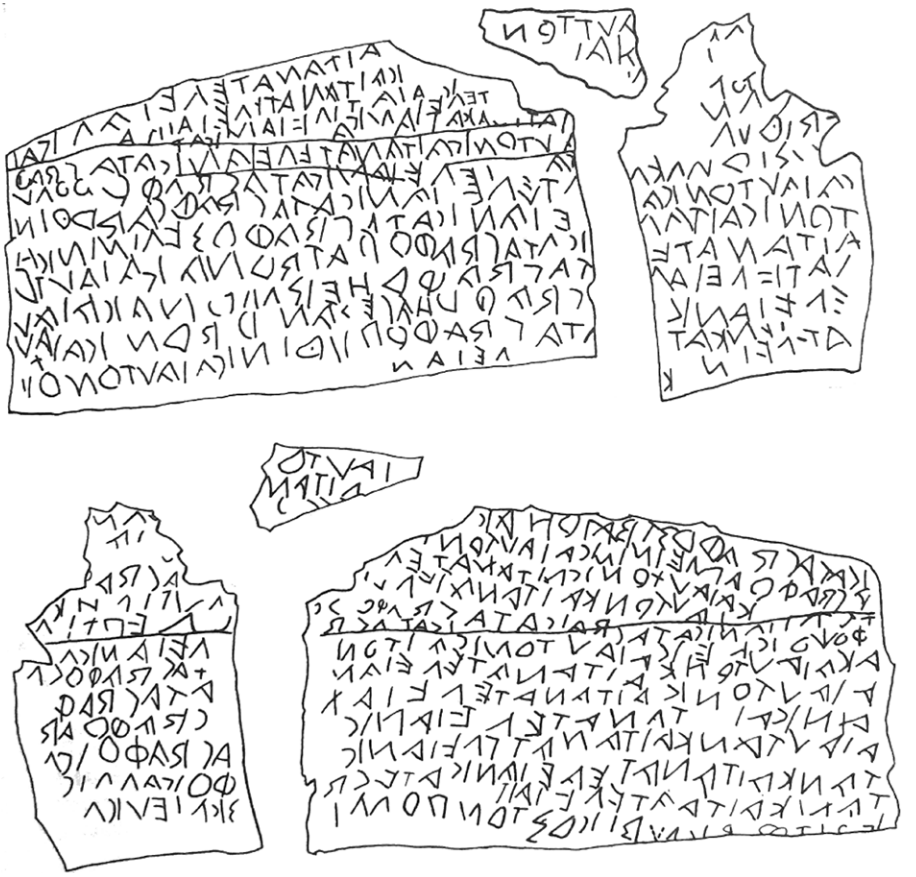


44. Athens, curse tablet (Jordan, *SGD* 48); ca. 325 BCE

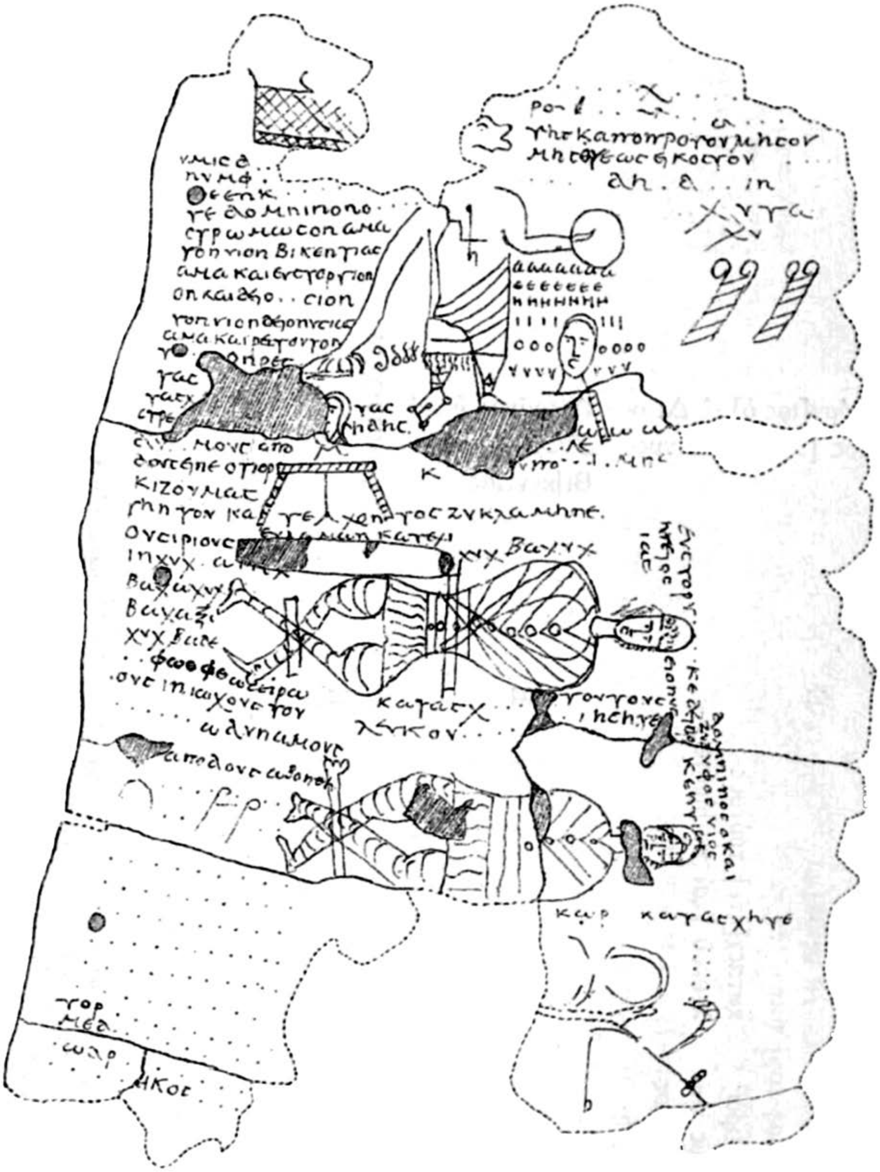


45. Pap.Graec.Mag. IV, f. 6v, ll. 408-433; 4th c. CE

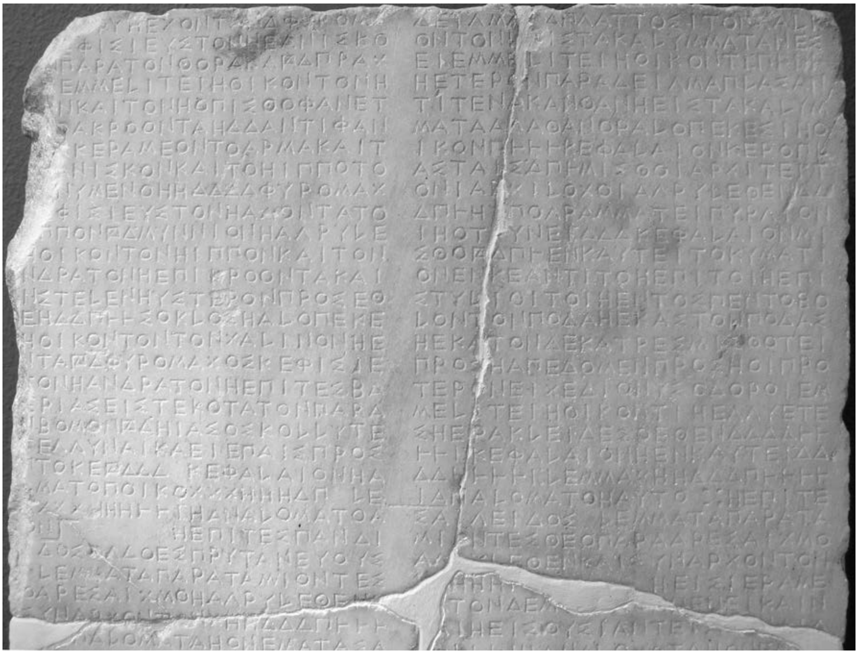
46. Corinth, curse tablet (*NGCT* 26); 3rd c. CE



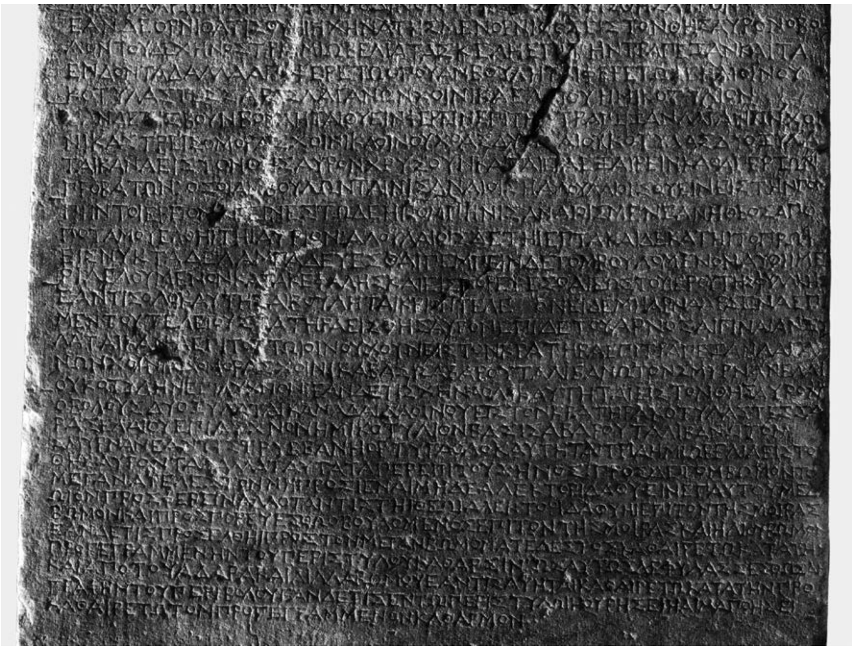
47. Selinous, curse tablet (*SEG* LIV 941); ca. 450 BCE



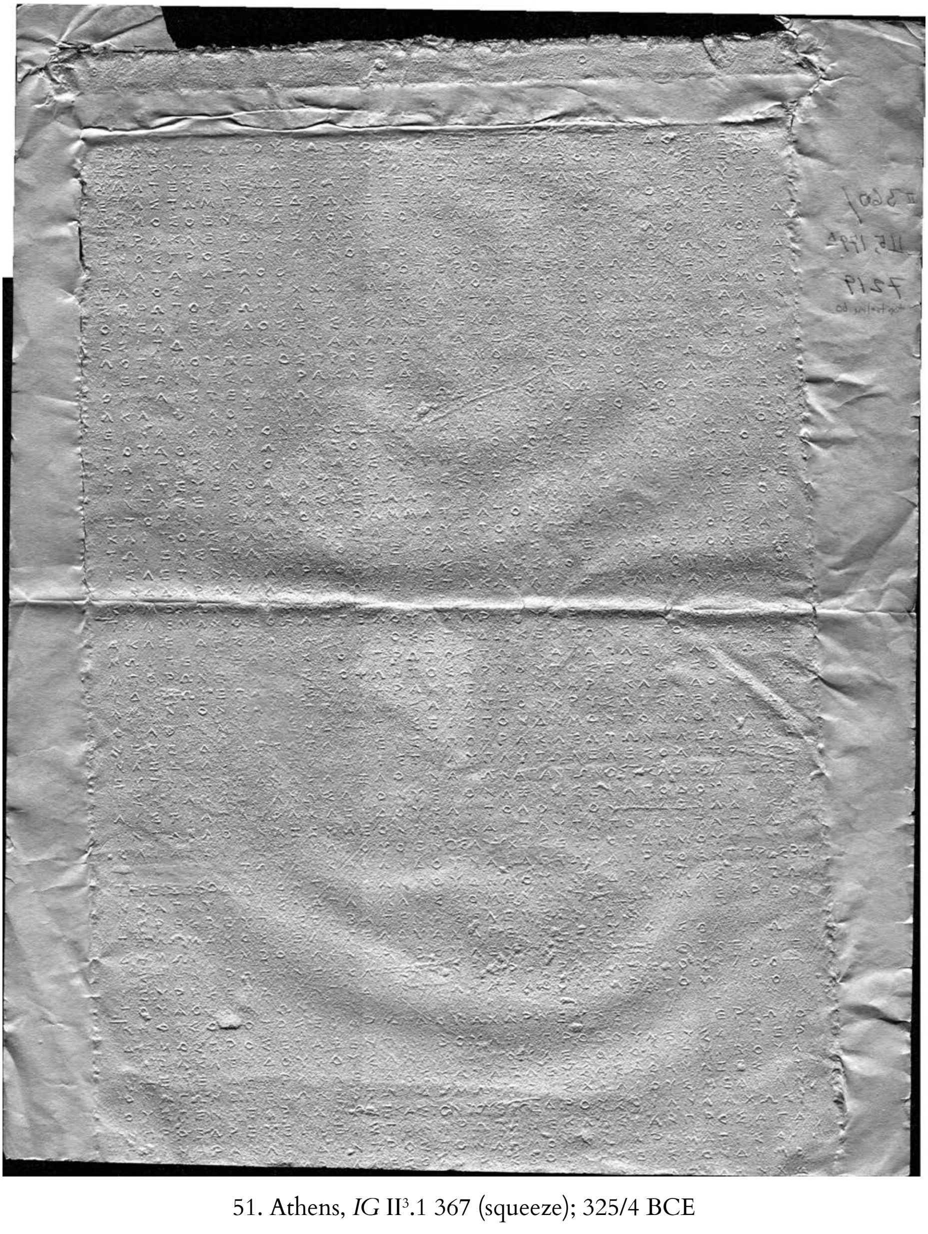
48. Rome, Porta S. Sebastiano, curse tablet (Audollent, *Defixiones* 159); end 4th c. CE



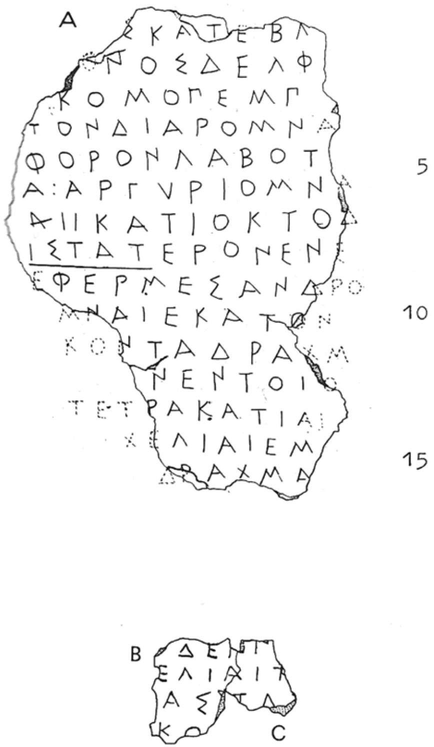
49. Athens, *IG* I³ 476, fr. XVII, col. I–II; 408/7 BCE



50. Marmarini (Thessaly), *SEG* LXV 376, B, ll. 53–81; ca. 225–150 BCE

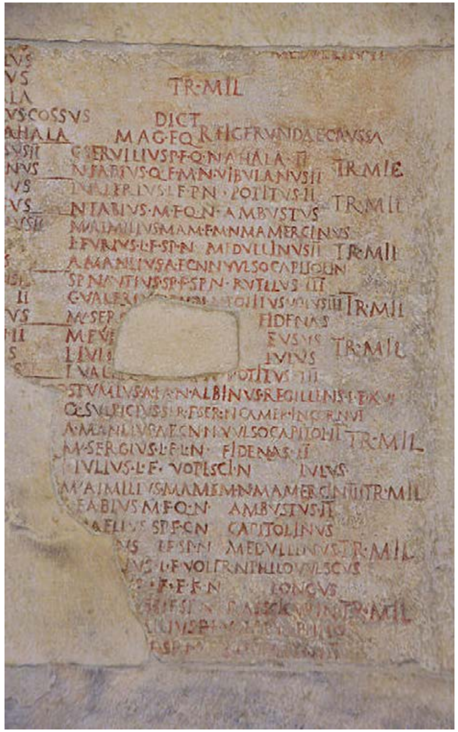


51. Athens, *IG* II^{3}.1 367 (squeeze); 325/4 BCE

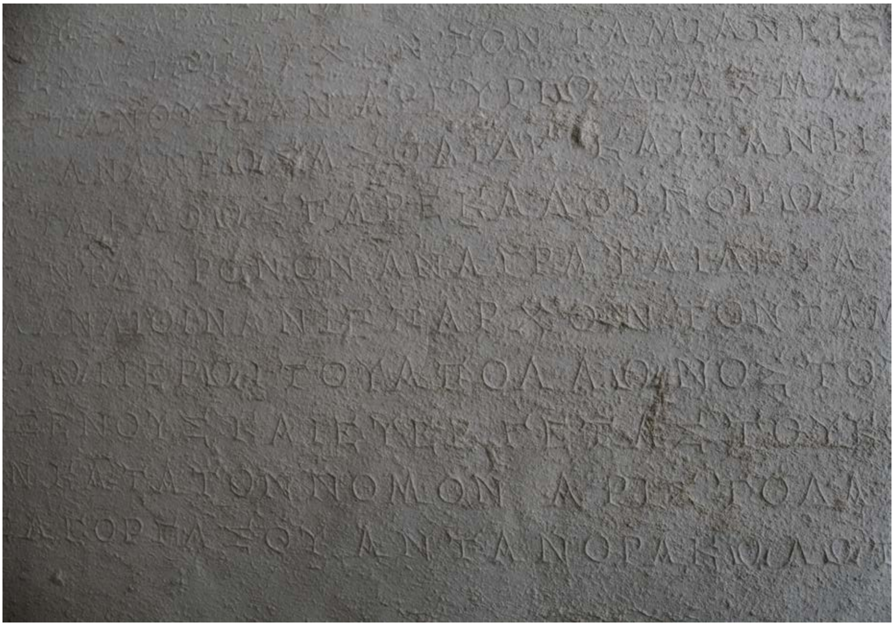


52. Cyrene, *IG Cyrenaica*² 081100, fragments *a* and *b* + *c*; ca. 410 BCE

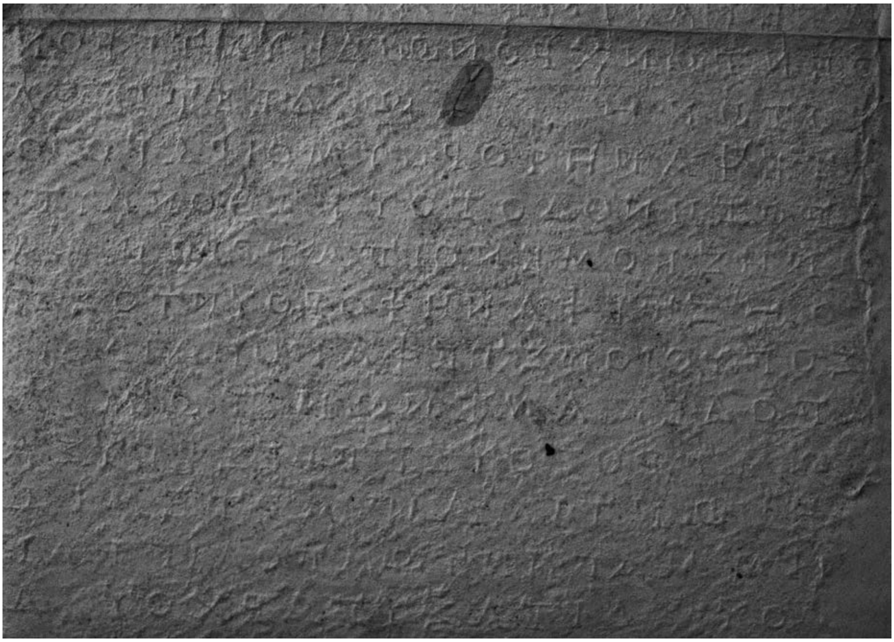
53. Agnone Tablet (*Imagines Italicae*, Pentri / TERVENTVM 34, A); ca. 200–150 BCE



54. Rome, *Fasti Consulares Capitolini*, *Inscr.Ital.* XIII, 1, years 409-399 BCE; Augustan age



55. *I.Magnesia* 31, ll. 34–43; late 3rd c. BCE



56. *I.Magnesia* 16, ll. 23–34; late 3rd c. BCE

57. Cyrene, funerary base of Parmenon, son of Nikias; second half of the 4th c. BCE

58. Athens, *IG* I³ 501A (left) and 501B (right); ca. 505 BCE and 480–446 BCE

59. Athens, late *stoichedon* version of *IG* I³ 511 (*DAA* 135b); early Imperial Age

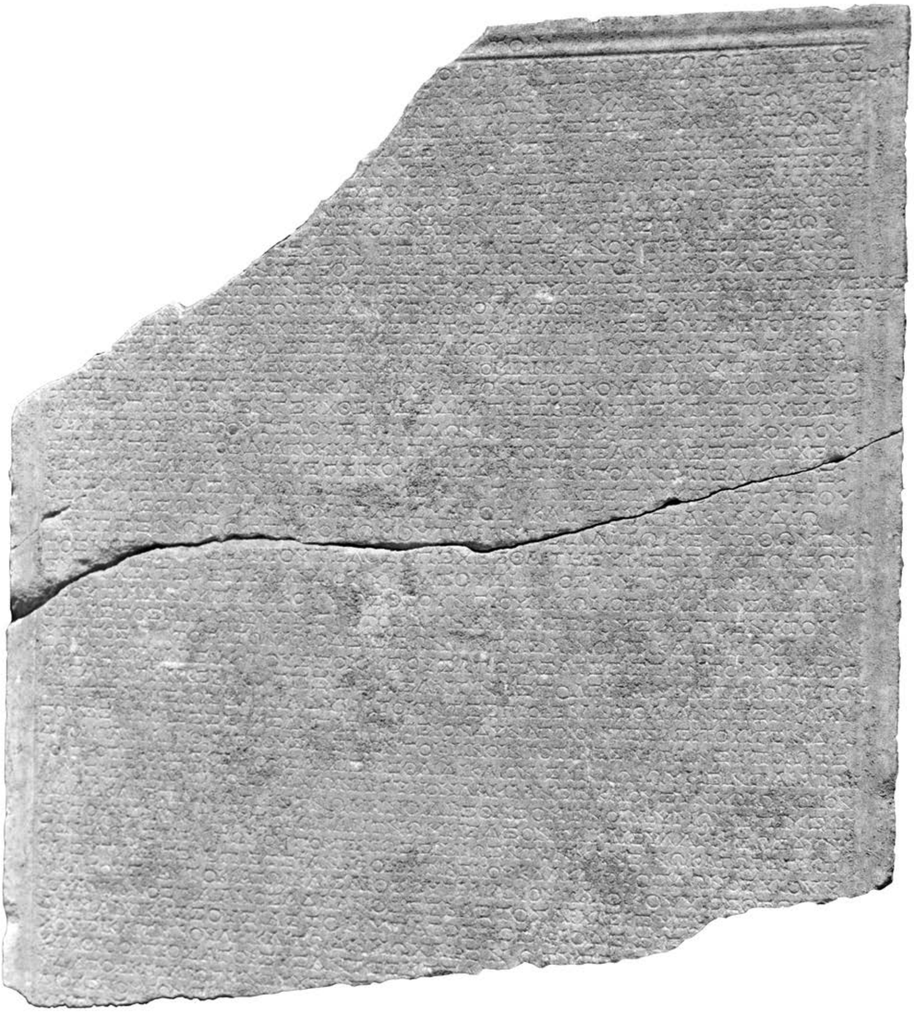
60. Athens, late non-*stoichedon* version of *IG* I³ 511 (*DAA* 135a); early Imperial Age

61. Olympia, base of Tellon, son of Daemon; 5th c. BCE

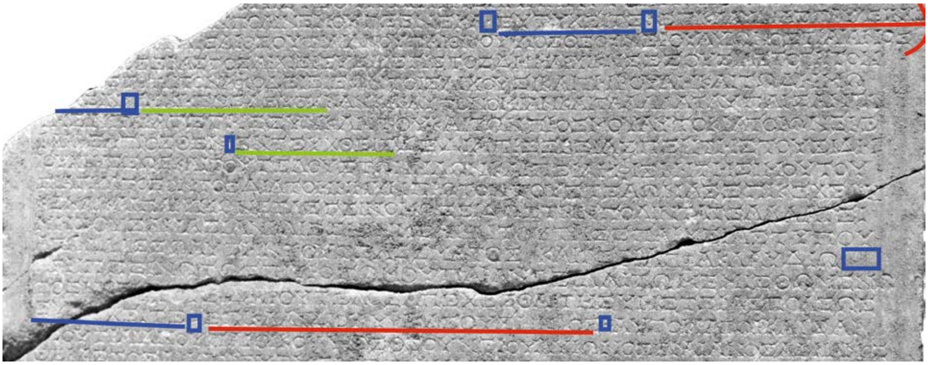
62. Thebes, side (b) of the *kioniskos* (*SEG* LXV 405); 4th c. BCE. Red arrows point to new readings proposed by the author.

63. Cyrene, first version of the dedication by Hermesandros; ca. 300–270 BCE

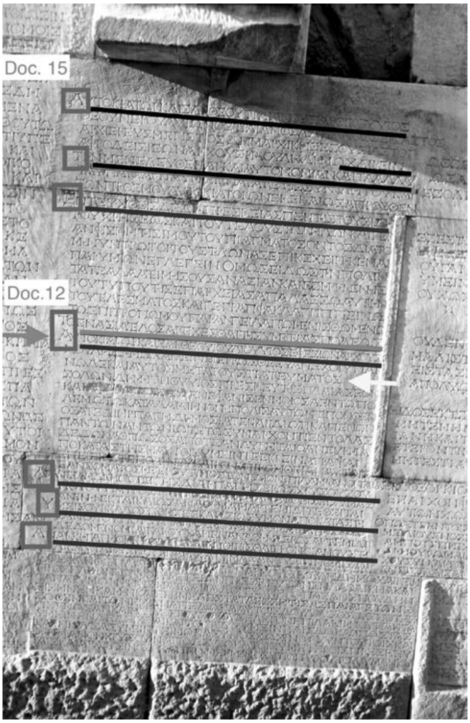
64. Cyrene, second version of the dedication by Hermesandros; 150–100 BCE



65A. *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412; 119–125 CE

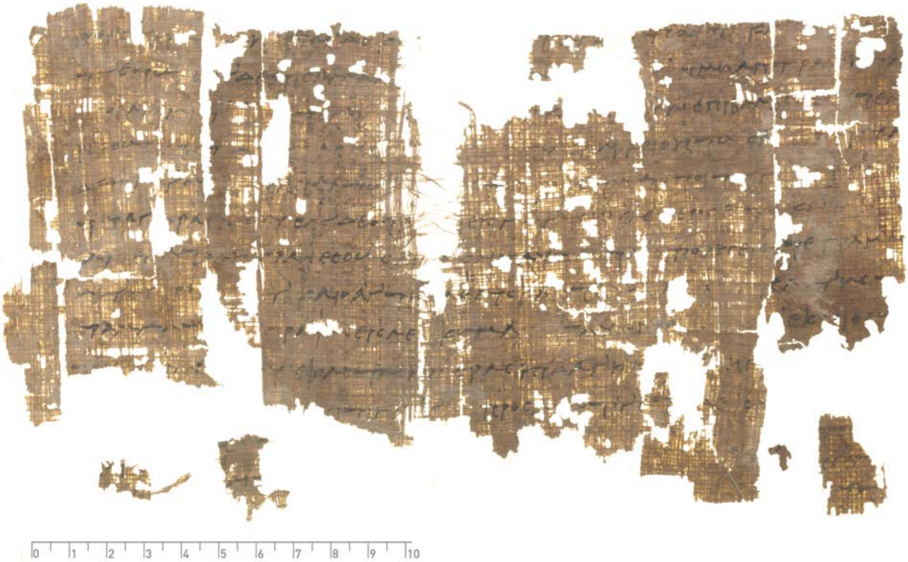


65B. Inscribed copy of a letter from Hadrian to Aphrodisias regarding nail tax (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 11.412, ll. 13–27); 119–125 CE. Boxes indicate decorations, lines underscore formulaic elements. Arrows at the right margin show crowding at the ends of lines in which decorations and spaces have been added.

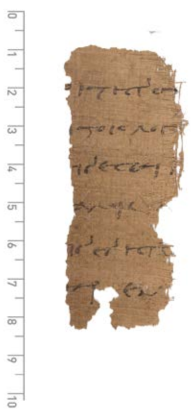


66. Aphrodisias, The Archive Wall, column III; ca. 150–225 CE. Boxes show enlarged letterforms in the left margin. Black lines underscore formulaic elements such as authors, recipients, greetings, and clauses; gray lines underscore closing messages.

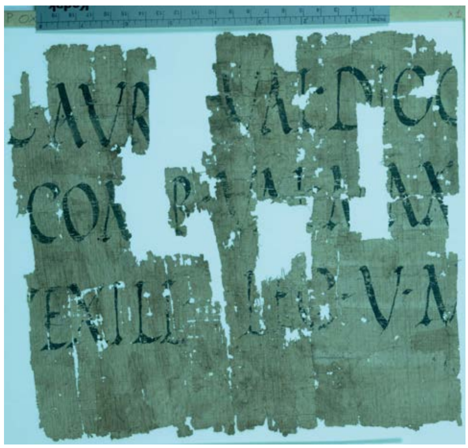
PLATE XL



67. P.Hib. I 29 recto; ca. 265 BCE

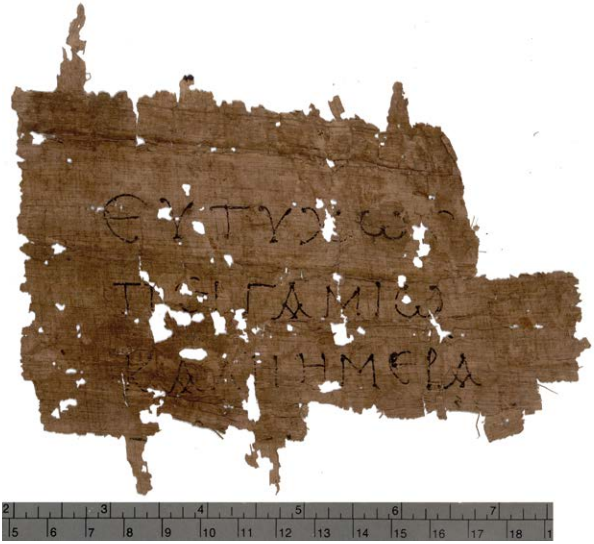


68. P.Rev., Fr. 5(d); 259/8 BCE



69. P.Oxy. XLI 2950; late 3rd c. CE

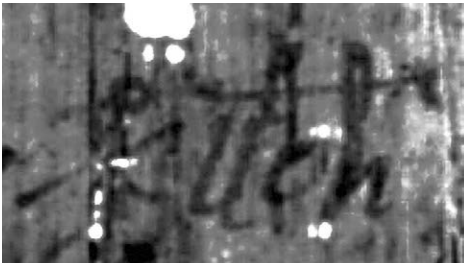
70. PSI XIII 1307 verso; 1st–2nd c. CE



71. P.Oxy. LXVIII 4670; 4th c. CE

72. P.Oxy. LXVIII 4671; 5th c. CE?

PLATE XLII

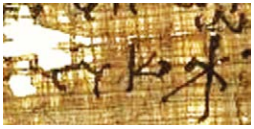


73. P.Cair.Masp. III 67289; 6th c. CE

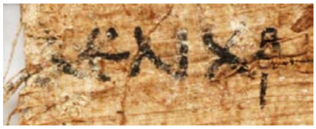
74. P.Cair.Zen. I 59021; Philadelphia, 258 BCE

75. P.Tebt. I 60; Kerkeosiris, 117 BCE

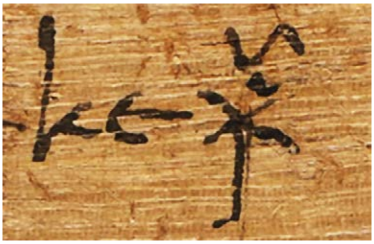
76. P.Tebt. III 972; Tebtynis, end 2nd c. BCE



77. P.Mich. III 190; Philadelphia, 172 BCE



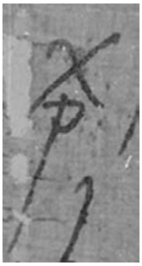
78. P.Tebt. III 817; Tebtynis, 182 BCE



79. P.Dryton 2; Latopolis, 150 BCE

80. P.Tebt. I 65; Kerkeosiris, ca. 112 BCE

81. P.Bingen 77; Alexandria?, 2nd c. CE

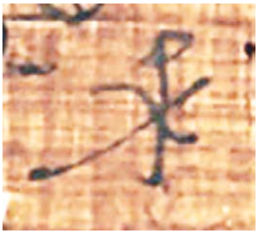


82. P.Cair.Isid. 91; Karanis, 309 CE

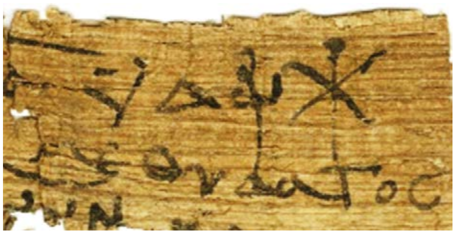
83. O.Did. 69; early 3rd c. CE

84. P.Mich. XV 740; 6th c. CE

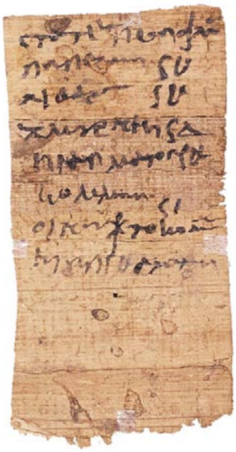
85. P.Col. VII 145; Karanis, 335 CE



86. PSI X 1180; Tebtynis, 2nd c. CE



87. P.Oxy. LXXIV 4977; late 2nd–3rd c. CE



88. P.Princ. III 155; 2nd/3rd c. CE

89. P.Mich. XVII 758; 4th c. CE

90. P.Mich. XVII 758; 4th c. CE

91. Mylasa, *forma generalis*; 480 CE

92. Mylasa, *forma generalis*; 480 CE

93. Mylasa, *forma generalis*; 480 CE

94. Kasai, Yazıtlı Kilise; 474–491 CE

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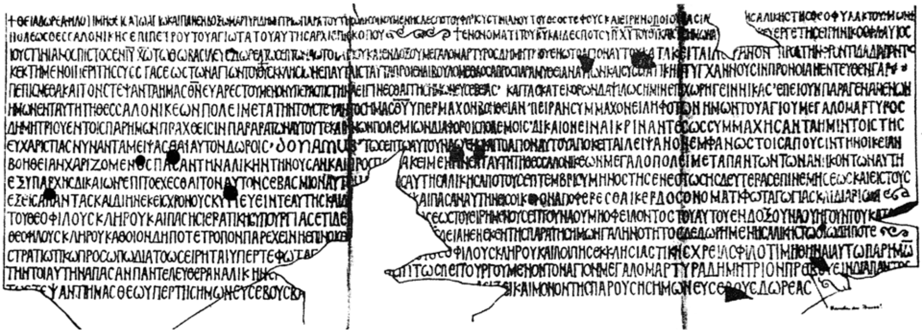


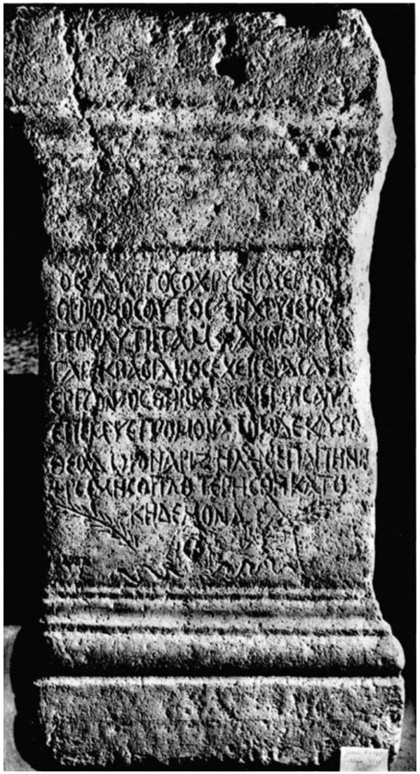
95. Thessalonica, donation of Justinian II; 688/9 CE

96. Istanbul, St. Polyeuktos; 524–527 CE

97. Istanbul, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus; ca. 530 CE

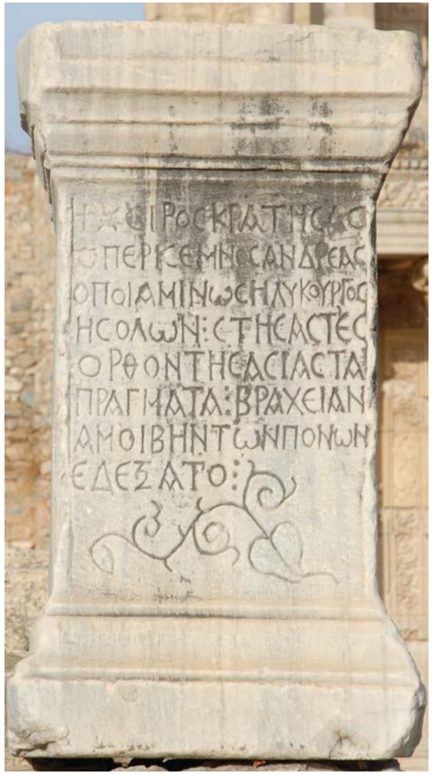
98. Funerary inscription from Antinoupolis (I. inv. Ant. gr. 331); 744-753 CE

99. *I.Philae* 142; 7 BCE



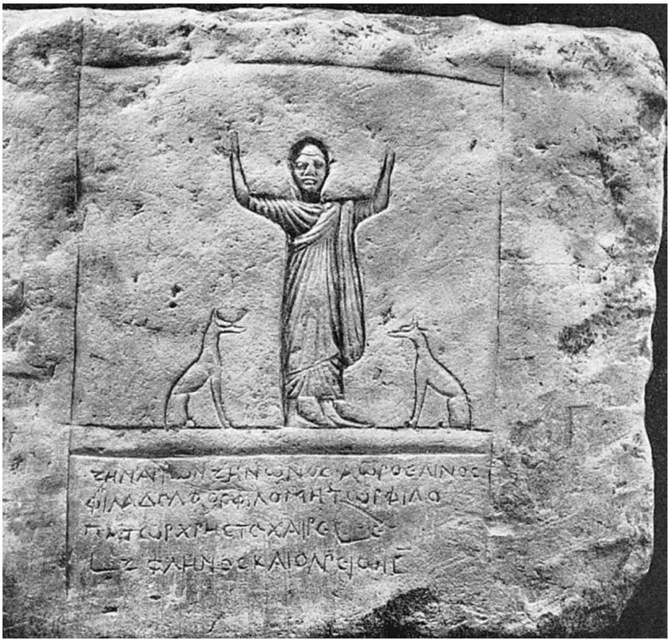
100. *I.Portes du désert*, Antinoupolis 20; 385–387 CE

101. *I.Philae* 202; ca. 537 CE

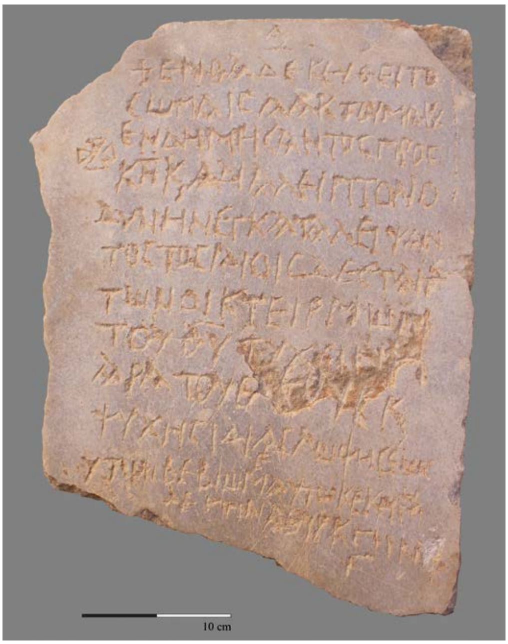


102. *I.Ephesos* 1301; late 4th–5th c. CE

PLATE L



103. Funerary inscription of Zenarion (Wagner 1972, no. 8); 2nd c. CE



104. Antinoupolis, funerary inscription of Isaac (Del Corso and Pintaudi 2014); 6th–7th c. CE

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ISSN 2533-2414 (print)
ISSN 2612-7997 (online)
ISBN 979-12-215-0455-2 (Print)
ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9 (PDF)
ISBN 979-12-215-0457-6 (XML)
DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9
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