

# Being Roman, Writing Latin? Consumers of Latin inscriptions in Achaia

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*Latin inscriptions provide our best evidence for explicit, intentional engagement with Roman culture in Greece. Although regional studies exist to supplement the major corpora, larger questions about the Latin epigraphy of Greece have been largely neglected. Who were the creators of these inscriptions and by whom were they intended to be read? What circumstances – factors influenced the decision to set up an inscription in Latin rather than in Greek?*

*This paper addresses these questions through quantitative analysis of the collection of 1165 Latin or bilingual Latin/Greek inscriptions from the province of Achaia documented in the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. By identifying the provenience and general content of each inscription, I document patterns in the status of the author, the prospective audience, and the social, political, and/or religious context in which Latin inscriptions in Greece were consumed. Based on that analysis, I suggest a list of factors which contributed to the choice to use Latin, including personal identity, the degree and frequency of local interaction between native Latin and Greek speakers, and the civic status or ambitions of individual communities vis-à-vis their neighbors as well as within the larger Roman world.*

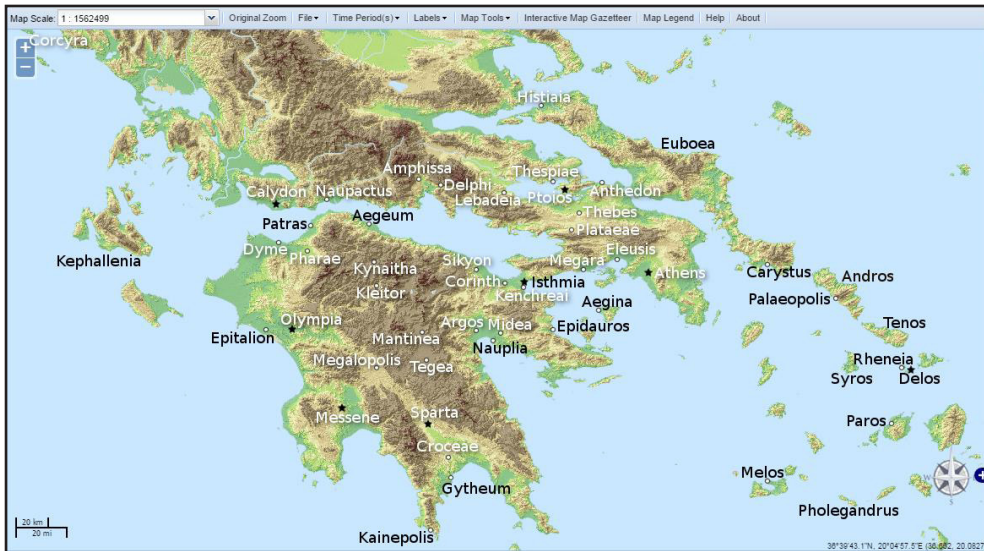


Figure 1: Cities with Latin inscriptions in the Roman province of Achaia (modern Greece). Adapted from the Ancient World Mapping Center. “À-la-carte.” <http://awmc.unc.edu/awmc/applications/alacarte/> (Accessed 9 Nov. 2015.) Creative Commons CC BY-NC 3.0 license.

Introduction

Latin inscriptions in Greece have, on the whole, suffered from the traditional separation between Greek and Latin studies. Although valuable site-specific and small regional studies of Latin inscriptions exist, none of these are broadly comparative works. Apart from the major corpora, in fact, there has been only one study of the Latin epigraphy of the province of Achaia (see Fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> as a distinct field.<sup>2</sup> This neglect of the Latin epigraphy has persisted despite a steady trickle of scholarship dedicated to Roman Greece.<sup>3</sup>

Yet an examination of the total corpus of Latin inscriptions from Achaia reveals significant patterns. The thematic content of these inscriptions, their general archaeological context, and their degree of bilingualism varies from place to place. Although some of this variation can be explained by inconsistent standards of excavation and publication, marked differences remain among the four best-represented cities (Corinth, Patras, Athens, and Delos). These differences – especially between

the early material at Delos and the later Roman colonies of Corinth and Patras – show shifts in the use of Latin that reflect the changing nature and extent of Roman power in Achaia.

Language and Cultural Engagement

Apart from the Latin inscriptions themselves, we have no means of determining the frequency with which Latin was employed in Achaia. Those who commissioned the inscriptions may or may not have spoken Latin themselves; a translator could as easily have produced each text. The presence of Latin is thus better evidence for an inscription’s intended audience than it is for the linguistic knowledge of the person(s) who commissioned it.

Unlike most objects of material culture, a language can only be useful for those who are conscious of its origins. In order to interpret the use of any other artifact as evidence of deliberate cultural engagement, archaeologists must assume cultural knowledge on the part of an artifact’s user. This is not self-evident. Roman pottery might be used because it

was cheaper or better made; the adoption of Roman architectural forms could be an aesthetic or functional choice as easily as one reflecting deliberate cultural engagement.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, Latin inscriptions provide our best evidence for explicit, intentional engagement with Roman culture in Greece.

Dataset: The Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (EDH)<sup>5</sup>

Only recently has the development of electronic databases made it feasible to study all of the inscriptions of a province quantitatively, based on previously published data. For this project, I consulted the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (EDH), a database whose stated purpose is “the systematic entry of ancient Latin and bilingual (usually Latin and Greek) inscriptions.”<sup>6</sup> Despite certain limitations, the EDH is currently the only tool available for sorting published Latin inscriptions chronologically or geographically by city.<sup>7</sup>

Geographical distribution

Only 1165 of the 1277 “Latin” inscriptions documented from Achaia<sup>8</sup> actually contain any Latin.<sup>9</sup> I have excluded from this study the 112 inscriptions written solely in Greek, since there

is no clear reason why these Greek inscriptions have been included out of the many thousands extant.<sup>10</sup> When these are eliminated, 58 cities<sup>11</sup> are represented by either Latin or bilingual<sup>12</sup> inscriptions, but with a great deal of variation in the number of inscriptions found at each.

As shown in Figure 2, a disproportionate number of cities are represented by only a handful of inscriptions; 44 cities, in fact, have three or fewer.<sup>13</sup> Four cities – Delos, Athens, Patras, and Corinth – account for 86% (1001) of the total number of published Latin or bilingual inscriptions from Achaia. Corinth alone provides over half of the total.<sup>14</sup> This distribution pattern remains roughly the same even when short and/or fragmentary inscriptions<sup>15</sup> are removed to compensate for uneven publication (Fig. 3).<sup>16</sup>

Notably, the city of Argos and the sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi, and Eleusis – locations with excavation and publication records similar to those at Delos, Athens, Patras, and Corinth – have far fewer Latin inscriptions.<sup>17</sup> This suggests that the greater number of Latin inscriptions found in Delos, Athens, Patras, and Corinth does represent a real pattern. Since most extensive excavation in Greece has taken place at the most famous sites of antiquity, however,

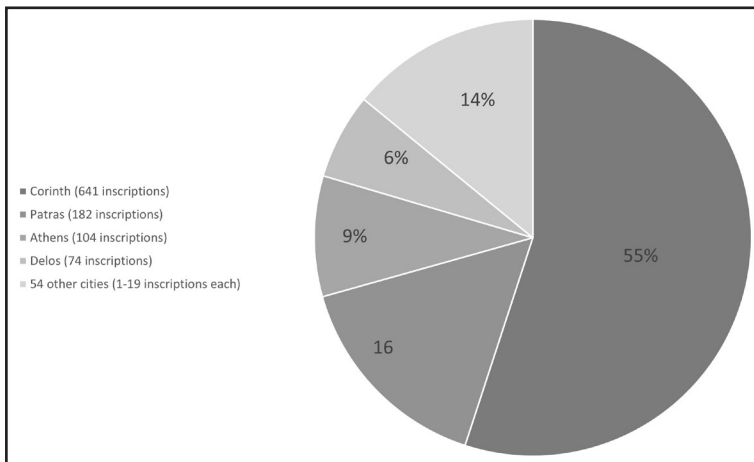
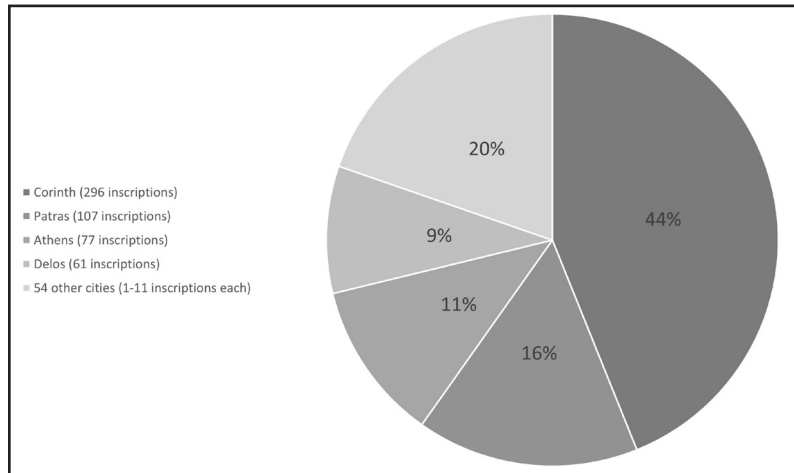


Figure 2: Geographical distribution of all 1165 inscriptions by city.

Figure 3: Geographical distribution of the 674 inscriptions with more than 10 preserved or restored letters.



the extent to which the data accurately reflect reality in smaller, lesser-known cities remains unknown.

Chronological Distribution

Only 541 inscriptions (46%) in the EDH include any information on their date. Figure 4 represents the chronological range of each of the 541 inscriptions as a bar, with the resulting bars arranged on a timeline by their midpoints; the greater the height of the shaded area, the more inscriptions have been dated to that range. Figure 5 shows the same information plotted by measuring the number of inscriptions which share a midpoint for their chronological range within the same five-year span. The shaded area illustrates the general bell curve formed by this data. Generally speaking, the frequency with which Latin inscriptions are found by date matches up well with other evidence for a peak of Roman power and prosperity in the second century C.E.<sup>18</sup>

Archaeological Context

The state of our information about the more detailed archaeological provenience of Latin inscriptions leaves much to be desired, even at the most well-published sites. With the exception of many epitaphs, most of the stones or objects were separated from their original context long prior to their modern

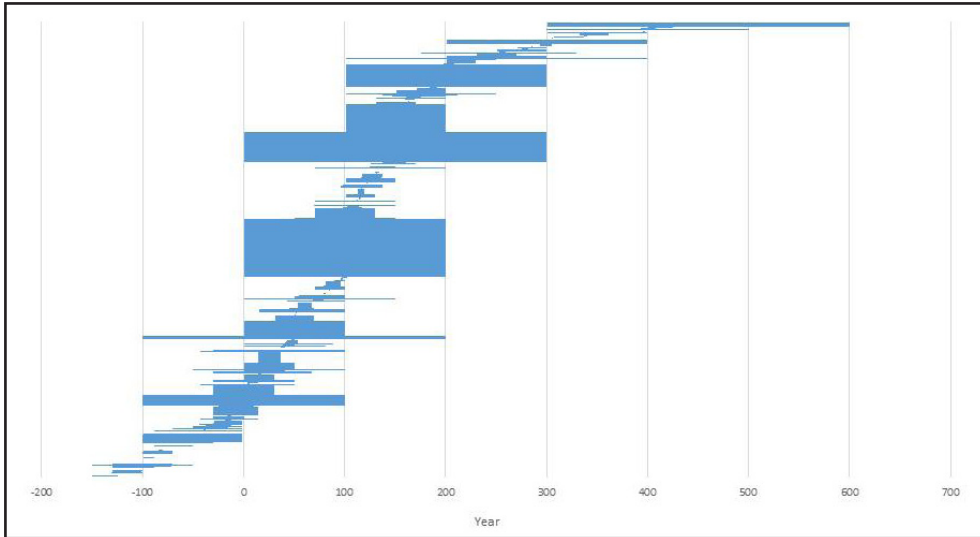
discovery and documentation.<sup>19</sup> In most cases, our best evidence for the original context of an inscription comes from the form of the object itself.

Forms

Of the 1165 total inscriptions in the EDH, 881 (76%) include at least some information about the object on which they were found. These 17 different forms are listed in Table 1 (see Appendix). The most common form is the *tabula*<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 6) with 376 examples (43%) from 22 different cities. Unfortunately, *tabula* in the EDH can refer to anything in the form of an upright slab up to approximately 20 cm thick, including architectural revetments.<sup>21</sup> In theory, a *tabula* is supposed to be distinguished from a *stela* (80 examples, 17 sites), which is free-standing.<sup>22</sup> In practice, the EDH relies on the original publications in order to classify fragmentary stones, which makes statistics about those forms unreliable.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the lack of systematic entry of stamped lamps or amphoras (grouped together with similar objects under the heading *instrumentum domesticum*, or household equipment) means that such objects are vastly underrepresented in the EDH.<sup>24</sup>

If *tabulae* and household equipment are excluded, however, the remaining items can be classed as either architectural or free-standing.<sup>25</sup>

Figure 4: Chronological range of dated inscriptions. Negative numbers represent dates B.C.E.



Architectural forms (240) and free-standing forms (236) are represented about equally across the province. When broken down by city, however, 191 (80%) of the architectural forms come from Corinth. In order to understand this disparity, we must examine the both the content of the inscriptions and the historical differences between cities more closely.

#### Content of inscriptions by city

Out of the 1165 total inscriptions, 713 (61%)<sup>26</sup> have been assigned to one of the various categories defined by the EDH, as shown in Figure 7 (see also Table 2 in Appendix).<sup>27</sup> Once these categories have been standardized,<sup>28</sup> interesting variations appear among the four cities with enough inscriptions to make a meaningful comparison. The leading category of inscriptions overall is the epitaph (funerary inscription), with 239 examples (34%). Honorific (in honor of an individual) and votive (recording a dedication to a god) inscriptions are in second and third place, with 181 (25%) and 83 (12%), respectively.<sup>29</sup> Overall, only 87 out of 713 categorized inscriptions (12%) are in any way bilingual.<sup>30</sup> As we shall see, however, individual cities diverge remarkably from the average.

#### Delos

Delos's peculiar history as a sacred site dedicated to Apollo and as a free port frequented by Italian as well as Greek traders makes its epigraphical record unique.<sup>31</sup> Its inscriptions are also far earlier than the majority of the material from any other site.<sup>32</sup> Out of the 49 Latin or bilingual inscriptions that have been categorized by the EDH, almost half (24) are votive in nature. Honorific inscriptions are the second most common with nine examples (18%), followed by building inscriptions with five (10%). There are no epitaphs.<sup>33</sup> In addition, over half (26) of the inscriptions from Delos which can be characterized by type are bilingual to some degree. Latin precedes Greek on these stones in all but three cases, and the Greek normally repeats the Latin text with little to no variation.

HD030141 is a typical example of this bilingualism<sup>34</sup>:

A(ulum) Terentium A(uli) f(ilium) Varro[nem] legat[um]  
Italici et Graeci qui Delei negot[antur]

[Α]ὔλον Τερέντιον Αὔλου υἱὸν Οὐ[άρρων]α πρεσβευτήν  
[Ρ]ωμαίων Ἰταλικοὶ καὶ Ἕλληνες οἱ καταγοικοῦντες ἐν Δήλῳ

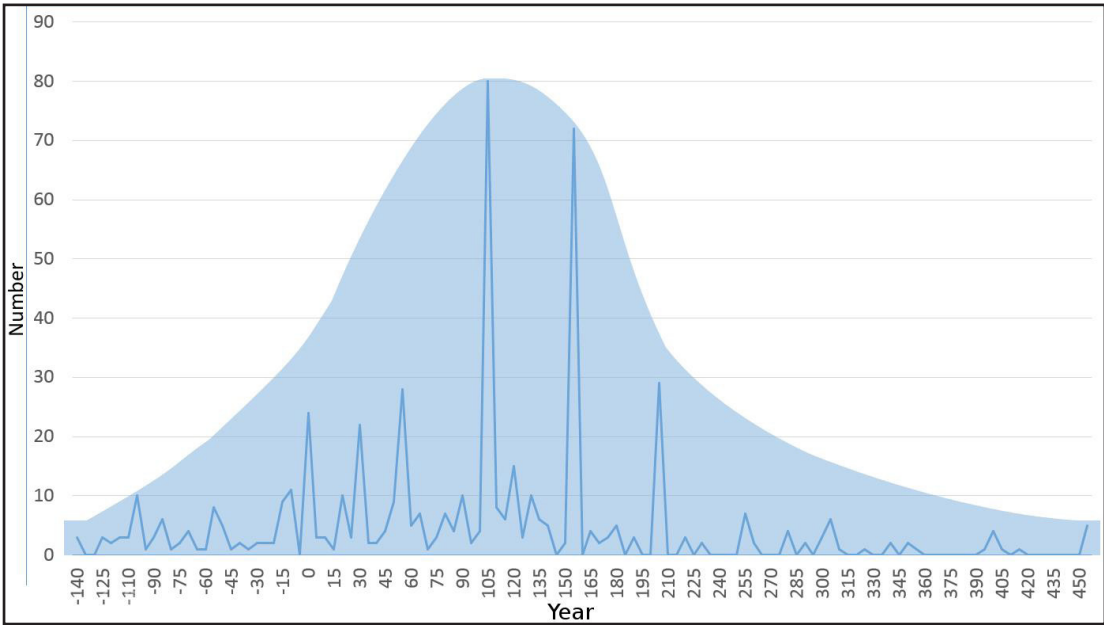


Figure 5: Number of inscriptions charted by the midpoint of their chronological range. Negative numbers represent dates B.C.E.

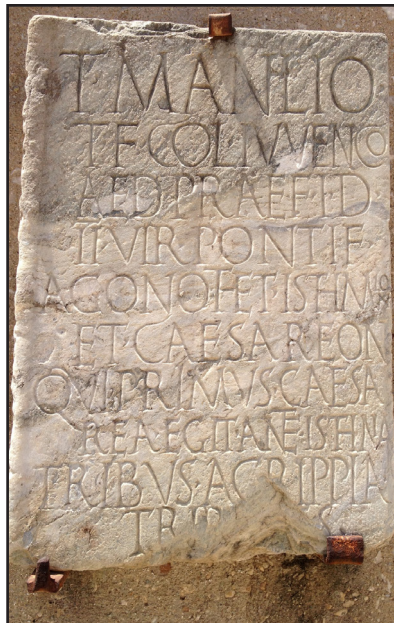


Figure 6: A tabula (HD026566) with an inscription in honor of Titus Manlius Juvencus, on display in the Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, May 2014. The metal brackets are not original. Photo by author.

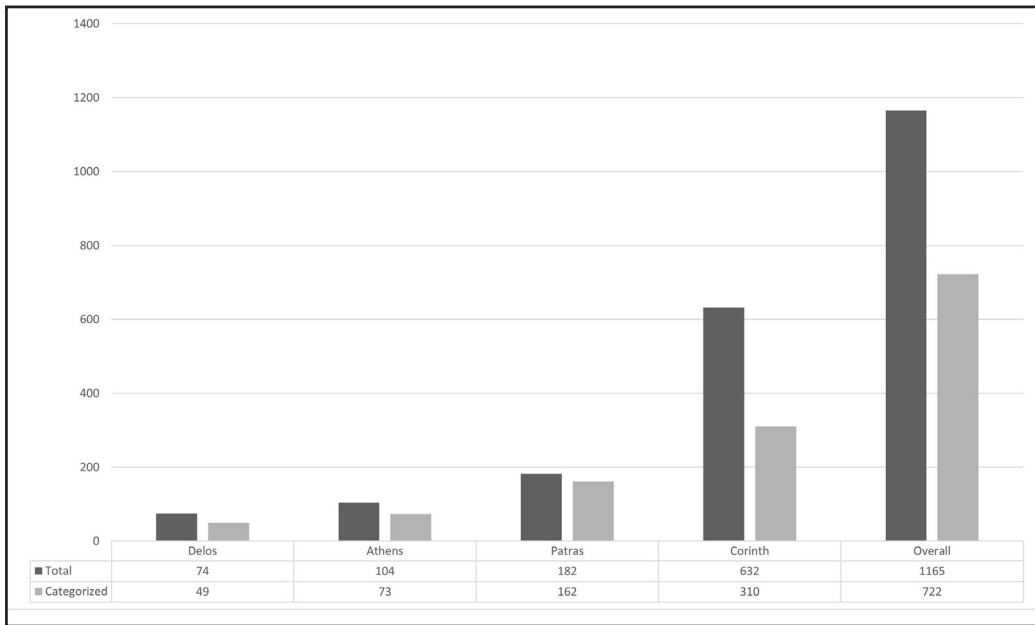


Figure 7: Inscriptions categorized in the EDH.

From this and similar examples, it would seem that writers of these early inscriptions composed inscriptions primarily in Latin, adding Greek as a way to widen their prospective audience. In fact, since many of the inscriptions consist mainly of a list of names which are simply transliterated into Greek, it appears the authors assumed a basic unfamiliarity not only with Latin as a language, but with the Roman alphabet.<sup>35</sup> Without exception, a Roman or Italian is involved either as one of the dedicators or the person to whom the community expresses its gratitude;<sup>36</sup> there are no Latin inscriptions dedicated to and written by only Greek individuals.

In content, the Latin inscriptions of Delos are concerned almost exclusively with local self-promotion and commemoration: giving proper credit to individuals for gifts of infrastructure or other aid to the local business community<sup>37</sup> and/or to the gods. The religious dedications in particular affirmed the religious practices and piety that Italians shared with other traders on Delos, while reminding the viewer of their

distinct ethnic identity; they became in effect pieces of ethnic propaganda in addition to their religious significance.<sup>38</sup> On Delos, then, Latin was used primarily by Italians to promote their interests and those of their community while marking them as an ethnically or culturally distinct group.

#### *Athens*

The picture at Athens is rather different. Out of the 73 categorized Latin or bilingual inscriptions, epitaphs predominate with 34 examples (47%), followed by honorific inscriptions with 15 (21%) and dedications to the emperor with 10 (14%). Only 21 (29%) of the inscriptions are bilingual, compared to the rate of 53% at Delos. Even so, this rate of bilingualism is still higher than the average for the province (12%).

Out of the 34 epitaphs, at least 15 come from the tombs of Roman soldiers. Eight (24%) of the total number of epitaphs are bilingual to any degree, but this percentage drops to 13% when looking at the subset of epitaphs for

Roman soldiers, with only two examples out of 15. Moreover, the “Greek” of one of these two is simply Latin written in Greek letters.<sup>39</sup> This suggests a relatively low degree of concern about whether or not viewers without Latin could understand an epitaph, especially among soldiers. While the specialized genre and vocabulary of military funeral inscriptions offers one explanation for this neglect of Greek, I suggest the prospective audience is the more important factor: the authors intended to speak to other Roman soldiers rather than to the casual passerby. Only another soldier could understand the experience recorded by the formulaic phrase, “*militavit annis X*” (he was a soldier for 10 years),<sup>40</sup> and only another soldier was likely to care which unit the deceased had been part of.

In Athens, we also have two examples of Latin inscriptions being commissioned by non-native Latin speakers.<sup>41</sup> One is an inscription honoring the emperor Hadrian; the other is addressed to an early proconsul of Achaia.<sup>42</sup> Both contain the name and various titles of the Roman individual in Latin, followed by a further text in Greek<sup>43</sup> which attributes the dedication to the council of the Areopagus, the *boule* (council), and the *demos* (people) of Athens.<sup>44</sup> In these examples, the use of Latin must reflect the desire of the Athenians for the inscriptions to be understood by native Latin speakers - presumably the honorees themselves as well as any other visiting Romans whose goodwill it might have been helpful to cultivate.<sup>45</sup>

An additional four inscriptions found at Athens shed light on differences between the Latin epigraphy of Athens and that of other cities in the province – most notably Corinth. The series consists of statue bases dedicated in honor of Hadrian by other cities in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time of the foundation of the Panhellenion.<sup>46</sup> Alongside others written in Greek were those of the Roman colonies of Dion in Macedonia, Philippi, the Troad, and Pisidian Antioch.<sup>47</sup> Although the lower portion of the inscription is missing for both Philippi and Antioch, it is likely that all four followed the pattern established by the Troad and Dion:

a Latin text followed by the Greek name of the community responsible for its dedication at the bottom on a separate line. In these examples, Latin appears as the language of choice and Athens as the preferred site of international display. Each city underlined its status as a Roman colony by using Latin and increased the visibility of its dedication by leaving it at Athens, the new headquarters of Hadrian’s international league.

#### *Patras*

The epigraphic record of Patras has been shaped by the absence of large-scale excavations in the heart of the ancient city; most of the archaeological evidence instead comes from rescue excavations conducted on its outskirts since the 1970s. Accordingly, out of the 162 inscriptions categorized in the EDH, 124 (77%) are epitaphs. The next most common types are honorific inscriptions with 13 examples (8%) and votive with 10 (6%). Only two (1%) of the categorized inscriptions from Patras (both epitaphs) are bilingual in any way, and in each instance the Greek text appears completely unrelated to the Latin.<sup>48</sup>

The status of Patras as a Roman colony no doubt influenced this use of Latin in isolation from Greek at the site. These Roman colonists did not replace the older Greek population of the city, but supplemented it.<sup>49</sup> Unlike at Athens or Delos, however, the authors of Latin inscriptions seem unconcerned about whether those inscriptions were intelligible to Greek-speakers. This suggests that the Roman colony at Patras, with its westward-facing port, retained closer and more all-encompassing cultural and linguistic ties to Italy than either Delos or Athens.<sup>50</sup> Either the population of Greek-speakers who did not know Latin was low enough not to cause worries about intelligibility, or people lacking knowledge of Latin were not seen as a desirable audience. In either event, the colonists saw no need to make linguistic concessions; their use of Latin by itself in a multi-ethnic city reflected their well-established political and social status.



*Corinth*

At Corinth, the sheer number of inscriptions is partly balanced out by their fragmentary nature. While Corinth accounts for 55% of the inscriptions in the EDH overall, it comprises only 43% of the categorized inscriptions. Of these, honorific inscriptions are the most common, with 133 examples (42%). The next three categories are dedications to an emperor, building inscriptions, and epitaphs, which are represented almost equally at 47, 45, and 45 examples respectively (ca. 15% each). Votive inscriptions not dealing with the imperial cult come in fifth place with 25 instances (8%). As at Patras, the rate of bilingualism in inscriptions from Corinth is very low, with Greek featuring alongside Latin in only nine out of the 310 categorized inscriptions (3%). Moreover, the extent of the bilingualism in these cases is quite limited.<sup>51</sup>

As the provincial capital, Corinth was the obvious choice of location for displays that honored provincial benefactors; such inscriptions are thus more common at Corinth than at any other site. The rationale for using Latin in these honorific inscriptions is also clear, since most refer to proconsuls or other individuals intimately associated with the Roman administration of the province.<sup>52</sup> Corinth's status as a Roman colony, however, also guaranteed the use of Latin for local commemorations<sup>53</sup> – at least early on.<sup>54</sup> Recipients of an honorific inscription at Corinth are just as frequently local magnates as they are provincial administrators, and members of both groups regularly receive dedications *decreto decurionum* (by decree of the local government).<sup>55</sup> At Athens, by contrast, no purely local officials are commended in Latin; the only honorific inscriptions which preserve the *cursus honorum* (list of offices held) of the honoree are dedicated to men whose offices extended beyond the province of Achaia.<sup>56</sup>

Finally, as discussed above, 80% of the Latin inscriptions from Achaia on architectural objects<sup>57</sup> are found in Corinth. As the provincial capital, Corinth's built landscape was

greatly transformed in the Roman period. The appearance of Roman-style podium temples in the forum, the renovations to the South Stoa, the construction of the Julian Basilica (among many other buildings),<sup>58</sup> and the centuriation<sup>59</sup> of the surrounding countryside all bear witness to a city remade in a Roman image. Extensive and on-going excavations in the city center have revealed the inscriptions which accompanied this building activity. Further work in the center of Patras may reveal similarities between the two colonies; until then, the material from Corinth remains unparalleled within the province.

Conclusion

The factors contributing to the appearance of Latin in inscriptions in Achaia were many and varied significantly both between sites and over time. Early Latin inscriptions drew attention to the ethnic identity of the persons responsible for setting them up. Bilingual inscriptions on Delos advertised the benefactions not only of individuals but of Latin speakers as a distinct group within a larger multicultural population. The high percentage of votive inscriptions in Latin from Delos suggests that religious devotion provided a way for Latin speakers to promote the goodwill and generosity of their particular cultural group within a pluralistic society, while simultaneously affirming the religious practices and piety they shared with prospective international business partners.

The transformation of Achaia into a Roman province caused a shift in the use of Latin in inscriptions. In particular, Corinth and Patras used Latin in their public documents with only very rare concessions to the possibility that a reader without knowledge of Latin might wish to understand what an inscription said. This exclusivity is particularly striking when compared to the widespread bilingualism of the previous era on Delos. Greek and Latin continued to be used together, however, on the few Latin or bilingual inscriptions we have that were certainly set up by Greek communities.

It seems the expansion of Roman *imperium* (power) to Greece eliminated the spirit of intercultural competition that had once motivated the inhabitants of Delos to translate over half of their inscriptions to reach the widest possible audience. Under Roman rule, the ultimate message of any Latin inscription could be read with no need for actual intelligibility: with Roman domination an accomplished fact, the choice to use Latin in Greece became a sign of alignment with the new political order.

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Endnotes:

1 The Roman province of Achaia included the southern portion of mainland Greece as well as a number of the surrounding islands. See Figure 1.

2 Šašel Kos 1977. Rochette 1997 provides an invaluable study of the use of Latin in the Greek-speaking world, but the vast scope of the project obscures variations at the level of individual provinces such as Achaia.

3 Alcock 1993, for instance, is based primarily on comparative survey data, with inscriptions of any kind appearing only as incidental historical evidence. Thus the words “epigraphy,” “inscription,” and “Latin” do not even appear in the index, though individual inscriptions are cited with some frequency throughout the text. Other recent publications on aspects of Roman Greece include Gregory 1994, Hoff and Rotroff 1997, Rizakis et al. 2001, Rizakis and Zoubaki 2004, Rizakis and Lepenioti 2010, Camia 2011, Spawforth 2012, and Di Napoli 2013.

4 An extensive body of literature has addressed the question of the relationship between material culture and identity formation in the Roman world in recent years. See e.g., Millett 1990, Mattingly 1997, Woolf 1998, Hingley 2005, Mattingly 2006, Revell 2009.

5 For the sake of simplicity, all individual inscriptions are cited below according to the numbers assigned in the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (EDH). The EDH’s entry for each inscription contains full references to the standard corpora.

6 EDH 2015, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/projekt/konzept>.

7 The abbreviated format of the EDH’s search results is its largest working drawback. The only way to access the full entries for multiple inscriptions simultaneously is to open them in separate browser windows, which makes it difficult to view or compare more than a handful of inscriptions at a time. The wide range of information included as searchable fields in each entry, however, distinguishes the EDH from other epigraphical resources. For instance, the widely-used Packard Humanities Institute database (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/>) covers Greek inscriptions, but is organized geographically by region and only the text of each inscription can be searched; users must refer to widely scattered original publications in order to find any information on archaeological context or even the form of the monument on which an inscription appears. In the absence of a resource equivalent to the EDH for Greek inscriptions, the task of comparing Latin inscriptions to their Greek counterparts at the level of the province would be the work of many years.

8 1261 inscriptions were listed from Achaia when I began. An additional 17 inscriptions from Athens were added on 13 October 2015 and all numbers given below reflect this most recent data. The EDH count is therefore 1279, but a single inscription from Pharsalus (EDH HD064147, 24 Oct. 2011) is listed among the inscriptions from Achaia, and should be numbered with those from Macedonia

instead. Similarly, a lone inscription from Kos (EDH HD019418, 7 July 2014) should be grouped with those from Asia. I have eliminated both from all calculations below.

9 Many of the Greek inscriptions include Roman names; these are, however, transliterated in every case and thus out of place in a study on the use of Latin in Greece.

10 The stated goal of the EDH is eventually, through its confederation with EAGLE (Electronic Archives of Greek and Latin Epigraphy), “to make all Latin and Greek inscriptions from Antiquity available on the Internet in a standardised [sic] system of criteria” (2015, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/projekt/konzept>).

The entry of Greek inscriptions is still, however, clearly considered secondary and is far from systematic; the EDH lists the work status of Achaia as “fully entered” although these 111 are the only Greek inscriptions so far included in the database.

11 Out of the 56 ancient settlements or cities originally listed in the EDH, only Greek inscriptions are found at Elis, Naryka, Oenoe, and Sphektos, and I have thus omitted those four cities from study. An additional six of the bilingual or Latin inscriptions were isolated finds which could not be assigned to a known ancient settlement. In the figures and discussion, I have treated these six as if each were from a different (unknown) city. In the tables, I have listed them together under “Unknown.”

12 Bilingual inscriptions, but no purely Latin inscriptions, are found at Anthedon, Gytheum, Kephallenia, Lebadeia, Pholegandrus, and Thespieae.

13 26 cities have only one known Latin inscription, 10 cities have two, and eight cities have three; the remaining numbers do not cluster.

14 The predominance of Corinth may be even greater than these numbers suggest, since the volumes of the Corinth series dedicated to the epigraphy of the city (Merritt 1931, West 1931, and Kent 1966) cover only inscriptions found in the excavations through 1950. In contrast to the 580 inscriptions published in the Corinth volumes through 1950 and included in the EDH, only another 61 published piecemeal after that date are known to the editors of the EDH. See also Kent’s discussion (1966, 214) of the 653 fragments which he did not edit. Including this unpublished material from Corinth would worsen the situation considerably.

15 The great number of short or fragmentary inscriptions recorded from Corinth and Patras has a large impact on the data. Although the average number of preserved and/or plausibly restored letters per inscription at Corinth is around 25, the median number of letters is only nine; the situation at Patras is similar, though not as extreme (average of 30, median of 17). Athens (average of 76, median of 30) and Delos (average of 105, median of 37.5) are both closer to the norm for the rest of the province when Corinth and Patras are excluded (average of 103, median of 37). That this fragmentary material has been included in the EDH at all is due more to the quality of the publications

from Corinth and Patras than the stated standards of the project. According to those standards (EDH 2015, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/inhalt/einfacheSuche>), “Excluded from systematic entry are Military diplomas, instrumentum domesticum (tile stamps) as well as very fragmentary remains of inscriptions.”

16 The Latin inscriptions from Corinth and Patras have been more systematically published than those of other cities. Dedicated volumes on their epigraphy have allowed scholars to record fragmentary material that has not always merited publication at other sites. This becomes especially clear in the case of Corinth, where inscriptions of all periods are notorious for their poor state of preservation. Thus in the judgment of Kent (1966, 17), “the quality [of the Corinthian inscriptions] is as disappointing as the quantity is satisfactory, for it is difficult to think of any other ancient site where the inscriptions are so cruelly mutilated and broken.” Kent (1966, 17-8) goes on to suggest that this poor state of preservation can be explained by a combination of earthquakes and deliberate destruction at the hands of the Herulians and the Goths.

17 When inscriptions with fewer than 10 preserved or restored letters are excluded, Argos and Delphi have 10 inscriptions each, Olympia has six, and Eleusis has five.

18 Since many inscriptions are dated within a very broad chronological range, however, this correspondence is not terribly compelling. In the absence of stratigraphic context (see discussion below) or internal textual evidence (e.g. names of known individuals), the only criterion for dating inscriptions is the style of their letter-forms. This makes it difficult if not impossible to narrow down the chronological range. Out of the 182 inscriptions from Patras, for example, 89 could only be dated to within a 200-year span.

19 As Kent concluded regarding the finds from Corinth, “the great majority of the stones were found in disturbed fill, and therefore their provenience means little or nothing” (1966, v.; cf. 17-18). For a similar evaluation of the material from Patras, see Rizakis 1998.

20 Although *tabula* is Latin for plank, notice board, or writing tablet, it is used in the EDH as a technical term rather than as a label which Latin speakers would have recognized. The EDH’s translation of the German equivalent (“Tafel”) for its English-language results is also inconsistent; most inscriptions in the English search results are, accordingly, listed under the Latin *tabula* while others (HD020800, HD030144, and HD056361) are “tables.”

21 The EDH lists specific criteria for defining each of its forms (2015, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/hilfe/liste/inschriftgattung>), but these are unevenly applied. For instance, although HD026238 is listed as a “block,” it ought to be classed as a *tabula* according to the criteria for thickness and orientation.

22 *Stele* (pl. *stelai*) is Greek for a block or slab of stone,

monument, or boundary post. Like *tabula*, it is used here in a technical sense to refer to an upright, free-standing slab.

23 At Corinth, for instance, only two Latin inscriptions, both epitaphs, are listed in the EDH as *stelai* (HD004306 and HD060240). Neither of these were published in the two Corinth volumes which deal with Latin inscriptions. In fact, the term *stela* is applied to monuments only twice in those volumes – and then in reference to two Greek gravestones (Kent 1966, 11, no. 36 and 183, no. 567). Compare this to Meritt 1931, wherein the term is applied to 41 different monuments (37 of which are gravestones). Either only two potential *stelai* were found at Corinth between 1926-1950 out of 1600 fragments of Greek or Latin inscriptions, or the editors made a deliberate choice to avoid the Greek term *stela*, preferring the more general “plaques” or “slabs.” A standardized classificatory system for this material across sites and time periods would be most helpful, but is currently out of reach.

24 Athens is the only city at which stamps on amphoras have been included in the EDH, despite the frequency with which stamped amphoras have been recorded across the eastern Mediterranean.

25 Architectural members, blocks, tiles, paving stones, and tesserae (parts of mosaics) all depend upon the existence of a larger built structure of which they form a part. Bases, *stelai*, statue bases, milestones, inscriptions on cliffs, altars, grave monuments, honorific or votive columns, sarcophagi, and *cippi* (small, low pillars), on the other hand, exist independently of a larger built structure.

26 All other percentages throughout this section refer to the subset of categorized inscriptions, either overall or at an individual city. The EDH count of categorized inscriptions is 722 (62%). Since Athens is the only site where stamped amphoras are counted among the categorized inscriptions, however, I have removed those nine examples from the analysis.

27 Categories of inscriptions from Achaia are listed in Table 2, following those in the EDH (2015, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/hilfe/liste/inschriftgattung>).

28 Some irregularities have crept in. For example, all inscriptions from Kent 1966 which mention a Roman emperor in a case other than the genitive are classed as “votive” in the EDH, while those from West 1931 and other publications receive a more ambiguous (if any) classification. Compare, e.g., HD055655 and HD060353. For consistency in the tables, I have designated these as “imperial honorific” – that is, dedications in honor of the Roman emperor.

29 Preliminary comparisons with Rome and the surrounding region of Latium can only be tentative since the work status for those areas is incomplete, but the frequencies of the types are similar. Epitaphs lead with 59% of the categorized inscriptions, while 18% are honorific. Only 4% are votive. There are more building/dedicatory inscriptions, however, at 7% of the categorized inscriptions.

30 This represents something closer to the actual rate of Latin-Greek bilingualism in inscriptions than the raw numbers in the EDH, since the inscriptions that could be categorized are on average more completely preserved. The raw data from the EDH would suggest a lower rate of bilingualism of 9%, or 106 out of 1165 documented inscriptions, but fragments that could not be categorized may also not be well enough preserved to show whether or not they were originally bilingual.

31 Rome declared Delos a free port in 167 B.C.E., which led to unprecedented economic growth and development on the island as foreign traders from all over the Mediterranean moved in to take advantage of the island’s duty-free status. See Polyb. 30.31.12 with Walbank 1979 (III.458-60), Strabo 10.5.4 and 14.5.2, Paus. 3.23.3.

32 All but one of the dated examples come from the first or second centuries B.C.E. After various military and economic set-backs in the mid-first century B.C.E., Delos’s prosperity and economic importance significantly declined, although the island seems not to have been totally abandoned until late antiquity. Bruneau (1968, 688-707) assembles the archaeological and epigraphical evidence for this time period.

33 Delos was famously cleansed of prior burials on two occasions centuries earlier, as recounted by Thucydides (1.8; 3.104). The prohibition against burial on the island seems to have remained in effect for the remainder of antiquity. The phenomenon has been discussed by, among others, Schacter 1999 and Long 1958.

34 Image available in EDH entry. The text reads, “Aulus Terentius Varro, son of Aulus, legate / The Italians and Greeks who do business on Delos [set this up]. // Aulus Terentius Varro, son of Aulus, legate / of the Romans. The Italians and Greeks situated on Delos [set this up].”

35 This is true for the majority of the votive inscriptions, a typical example of which is HD019175. Both the Latin and the Greek consist of a list of the same names, in the same order. The Latin ends with, “...magistrates, for Mercury and Maia.” The Greek concludes with more specificity, “...the Hermaistai, set [this] up for Hermes and Maia.” The inscription is carved on a marble *tabula* or plaque on a large base near the south corner of the Stoa of Philip.

36 There is only one clear example from Delos in which non-native speakers (two individuals from the Greek island of Melos, in this case) are responsible for commissioning an inscription containing Latin: HD056819 (a dedication to Apollo made in honor of a Roman).

37 This business community is invoked by the repeated phrase, “*Italicei et Graeci qui Deli negotiantur*” (the Italians and Greeks who do business at Delos).

38 Rauh 1993 argues for the importance of religion in commercial dealings at Delos.

39 see HD019460. The text reads, (Titus Fabius Arnensis Pudes, son of Titus, a soldier of the faithful loyal Claudian 11th legion, served 7 years, [lived?] 27 years[...]) Julius, his relative and heir, the centurion,

took care of making (this)). The transliteration of Latin into Greek script is a fascinating choice. It seems the author expected at least some of his intended readers to have an aural comprehension of Latin, but unfamiliarity with Latin script. The most likely audience is other Roman soldiers recruited from the eastern provinces, whose literacy might extend to a knowledge of the Greek alphabet but not the Latin. Oliver (1941, 244-6) discusses this inscription and collects four additional examples of Latin written in Greek letters from Egypt and Palestine.

40 HD048602. This is one of the standard formulae for discussing length of service; the other is the abbreviation STIP for *stipendiorum* (military pay or service). The full text of this typical example reads, “D(is) M(anibus) / T(itus) Flavius Maximus / mil(es) a(assis) pr(aetoriae) Misen(ensis) / milit(avit) annis X vix(it) / annis XXX / natione / Ponticus” (To the spirits of the dead. Titus Flavius Maximus, a soldier from the praetorian fleet of Misenum, was a soldier for 10 years, lived 30 years, by birth from Pontus). Most of the Roman military epitaphs follow a pattern commonly seen in the genre across the empire. Standard information includes the name of the deceased, his age at death, his length of service, often the unit in which he served, and occasionally other details (e.g. the nationality of the deceased, the name of the person responsible for erecting the epitaph). These epitaphs could be written in Latin, but are also frequently found in Greek in the east.

41 The only parallels to this use of Latin by a Greek community in Achaia are from Delphi (HD022784 and HD021558); both are in honor of Romans.

42 HD056333 and HD056334, respectively. Although the former, a statue base, was inscribed during Hadrian’s archonship in Athens, it would surely have lost much of its complimentary function if he had also been responsible for composing it. It was found in excavations in the Theater of Dionysus in 1862. The second inscription was found on the Acropolis in secondary use as a doorpost. See discussion of both in Miller 1992, 9-15.

43 See the text of HD056333 (to Hadrian). The Latin text gives Hadrian’s imperial nomenclature. The Greek reads, “The council of the Areopagus and that of the 600 and the people of Athens [honor] their archon Hadrian.”

44 Listed together, these three institutions designate the government of Athens in the Roman period. Geagan 1967 discusses their identity and function under Roman rule.

45 Current and future Roman administrators would have been one target audience; it had also long been common practice for young Romans from aristocratic families to pursue their education at Athens.

46 The Panhellenion was founded by the emperor Hadrian in 131/2 C.E. It was an organization which served to unify eastern cities with claims to Greek descent by emphasizing their shared Greek cultural heritage as well as their loyalty to Rome. See Spawforth and Walker 1985, Romeo 2002.

47 HD002922 (Dion in Macedonia), HD002925 (Pisidian Antioch), HD002928 (Philippi), and HD063734 (Troad).

48 HD008479 and HD055863. The Greek portion of HD008479 is an epitaph for a 10 year old girl which was added later beneath the first (Rizakis 1998, 184-5); the Greek of HD055863 is an older inscription which was reused as the tombstone of a Roman veteran (Rizakis 1998, 201-2). The Latin and Greek of the latter are carved on different sides.

49 Rizakis 1998, 49-52.

50 Note that the lack of bilingual inscriptions in the epigraphy reflects the epigraphical practice and not the speaking practice of the population. It is not direct proof of which language was more commonly spoken in Patras. Greek was certainly still in epigraphic use as well in the early and late Roman period (though more commonly in the second century CE and later). Rizakis (1998) catalogs over 100 Greek inscriptions from the city.

51 The two best preserved examples consist of a long text in Greek (HD022605) or Latin (HD056289) with a simple and formulaic tag tacked onto the end in the other language. Two others (HD043288 and HD060624) appear to be more balanced between Latin and Greek; the rest are too fragmentary to judge.

52 Typical examples are HD025936 (honoring a proconsul) and HD026563 (honoring an imperial procurator).

53 E.g. Figure 6 (HD026566), which honors Titus Manlius Iuvenus, son of Titus, of the tribe Collina. The text informs us he was an aedile, praefect *iure dicundo*, duovir, pontifex, and agonothete of the Isthmian and Caesarean games.

54 For the shift from Latin to Greek for official business, see Kent 1966, 18-19.

55 At least 30 of the 133 categorized inscriptions contain this formula.

56 HD012660 (Narbonensis), HD019448 (Africa, Crete, and Cyrene), HD019454 (Moesia and Brittania), HD056334 (Cyprus).

57 I.e., not statue bases, altars, grave monuments, or other free-standing objects.

58 For the basic publications of the architecture, see the various volumes of the Corinth series published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

59 Division into fields along a measured grid plan by Roman surveyors. See Romano 2003 for centuriation at Corinth.

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## Appendix: Tables 1 and 2

<b>Form</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage of inscriptions with known forms</b>	<b>Number of cities where form is found</b>	<b>Percentage of cities where form is found</b>
<i>Tabula</i> (slab)	376	43%	22	51%
Architectural member	115	13%	11	26%
Block	106	12%	6	14%
Base	86	10%	12	28%
<i>Stele</i> (free-standing slab)	80	9%	17	40%
Statue base	37	4%	9	21%
<i>Instrumentum domesticum</i> (household equipment)	28	4%	13	30%
Tile	17	2%	4	9%
Milestone	12	1%	7	16%
Cliff	7	<1%	3	7%
Altar	6	<1%	4	9%
Grave monument	3	<1%	2	5%
Honorific/votive column	3	<1%	1	2%
Sarcophagus	2	<1%	2	5%
<i>Cippus</i> (small, low pillar)	1	<1%	1	2%
Paving stone	1	<1%	1	2%
<i>Tessera</i> (part of mosaic)	1	<1%	1	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>881</b>	<b>100%</b>		

Table 1: Forms of the objects on which inscriptions are found. See <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/hilfe/liste/inschrifttraeger> for classification criteria and illustrations. Only 43 out of 58 cities have inscriptions with known forms.



<b>Type</b>	<b>Number</b>
Building/dedicatory	68
Epitaph	239
Honorific	181
Imperial honorific*	62
Identification	8
List	6
Milestone	14
Owner/artist**	32
Public legal	17
Votive	83
Other***	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>713</b>

Table 2: Types of inscriptions by content. See <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/hilfe/liste/inschriftgattung> for classification criteria.

\* “Imperial honorific” refers to inscriptions which have the name of a Roman emperor in a case other than the genitive. These are identified inconsistently in the EDH as either “votive” or “honorific.”

\*\* The category of owner/artists inscriptions included stamped amphora handles only at Athens. Since stamped amphoras are not recorded elsewhere in the data, I have removed the nine examples from Athens from all statistics on categorized inscriptions.

\*\*\* Three types of inscriptions have only one example each from Achaia. These are an elogium (Athens), an acclamation (Corcyra), and a defixio (Rheneia).