

Two Phrygian Gods Between Phrygia and Dacia¹



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The author discusses the cult of Zeus Syrgastes (Syrgastos) and Zeus Sarnendenos and points out that both are of Phrygian uorigin. For Syrgastes evidence from Old Phrygian records must be added, which proves that this god was long established and had possibly Hittite-Luwian roots. Zeus Sarnendenos seems to be more recent and his mother-country may be sought in north-east Phrygia / north-west Galatia. Both cults were brought to Roman Dacia by colonists coming from Bithynia, possibly from the area of Tios/Hadrianopolis (for Zeus Syrgastes) and Galatia, perhaps from the area of modern-day Mihalicçık (for Zeus Sarnendenos).

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zeus Sargastes, Zeus Sarnendenos, Tanrılar, Phrygia, Galatia, Dacia.

Bu makalede Zeus Syrgastes (Syrgastos) and Zeus Sarnendenos kültleri ve bu kültlerin her ikisinin de Frigya kökenli oldukları tartışılmaktadır. Syrgastes ile ilgili kaynaklar arasında Eski Frig kaynakları bulunmaktadır ki bu durum bize bu tanrının kökenlerinin çok eskiye dayandığını, muhtemelen Hitit-Luwi kökenlerine sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Zeus Sarnendenos daha genç bir tanrı olarak gözükmektedir ve anayurdu muhtemelen kuzey-doğu Frigya / kuzey-batı Galatia olabilir. Muhtemelen her iki kült de Roma Dacia'sına bugünkü Bithynia'dan, Tios/Hadrianopolis (Zeus Syrgastes için) bölgesinden ve Galatia'dan, muhtemelen modern Mihalicçık (Zeus Sarnendenos için) civarından gelen yerleşimcilerce getirilmiştir.

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1. Zeus Syrgastes

This god is known particularly through the coins struck in Tios (Tieion) bearing the legend Συργαστης or Συργαστειος (Marek 2003: 104; Marek 2010: 628; Öztürk 2013: 331-332, with numismatic references). The Graeco-Latin epigraphic evidence consists at present of three inscriptions:

1. Altar from Brixia (Italy). Roman Imperial period.

CIL V 4206 (*ILS* 4078); *InscrIt* X.5 788.

Dis Paternis

Surgasteo

Magno

4 *Pat(a)ro*

Q(uintus) M(ucius?) Tryphon

u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Note the form *Surgasteus*, which we can deduce from the dative *Surgasteo* for the epithet and from the god's apparent association with *Patarus* (*Pataros*), the local hero of Tios (if, of course, *PATRO*, l. 4, is to be interpreted in the sense suggested by the editors).

2. Altar from Apulum (Dacia Superior). 2nd/3rd centuries AD.

Moga – (Piso – Drîmbărean 1998: 109-111, no. 1 (*AE* 1998: 1077; *SEG* 48: 984); *IDR* III.5 706); Ruscu 2003: no. 12; Nemeti 2005: 368, no. 269; Carbó García 2010: 990-991, no. 280).

Cf. Nemeti 2005: 246-247; Carbó García 2010: 311, 342; Ciobanu 2012.

Πτολεμαῖ-

ος εὐχὴν

Δι

Συργαστω

The nominative form of the epiclesis is here Συργαστος.

3. Altar from Kayaarkası (commune of Yenice), territory of Hadrianopolis (Pontus-Bithynia). End of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century AD.

(Lafli – Christof 2012: no. 24); Christof – Lafli 2013: 133, no. 6.

Ἀντίοχος

Ἀντιόχου ἀγω-

νοθετήσας

4 ἀγῶνα τὸν Συρ-

γάστιον ἐπὶ τῶν

δεκαπρώτων

ἐτῶν [*vac.?*] μ'.

8 *hedera χαῖρε hedera*

L. 7: ραμ', *edd. pr.*, i.e. 'im Jahr 141(?)'. I believe, however, that M = 40 (years) refers to the age of the dead man.

Thanks to this newly published funerary inscription¹ we have good evidence for contests organized in Hadrianopolis² for Zeus Συργαστος/Συργαστης. Hadrianopolis lies not far from Tios; therefore, this record can only confirm that the main sanctuary of the god was in Tios.

Another form for the epiclesis is revealed by a gloss in Hesychios, *s.v.* Συργάστωρ-σοφορβός, καὶ ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν.³

Moreover, to these numismatic, epigraphic and poor literary testimonies I can add evidence collected from Old Phrygian inscriptions.⁴

In Dd-102, an inscription engraved on a bowl of unknown provenance, possibly from the 7th century BC, the text reads as follows: < *Surgastoy Inas*. The interpretation cautiously suggested by the editors of the corpus of Old Phrygian inscriptions supposes a dedication made by an individual to another one: 'apparemment, formule "X, pour Y" avec datif thématique + nominatif sigmatique en -as' (Brixhe – Lejeune 1984: 272). Therefore, the first word of the inscription has been considered as being a personal name (PN).⁵

The first to express doubts about this interpretation was Roberto Gusmani. He already had written a brief note in 1981 on *Srkastus* in Lydian inscriptions (Gusmani 1980-1981; for Lydian *Srkastus*, see also Kretschmer 1927: 268; Heubeck 1959: 29, n. 83), where he tried to demonstrate that this PN⁶ was a theophoric name derived from the Hittite-Luwian *sarku*.⁷ And he concluded: 'si potrebbe allora ritenere che lo Zeus *Surgasteios* di Tieion conservasse, nella sua epiclesi appropriata per una delle divinità anatoliche che hanno dimora sulle cime dei monti, un elemento linguistico di tradizione ittita, mentre l'antropónimo lidio *Srkastus* parrebbe da interpretarsi di conseguenza come un nome teoforico, accostato del tipo tematico a quello di *Alus*, *Artimus* e così via' (Gusmani 1980-1981:

¹ Not votive inscription ('Weihinschrift'), as assumed by the editors.

² Rather than 'in der *Chora* von Hadrianopolis' (*edd. pr.*).

³ Cf. Radermacher 1926: 160-162, who suggests that the designation of the swineherd (σοφορβός), connected here with the Bithyno-Paphlagonian Συργάστωρ, might be explained by the frequent use of Bithynian and Paphlagonian slaves.

⁴ I will cite the Old Phrygian records after Brixhe – Lejeune 1984.

⁵ Neumann 1988: 14, despite the connection he made with Zeus Συργαστης and Hesychios' gloss. The entry in Zgusta 1964: 477, § 1472, refers to *Srkastus* in Lydia and, in the steps of Robert 1935: 455 = Robert 1969: 514 (see next note), to the PN Τύργαστος.

⁶ He is inclined to reject the connection made in Robert 1935: 455 = Robert 1969: 514 (who comments on a list of slaves from Chios; see also Robert 1938: 120): 'il me paraît possible que le Τύργαστος de Chios soit un esclave de la côte Sud du Pont-Euxin, qui en fournissait beaucoup, et d'où venait sans doute le Παφλαγωνίδης nommé dans la même liste'. The same list also contains names like Τίβειος, Φρύξ, Μίδας, the first one being doubtless a Paphlagonian, the other ones Phrygians. Therefore, it is certain that slaves from Paphlagonia and Phrygia were well represented on the slave market in Chios. Nevertheless, Roberto Gusmani argues (1980-1981: 25, n. 10): 'mi sembra invece assai più problematico l'accostamento a questo nome divino dell'antropónimo Τύργαστος'. In my opinion Τύργαστος is a Paphlagonian name but not related to Συργαστος.

⁷ See now Tischler 2004: 905-907: 'hervorragend, erhabend, mächtig'.

27). Some years later, soon after the Old Phrygian inscription Dd-102 was published, the same scholar put down his thoughts and pointed out: ‘dato che il supporto del testo è un recipiente per libagioni che poteva trovare impiego anche nel culto, bisognerà mettere in conto la possibilità che *Surgasto* sia chi teonimo anziché antroponimo: la questione è destinata a rimanere per ora aperta’ (Gusmani 1985: 107).

Now, the text of Dd-102 makes a perfect dedication to a divinity: ‘*Inas* (dedicated) to (Zeus) *Surgastos*’ (Bajun – Orel 1988: 137). On the other hand, Old Phrygian inscriptions are known from Bithynia. Therefore, we might imagine that a man called *Inas* dedicated to this god in an area close to Tios. But an alternative solution is also possible, if not more plausible: we can suppose that *Inas* made his dedication in Phrygia itself. In this case, we are invited to admit that the cult of *Surgastos* was widespread in Phrygia since the 7th century BC.

I would also add to this the evidence two graffiti from Gordion. In G-113 (c. 520-500 BC, according to the archaeological context), [-]a(?)*stoipitave*[-], a likely restoration seems to be dative [*Surg*]*astoi* followed by the dedicator’s name. The second graffito (G-164) is Hellenistic: [- ? -].*astoy*, perhaps also [*Surg*]*astoy*. But even if we discard these attempts to interpret such poor pieces,⁸ we are allowed to admit that *Syrgastos* (Συργαστος, Συργαστης, Συργαστειος) was a very old divinity with Hittite-Luwian roots worshipped in Phrygia for a long time before its main sanctuary was established at Tieion.

2. Zeus Sarnendenos

This god is known through inscriptions from Asia Minor and Dacia.

1. Altar from Bayyayla (Çatuk valley, eastern part of the territory of Nicaea, Pontus-Bithynia). Roman Imperial period. (Şahin 1979-1987: no. 1128.)

Ἀγαθῆ τύχη·
Διὶ Σαρνενηδηνῶ
εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ

4 πάτρωνός μου
Λ. Κλ. Πακοριανοῦ
Εὐπάτορος τοῦ
κρατίστου Κλαύ-

8 διος Εὐδοῦ.

2. Altar from İközafêr (previously İki KİLİSSE, area of Mihalıççık, Galatia). Roman Imperial period. Anderson 1899: 73, no. 22 (Mitchell 1982: no. 76).

(Cf. Mitchell 1993: 23-24; Nemeti 2008: 181, no. 3.)

[-]ΞΑΝΘΑΙ[-]
[..]CMOC Δεὶ Σαρ-
νενηδηνου εὐ-
χὴν

Ll. 2/3: Σαρ/νενηδηνου, Anderson (Mitchell 1982); Σαρ/νενηδηνου, Mitchell 1993: 24, n. 99,⁹ Marek 2000: 132. Genitive for dative, as rather often in this region.

3. Altar from Nallihan (Iuliopolis, Galatia). Roman Imperial period.

Marek 2000: 131 (*SEG* 50: 1223; Chaniotis – Mylonopoulos 2003: no. 127). (Cf. Nemeti 2008: 181, no. 4.)

Ἀθήνιππος κ[- - -]
νενηδιν Διὶ Σαρνε[εν]-
νηδην εὐχὴν

Ll. 1/2: possibly κ[αὶ γυ]νή Ἀφα, Dan Dana (*per epist.*).

4. Altar from Nallihan (Iuliopolis, Galatia). Roman Imperial period.

Marek 2000: 132 (*SEG* 50: 1224; Chaniotis – Mylonopoulos 2003: no. 127). (Cf. Nemeti 2008: 181, no. 5.)

λας Διὶ Σαρνενηδην]-
ε[ὐχὴ]ν

5. Altar from Ağaçhisar Köyü (between Midaion and Iuliopolis, Galatia). 2nd century AD.

Ricl 1994: 168, no. 23 (*SEG* 44: 1056).
Ἀππας Δεὶ Σαρ-
νενηδιν εὐ-
χὴν

The editor refers in her commentary to our nos. 1-2 and 6-7. I believe that the epiclesis should be emended to Σαρνενηδ<ην>φ.

6. Altar from Alburnus Maior (Dacia Apulensis). 2nd/3rd centuries AD.

Daicovicu 1937-1940: 301-302, no. 1 (*AE* 1944: 22); Russu 1965: 69-70, no. 30 (*SEG* 25: 830; Noeske 1977: 380, no. 14 [*SEG* 27: 413]); *IDR* III.3 400 (Ardevan 1998: 422, no. 405; Ruscu 2003: no. 5; Nemeti 2005: 370, no. 279; Ciongradi 2009: 53-54, no. 30; Carbó García 2010: 986-988, no. 277). (Cf. Robert 1980: 222; Nemeti 2005: 249-252; Nemeti 2008: 179, no. 1; Carbó García 2010: 314-315, 324, 342-343.)

⁸ I must add that I am unaware of other surviving Phrygian words ending in *-stoi/-stoy*.

⁹ See Schwabl 1972: 358: ‚Das v kann nach der Zeichnung wohl sehr gut ein v sein‘. Cf. Schwabl 1978: 1474.

Δὶ Σαρνε-
νδηγῶ
κολλήγ-
4 εἰον εὐ-
χῆν.

7. Altar from Apulum (Dacia Apulensis). 2nd century AD.

CIL III 7762 (*IGR* I 545); Russu 1965: 59-60, no. 16; *IDR* III.5 229 (Ruscu 2003: no.16; Nemeti 2005: 370, no. 280; Carbó García 2010: 988-989, no. 278).

(Cf. Robert 1980: 222; Nemeti 2005: 249-252; Nemeti 2008: 179-180, no. 2;

Carbó García 2010: 314-315, 324, 342-343.)

Ζεῦ Σαρ-
<ν>ενδηγῶ
ῶ Πούφος
4 Ἄντιπά-
τρου εὐ-
χῆν ἀνέθ(ηκεν)

Σαρ/δενδηγῶ (*lapis*, ll. 1/2) is simply an error for Σαρνενδηγῶ (Schwabl 1972: 357; Nemeti 2008: 181; Carbó García 2010: 315.).¹⁰

Among the inscriptions listed above, nos. 2-5 come from north-east Phrygia / north-west Galatia and no. 1 from Bithynia. Furthermore, there are apparently not yet published dedications to the same god in the eastern part of the territory of Dorylaion.¹¹ Therefore, north-east Phrygia might have been the mother-country of Zeus *Sarnendenos* (Mitchell 1993: 23-24; Marek 2000: 132; Marek 2003: 105; Nemeti 2008: 181; Strobel 2009: 133, n. 104; cf. Wollmann 1996: 216, Phrygia or Galatia), from where the cult spread widely to Bithynia and elsewhere. No attested toponym can be connected with this local epithet.¹² Nevertheless, I think that we may be able to identify the element *σαρνα-/ε* in a PN read as *Ευγισαρναν* (acc.) and possibly also as *Ευγέξαρνα* (dat.) in a Neo-Phrygian inscription found at Bayat (south of Nacoleia).¹³ This is surely a compound whose second element would then be *-σαρν-*. We would, thus, have a supplementary argument for the (north-east

Phrygian origin of Zeus *Sarnendenos*.

What is the place of Roman Dacia in this network? As we already have seen, Zeus *Syrgastos/Syrgastes* is attested outside Asia Minor only in Brixia (Italy) and Dacia, and Zeus *Sarnendenos* only in Dacia (furthermore, with two instances). The cults of these deities were surely introduced by colonists from Asia Minor after 106 AD.¹⁴ Nevertheless, we have no distinctive traces of a colonisation wave coming from Phrygia. Only one Phrygian individual, mentioned in an inscription dating precisely from AD 218 found in İnönü (territory of Dorylaion) is known for his (possibly rather short) stay in Dacia: after he lived in Dacia and Alexandria (!) (*ἐγδημήσας ἐς Δακίαν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῖαν*) he came back in his mother-country (*ἐς τὴν πατρίδα*) and set up an altar dedicated to Zeus *Bronton* (Ricl 1994: 161-162, no. 8 [*SEG* 44: 1041]).¹⁵

On the contrary, we have good evidence for colonists arriving in Dacia, notably at Apulum and in the mining district of Alburnus Maior, from Bithynia and Galatia. We know in Apulum of a *coll(egium) Pontobithynor(um)* which restored a *templum* about the beginning of Septimius Severus' reign (*IDR* III.5 153). The unnamed deity worshipped there was highly likely to have been Zeus *Cimistenus*, who is attested both by two altars bearing Latin inscriptions of the same city (*IOM Cimisteno: IDR* III.5 208-209 = Nemeti 2005: 368, nos. 266-267) and by another one with a Greek inscription from Bucium, which lies in the area of Ampelum (Daicoviciu 1937-1940: 301, no. 8 [*AE* 1944: 20]; Russu 1965, 64-65: no. 24 [*SEG* 25, 825]; Noeske 1977: 380, no. 13 [*SEG* 27, 413]; Ruscu 2003: no. 8; Nemeti 2005: 368, no. 268; Carbó García 2010: 954-955, no. 251): Δεὶ Κιμιστηγῶ). Yet Zeus *Kimistenos* is a Paphlagonian deity accurately circumscribed to the territory of Hadrianopolis.¹⁶ Some other colonists from Pontus-Bithynia are attested by funerary inscriptions from Ampelum (*CIL* III 1324 = *IDR* III.3 342; *IDR* III.3 341). As for the colonists coming from Galatia, we have evidence particularly for a *col(legium) Galatarum* in Germisara (*CIL* III 1394 [*ILS* 7152] = *IDR* III.3 234; cf. Petolescu 1978: 214), the *Gall[at]ae consistentes* from Napoca (*CIL* III 860 [*ILS* 4082]), a dedicator from Apulum (*IDR* III.5 25), and, furthermore, for several distinctively Galatian epithets for Jupiter (*Tauianus, Narenius, Bussumarus, Bussurigijs*, etc.: Nemeti 2005: 248-252, with references; Falileyev 2007: 64-66, 142-144).

¹⁰ *Contra*: Petolescu 1978: 215, who estimates that *Sarnendenos* is Phrygian but *Sardendenos* an Illyrian Zeus.

¹¹ Cf. Marek 2000: 132: 'Wie mir Peter Frei mitteilte, findet sich genau dieser Zeusbeiname mehrmals im Gebiet östlich von Dorylaion am Porsuk wieder.'

¹² Zgusta 1984: 544, § 1172: 'die sprachliche Zugehörigkeit von Σαρνενδ//α// ist unklar.' Ladislav Zgusta also discusses Σαρνενδ//α// (taking into account Anderson's reading in our inscription no. 2) and Σαρδενδ//α// (with reference to our inscription no. 7): 'Namen auf *Sard-* sind in der thrakischen Onymie häufig [...]; folglich ist es wohl besser, den eventuellen Namen Σαρδενδ//α// als einen thrakischen aufzufassen, als in ihm eine graphische Variante des vorangehenden Namens zu sehen.' But Σαρνενδ- and Σαρδενδ- must be deleted: these ghosts are due either to stone cutters or to false readings (see also Σαρνενδῶ for Σαρνενδ<ην>ῶ in our no. 5). *Sarnendenos* has nothing to do with a supposed Thracian toponym, as assumed in Fernoux 2004: 514.

¹³ Haas 1966: no. 18 (cf. 98-103, § 16/2), ll. 4/5 (*Ευγέξα/ρντι*, a reading improved in Lubotsky 1988: 19) and 10 (*Ευγισαρναν*).

¹⁴ For colonists from Asia Minor in Roman Dacia, see in particular Petolescu 1978.

¹⁵ Improved readings and dating through the consular pair: Frei 2001: 144-146, no. 5 (*SEG* 51, 1778).

¹⁶ Marek 1993:192, no. 14 (dedication Δὶ Κιμιστηγῶ carved into the rock); *ibid.*: 190-191, no. 6 (statue basis for Emperor Caracalla set up by the δήμος Κιμιστηγῶν, i.e. by a regional confederation of villagers). In the area of the rock inscription (see also Zgusta 1984: 261-262, § 514), on the Asartepe hill, c. 10 km north-east of Hadrianopolis, a temple has been discovered (Lafli - Christof 2011; Summerer 2014: 200). On the other hand, Strabo 12.3.41 mentions a region called Κιμιστηγή (wrongly emended by several philologists in Coray's steps to Κιμιστηγή), which must in fact, as we learn from inscriptions, be Κιμιστηγή (Marek 1993: 122-124, with exhaustive discussion and topographic details). Moreover, the PN Κιμιστος (hapax) occurs in a recently published inscription from the same Caesarea/Hadrianopolis (Lafli - Christof 2012: no. 33, ll. 2/3).

Now, the altar dedicated to Zeus *Sarnendenos* in the mining district of Alburnus Maior belongs to a unitary series consisting of four similar pieces of about the same dimensions and decoration, all of them bearing Greek inscriptions, which is obviously remarkable in the latinophone Dacia. The other altars are dedicated to Zeus *Ναρηγος* (two monuments: Daicoviciu 1937-1940: 302-303, nos. 2 and 4 [AE 1944: 23 and 25]; Russu 1965: 68-69, nos. 28-29 [SEG 25: 828-829]; Noeske 1977: 380-381, nos. 15-16 [SEG 27: 413]); IDR III.3 398-399 [Ruscu 2003: nos. 3-4; Nemeti 2005: 369-370, nos. 277-278]) and Zeus *Σιττακωμικος* (Daicoviciu 1937-1940: 303, no. 5 [AE 1944: 26]; Russu 1965: 70, no. 31 [SEG 25: 831]; Noeske 1977: 381, no. 17 [SEG 27: 413]); IDR III.3 409 [Ruscu 2003: no. 7; Nemeti 2005: 370, no. 281]). The epiclesis *Σιττακομικος*, equally derived from a local 'demotic', is a hapax,¹⁷ but Zeus *Narenus* is well known in north-west Galatia (Mitchell 1982: nos. 11, 12, 42, 53, 67, 70, 86, all of them from the area of Mihalicçık; cf. Zgusta 1984: 420, § 885-1). Furthermore, Zeus *Narenus* is not attested outside his home country and Dacia, where beside the two Greek inscribed altars we also know of another one, from the territory of the same Apulum (village of Berghin), bearing a Latin inscription: [I(oui)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [Deo N]areno (IDR III.4 41 [AE 1988, 951]). Thus, there is little doubt that all these colonists from Alburnus Maior came from north-east Phrygia / north-west Galatia, perhaps more precisely from the area of Mihalicçık.

The worshippers of Zeus *Syrgastos* from Apulum or their ancestors came from Bithynia, very probably from the area of Tios/Hadrianopolis.¹⁸ But as we can see, Bithynian and Galatian colonists worshipped beside their 'national' deities gods of Phrygian origin: the very old Zeus *Syrgastos* and the apparently more recent Zeus *Sarnendenos*.¹⁹

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¹⁷ Cf. Zgusta 1984: 577, § 1229: from **Σιττακώμη*. 'Ich würde vorziehen, die häufigen thrakischen Namen wie *Σιττας* [...] mit dem Vorderglied zu vergleichen.' But the West (?) Thracian PN *Sita*, *Σιτας*, *Σειτας* never occurs with double consonant (while the alternation *ι/ει* might prove that */i/* was long): see the testimonies collected in Dana 2014: 324-325. A parallel may be rather tried with the Ionian PN *Σιττάς* attested in Colophon (five entries in *LGPV* V.A). The second element, *-κωμικός*, is really disturbing: one would have expected *-κωμήτης*.

¹⁸ Compare with the dedication from Brixia (see above), where Zeus *Surgastens* seems to be associated (if the interpretation of the editors is correct) with the local hero of the Bithynian city.

¹⁹ I am deeply indebted to my friends: Dr Dan Dana for many valuable suggestions, and Prof. Dr Gocha Tsetsckhladze for having improved my English).

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Abbreviations

- AE* *L'Année épigraphique* (Paris 1888–).
BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.
BJ *Bonner Jahrbücher*.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum* (Berlin 1863–).
EA *Epigraphica Anatolica*.
 IBS Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
IDR III.3 I. I. Russu et al., *Inscripțiile Daciei romane III : Dacia superior 3: Teritoriul dintre Ulpia Traiana, Micia, Apulum, Alburnus Maior, Valea Crișului* (Bucharest 1984).
IDR III.4 I. I. Russu et al., *Inscripțiile Daciei romane III : Dacia superior 4: Zona răsăriteană* (Bucharest 1988).
IDR III.5 I. Piso, *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine III: Dacie supérieure 5: Apulum* (Paris 2001) (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 24).
IF *Indogermanische Forschungen*.
IGR R. Cagnat et al., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (Paris 1906-1927).
 IK Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien.
ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* (Berlin 1892-1916).
InL *Incontri Linguistici*.
InscrIt *Inscriptiones Italiae* (Rome 1931–).
IstMitt *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*.
JHS *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
LGPN *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987–).
RE *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894-1980).
 SBWien Sitzungsberichte. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden 1923–).
VDI *Vestnik drevnej istorii*.