A Verse Epitaph and Other Unpublished Inscriptions from Heraclea Sintica

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Abstract: The paper publishes recently found Greek inscriptions from Heraclea Sintica (near the village of Rupite, south-western Bulgaria). A second-century AD funerary monument with verse epitaph recounts the story of the deceased Kasandros who was killed on the road; his dead body was found by his brother Pyrrhias, who erected the monument. The author of the text was influenced by Homer and Attic tragedy. Six Hellenistic funerary stelae contain several rare or previously unattested names. A statue-base from the mid-second century AD, found on the agora of the city, honours posthumously a citizen whose names present a peculiar combination of the local and Roman onomastic patterns.

Key words: verse inscription; Greek literacy; Heraclea Sintica; Hellenistic and Roman Macedonia; funerary stelae; ancient onomastics.

I. VERSE EPITAPH OF KASANDROS

The funerary monument was found in 2016 during illegal digging at the locality of Aydaritsa (belonging to the village of Mitino), close to the bank of the river Strumeshnitsa/Strumitsa; it was afterwards entered into the collection of the History Museum in Petrich. The site at Aydaritsa (Домарадски et al. 2001, 38-43, 186-195, обр. 32-44) is connected with the city of Heraclea Sintica which is located at a distance of less than 1 km to the north1. For many centuries it was one of the main necropolises of the city, as evidenced by the presence of numerous grave monuments2.

The Monument

It is a pedestal made of the local yellowish limestone, narrowing towards the top and moulded on top and base (fig. 1). It is 176 cm high, 76 wide and 69 thick at the upper moulding; the body is wide from 56 (top) to 65 cm (bottom), and from 60 to 62 cm thick. The upper moulding, damaged on the front and right side, has been adorned with pediments and acroteria, as seen on the preserved left side (fig. 2); similar decoration is present on other funerary monuments from Heraclea (fig. 3). The preserved part of the upper surface is flat; part of the stone probably broke (apparently still during the production of the monument) and was repaired, as evidenced by four slots and grooves for metal clamps to the top right (fig. 4): the slots are rectangular and with different dimensions and depth3; the clamps, as the grooves show, were about 2.5 cm wide. On the front, left, and right sides of the main body, there are profiled rectangular/trapezoid frames (fig. 5), with dimensions (from the outside): 75 x 45/52 cm (front), 75 x 40/40 (left), and 74 x 40/41 (right); the back of the monument is flat.

The Inscription

The epigraphic field is 63.5 cm high and 34 (top) to 40 cm (bottom)
wide. The inscription (fig. 6) has been carefully arranged and engraved and occupies the entire field. The letter-height is 2-2.5 cm, Φ is higher – 3 (in l. 6), 4.5 (l. 14), and 5 cm (l. 9). There are numerous ligatures – almost everywhere, where possible. The stone-cutter engraved the last letters in l. 4 (AN), l. 5 (EA) and l. 9 (C) on the frame in order not to break the words; except for M|O|Y in l. 17-18, words are always syllabically divided at line breaks. The only word on l. 16, followed by a large vacat, is the name ΠΥΡΡΙΑΣ: it probably had to be emphasized, since Pyrrhias was the person who set up the monument. It seems that this was also the end of a verse (cf. the vacat after ΓΟΝΟΣ in l. 7, which could have marked the end of another verse); the surface of the stone at the end of l. 15 and in the right part of l. 16 had been damaged by a natural scratch, so it was intentionally left uninscribed. The spaces between the letters of ΒΕΝΕΡΙΑ in l. 19 are larger, and a vacat was left at the end of the line; the last word of the text, ΖΩΟΣ in (l. 20), is centred and surrounded by large vacats. The lettering points to the second half of the second or the beginning of the third century AD.

Κάσανδρος ὁ βιοθανής ἐγὼ ποτε μοῦνος ὀδεύουν ἐκ Παυταλίης τ’ ἐρχόμενος ὡς Σαρμέαν τὸν ἐμὸν βιον ἐξετέλεσα· προδικοῦσα με φίλος Λαέρτου γόνος. εἰτ’ ἐπανελθὼν ὡμοπάτριος φίλος ἀδελφός εὐρέν με ἐν κοινή δεδημένον δινῶν τε οἴ- π’ ἀνθρώπων σώσας τ’ ἐμὸν λίφανα τρέε

τύμβῳ φιλοστοργήνης ἰνεκὸν, ὀνόμα
Πυρρίας· vacat σοίν τε ἐμὺ κὲ τέκνῳ μοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ κὲ αὑτῷ κὲ συνβίῳ Βενερίᾳ ζώουσιν.

Ligatures: l. 2: NHΣ, WΠ, TE; l. 3: WΝΕ, ΗΣ; l. 4: TE, ME, ME; l. 5: NE, NB, NE, TE; l. 6: WK, NΜΕ; l. 8: TE, NE, WN; l. 10: NΜΕ, ΝΚ; l. 11: ΗΜΕ, WΝΝ, TE; l. 12: ΠW, ΠΙΝΣ, WΣ; l. 13: TE, TW; l. 14: MB; l. 15: HΣ, NE; l. 17: TE, TE, WM; l. 18: TE, WPW, TW; l. 19: NB, WB.

‘I, the violently dead Kasandros, while travelling once alone and going from Pautalia to Sarmea, reached the end of my life: a friend of mine, (like) the son of Laertes [= Odysseus], betrayed me. Then my brother by the same father, after coming back, found me in the dust – murdered by terrible people – and after saving my remains (deposited them) in this tomb out of brotherly love; his name was Pyrrhias. Beside me, (he made the tomb) also for the living – my child Artemidoros, himself and (his/my?) wife Veneria.’

Fig. 1. Funerary monument of Kasandros from Aydaritsa. History Museum in Petrich

Fig. 2. Funerary monument of Kasandros: decoration on the left side

Similarly, a small vacat in l. 4 has been caused by a natural scratch on the surface of the stone: TEPX ΟΜΕΝΟΣ.
Commentary

L. 4 ἐς Σαρμέαν: this toponym is unattested before; its nominative should be Σαρμέα (or *Σαρμαία, here written phonetically with Ε instead of ΑΙ?)⁵.

L. 7 Λαέρτου γόνος: the ‘son of Laertes’ is Odysseus, here adduced as an example of a trickster and deceiver betraying his friends (see below for the possible sources for the motive).

L. 8 εἶτ’ ἐπανελθών: the first letter has been corrected; originally, it was apparently Ι, which was then corrected into Ε, or rather into ΕΙ, since εἶτ’ ἐπανελθών would fit better the logic of the passage than ἐτ’ ἐπανελθών; the initial ΙΤΕΠΑΝΕΛΘΩΝ (i.e. ἶτ’ ἐπανελθών) would have been a phonetic spelling with Ι for ΕΙ.

L. 10-11 δε|δ<μ>ημένον: the reading on the stone is ΔΕ|ΔΑΗΜΕΝΟΝ, but δεδημένον ‘skilled, learned’ here makes little sense, so I emended it to δεδημένον ‘killed, murdered’. Both perfect participles δεδημένον (from δαμνήμ/δαμάζω ‘to subdue, to kill’) and

⁵ The possible meaning and location of Sarmea are discussed below.
δεδαημένον (from δαῆναι 'to learn, to teach') – differing in a single letter – were considered poetical words and this could easily explain the error: a confusion of the two words on the part of either the stone-cutter or a person who copied the text, or even of the author of the epitaph.

L. 11-12 δινῶν τε οἱπ' ἀνθρώπων (i.e. δεινῶν τε ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων): this phrase is apparently connected with δεδ<μ>ημένον ('murdered by terrible people'), and therefore the conjunction τε seems somewhat superfluous.

L. 12ff. σώσας ... λίψανα τῷδε τύμβῳ etc.: the main verb in this part of the text is only implied, since it is easily understood, e.g. ἔθηκε or ἔκρυψε, 'after saving my remains, (he deposited them) in this tomb'.

L. 19 κὲ συνβίῳ Βενερίᾳ: it is unclear whose wife was Veneria – of Kasandros or of Pyrrhias. Since she is mentioned after αὑτῷ, and there is no μου after συνβίῳ (cf. τέκνῳ μου), this could imply that she was wife of Pyrrhias. On the other side, Kasandros had a child and certainly had a wife as well (either still living or not), and Veneria could have been mentioned after Pyrrhias for different reasons; moreover, one must not forget that the text is poetical.

**Orthography**
The inscription shows only a few examples for monophthongisation of the diphthongs: Ι instead of ΕΙ in δινῶν, λίψανα, ἵνεκον (cf. Mihailov 1943, 36; Slavova 2004, 38-42); confusion of ΟΙ and Υ in οἱπ' (= ὑπ') and σοίν τε ἐμύ (= σύν τε ἐμοί) (cf. Mihailov 1943, 40; Slavova 2004, 65-66); and E instead of AI in κέ (three times) (cf. Mihailov 1943, 32-33; Slavova 2004, 60-64); all these spellings are not surprising for the region (Slavova 2010, 46-49).6 The confusion of letters – here seen in δεδαημένον for δεδ<μ>ημένον – is also common in inscriptions from the Middle Strymon valley (Slavova 2010, 47). Most examples could be explained through incompetence or illiteracy of the stone-cutter, e.g. IGBulg IV 2271: ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΙΟΠΟΣ for Νικοστρ<ά>της (confusion Φ~Α and Π~Η); IGBulg IV 2302: ΤΝ for τ<ῇ>, ΤΕΡЄΗΤΙΑ for Τερε<ν>τίᾳ, and ΜΗΜΗΜΗΣ for μ<ν>ήμης (N~H); IGBulg IV 2294: ΛΙΔΡΙ for <ἀν>δρί (Α~Λ and reversed Ν); Манов 2008, 108-109, # 114: ΘΥΓΑΓΡΙ for θυγα<τ>ρί (Γ~Τ); Манов 2008, 127, # 169: ΜΗΝΙΠΠΣ for μν<ή>μης and ΚΑΤΟΙΧΟΑΛΕΝΘ for κατοιχο<μ>ένῳ; Манов 2008, 112-113, # 125: ΕΛΔΦΗΒΟΛΙ for ἐλ<α>φηβόλ<ω>ι (Δ~Α and omitted Ω); and the entirely illiterate although well-engraved inscription Манов 2008, 135-136, # 202: ΠΡΟΥΑΠΠΟΥΒΥΤΙΟΙ | ΠΑΤΡΙΚΕΠΙΠΗΡΙΟ | ΤΕ[- - ]ΥΚΑΜ, possibly for Π<υ>ροιβυτίοι (for a similar phenomenon, cf. IGBulg V 5883 where Latin S is used throughout instead of Greek sigma).

The same inscription on two occasions shows Latin cursive D instead of Greek Δ – ΔΙΟΝΥСΙΑΝΟΣ, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΡΑ (for a similar phenomenon, cf. IGBulg V 5883 where Latin S is used throughout instead of Greek sigma).

**Poetical Language**
The epitaph's metrical scheme and the division of the verses are unclear. Many fragments of the text could be parts of hexameters: ἐγώ ἔστω ἡρπετ[α]ρίου (= ἐποίει θρεπταρίοις) in IGBulg IV 2325 (revised reading in Sharankov 2016, 343-344), and ἐπύσε (ἐποίησε) in Манов 2008, 132-133, # 191 (the actual reading of the text should be [- - - Α]φροδίτῳ τῇ θυγατρίδει ἐ-πύσε μνίας χάριν, and not the incredible [ε]ὐσεμνίας χάριν, cf. A. Avram's note in BEp. 2010, 794, # 430, who however suggested here the possibility of a Thracian name: τῇ θυγατρί ΔΕΙ.ΥΣΕ).

6 To the examples of Υ for ΟΙ, I would add ἐπύει θρεπτ[α]ρίους (= ἐποίει θρεπταρίοις) in IGBulg IV 2271: ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΙΟΠΟΣ for Νικοστρ<ά>της (confusion Φ~Α and Π~Η); IGBulg IV 2302: ΤΝ for τ<ῇ>, ΤΕΡЄΗΤΙΑ for Τερε<ν>τίᾳ, and ΜΗΜΗΜΗΣ for μ<ν>ήμης (N~H); IGBulg IV 2294: ΛΙΔΡΙ for <ἀν>δρί (Α~Λ and reversed Ν); Манов 2008, 108-109, # 114: ΘΥΓΑΓΡΙ for θυγα<τ>ρί (Γ~Τ); Манов 2008, 127, # 169: ΜΗΝΙΠΠΣ for μν<ή>μης and ΚΑΤΟΙΧΟΑΛΕΝΘ for κατοιχο<μ>ένῳ; Манов 2008, 112-113, # 125: ΕΛΔΦΗΒΟΛΙ for ἐλ<α>φηβόλ<ω>ι (Δ~Α and omitted Ω); and the entirely illiterate although well-engraved inscription Манов 2008, 135-136, # 202: ΠΡΟΥΑΠΠΟΥΒΥΤΙΟΙ | ΠΑΤΡΙΚΕΠΙΠΗΡΙΟ | ΤΕ[- - ]ΥΚΑΜ, possibly for Π<υ>ροιβυτίοι (for a similar phenomenon, cf. IGBulg V 5883 where Latin S is used throughout instead of Greek sigma).

7 Mistake not mentioned by the editor.
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9 For this name, cf. Πητουβειθυς in an unpublished inscription of AD 165/166: Σειτας καὶ Πυρουλας Πητουβειθυ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ Πυρουσαλᾳ τῇ μητρί, (ἔτους) ζqρ′.

10 The only other verse inscription from Heraclea, IGBulg IV 2326, is also not clear as regards the metrical scheme.
ποτε μοῦνος ὁδεύων (end of hexameter), τὸν ἐμὸν βίον ἐξετέλεσα (σ) (end of hexameter), προδοκείτων με φίλος (beginning of hexameter), εἰτ' ἐπανέλθων, ὁμοσπάτριος ὁμός ἀδελφός (end of hexameter), εὔρέν μ(ε) ἐν κονίῃ δέδ<μ>ημένον (beginning of hexameter). Other parts, however, lack clear metrical pattern. It is possible that the author used fragments from other poetical texts and intermingled them with words and phrases concerning Kasandros’ fate. The actual division of the verses also remains uncertain, since the metric is inconsistent and there are no separation marks between the single verses. One could tentatively propose verse ends at: μοῦνος ὁδεύων; βίον ἐξετέλεσα; οἵμος ἀδελφός.

The most obvious poetical characteristics of the text are the Ionic (epic) forms, the poetical lexical elements, as well as the somewhat excessive use of the conjunction τε throughout the text. There are three Ionic forms of first declension feminine nouns – the genitives Παυταλίης and φιλοστοργίης and the dative κονίῃ instead of Παυταλίας, φιλοστοργίας, κονίᾳ (cf. Mihailov 1943, 24-25); however, the personal names Πυρρίας (masculine, in the nominative) and Βενερίᾳ (feminine, of Latin origin, in the dative) as well as the toponym Σαρμέαν (in the accusative) have normal koine forms with -α-. Another typical Ionic/epic feature is shown by the two forms with OY for O: μοῦνος instead of μόνος, and οὔνομα instead of ὄνομα (cf. Mihailov 1943, 16-17). ἴνεκον = εἵνεκον is a peculiar combination of Ionic/epic εἵνεκα/εἵνεκεν with the rare late form ἕνεκον (attested in several inscriptions from Macedonia, as well as in Asia Minor; cf. Mihailov 1943, 5-6; Slavova 2004, 125). There are four more examples for εἵνεκον, one from the Balkans, IGBulg IV 1954, from Serdica in Thrace (not in verse: Γαί(ου) Πεσ(κεννίου?) <Ἑ>ρμαδίων οἱππικοῦ εἵνεκον); and three from Phrygia: MAMA IV 134, (not in verse: εἵνεκον μνήμης); MAMA X 218 (εἵνεκον εὔσεβίης, apparently a poetical element added at the end of an otherwise prosaic text); and CIG 3857m (verse inscription: εἵνεκον ιστοργῆς (!) as first part of a pentameter)11.

In Macedonia, a verse inscription ends with τούτου μνήμη[ν] ἐποίησεν εὔσεβίης καὶ στοργῆς ἕνεκον (IG X.2.2 234; note the Ionic ending of εὔσεβίης). For φιλοστοργία, one could compare the use of the adjective φιλόστοργος in another inscription from Heraclea Sintica (fig. 7; Манов 2008, 113, # 126, partial text = Mitrpnev 2011, 40-41, # 17, 54, fig. 15): Αρτέμιδωρα Ἅπτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν | τῷ φιλόστοργῳ καὶ φιλοτέκνῳ. It is used in other inscriptions from Macedonia as well, e.g. IG X.2.1 194; ... τὴν σεμνοτάτην καὶ φιλόστοργον Ποντίαν Κασσιανὸς Πρόκλος ὁ ἀνήρ; IG X.2.1 608: Τι. Κλαύδιος Λύκος ἑαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ Μεινουκίᾳ Θεοπρεπίδι τῇ φιλοστόργῳ γυναικί...

Among the poetical lexical elements, we should note in the first place the verb ἐκτελέω, which is frequent in Homer and is therefore typical – in its various meanings (e.g., ‘accomplish’, ‘bring to an end’) – in verse inscriptions, as is the phrase βίον ἐκτελέσων ‘to complete one’s life’: cf. θεά, ... αὐτῷ καὶ γενεᾶς δὸ συν ἐκτέλεσα (SEG 30, 161; Athens, 4th c. BC); εἰκοσιεπταετῶν μερῶν βίον ἐκτέλεσαν (IG IX.2.655; Larissa); ἐστα ἐκτέλεσα (IG XIV 1866; Rome); καλῶς βίον ἐκτέλεσαν (MAMA I 228; Laodicea Combusta, of late antique date); etc. ἐν κονίῃ is another phrase common in epic poetry; Homer uses mostly ἐν κονίῃ with the plural, e.g. ἐν κονίῃ πεσὼν ‘fallen in the dust’ in descriptions of battles, and only once ἐν κονίῃ...
with the singular (Il. 5.75; there is also ἐν κόνι with the singular of κόνις in Il. 24.18 and Od. 11.191). Cf. also θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ᾽ ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίῃ ‘breathing out his brave soul in the dust’ in Theognis (2.1268); an inscriptive example containing the same phrase is the verse epitaph ἘΚ 33, 61 (Northern Mysia, 2nd c. AD): ὀθνείῃ κείμενον ἐν κονίῃ ‘lying in the dust’ (i.e. buried in foreign land; the inscription was placed above a cenotaph: κενός εἰμι τάφος).

The author of the text, as noted above, seemingly considered the particle τε an important marker of poetical language and therefore used it four times, not always justified, as clearly seen in the sequence εὗρέν με ἐν κονίῃ δεδημένον δινῶν τε οἱπ’ ἀνθρώπων σώσας τ’ ἐμοῦ λίψανα (l. 10-13) which should lack the first τε.

The word λείψανον (usually in the plural, λείψανα), unknown to Homer, appears as a designation for the remains of the dead in Attic tragedy (Sophocles, Euripides). It is used in verse epitaphs as well (in Macedonia, cf. EAM I 193: τέκνων λείψανα πολλὰ λιπε[ιν | δέ]μασιν)12. Λαέρτου γόνος for Odysseus also points to Attic tragedy (Soph. Phil. 366 and Eur. Iph. T. 533: ὁ Λαέρτου γόνος; cf., in Homer, υἱός Λαέρτου, Od. 4.555; υἱὸν Λαέρτου, Od. 8.18; Ὀδυσσῆα ... υἱὸν Λαέρτου, Od. 9 505; etc.). The rare adjective βιοθανής ‘dead by violence’ could also have been used by the author to add poetical flavour to the text, cf., in tragedy, θανεῖν βιαίως (Aesch. Choeph. 549), or βιαίως θανοῦσ’ ἀνοσίῳ τε συμφορᾷ (Eurip. Hippol. 814). The only other verse inscription from Heraclea Sintica, IGBulg IV 2326 also seems to have been influenced by tragic poetry. Another reflection of the Herleans’ taste for drama can be seen in the numerous decorative terracottas – theatrical masks produced in the city (Cholakov 2008, 56, 60-62, fig. 3-5)13.

An interesting feature in our inscription – which could also have its roots in Attic tragedy – is the comparison of the false friend who betrayed Kasandros to Odysseus. In Homer’s poems, Odysseus is always praised for his guile and trickery, cf., for example, Athena’s words to the hero that even a god would find difficulty in trying to outdo him in cunning; Odysseus is insatiate in tricks and never stops his deceit and thievish tales (Od. 13.291-295)14. However, negative depictions of the hero are to be found in several tragedies, especially in the words of persons who had been tricked or betrayed by Odysseus, like Ajax or Philoctetes in Sophocles’ tragedies: “(Ajax:) Ah, thou who watchest all things, thou ready tool of every crime, ah, son of Lartius, thou foulest knave in all the host”, “that deep dissembler, that hateful knave”15 (Soph. Aj. 379-381, 389; transl. R. C. Jebb: Sophocles 1904, 188); “(Philoctetes:) ... the work of the Atreidae and of Odysseus. For well I know that he would lend his tongue to any base pretext, to any villainy, if thereby he could hope to compass some dishonest end”16 (Soph. Phil. 406-409; transl. R. C. Jebb: Sophocles 1904, 339-340). Another example of Odysseus’ perfidy is seen in the story about the fake letter which led to Palamedes’ death (Apollod. Epit. 3.8; Hygin. Fab. 105). In our epitaph, however, the negative characteristic of Odysseus could also represent the Roman attitude towards the hero, whose image as villain and knave is frequent in Latin literature. It is markedly manifest in Virgil’s Aeneid, where Ulixes is described as ‘dreadful’ (dirus: 3.261, 3.272), ‘cruel’ (saevus: 3.273), ‘inventor of crimes’ (scelerum inventor: 12 Cf. also the compound λειψανοθήκη in the epitaph of the physician Aptos of Heraclea Strymonis (= H. Sintica) in Dion (SEG 31, 630).
13 On one terracotta fragment, there is a stamp with the letters ΠΡΟΤΑ | ΜΕΝ in tabula ansata (Vagalinski 2015, 116-117). It has been interpreted as name and patronymic of the producer (abbreviated), but it could well be a quotation from a literary/poetical text: πρῶτα μέν is not rare beginning for verses/hexameters.
14 Κερδαλέος κ᾽ εἴη καὶ ἐπίκλοπος ὅς σε παρέλθοι | ἐν πάντεσσι δόλοισι, καὶ εἰ θεοὶ αντιάσειε. | σχέτλιε, ποικιλομῆτα, δόλων ἄτ᾽, οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλες, | οὐδ᾽ ἐν σῇ περ ἐὼν γαίῃ, λήξειν ἀπατάων | μύθων τε κλοπίων, οἵ τοι πεδόθεν φίλοι εἰσίν. | Ἰω πάνθ᾽ ὁρῶν ἁπάντων τ᾽ ἀεὶ | κακῶν ὄργαν, τέκνον Λαρτίου, | κακοπινέστατόν τ᾽ ἄλημα στρατοῦ; τὸν αἱμυλώτατον, ἐχθρὸν ἄλημα. | Ταῦτ᾽ ἐξ Ἀτρειδῶν ἔργα κἀξ Ὀδυσσέως. | ἔξοιδα γάρ νιν παντὸς ἄν λόγου κακοῦ | γλώσσῃ θιγόντα καὶ πανουργίας, ἀφ᾽ ἧς | μηδὲν δίκαιον ἐς τέλος μέλλοι ποεῖν.
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The deceased Kasandros was murdered on the road between Pautalia (modern-day Kyustendil) and Sarmea (unattested elsewhere). It is unknown whether Sarmea was in the region of Pautalia and in the province of Thrace, or closer to Heraclea Sintica and in the province of Macedonia. The latter possibility looks more probable, since the logic of the text rather implies that Kasandros was returning home, and it is said that his brother Pyrrhias found Kasandros’ dead body after having come back (ἐπανελθών)17. The road meant in the text could have been the one along the river Strymon (Struma) coming from Thrace, entering Macedonia through the Kresna Gorge and then continuing to the south through the Rupel Gorge.

The name Σαρμέα (or *Σαρμαία) may be of Greek origin, possibly connected with the relief of the place18, cf. σάρμα ‘chasm, cleft’ (i.e. a mountain pass, e.g. the Kresna or the Rupel Gorge?), or σαρμύς ‘mound’. One could compare the present names of the locality of Rupite (next to Heraclea Sintica; the name Rupite was transferred to the modern village, formerly called Shirbanovo and Muletarovo), or of the village of Rupel and the Rupel Gorge on the river Struma (ca. 15 km to the southeast of Heraclea); both names are derived from the Bulgarian noun ‘рупа’ (‘pit, chasm, cleft’)19 which has roughly the same meaning as the Greek σάρμα. It is also possible to think of Σαρμέα as a ‘poetical’ name for Heraclea Sintica20, according to a practice common in verse inscriptions, especially when a toponym could not fit the metrical pattern, cf. IGBulg I, p. 50: πάτρης Κρουνών (= Dionysopolis); IGBulg III.1 1021: Αστακίδου ... Χρήστου (Chrestus from Astacus = Nicomedia); IGBulg IV 1965: πατρίδος Ἀσκανίης (= Nicaea)21; the name Μακεδονία, which was unsuitable for dactylic metres with its sequence of four short syllables, was either transformed to Μαχαιρόνα or substituted with Ἡμάθια (cf. Papazoglou 1988, 126, note 3). If we suppose a change E–A in Σαρμέα, we should note two similar toponyms – presumably of Thracian origin – which are attested in the Chalcidice: Σέρμη (ethnic Σερμεύς and Σερμαῖος; exact location unknown) and Σερμύλη/Σερμυλία (Detschew 1957, 432-433; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840-841, # 603-604).

The ‘terrible people’ who killed Kasandros after his false friend had betrayed him, must have been robbers on the road leading from Pautalia to Sarmea22. If we accept that Kasandros was making his way home, the murder could have happened in the mountain part of the road, possibly somewhere in the Kresna Gorge. We should note the presence of two cavalrymen in a late-1st – early-2nd c. AD inscription from Neine south of the Kresna Gorge (Sharankov 2004, 198-199, # II = Μανούς 2008, 128-129, # 172); they belonged to a cohort (σπεῖρα Μακεδονί(κ)ι)23 which could have been stationed there for guarding the road and the border between the two provinces; cf. also an evocatus Augusti and his brother and colleague (IGBulg IV 2250; 2nd c. AD), as well as the other inscriptions of active soldiers from the area24.

In fact, we have an explicit piece of evidence about the grave dangers caused by bandits on the borders between Macedonia and Thrace in the second half of the second century: the honorary inscription for 2.164, cf. also 2.97-98: hinc semper Ulixes criminibus terrere novis), etc. (cf. Schmitzer 2005, 35-37).

**Sarmea and Kasandros’ Fatal Journey**

17 Cf., however, the inscription AE 1934, 209 (quoted below) and note 26.
18 A parallel from the same area would be the ethnic Κοιληνός (Манов 2008, 136, # 203) derived from a toponym ‘Κοίλη (‘hollow, vale’).
19 Rupite is the plural of the noun with an article, and Rupel is formed with a suffix.
20 Note that the other toponym – Παυτάλης – has an Ionic/poetical genitive ending, so one could expect some poetical features for the second toponym as well.
21 Cf. Sharankov 2016a, 316-317. These poetical names could be previous names of the settlements (Κρουνους was renamed Διονυσόπολις, and Νικομήδεα was founded near the place of the destroyed city of Λευκάριος), or names of nearby geographical objects (Ἀσκανία, locality of Ἀστακός), or names of nearby poetical names could be previous names (Κρουνοί was renamed Διονυσόπολις; another soldier is possibly for a soldier of the Ninth Legion: [– - -]ρίου; another soldier is possibly [– - -]λεγι(ῶνος) θ′). It is unknown whether the other toponym – Παυτάλης – has an Ionic/poetical genitive ending, so one could expect some poetical features for the second toponym as well.
22 Cf. the similar use of homines mali (‘bad people’) in a Latin inscription from Lugdunum, CIL XIII 1862: interemptus ab hominibus mali(is).
23 Possibly identical with the cohors equitata Macedonum in a first-century funerary relief of unknown provenance in the Middle Strymon valley (Μανούς 2008, 135, # 200, who gives only a transcription with majuscules) for a soldier of the Ninth Legion: [- - -] λεγ(ἰν)ος θ′, κεν(τουρίας) Μουν(ατιου) | [- - -]ριου; another soldier is possibly mentioned in Μανούς 2008, 125-126, # 164 [κ]αι Πο(νίαω) [e.g. Αλλωίς Ε]σπέρω [υιω] στρατευ[τή] (S. T.). It is unknown if the soldier P. Aelius Pudens, son and grandson of veterans, mentioned in an inscription from Neine (Μανούς 2008, 98-99, # 82), was doing his service in the region or elsewhere.
M. Valerius Maximianus who, during his procuratorship in Lower Moesia in the mid-170s AD, was sent by Emperor Marcus Aurelius as commander of vexillations ‘to get rid of the band of Brisean bandits in the border area between Macedonia and Thrace’: aucto salario adeptus procurationem Moesiae inferioris eodem in tempore praeposito vexillationibus et at (!) detrahendam Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedoniae et Thraciae ab Imperatore misso (AE 1956, 124; cf. Георг 1960, 549-552, # 2). Again, in the first half of the third century, an ordinatus made a dedication in the great sanctuary of Asclepius at Batkun in the Rhodope mountains after successfully accomplishing his mission of ‘seizing bandits’: Αὐρ. Διονυσόδωρος ὠρδ(ινᾶτος) λῃστολογήσας (IGBulg III.1 1126 = V 5486, cf. Г. Михайлов’s comments).

The literary and epigraphic evidence of people abducted or killed by bandits throughout the Roman Empire is abundant\(^{25}\). A few accounts of such events come from Latin and Greek verse inscriptions, e.g., MacLaren 1938, 470-473, # 29 = IG II 13132a = Bradeen 1974, 182, # 1037 (Athens, first or second century AD): ἐξοροσον ἐν λῃστῶ[ν] χερὶ θανόν[των] τε [βία (?)] (‘traveller/merchant who died a violent death in the hands of bandits’); IG XII.7 *3 (Amorgos; considered spurious by the editor of IG XII.7 J. Delamarre): ἐν πεδ[ίῳ] λῃστῶν υπὸ [χερὶ] τε τετραμαι (‘walking in the plain, I was slain by the hands of bandits’); CIL XIII 3689 = CLE 618 (Belgica): [mul]ta viae dum volt millia confiscere [caditu]r infesto concur[ss]u forte latronum (‘when he wishes to travel for many miles, he is unexpectedly killed in a hostile attack of bandits’); or CIL II 3479 = 5928 = CLE 979 (Hispania citerior): damnatus periit deceptus fraude latronum (‘doomed, he was deceived by the perfidious act of bandits’). The non-verse inscriptions about persons killed by bandits are numerous. In epitaphs from Upper Moesia, for example, we see several victims of latrones. In CIL III 8242 = ILJug III 1434 (photo in Shaw 1984, 11), a father erects a tombstone for his son killed by bandits at the age of 30 years: D(is) M(anibus). Scerviaedus (or Scuriaedus, cf. AE 2010, 1400) Sitaes, vix(it) an(nos) XXX, interfectus a latronibus. Sita Dasi p(ater) f(ilio) p(ientissimo) et sibi et Caiae Dasi coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) vius (!) f(acientium) c(uravit). CIL III 14587 uses the same formula: a latronibus interfectus. Another inscription (AE 1934, 209) is for a freedman who ‘suffered a most cruel death by bandits’ on the road from Dasminium to Viminacium\(^{26}\); the tombstone was erected by his mother: D(is) M(anibus). Fl(avio) Kapitoni liberto qui casu Viminacium Dasmini a latronibus atrocissima(m) mortal[em] [per]pessus est. In a few cases, inscriptions record persons who had been saved from bandits’ attacks: e.g., IGBulg II 686 = Sharankov 2016a, 310, a man saved unharmed (ἀ[λύπως ἐκ λῃστηρίου ἀθ[ίου]-[λίου σωτηρί]ας νε[σθείς]); or CIL VIII 2728 = 18122, a surveyor who was attacked bybrigands on the road and managed to escape, but was wounded and robbed of his clothes (profectus sum et inter vias latinae sum passus; nudus, saucius evasi cum meis).

The betrayal of Kasandros’ friend mentioned in our text shows that he was not an accidental victim of the ‘terrible people’, but the attack on him had been planned in advance. Most probably, this could mean that he was expected to carry money, trade goods or other valuable belongings which were the target of the crime. His activities in another province (Thrace) further imply that he could have been a trader. I

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\(^{25}\) On bandits in the Roman Empire, see Shaw 1984; Grünewald 2004, 14-32.

\(^{26}\) Note that the inscription was found at Drsnik near Kлина (district of Peć), i.e. not on or near the road mentioned in the text.
will add that we know about a 'famous market' (πανήγυρις διαβόητος) near the village of Scaptopara (part of Pautalia's territory) located at the north entrance of the Kresna Gorge, i.e. near the border between the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia; in the month of October, it had tax immunity for fifteen days (IGBulg IV 2236, l. 33-39 and 134-138; cf. Hauken 1998, 115-117).

**The Names**

The names in the family of Kasandros are usual for the region.

Κά(σ)σανδρος is a rather frequent name in Macedonia (LGPN IV, 187-188, Κάσανδρος # 1-56; cf. also Κασσάνδρα # 1-10); its popularity was probably due to the famous Macedonian king of that name. So far, there are no other examples for this name in Sintica, but its use is by no means unexpected in an old Macedonian city like Heraclea (cf. the use of other 'historical' names like Φίλιππος or Αλέξανδρος in the region).

Πυρρίας, although not so frequent, belongs to the large group of names in Πυρ(ρ)- – both Greek and Thracian – which were extremely popular in the region (LGPN IV, 296-297; Dana 2014, CIV, 281-286; Mihailov 1977, 346; cf. G. Mihailov's comments in IGBulg IV, p. 234; and Slavova 2010, 40-41). In our inscription, the name of Πυρρίας – a person who sets up an epitaph in verse and whose brother and nephew have the Greek names Κάσανδρος and Ἀρτεμίδωρος27 – could be considered a Greek one.

Concerning Πυρρίας, Πύρρος and the names of this group, it appears useful to comment on the ghost-name *Πυριος, read in an inscription from Parthicopolis (fig. 8) and explained by the editor as a diminutive of Πύρρος (Mamov 2008, 123, # 155)28; another oddity in this inscription is the presumed pleonasm παίδα... υἱόν29. Both these apparent problems are in fact caused by the incorrect interpretation of the beginning of the text. Lines 1-2 actually read ΚΡΙΣΠΟΣΠΑΙΛΑΠΥΡΡΟΝ and the text is to be understood as follows:

Κρίσπος Παί- 
λα Πύρρον 
τὸν υἱόν κα- 
τὰ {τα} τὸ δό- 
ξαν τῇ συνέ- 
δρωι.

'Crispus, son of Pailas, (erected a statue of) Pyrrhos, his son, according to the decision of the council30.'

Παιλα (the reading is certain) is the patronymic of Crispus (in the genitive; the nominative should be Παιλας). The name is attested in one more inscription, but remained unrecognised there as well (Mamov 2008, 115, # 132)31: [Ἀρτέμιδι | Τραλεισκαειλα | Παιλα ευχήν ("To Artemis – Traliskaila, daughter of Pailas").

Similarly, the patronymic of Πυρρίας Πυρρείου in an inscription from Kočani is rather not from an unattested name *Πυρρειος, as proposed in LGPN IV (s.v.), but the genitive of Πυρρίας = Πυρρίας (cf. Dana 2014, 280-281), i.e. the father and the son had the same name, although written differently through I and EI.
Speaking of incorrectly read names of this group, I should point that both examples of the supposedly Thracian name Πυρετης are in fact non-existent (Sharankov 2016a, 343). The name Πυρουσαλις in an epitaph of unknown provenance in the Middle Strymon valley (Karadimitrova 2015) is actually Πυρουζαις (already known from IGBulg IV 2270, cf. Dana 2014, 286), as clearly seen on the stone (fig. 9): Πυρουζαις Ποσιδωνίῳ | τῷ ἁνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος is one of the most frequent names in Macedonia (LGPN IV, 49, Αρτεμίδωρος # 8-61, cf. also Αρτεμίδωρα # 1-26), which is certainly to be expected in a region where the most important cult was that of Artemis. To the examples from the region of Sintica listed in LGPN IV, one should add from more recent publications: Αρτεμίδωρος (Manov 2008, 113, #127 = Mitrev 2011, 42, # 21); Αὐρήλιοι Αρδουβαρις, Βασκιλας, Αρτεμίδωρος, sons of Πυρουλας (Manov 2008, 126-127, # 168); Αρτεμιδώρα, wife of Απτος (Manov 2008, 113, # 126 = Mitrev 2011, 40-41, # 17); Ἀρτεμιδώρα Κασίου (Manov 2008, 124, # 157); Οὐαλερία Αρτεμιδώρα (Manov 2008, 127, # 169); Αρτεμιδώρα Δεντουπου (Manov 2008, 136, # 203); as well as several examples from unpublished inscriptions: Αρτεμίδωρος Μουκκωνος (Neine, 2nd c. AD); Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμιδώρος, son of Δυσίμαχος Ασά and Ζαϊκα (Mihnevo, 3rd c. AD); Αρτεμίδωρος, a dedicant together with Ἰσίδωρος and Δίζαλας (Parthicopolis; 2nd c. AD).

Βενερία, i.e. the Latin Veneria, is the only non-Greek name in our inscription. It is attested in other inscriptions from Macedonia (Tataki 2006, 438-439, # 649; LGPN IV, 68: Βενερία # 1-2). A. Tataki includes Venerius/Veneria among the Roman gentilicia, however, eight of the nine instances of the female Veneria in her list show it either as a single name or as a cognomen; there is only one example for a nomen (and possibly also for the male Venerius) in an inscription...
from Thessalonica, mentioning Π. Οὐενερία, and Π. Οὐενερία (Λάδι-Βελένη / Σβέρκος 2001, 24-26, # 5, 33, εἰκ. 5 = AE 2001, 1773). It is therefore probable that Veneria in Kasandros’ epitaph did not come from a family of Roman citizens, but was also of local origin.

### Significance

This is only the third hitherto known verse inscription from the Middle Strymon region 35. It is certainly not a coincidence that the other verse epitaph from Heraclea Sintica, on a funerary altar of the same type (IGBulg IV 2326; fig. 3), is of similar date – the second half of the second century AD. The third inscription – which is the only one not from Heraclea – is a second-century AD dedication to Dionysos from Neine (IGBulg IV 2241). The epitaph of Kasandros is an additional proof of the city flourishing in the second half of the second century (cf. Sharankov 2016, esp. 64-65). It is also an important piece of evidence about the literacy, literary tastes, cultural needs and traditions of the local population. Last, it provides us with a glimpse of the insecure life of travellers and traders on the roads of Thracia and Macedonia in that period.

### II. HELLENISTIC FUNERARY STELAE

Several stelae, supports for stelae and different parts of funerary monuments (fig. 10) were found during the levelling of looters’ ditches at the locality of Aydaritsa and entered the collection of the History Museum in Petrich 36. Six of the stelae have Greek inscriptions of Hellenistic date.

1. **Stele of Alkmea**

   Limestone stele with pediment and acroteria; broken below (fig. 11-12). Height: 56 cm; width: 35 (at the pediment) to 33 cm (at the bottom); thickness: 8 cm. Letter height: 2.2-3 cm. The lettering points to a date in the third century BC.

   Ἀλκμέα
   Σατύρου
   ‘Alkmea, (daughter) of Satyros.’

2. **Stele of Bades**

   Limestone stele, slightly trapezoidal, moulded above; broken below (fig. 13-14). Height: 55 cm; width: 26 (at the top) to 30 cm (at the bottom); width of the moulding: 28 cm; thickness: 8 to 9 cm. Letter height: 2.3 cm; smaller omicron: 1.5 cm; omega: 1 cm. The lettering points to a date in the third or early second century BC.

   Βάδης
   Ζωίλου
   ‘Bades, son of Zoilos.’

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34 Note the uncommon use of a praenomen in the female name as well as the unusual lack of a cognomen. One should not exclude the possibility that the abbreviation Π. stays not for a praenomen Π(όπλιος)/Π(οπλία), but for a nomen, e.g., Ποπίλιος/Ποπιλία, which was popular in Macedonia (especially in Beroea) and was sometimes abbreviated, similarly to Πόπλιος, as Πο. (cf. EKM Béron 20, 143, 144, 301, 304, etc.), and Οὐενερία is a cognomen.

35 I omit the two late antique verse inscriptions from Parthicopolis (SIBulg 239, 240).

36 I thank the director of the museum Sotir Ivanov for inviting me to examine and publish the stelae.

37 The appearance of Alkmea in a city bearing the name of Heracles could have been connected with the name of Heracles’ mother Αλκμή. For names from the root ἀλκ- in Macedonia, see LGPNIV, 17-19.

38 The moulding resembles that of an early (second half of the fourth century BC) Heraclean stele (Митрев 2011, 19, 50, обр. 2). This stele was not “set up for Nikos, son of Asklepiodoros, by his wife”, as suggested by G. Mitrev, but is for a woman, ‘Νικὼ | Ἀσκληπι|οδώρου | γυνή’.

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Fig. 10. Funerary monuments from Aydaritsa, Late Hellenistic/Early Roman period: 1 limestone pediment; 2 uninscribed limestone stele. History Museum in Petrich
The origin of the name Βάδης is unclear. It could be Greek, cf. Βάδας in Crete (IC I 115: [.K]λαύδιος Βάδας, Ἀκεσὼ Βάδαο; Roman imperial period); Βάδιμος in Arcadia (Te Riele 1966, 253-256, # 3-4: three bearers of the name; Hellenistic); and especially the feminine Βαδήα in a first-century AD inscription from Beroea (EKM Βέροια 188; LGPN IV, 63). In these names, the initial letter B is supposed to represent [w], i.e. the root should be *ϝαδ-: the Cretan example is discussed in Maiuri 1911, 641-642; for the Arcadian, see Te Riele 1966, 255-256; and the Macedonian Βαδήα is explained as a variant spelling of the name written usually as Οὐαδέα, Οὐαδήα or Ὀαδεία (LGPN IV, 265; EKM II 516), to which is compared also Ὀαδίστη (LGPN IV, 261), cf. the comments to EKM Βέροια 184, 188; and Brixhe / Panayotou 1992

39 The same explanation is proposed for the name Βαδύλα in an inscription from Dyrrhachium (IÉpidamnos 136, Roman period: Βαδύλα Γοργῆνος χαίρε; the commentary equals Βαδύλα to ϝαδύλα); cf. also Βαδήσιας (= *Ϝαδήσιας) in a Laconian inscription of Hellenistic date (IG V.1 1295).
similar to Βαδής which does not seem to be Greek is *Βαδους, attested in the genitive as the patronymic of a person with a non-Greek name in a second-century BC inscription from Debrește (IG X.2.2 158): Ζώπυρος Ζωΐλου, λολα Βαδουνος; cf. the comments in IG X.2.2 and Papazoglou 1988, 305, note 70 (“nom indigène”; “s’agirait-il d’un nom brygien?”). However, considering the Greek patronymic Ζωΐλου, Βάδης in our inscription is probably a Greek name (although possibly not from the root *ϝαδ-); if not Greek, it could be e.g. Illyrian (it is apparently not Thracian).

The patronymic Ζωΐλος is widespread, with more than one hundred attestations in Macedonia (LGPNI V, 145-146, Ζωΐλος #2-121), including six more in Heraclea, four of them of Hellenistic/Early Roman date: Ζωΐλος Εὐκτήμονος (see # 4 and fig. 19-20 below; third or early second century BC); Σωσίπατρος Ζωΐλου (fig. 15/1; Манов 2008, 112, # 123 = Митрев 2011, 35-36, # 7; late third or second century BC); Κλευπάτρα (!) Ζωΐλου (fig. 15/2; first century BC); C. Iul. Zoili filius Fabia Montanus domo Heraclea Sentica (CIL VI 2767; first cen-

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40 Note that the spelling Βαδης with B for presumed [w] is in an inscription of the Roman period, while the earlier attestations are with initial O or OY; the stele of Βαδης is of Hellenistic date, not later than the second century BC, so one would rather expect *Ουαδ- or *Ουαδ-. 

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Fig. 15. Stelae with the name Zoilos as a patronymic: 1 of Sosipatros; 2 of Kleopatra. History Museum in Petrich

Fig. 16. Stele of Dionysios. History Museum in Petrich

Fig. 17. Stele of Dionysios: inscription
3. **Stele of Dionysios**

Sandstone trapezoidal stele, no moulding; broken below (fig. 16-17). A band with different (rougner) surface in the upper part of the stele is possibly indicative of some ornament which was once painted there instead of a moulding. Height: 48 cm; width: 26.5 (at the top) to 31 cm (at the bottom); thickness: 7 cm. Letter height: 2.7-3.5 cm; smaller delta: 2 cm; omicron: 2-2.5 cm; rho: 4 cm. The lettering points to a date in the third or second century BC.

Διονύσιος
Μέρωνος

‘Dionysios, son of Meron.’

The name Διονύσιος has numerous attestations throughout Macedonia, including the Middle Strymon region (LGPN IV, 102-103, Διονύσιος # 56-288). In **Heraclea**, we see it as: a patronymic in a funerary inscription (Митрев 2011, 34, # 4: [Ἀπο]λλονία (!) Διονυσίου)#41; Διονύσιος Ασκληπίδη in a list of names (fig. 25; IGBulg V 5922, second century AD; cf. the revised text below); producer’s stamp on a *pithos*, Διονυσίου ποίημα (fig. 18; Vagalinski 2015, 115; third century AD)#42; and, in the form Διονύς, a person who made a funerary inscription for his nurslings (IGBulg IV 2325; revised reading in Sharankov 2016a, 343-344; second century AD)#43. The patronymic Μέρων, however, is rare and has not been attested in Macedonia before. It is most probably a Greek name (from μέρος?), but since the sequence/root *mer-* is common and could be found in many languages, it could also be of another origin (e.g. Celtic, or ‘Illyrian’?); cf. also the name Μάρων, with a few examples for Macedonia (LGPN IV, 223, Μάρων # 2-4), e.g. Μάρων Διονυσίου, Μακεδών (‘Maron, son of Dionysios, Macedonian’), attested in Egypt (Tataki 1998, 489-490, # 166; late second century BC).

4. **Stele of Zoilos**

Limestone stele, moulded above; broken below (fig. 19-20). Height: 45 cm; width: 26 (at the top) to 27 cm (at the bottom); height of the moulding: 18.5 cm; thickness: 7.5 to 9 cm (at the moulding). Letter height: 2-2.5 cm. The lettering points to a date in the third or early second century BC.

Ζωΐλος
Εὐκτήμωνος

‘Zoilos, son of Euktemon.’

For Ζωΐλος, a name common in Macedonia and in **Heraclea**, see the references listed above in the comments to the stele of Bades, son of Zoilos (# 2). Εὐκτήμων has only a few attestations in Macedonia (LGPN IV, 132, Εὐκτήμων # 1-5), none of them from **Sintica**.

5. **Stele of Terres**

Limestone trapezoidal stele, moulded above; broken below (fig. 18). Height: 48 cm; width: 30.5 (at the top) to 32.5 cm (at the bottom); width...
of the moulding: 33 cm; thickness: 7.5 cm. Letter height: 3-4 cm. The lettering points to a date in the late fourth of the third century BC.

Τερρης
‘Terres.’

The lack of patronymic could be related to the non-Greek origin of the person. The only other example for the name Τερρης is an owner’s inscription Τερρεω (in the genitive) on a silver vessel of the last third of the fourth century BC found in a tomb at Naip near ancient Bisanthe in Thrace (Delemen 2006, 260-262, 267-268; cf. BEp 2009, 493, # 334; SEG 56, 828). It is believed that Τερρης is a variant of the common Thracian name Τηρης (Delemen 2006, 261; cf. Dana 2014, 357). Τηρης is attested in several inscriptions from the Roman imperial period in the Middle Strymon region (IGBulg IV 2274; 2291 = Sharankov 2016a, 343; Манов 2008, 136, # 205); there was even a village Τηρηπαρα (i.e. ‘village of Teres’) attested in a second-century AD inscription from the vicinity of Heraclea (Sharankov 2016, 65, App. 1/3; 2016a, 344-345). On the other side, both examples of Τερρης are of a similar date and connected with Macedonia (the finds from Naip show more affinities with Macedonia and are supposed to have belonged to “a high officer in the Macedonian army”, see Delemen 2006, 251, 267-268), therefore, the possibility that Τερρης is a name different from Τηρης should not be excluded.

6. STELE WITH UNCLEAR NAMES

Limestone stele, moulded above; broken below (fig. 23-24). Height: 45 cm; width: 32 cm; thickness: 9 cm. Letter height: 2.2-2.7 cm. The inscription is heavily eroded; the date appears to be Hellenistic.
The surface of the stele is severely damaged and the only certain letters are Δ and the final Σ in l. 1. There could have been a name with second element from δρόσος: [---]δρόσ[ης][-]δρόσ[ος], cf. Δρόσος and the mythological Πάνδροσος (feminine); or a name like [Θεο]-δός[ης]? The rather unclear traces of letters in l. 2 possibly conceal a name starting with Νε-, e.g. Νεο[κλέους] or Νερ[άχου].

A Note on IGBulg V 5922

A list of names found in re-use in the locality of Aydaritsa (fig. 25; IGBulg V 5922; Зарева 1983, 29-31, # 1; Домарадски et al. 2001, 40-41, # 3; Манов 2008, 117, # 141) has been published with the following reading:

αξσʹ.
[Παραμόνος]
Μάρκου
Διονύσιος
Ασκληπηή 5
Αλέξανδρος
[Φίλ]ίππου
Ασκληπιδη[ης]
Διοδόρου (vel Διοδότου).

The re-examination of the stone (Regional History Museum in Blagoevgrad) showed that the actual reading is different:

[- - - - - - ?]ΔΛΞΟ+++ Παράμονος
Μάρκου
Διονύσιος
Ασκληπιδή 5
Αλέξανδρος Φίλπου
'Ηρακλέων Πήρ[ου?]
Διόδωρος Κρί[που?].

In the present l. 1, there is certainly no year ΑΞC = 261 (= AD 229/230); the lettering points to an earlier date, late first or second century AD. The first preserved letter is rather unclear, each of the two following letters could be A, Δ or Λ; then Z or Ξ; then part of an oval letter, i.e. O, Ω, Ε or C; and the remaining letters are unclear (the last one could have been C); the line possibly contained a patronymic. In l. 5, the patronymic is Ασκληπιδή, genitive of Ασκληπιδής, and not *Ασκληπή of an unattested *Ασκληπής. In l. 8 and 9, the names are followed by patronymics on the same line.

III. POSTHUMOUS HONORARY INSCRIPTION FOR M. ULPIUS AESCHINIANUS LYSANDROS

The Inscription

The statue-base was found at the entrance of one of the shops on the north side of the Late Roman agora. Apparently, it has been re-used as part of the left post of the entrance.

44 Excavations of Lyudmil Vagalinski, whom I thank for giving me the opportunity to publish the inscription.
Block of coarse-grained white marble, broken in three joining parts (fig. 26). The upper left front corner is damaged. Dimensions: 88 cm high, 57.5 cm wide, 41 cm thick. The upper surface (fig. 27), smoothed only along the edges and otherwise left rough, shows that the block had supported a marble statue with its own base. The lower surface (fig. 28) is similarly wrought, with smoothed borders of different widths (7 to 10.5 cm) and a rough rectangular central part (22 x 41 cm). The inscription (fig. 29) is carefully arranged: the lines are ruled, and the words are divided syllabically; cf. also the use of a ligature in l. 3 and the smaller omicron in l. 5, as well as the vacat in l. 7. The letters are 5 cm high; the smaller omicron in ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡον (l. 5) is 1.5 cm. A separation mark is used after the abbreviated praenomen in l. 2. The lettering points to a date in the mid-second century AD.

[Ἡ] πατρίς
Μ(άρκον) • Ούλπιον Αἰ-
χινιανόν Πόρ-
ρου καὶ Ἰουλίας
υἱόν Δύσανδρον
καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν vac ἥρωα.

Ligature: ΝΠ in l. 3.

‘The fatherland (honours) Marcus Ulpius Aeschinianus Lysandros, son of Pyrrhos and Iulia, beautiful and virtuous heros.’

THE NAME

The name of the honoured citizen presents a peculiar combination of the local and Roman onomastic patterns. The imperial praenomen and nomen Marcus Ulpius must have been adopted during the reign of Emperor Trajan (AD 98-117). The nomen Ulpius, although not rare in Macedonia (more than 50 examples, see Tataki 2006, 418-422, # 625), has only one more attestation in the Middle Strymon region, again in Heraclea: Οὐλπεία Παραμόνα, whose husband Gaius son of Lucius (migrant from Scotussa to Heraclea) was, unlike her, not a Roman citizen (Manon 2008, 113-114, # 129 = Mitrev 2008, 47-49; first half of the second century AD). I should note the existence of an honorary inscription for Emperor Trajan in this region (IGBulg IV 2247 = V 5920; found in Melnik, but possibly transferred there for re-use in the medieval period; AD 98-102) which could have been erected by the city of Heraclea: Parthicopolis did not exist until some twenty years later (cf. Sharankov 2016, 60-61), and Neine, although attested as a polis by the 70s AD, is too far away for the inscription to be connected with its territory. The inscription could have been erected on the occasion of Trajan’s accession in AD 98: cf. the mis-

46 There is a very similar Greek inscription for Trajan from Kalokastro (Καφταντζῆς 1967, 307-308, # 509 = Samsaris 1989, 215-216, # 2), and a Latin one from Drama (Pilhofer 569-570, # 497/L147), both dated to AD 98-102.

47 See Sharankov 2016, 60, note 14. I must add that the name of the Roman citizen in IGBulg V 5883 (AD 77/78) is not Numerius (ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙ|ΟΥ , in the genitive), as previously read, but Λ(ουκίου) Βαλερίου Κρίσπου (Λ·ΟΥ ΑΛΕΡΙ|ΟΥΚΡΙΣΠΟΥ). He is obviously identical with the veteran L. (rather than M.) Valerius Crispus who set up an inscription for his fellow citizens: Λ. (?) Βαλέριος Κρίσπος οὐετρανὸς τοῖς (τοὺς) συμπολείτα(ι?)ς (IGBulg IV 2247), and both inscriptions were possibly made soon after the foundation of the city.

48 Certainly, it is not impossible to suggest the existence of another town in the area, e.g. in the locality of Sorakevo to the south of Melnik, where there have been found numerous funerary monuments as well as an inscription mentioning a certain ἀρχοντεύων M. Aurelius Kotys, son of Philippos (cf. Sharankov 2016, 64, note 26).
take in his name (ΤΡΑΙΝΟΝ for Τ ραι<α>νόν), which would be more probable for a new emperor. But it could also be from AD 101, when Trajan carried out an adjustment of the boundaries of various territories in Macedonia.\footnote{Cf. the boundary inscriptions CIL III 591; AE 1913, 2; AE 1968, 469 (all three dated to AD 101); and Samsaris 1989, 269, \# 102 = Pilhofer 681-683, \# 559/ L152 (AD 98-102).}

In the case of Aeschinianus Lysandros, the names Marcus Ulpius were possibly received by himself and not inherited from his ancestors, since the filiation (including the name of the mother as well) is not after the \textit{nomen} Ulpius and is not with the father’s \textit{praenomen}, but is placed between the names Aeschinianus and Lysandros. It appears that, before becoming Marcus Ulpius, he had a name resembling/imitating that of a Roman citizen – Αἰσχινιανὸς Λύσανδρος, with a first name in -\textit{ianus}. It is well known that Roman nomina in -\textit{i}anus were especially popular in Macedonia (Salomies 1984, 97-104, \# 4; Tataki 2006, 52-53). However, the name \textit{Αἰσχινιανὸς/Aeschinianus} – attested here for the first time – is derived not from a Roman \textit{nomen}, but from a Greek name, Αἰσχίνης.\footnote{Although relatively frequent in other regions, it is rarely attested in Macedonia (LGPN IV, 11-12, Αἰοκρίτας \# 1, 3\textsuperscript{rd} c. BC; Αἰοκρίτης \# 4, 4\textsuperscript{th} c. BC; \# 5, AD 74/75).} It was possibly not a real Roman \textit{nomen}, but only an imitation of the \textit{nomina} so typical for Macedonia;\footnote{\textit{Aesc(h)ianus} exists as an adjective in the names of \textit{fundii} in Rome and Veleia (CIL VI 10242; XI 1147). According to O. Salomies, however, the names of the two \textit{fundii} are not derived from a Greek \textit{name/cognomen}, but from an otherwise unattested Roman \textit{nomen} *Αescinius/Aeschnius (Salomies 1998, 219).} there are a few other examples of such \textit{nomina} from Greek names in Macedonia like Κλεονυμιανός (Tataki 2006, 53, 188, \# 158) or Ισιδωριανός (Tataki 2006, 255, \# 278; cf. IGBulg V 5910: Ισιδωριανός Ζωίλος). I presume that, initially, our honouree was named only Αἰσχινιανός Λύσανδρος and, although probably not a Roman citizen, followed the Roman model and placed his filiation (complete with \textit{υἱός}) between his ‘\textit{nomen}'
and cognomen: Αἰσχινιανὸς Πύρρος (καὶ Ἰουλίας) υἱὸς Λύσανδρος, i.e. Aeschinianus Pyrrhi (et Iuliae) filius Lysander. He was then given the imperial names M. Ulpianus and became M. Ulpianus Aeschinianus Lysandros52,53, but kept the original place of the filiation.

Λύσανδρος has only four attestations in Macedonia, all from a much earlier period, fourth to second century BC (LGPN IV, 215, Λύσανδρος # 7-11; and the feminine Λυσάνδρα, LGPN IV, 214, # 1, fourth or third century BC). Throughout the Greek world, most examples of this name are from the Hellenistic period, and only a few are of Roman imperial date. In second-century AD Heraclea, it could have been chosen as a 'historical' name, or inherited from the earlier period.

The name of Aeschinianus Lysandros' father Πύρρος is among the most frequent in the region (LGPN IV, 297, Πύρρος # 3-37; Dana 2014, 281-282; cf. above the comments on the name Πυρρίας in Kasandros' inscription). The name of the mother Ἰουλία/Iulia could have been added because she belonged to a noble family (nobler than that of the father?), possibly of Roman citizens53. There are at least two first-century AD praetorian soldiers from Heraclea bearing the names C. Iulius and inscribed in the tribe of Emperor Augustus Fabia: C. Iulius Dizalae f. Fab(ia) Gemellus domo Heraclea Sentica (CIL VI 2645) and C(aius) Iul(ius) Zoili filius Fabia Montanus domo Heraclea Sentica (CIL VI 2767); it has been suggested that the city might have been given certain privileges by Augustus (Malavolta 2011, 39-40; Sharankov 2016, 57).

Significance

This is the first known inscription from Heraclea which was erected by the city54, here denoted simply as ἡ πατρίς (cf. the same in honorary inscriptions from Thessalonica like IG X.2.1 153-155, 158-159, 168-169). Although the base was found in re-use, one can safely suppose that its original place was again on the agora. The word ἥρως indicates that the honours were set up posthumously; the traces on the upper surface of the base show that the statue was made of marble (and not of bronze), which would have been suitable for a deceased person.

The reasons for the honours have not been explicitly mentioned in the text, either because they were well-known to the citizens, or because the statue was erected posthumously. It sufficed to denote the honouree as καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, i.e. a perfect citizen. Combined with ἥρως, it could imply that he was killed at war, but this would be only a conjecture. He could have been a civil magistrate whose offices it was considered superfluous to list in a posthumous inscription.

It appears far more important that the Heracleans still continued to use the phrase καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός well into the imperial period. In Macedonia, the only examples are in honorary decrees – all for living persons – of late Hellenistic/early Roman date like Syll 700 (Lete 118 BC), honouring the quaestor Marcus Annius for his help against the Galatae (i.e. Scordisci) and Maedi; EKM Béora 2 (Bëorea, late second – early first century BC), for a priest; and SEG 43, 471 (Amphipolis, late second – early first century BC), for a gymnasiarch. Even in Achaia, καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός and καλοκἀγαθία are rarely attested after the first century AD. I am therefore inclined to ascribe its use in Lysandros' inscription to the old traditions of Heraclea55, which the city was eager to demonstrate and boast about, especially after the appearance of the newly founded (and therefore lacking history and traditions) rival city

52 Cf., for a similar combination of praenomen and cognomen, Λ(ουκίος) Κέστιος Οὐλπιανός Δουγένιος (IGBulg IV 2304; AD 162); Τ(ιβέριος) Κλαύδιος Φλαουίανός Δουγένας, son of Τ. Κλαύδιος Διογένης (Bepesbime / Μιχαηλίδης 1942, 323, # 15 = Καβαντάτης 1967, 89-90, # 16 = Samsaris 1989, 235-236, # 38; late 1st or early 2nd C. AD); and especially Μ(ᾶρκος) Λύσσισις Καπιτωνιανός Αλέξανδρος (IGBulg V 5896; first half of the third century AD), who must have been originally Capitonianus Alexander and then given the imperial praenomen and nomen, most probably with the constitutio Antoniniana.

53 The list of Iulii in Macedonia (Tataki 2006, 259-280, # 281) comprises about 300 persons.

54 The inscription with the letter of Galerius and Maximinus (AE 2002, 1293), although apparently erected by the city authorities, was made on behalf of the emperors. The inscription about the donation of Demetrios for the Heraclean gerusia (IGBulg V 5925; revised by Sharankov 2016, 61-64, # 2; 2016a, 353-357) was set up either by the donator himself or by the gerusia; and the dedication of the agonothete Ti. Claudius Bakchios (IGBulg V 5923) is said to have been made ἐκ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ χρημάτων, at the expenses of the goddess (Artemis?), i.e. on behalf of a sanctuary.

55 Cf. the use of traditional and historical names in the Roman imperial period, as well as the preservation of old institutions like that of the city mnemon (Sharankov 2016, 64).
of Parthicopolis ca. AD 117-119 (Sharankov 2016, 61; 2016a, 342).

The inscription – like the epitaph of Kasandros discussed above – also adds to the evidence of Heraclea’s flourishing in the second century AD (cf. Sharankov 2016).

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**CLE = Carmina epigraphica Latina, conlegit Fr. Buecheler (= Anthologia Latina, pars posterior). I-II. Lipsiae, 1895-1897.**


**IC I = Inscriptiones Creticae. I: Tituli Cretae mediae praelter Gortynios, curavit M. Guarducci. Roma 1935.**


**IEpidamnos = Cabanes, P. / Drini, F. Corpus des inscriptions grecques d’Illyre méridionale et d’Épire I. Inscriptions d’Épidamne-Dyrachion et d’Apollonia: 1. Inscriptions d’Épidamne-Dyrachion (= Études épigraphiques, 2). Athènes 1995.**


SEG = Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum. Leiden, 1923–.


Syll3 = Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum a G. Dittenbergero condita et aucta, nunc tertium edita. Lipsiae, 1915-1924.


Епитафия в стихове и други непубликувани надписи от Хераклея Синтика

Николай Шаранков

(резюме)
Статията публикува новооткрити епиграфски паметници от Хераклея Синтика (при с. Рупите, Петричко). От неронопола на града в местността Айдарика произхождат епитетовия в стихове от римския период и шест елинистически надгробни стели; при разкопките на градската агора е открит почетен надпис върху база за статуя.

Епитетата на Касандър (фиг. 1-6), датираща от втората половина на II или началото на III в. сл. Хр., е вторият известен надпис в стихове от града. В превод текстът гласи:

„Аз, умеренят от насилствена смърт Касандър, завърших живота си, когато веднъж пътовах сам от Паутилия и отивах към Сармия: предаде ме приятел, (подобен на) сина на Лаерт. Сетне моят брат от обич баща, като се завърна, ме откри в праха погубен от ужасни хора, и като спусна останките ми, (ти полози) в този гроб в знак на братска любов; името му е Пирий. Освен за мен, (той направи гробницата) и за живите: за чудото ми Артемидор, за себе си и за съпругата (си/ми?) Венерия.“

В текста личат влияния както от епоса, така и от атическата трагедия, което показва популярността на произведенията от тези два жанра в Хераклея. Споменатият топоним Сармия е неизвестен, но според логиката на текста Касандър се е завърнал от Паутилия (в провинция Тракия) към Македония, т.е. може би става дума за място в близост до Хераклея или дори за поетично наименование на града. Сведението, че убиетството е било планирано предварително от разбойниците въз основа на информация, получена от „приятел“ на Касандър, навярно подсказва, че той е пренасял стоки или пари и изглежда е бил търговец. Едва ли е случайно съпадение, че тъкмо от този период има епиграфско свидетелство за изпращане на вексилации от провинция Долна Мизия с цел ликвидиране на разбойници в граничните райони между Македония и Тракия.

Шест надгробни стели от III-II в. пр. Хр. съдържат само имената на покойниците, някои от които обаче са редки (Терръс, Меров) или се срещат за първи път (Алкема, Вадо): Алкмен, дъщеря на Сатир (фиг. 11-12); Бадес, син на Зоил (фиг. 13-14); Дионисий, син на Мерон (фиг. 16-17); Зоил, син на Еуктемон (фиг. 19-20); Терес (фиг. 21-22). Името Терръс, за което има само още един пример, би могло да е вариант на тракийското Τηρης, но е възможно да става дума и за различно име. Имената Алкмен и Мерон са гръцки, а Бадес би могло да е както гръцко, така и с местен произход (илирийско?).
Предложено е и уточнено четене за списък с имена, открит в местността Айдарица (фиг. 25).

Почетният надпис от II в. сл. Хр. (фиг. 26-29), открит преизползван като страница във входа на един от магазините в северния край на градската агора, е върху постамент за статуя: „Родината (почете) Марк Улпий Есчиниан Лизандър, син на Пир и Юлия, отличен и добродетелен мъж (калоу кай ăγαθόν), херос“. Името на почетения е много специфично, доколкото съчетава римския тип именуване (с преномен и номен, получени при император Траян) с характерния за Македония модел с две имена, първото от които е латински суфикс -ianus, като между двете имена са вмъкнати и имената на бащата и майката, изглежда под влияние на стоящата между номена и когномена филиация при имената на римските граждани. Впечатляващо е и появлата на характерния за класическата и елинистическата епоха епитет кałός καὶ ἀγαθός в надпис от II в. сл. Хр. – явно с цел да се напомни за вековната история и старите традиции, с които Херакле можела да се похвали за разлика от новооснования си съсед Партикополис. Споменаването на почетения като херос показва, че статуята е била издигната посърторно. Това е и първият известен досега официален надпис, поставен от името на града.

Както надписът на Лизандър, така и епитафията на Касандър са поредните доказателства за разцвета на Херакле Синтика през II в. сл. Хр.

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