



ARCHIVUM ANATOLICUM (ArAn)	19/2	2025	549-563
----------------------------	------	------	---------

AGORANOMOI IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN ASIA MINOR

Ahmet TÜRKAN¹

Makale Bilgisi

Başvuru: 1 Mayıs 2025

Kabul: 24 Kasım 2025

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi (Research article)

Article Info

Received: May 1, 2025

Accepted: November 24, 2025

Abstract

This article examines the institution of agoranomia in the cities of Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It focuses on the appointment procedures, duties, and civic status of agoranomoi. The primary sources of the study consist of epigraphic documents such as honorific inscriptions, council decrees, and lead weights. These documents represent a chronological range between 4th century BC and the 3rd century CE. The geographical scope of the study is limited to western and inner-western Anatolia, corresponding to the regions where documents were identified. With these limitations, the article traces the historical transformation of the office of agoranomos from its origins in the classical polis to its integration into elite-dominated urban hierarchies of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Although formal elections appear to have continued during this historical process, some documents show that alternative methods such as hereditary succession or sequential appointment by higher authorities were other methods. Moreover, agoranomoi were not only responsible for overseeing market activities, but also for regulating prices during times of scarcity, enforcing local laws, supervising the construction and maintenance of public buildings, and participating in religious rituals. The documents also suggest that the institution of agoranomia

¹ Doç.Dr. Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü. E-posta: aturkan@ogu.edu.tr. ORCID: 0000-0002-3358-0828.

functioned as a flexible and adaptable medium to create integration and provide socio-economic bonds between local civic traditions and imperial administrative structures.

Keywords: *Agoranomos, Agoronomia, Asia Minor, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*

Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemlerinde Küçük Asya'da Agoranomoslar

Öz

Bu makale, Küçük Asya kentlerinde Hellenistik ve Roma dönemleri boyunca agoronomia kurumunu; agoranomosların atanma biçimleri, görevleri ve kent içindeki konumları bağlamında incelemektedir. Çalışmanın temel kaynağını onurlandırmalar, meclis kararları ve kurşun ağırlıklar gibi epigrafik belgeler oluşturmaktadır. Belgeler MÖ 4. yüzyıldan MS 3. yüzyıla kadar olan bir kronolojik aralığı temsil etmektedir. Coğrafi sınırlar da belgelerin tespit edildiği bölgeler doğrultusunda Batı ve İç-Batı Anadolu'dur.

Bu sınırlar içerisinde, agoranomos makamının Klasik Hellen polisindeki kökenlerinden Hellenistik Dönem ve Roma dönemlerinde elitlerin ön planda olduğu kent hiyerarşisine tarihsel dönüşümü izlenmiş, seçimlerin biçimsel olarak sürmesine rağmen zamanla veraset ya da üst otoritelerce belirlenen sıralı atama gibi alternatif yöntemlerin ortaya çıktığı tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca, agoranomoslar yalnızca pazar faaliyetlerini denetlemekle kalmamış; kıtlık zamanlarında fiyat düzenlemesi yapmış, yerel yasaların uygulanmasını sağlamış, kamu yapılarının inşası ve bakımıyla ilgilenmiş ve dini ritüellere katılmışlardır. Elde edilen veriler, agoronomia kurumunun yerel kent gelenekleri ile imparatorluk idari yapıları arasında entegrasyonu gerçekleştiren ve sosyo-ekonomik bağlar oluşturan esnek ve uyarlabilir bir aracı rolü üstlendiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Agoranomos, Agoronomia, Küçük Asya, Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemleri*

Introduction

*Agoranomoi*² are well-documented civic officials, who held a crucial role as regulators of civic and economic life in Hellenic poleis. Originally functioning as market inspectors, their duties covered a wide range of responsibilities aimed at ensuring order and fairness in commercial activities. These included the supervision of product quality, the control of weights and measures, the prevention of fraud, and the maintenance and repair of the physical space of the *agora*. In times of need, they were also tasked with securing essential food supplies and overseeing their fair distribution. Moreover, they were empowered to regulate trade quotas and enforce rules to prevent market manipulation. Hence, the *agoranomos* embodied not only the practical aspects of city administration but also the ideological commitment to civic order and justice that characterized the *polis*.³ The broad spread of the institution across the Mediterranean world in the Hellenistic and Roman periods led to the evolution and diversification of its functions and institutional dynamics in response to local administrative traditions.⁴

This article focuses on the characteristics of the *agoronomia* institution, the duties of the *agoranomoi*, and their position within the urban hierarchy in the cities of Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The primary sources are inscriptions discovered across various regions of Asia Minor. The earliest examples date to the 4th century BC, while the latest belong to the 3rd century AD, and some of them are discussed for the first time under a historical concept. A significant portion of the Hellenistic-period evidence comes from Troas, Ionia, and Lydia, consisting of council decrees and honorific inscriptions that provide key insights into the function

² ἀγορανόμος (pl. ἀγορανόμοι).

³ For a general overview about *agoranomoi*, see *RE* I.2, 883 – 885; and *agoronomia* before Hellenistic Period, see G. Oliver “The ἀγορανόμοι at Athens.” eds. L. Capdetrey, C. Hasenohr. *Agoranomes Et édiles*, Pessac, 2012, 88 – 100. Discussions of the *agoronomia* have tended to follow the conceptual frameworks drawn by Platon and Aristoteles regarding the role of the *agoranomos*. Plat. *Leg.* VI 764b. VIII 849a., IX 881c, XI 913d, 917b. etc. Aristot. Athen. *Pol.* 51.

⁴ The articles written by Benjamin Foster and John Salmon focus on *agoronomia* as a Hellenistic institution, emphasizing its interaction with similar administrative structures in other regions: Benjamin R. Foster, “Agoranomos and ‘Muhtasib’”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13/2 (1970): 128–144; John Salmon, “The Economic Role of the Greek City”, *Greece & Rome* 46/2 (1999): 156 – 162.

For *agoranomoi* in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see. Karl Wessely, “Die ägyptischen Agoranomen als Notare”, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* 5 (1892): 83–115.

of the office. In contrast, inscriptions from Roman period are honorific and rarely provide administrative details beyond the title itself. For this reason, a small and representative portion of Roman period inscriptions were discussed here.

Another important group of documents consists of lead weights attributed to *agoranomoi*, discovered in archaeological excavations. These weights were used to standardize measurements in the *agora* and the majority of those found in Asia Minor have been uncovered at Ionia and Bithynia. The weight inscriptions are typically formulaic, providing information such as the name of the emperor, governor, or *arkhon* under whom the *agoranomos* served, and the duration of his term in the office.

Appointment and Socio-Economic Background

The procedures for civic appointments in Hellen poleis varied depending on region and the ideology of the time. In the poleis of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, public officials were commonly selected by lot among the citizens and each of them was expected to perform public duties, known as *leitourgia* in any need.⁵ With the rise of Athenian democracy, the council (*boule*) and the people (*demos*) became more effective in administrative decisions. Important appointments were made by elections conducted in local or tribal assemblies among individuals deemed suitable for the office.⁶ Elections persisted during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, the elites gradually became dominant in both civic institutions and the offices representing them while the power of the people begun to decline.⁷

Appointments of *agoranomoi* also followed this broader historical trajectory. Some public inscriptions recorded in coastal regions of the Western Asia Minor and dated the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC reflect the tension between elites and people; and provide information about the role and place

⁵ PW. XII.2, s.v.

⁶ Frank Frost Abbott, Allen Chester Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926), 89 – 93; Gustav Glotz, *The Greek City and Its Institutions* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1929), 204-205.

⁷ For urban elites in Seleucus and Attalids: *SEG* 46, No.2342; for Urban elites in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: *SEG* 42, No.1796. For the transformation of local politics during these periods, see T. Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia: The Small World of Dion Chrysostomos*. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2008), 61-118 and A. Rizaki, “Urban Elites in the Roman East: Enhancing Regional Positions and Social Superiority.” ed. J. Rüpke, *A Companion to Roman Religion*. 319-326.

of *agoranomoi* during the transition. An inscription from Assos dated to the 4th century BC reveals an *agoranomos*' donations including various bronze vessels for public use and wine containers with funnels and bronze weights, which are the relatively modest scale compared to donations of later periods.⁸

A pair of 3rd century BC inscriptions from Erythrai illustrate contrasting aspects of the *agoranomos*' identity. On the first inscription, it is recorded that the oligarchs of the city were disturbed by the sword held by the statue of Philitos, a prominent historical figure and so-called "tyrant-slayer." Consequently, they decided that the statue should be remade without the sword, and that the *agoranomos* should be responsible for its upkeep. According to the decree, the *agoranomos* was tasked with ensuring the statue remained clean and was properly adorned during the sacred months and festival periods. The second part of the inscription provides insight into the financial limitations faced by the office. *Agoranomos* formally objected to the decree, stating that he lacked the financial means to fulfil the assigned duty. As a result, it was ruled by the council that the statue's upkeep for one year would be financed by the treasurers, after which full financial responsibility would be transferred to the *agoranomos*.⁹

The second inscription presents a different sight. It honors Polykritos, a prominent member of the local elite, highlighting his efforts to ensure the safety of commercial activities by strengthening the security of the harbors, and contributing to the protection of merchants. During a period of famine, he released grain from his own stores to the market and provided financial assistance. Notably, the inscription concludes by stating that all these actions were undertaken for the sake of the city's security, proper administration, and the interests of the king.¹⁰

⁸ *I.Assos*, no. 3 in Aoleian dialect: τά σκεύεα ἔσσι δαμοσια ἐπὶ ἀγορανόμῳ Μεγιστία Σωγενεῖῳ· ἡμιμέδιμοι χάλκιοι τρεῖς, ἡμίεκτα ἔννεα, διχοίνικα δέκα, χοίνικες ἔπτα, τρίχοα χάλκια τέσσαρα, ἡμίχοον, ἄλλο ἡμίχοον χώναν ἔχον· στάθμα χάλκια· τάλαντα τρία πεντάμναον.

⁹ *I.Erythrai*, no. 503; *SEG* 29, no.1129: [...] ὅπως δὲ καθαρὸς ἰοῦ ἔσται ὁ ἀνδριάς καὶ στεφανωθήσεται ἀεὶ ταῖς νομηνιαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐορταῖς, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγορανόμους. ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ πρότερον ψηφίσματι προσετάχθη τῷ ἀγορανόμῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ Φιλίτου, ὅπως στεφανωθήσεται τε καὶ λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ὁ δὲ ἀγορανόμος φησὶν εἰς ταῦτα πόρου δεῖσθαι, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· τὸ μὲν καθ' ἔτος εἰς ταῦτα διδόναι τὸ ἀνάλωμα τοὺς κατὰ μῆνα ταμίας, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν ἀγορανόμον· εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον οἱ ἀγορανόμοι πωλοῦντες τὰς ὀνάς προστιθέτωσαν τὴν ποίησιν τῶν στεφάνων [...]

¹⁰ *I.Erythrai*, no.28: ὕστερόν τε διὰ τὴν σιτοδεῖαν οὐθενὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐχφέρο[ν]τος σῖτον, ὑπέσχετο τῷ δήμῳ χρήματά τε δώσειν εἰς ὑποθήκην τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις σιτώναις, καὶ

Following the tradition set by Hellenistic monarchs, Rome also supported the administrative structures and civic offices in Greek cities and used as a means of concreting the imperial ideology. Under such conditions, by the 1st century BC, the dominance of local elites in urban governance became increasingly evident in Asia Minor.¹¹ Consequently, the office of *agoranomos* evolved into an important step within the civic *cursus* in the *polis*.¹² Just as members of the elite class demonstrated their generosity through public benefactions, those who served as *agoranomos* made expenditures and donations from their personal resources in relation to their administrative duties.¹³ In this way, the *agoranomia*, like other civic institutions, became a point of interaction between the central administration and urban elites. A representative example is an inscription from Magnesia, in which a man named Moskhion is recorded as having held multiple offices in addition to his service as *agoranomos*. His *cursus* included *arkhieros*, *grammateus*, *gymnasiarkhos*, *strategos*, *neopoiios*, *argyrotamias*, and *sitones*.¹⁴

Although elections continued to be held, the process of appointment quickly transformed into a class-based character. In some cities, *agoranomoi* had been appointed by methods other than elections. A list of civic officials from Silandos, dated to AD 150–155, reveals that the same individuals consecutively held the offices of *agoranomos*, *arkhon*, and *ekdikos*. Accordingly, the *agoranomoi* of 150/1 served as *arkhontes* in 151/2, and later

τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶι σῖτον εἰς τὴν τροφήν ἐξοίσειν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· εἷς τε τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν καὶ εἰς τὰ τῶι βασιλεῖ συμφέροντα πολλάκις χρήμασιν εἰσευπορῶν ἀπροφασίστως οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίως ἐγενήθη[...]

¹¹ Millar, 2006: 106 – 135.

¹² A 4th century BC inscription discovered in Ilion indicates that the citizens of Parion elected an *agoranomos* specifically for the Panathenaia festival: *I.Ilion*, no.3: Παριανὸς χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Παριανῶν ἀγορανόμος εἰς τὰ μεγάλα Παναθήναια.

¹³ The donations made by *agoranomoi* to their cities are discussed below. For a few examples illustrating the position of the *agoranomos* within the civic *cursus* and the social status of the families bearing this title, see: *SEG 27*, no.745. (Sardeis), *SEG 27*, no. 745 (Ephesos), *SEG 27*, no. 744 (Ephesos); *I.Ephesos*, no. 3017.

¹⁴ *I.Magnesia*, no. 164: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησαν Μοσχίωνα Μοσχίωνος ἄνδρα φιλότειμον καὶ ἐνάρε- τον καὶ ἀπὸ προγόνων εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἦθει καὶ ἀγωγῆ κόσμιον καὶ ἀρχιερτεύσαντα καὶ γραμματεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τετράμηνον τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ δίμηνον γερουσίας γυμνασιαρχήσαντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ στρατηγήσαντα καὶ παραφυλάξαντα καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα τετράμηνον καὶ νεοποιήσαντα καὶ σειπῶνην γενόμενον καὶ ζημιωθέντα δηνάρια πεντακισχίλια, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔλασ[σ]ον καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα καὶ ἀργυροταμίαν γενόμενον, γενόμενον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπι[—] πηγῶν διετίαν, κατασταθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χαράξεως τοῦ λεπτοῦ χαλκοῦ, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ φιλοτεμίας τελιάσαντα ἀγνώως καὶ ἀμέμπτως.

as *ekdikoi* in the following year.¹⁵ The list includes only these three offices; no mention is made of other offices which are widely attested in many cities and appear in inscriptions such as the Magnesia decree mentioned above.¹⁶ A related inscription from Nysa, dating to the imperial period, records that an *arkhon* named Apollonios had held several offices, including *panegyriarkhos*, *strategos*, *paraphylaks agoranomos*, and *argyrotamias*, and that he had appointed his two sons to various offices, including the *agoranomia*.¹⁷ This suggests that, at least in some cities, appointments to the office of *agoranomos* could occur not through elections, but rather through the intervention of higher authorities or even via hereditary succession.

The length of service and the number of *agoranomos* varied by city. Inscriptions from Magnesia and Thyateira indicate that *agoranomoi* had served during four-months periods.¹⁸ However, as seen in the example from Silandos mentioned above, *agoranomoi* in many cities, especially during the Roman period, served for one year. This pattern is particularly evident in the inscriptions on lead weights. Those are typically bear the name of the serving *agoranomos* along with information on the reigning emperor, the provincial high priest of the imperial cult, or the *archon* during whose term the official served.¹⁹ The correlation between names found on lead weights and those mentioned in honorific inscriptions as the evidence for that *agoranomoi* held multiple offices simultaneously, suggests that in Ephesos, they generally held the office for one year, and in some cases, possibly longer.²⁰

¹⁵ H. Malay, *Research in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 153- 154; *SEG* 49. no. 1685.

¹⁶ This situation was likely a result of the nature of *leitourgia*. These three offices probably held not only the status of *honores* but also possessed authority over budget expenditures and tax collection. For this distinction, see: Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, 84-93.

¹⁷ William M. Ramsay, “Inscriptions inédites de l’Asie Mineure”, *BCH* 7 (1883): 272-274: · δῖς · ἐπιδόντα δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰς τε γραμματεῖαν καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν καὶ παραφυλακίην καὶ σειτωνίαν · ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν ἕτερον υἱὸν Ἄτταλον ἐπιδόντα εἰς τε γραμματεῖαν καὶ εἰρηναρχίαν καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν καὶ ἀγορανομίαν καὶ ἀργυροταμίαν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φθανουσαῖς λειτουργίαις · γενόμενον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πρῶτον ἄρχοντα καὶ στεφανηφόρον ἔνδοξον.

¹⁸ *I. Magnesia*, no. 164; *TAM* 5.2. no. 932.

¹⁹ Weiß, Peter, “Jenseits der Agoranomie. Neue und alte griechische Marktgewichte der Kaiserzeit.” *ZPE* 200 (2016): 247-273. For the lead weights in Pera Museum: https://pondera.uclouvain.be/browse/?id=&object_type=&authenticity=&time_frame_min=&time_frame_max=&mint_city=11&length_metric_min=&length_metric_max=&width_metric_min=&width_metric_max=&height_metric_min=&height_metric_max=&inscription_technique=&excavation_date=&o=, Access Date: 30.04.2025; and from Ephesus Museum: Tekin, 2024.

²⁰ For an analysis of the weights found in Ephesos and a discussion on the term length of *agoranomoi*, see Eleni Theodorou, “Neue und alte Marktgewichte und die Agoranomie im

In some cities, more than one *agoranomoi* were appointed specifically to serve during festivals. An inscription from Ilion, dated to the 3rd century BC, records the appointment of an *agoranomos* for the Panathenaea.²¹ Another inscription from the same city, dated to Roman Period, documented that an *agoranomos* was appointed for the *panegyris* in Ilion.²² An honorific inscription from Erythrai, attests to the appointment of an *agoranomos* for a *panegyris*.²³ Although exceptional, it was also possible for individuals to serve multiple terms as *agoranomos*. A foundation document from Kyme refers to a man named Olympikos who held the office for a second time.²⁴ In an honorific inscription from Aphrodisias, a person, named Adrastos, is recorded as having served four separate terms as *agoranomos*.²⁵

The number of *agoranomoi* who held the office together varied depending on the size of the city and the scale of its marketplace. The *agoranomos* appointed for Panegyris from Ilion who discussed above, documented with the mention “together with his colleagues” and so this indicates multiple *agoranomoi* who held the office at the same time.²⁶ Similarly, an inscription from Tralleis attests that, two men, Artemidoros and Diogenes, served simultaneously in the office.²⁷ In contrast, it appears that in

kaiserzeitlichen Ephesos”, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 91 (2022): 253 – 272.

- ²¹ *I.Ilion*, no.3: τῶν συνέδρων ἐν τῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων πανηγύρει· ἀγαθῆι τύχηι, γνώμη τῶν συνέδρων· ἐπειδήζου τοῦ Ζωπύρου Παριανὸς χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου του Παριανῶν ἀγορανόμος εἰς τὰ μεγάλα Παναθηναία ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθετῶν τῶν περὶ [- - -] ὄδωρον Λυκόφρονος Ἰλιεῖα ἴσως καὶ δικαίως ἡγορανόμησε μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων, τῆς τε τῶν σίτων πορασκευῆς ἐφρόντισεν ὅπως ὡς εὐτελέστατα ὦνῶνται οἱ ἐνδημοῦντες καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνίων τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμύλειαν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πορέσχεν ἰστρον τὸν θεραπεύσοντα τοῦσ ἀσθενοῦντας ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει· ἐπεὶ οὖν καθήκόν ἐστιν τοῖς συνέδροις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδόχθαι τοῖς συνέδροις, ἐποιέεσσι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Παριανῶν [- - -].
- ²² *I.Ilion*, no.4: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ὁ πανηγυρικὸς ἀγορανόμος Μηνοφίλος Μηνοφίλου τῆ πατρίδι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε τὸν ζυγοστάτην Ἑρμῆν.
- ²³ *I.Erythrai*, no.106: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· φηφίσματι βουλῆς δήμου, ἡ διασημοτάτη Ἡ διασημοτάτη Ἐρύθρου πόλις, ἡ Μακάρων γῆ Κεκροπίς, ἡ Διόθεν κῦδος ἀειραμένη, στήσε πανηγύρεως ἀγορανόμον, ὄνομα Κάρπον, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔργοις εὐδον ἀγαλλόμενον· ἐστὶ δέ μοι γενέτης, ὃ εὖχομαι ἰσοφαρίζειν, Ζωσιμίων, τειμαῖς ἄγχι παριστάμενος.
- ²⁴ *I.Kyme*, no.37: 42-49: οἰκῆματα τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ ἱερά, καθὼς ἡ κτήσις περιέχει, καθιέρωσεν Ἡρακλείδης Ζωπύρο[υ] Ὀλυμπικὸς σὺν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσιν, ἀγορανομοῦντος Ὀλυμπικοῦ νέου τὸ δεύτερον· οἱ δὲ κατενηνεχότες εἰς τὴν ὄνην τὸ ἀργύριον σὺν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις πράκτορσιν· Τετταῖος αὐλητῆς δωρεάν·
- ²⁵ *MAMA VIII*, no.484:13-14: “ἀγορ[α]νομήσαντα τετράκις”
- ²⁶ *I.Ilion*, no.3.9-1: [- - -] ὄδωρον Λυκόφρονος Ἰλιεῖα ἴσως καὶ δικαίως ἡγορανόμησε μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων.
- ²⁷ *I.Tralleis*, no.146: Ἀρτεμίδωρος Διογένοϋς καὶ Διογένης·[- - -] ἀγορανομήσαντες ἀνέθηκαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρυπτὸν περίπατον καὶ τὸ ἀγορανόμιον καὶ τὸ περιστύλον

most parts of Asia Minor, only a single *agoranomos* held the office at once. Especially in smaller inland cities, where Hellenistic and Roman urban development progressed more slowly compared to the coastal regions, there was little need for more than one *agoranomoi* at once. This tendency was further reinforced during the Roman period, especially after some offices which had similar duties to *agoranomia* and directly connected to the central government such as the *curatores* or *logistai*, became widespread.²⁸

Assignment and Execution

Despite the organizational and financial transformations, in every city where Helleno-Roman civic tradition existed, the two principal responsibilities of the *agoranomoi* remained the same as pre-Hellenistic practices: maintaining commercial order and ensuring the supply of essential goods, particularly grain. In such circumstances, *agoranomoi* sometimes purchased grain on behalf of the city from their own wealth or released supplies from their private holdings. Yet ensuring the sustainability of the food supply required more than just guaranteeing an adequate food supply.²⁹ *Agoranomoi* were also responsible for monitoring food prices and for ensuring their sales at reduced prices during periods of famine and scarcity. An inscription from Ephesos records an instance in which an *agoranomos* negotiated with grain merchants to bring down the prices.³⁰ In Aphrodisias, *agoranomoi* were publicly praised for their role in making the grain reachable at affordable rates.³¹

Such interventions demonstrate the civic expectation placed on *agoranomoi* to balance market dynamics with the broader needs of social stability and public welfare. This responsibility became even more critical during festival periods, when increased demand and public gatherings placed additional pressure on food supply and accessibility, thus heightening the

δώριον και τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποδόχια και τὰ ἐπὶ τούτων "ἐνγήων ἐργαστήρια ἑκατὸν και τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῶν προσόδους καθιέρωσαν τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς και τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς χορήγιον τῶν δύο κρυπτῶν περιπάτων και εἰς τὰ διατεταγμένα.

²⁸ Foster, "Agoranomos and Muhtesib", 130 – 133.

²⁹ *I.Erythrai*, no.28; SEG 32, no.1097; SEG 30, no.1215.

³⁰ *I.Ephesus*, no.1455.1-7: ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ και τῷ δήμῳ· Δίων Διοπείθους εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀγήμονος Ῥόδιος σίτον εισαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πυρῶν ἕκτεϊς μυρίου τετρακισχιλίου, και καταλαβὼν τὸν σίτον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλούμενον πλέονος δραχμῶν ἕξ, πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγορανόμου και βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπώλησε τὸν σίτον πάντα εὐωτότερον τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλουμένου·

³¹ For two examples from Aphrodisias, see. *SEG* 32, no. 1097; *SEG* 30, no. 1215.

importance of *agoranomic* oversight. An inscription from Magnesia, for instance, refers to an *agoranomos* who was responsible for supplying olive oil for public celebrations during the festival month of Artemision (April).³²

Ensuring the continuity of commerce was a necessary precondition for a stable food supply. For this reason, various measures and policies were implemented within the cities and their territory to support trade activities. *Agoranomos* played a prominent role in these processes. As noted in the discussion on Polykritos inscription above, he actively supported the trade during his term as *agoranomos* by encouraging merchants to expedite deliveries and by extending credit to them.³³ Similarly, in a letter sent by Antiochos I to Teos, specific orders for storing and trading the grain are outlined. The letter mentioned that the trade of grain should be conducted under the supervision of the *agoranomos* at the stoa. Furthermore, the quantities of imported or exported goods were to be reported to the *agoranomos*, who was also responsible for collecting the relevant taxes.³⁴

Another noteworthy piece of evidence about *agoranomos*' duties is the council decree from Miletos dated BC 200/199, which determines the salaries of teachers working at the gymnasium. In case of any violation, the decree orders that the atonement should be made as an offer dedicated to Hermes and the Muses under the provisions of the *agoranomic* law.³⁵ This

³² *I.Magnesia*, no. 179: [...] ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀγορανομίας αὐτοῦ καιρῷ ἔν τε τῷ Ἀρτεμισιῶνι μῆνι ὄλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου καιροῦ τῆς ἀγορανομίας παραπωλήσαντα ἔλαιον ἀφθόνως ἔλατον παραπολὺ τῆς ἐνεσώσεως τειμῆς ἐν ἐσπευμένῳ τῷ περὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καιρῷ [...]

³³ *I.Erythrai*, no.28.

³⁴ *SEG* 4, no. 618.89-108: [...] νομίζοντες γὰρ ὑμᾶς τό γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι τᾶλλα ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους πεποιηκέναι, ἐφροντίζομεν ὅπως τοῦ των ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ποιώμεθα, ἵνα ἀποδοθῆ τὴν ταχίστην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμφέροντα φαίνεται, τὰ περὶ τὴν παράθεσιν τοῦ σίτου, ὅστε μὴθὲν διαλιπεῖν ὁ δίκαιον μὲν τῷ δὲ δήμῳ συμφέρον ἐστίν, οἰόμεθα δεῖν γίνεσθαι τὰς παραθέσεις τοῦ σίτου, ὥσπερ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Λεβεδίων ἔλεγον, ὑπολαμβάνοντες χρυσίον δίδοσθαι εἰς ὑποθήκην τὸ πᾶν χρυσοῦς χιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους. τῶν δὲ σίτων καὶ εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ ἐξαγωγὴν πάντων ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὅπως ἂν τισὶ μὴ λυσιτελεῖν κατὰ γούσιν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ ταύτης ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν, ἐξουσία ἢ θεῖσιν τὰ τέλη ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀποδειχθέντων ἐξάγειν· ὅσα δ' ἂν κῶμαι ἢ ἐπαύλια ὧσιν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν, νομίζομεν δεῖν προσαφορισθῆναι ἐκάστῳ ἐγγράψαι μὲν ὀπόσους ἂν καρποὺς ἐξάγειν βούληται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐπαγγεῖλαντα δὲ τῷ ἀγορανόμῳ καὶ τὰ τέλη διορθωσάμενον ἐξάγειν. ἠξίου δὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Λεβεδίων καὶ ἄνδρας ἀποδειχθῆναι παρ' ἑκατέρων τρεῖς, οἵτινες εἴ τινα ἔτι παραλέλειπται τῶν συμφερόντων εἰς τὸν συνοικισμὸν γράψουσιν. ἡμῖν οὖν συμφερόντως δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀποδειχθῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡ ἀπόκρισις ἀναγνωσθῆι· τοὺς δὲ αἰρεθέντας γράψαι τὰ παραλελειμμένα ἐντὸς μηνός· τῶν δὲ γραφέντων τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων συνομολογηθέντα κύρια εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενα ἀναπεμφθῆναι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἄλλῃ διμῆνῳ, ὅπως ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαντες ἐπικρίνωμεν καθ' ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωμεν ἀμφοτέροις συμφέρειν. [...]

³⁵ *SEG* 14, no. 742: [...] ὅπως δὲ τὸ γινόμενον ἐκάστοις εὐτάκτως ὑπηρετῆται, τοὺς ταμίαις δίδοναι τὸ τεταγμένον τοῖς τε παιδοτρίβαις καὶ γραματοδιδασκάλοις μηνὸς ἐκάστου τῆ

indicates that specific regulations concerning the *agoranomia* were issued by the council, and that in cases of commercial or contractual disputes, the *agoranomos* was responsible for enforcing *agoranomic* laws which both parties being obligated to comply with. The case also suggests a quasi-judicial dimension to the office, particularly in matters related to contractual enforcement and penalties.³⁶

Agoranomoi were also responsible for the construction and the maintenance of public buildings. An inscription dated Roman Period, honors an *agoranomos* from Tralleis for sponsoring the paving of a walkway, the construction of the *agoranomion*, a doric peristyle and the stone workshops into the building.³⁷ In another inscription from Ioulia Gordos, dated to AD 169–180, an *agoranomos* is credited with having financed the construction of the first ten columns of a temple.³⁸ In addition to architectural works, *agoranomoi* were also charged with duties related to urban cleanliness and landscaping.³⁹ A 1st century AD honorific inscription from Magnesia offers an example of how their responsibilities could vary. Among the actions praised in this case is the *agoranomos*’ donation for heating the public baths and his covering of heating expenses for twenty consecutive days from his own resources.⁴⁰

There is also evidence to suggest that *agoranomoi* performed religious functions. A post-mortem inscription from Pergamon commemorates an *agoranomos* named Apelles and, in recalling his time in office, implicitly

νουμηνία· ἐὰν δέ τις μὴ δῶι, ὀφειλέτω στατήρας πεντακοσίους ἱεροῦς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μουσῶν, εἶναι δὲ κατ’ αὐτῶν καὶ πρᾶξιν τοῦ μισθοῦ τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις καὶ γραμματοδιδασκάλοις κατὰ τὸν ἀγορανομικὸν νόμον. τὸ δ’ ἐξαυρούμενον εἰς ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν 65 ἀνάταξιν μὴ εἶναι μετενεγκεῖν εἰς ἄλλο μηθὲν τρόπῳ μηθενί· ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπηι ἢ προθῆι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ ἢ μετενέγκῃ ἢ τάξῃ ἕλασσον τοῦ ἐκκειμένου, ὀφειλέτω ὁ τούτων τι ποιήσας στατήρας πεντακοσίους ἱεροῦς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μουσῶν.

³⁶ Susan Rahyab has discussed this issue in her article where she tries to reveal similarities between *agoranomoi* in Egypt where the office had some notary public functions, and in Asia Minor. She overlooked the Miletos inscription: Rahyab, Susan, “The Keepers of the Agora: Contracts on the Office of Agoranomos in the Epigraphic Record”. eds. R.R. Benefiel & C. M. Keesling, *Inscriptions and Epigraphic Habit*. (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2023), 133-145.

³⁷ *I.Tralles*, no. 146.

³⁸ *TAM* 5.1. no. 693: θεοῖς πατρίοις καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνείῳ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λ. Αὐρηλίῳ Κομόδῳ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ πατρίδι Μενεκράτης Σεξτιανοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀγορανομίας τοὺς πρώτους δέκα κείονας σὺν κεφαλαῖς καὶ σπείραις κατὰ τὸ γενόμενον ψήφισμα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν λογιστεύοντος Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀ[π]φιανοῦ ἀσιάρχου ἐπὶ συναρχίας Ἰουλιανοῦ Φλώρου ἄρχοντος πρώτου.

³⁹ *I.Erythrai*, no. 503; *SEG* 29, no. 1129.

⁴⁰ *I.Magnesia*, no. 179.

refers to him as a representative of Hermes.⁴¹ It was customary for each *agoranomos* to make a dedication to Hermes upon the completion of their term.⁴² In addition to this agoranomic tradition, offerings were also made to the chief deities of cities. A 2nd century AD inscription from Ephesos, for instance, records a donation made by an *agoranomos* to the Temple of Artemis. Those were often votive offerings, usually involving material goods given in exchange for payment.⁴³ In Priene, offerings were made jointly to Hermes and Aphrodite by *agoranomos*.⁴⁴ Religious duties of *agoranomoi* extended beyond the end-of-service rituals. During periods of scarcity, they could dedicate offerings to the gods in hopes of abundance; during times of plenty, they made votive dedications in gratitude. A 2nd century AD inscription from Mysia, for example, records the dedications, presumably to thank for abundance, made by an *agoranomos* to Zeus Soter and Herakles.⁴⁵

Conclusion

The appointment and functional scope of *agoranomoi* in Asia Minor followed a trajectory broadly like that of the Greek mainland. During the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, *agoranomoi* began to be elected among the citizen body by the council. Inscriptions dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries BC indicate that in many cities of Asia Minor, the office of the *agoranomos* operated within clear administrative and economic boundaries established by the council. In the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods, the increasing dominance of local elites transformed the *agoranomia* into a standard step in the municipal *cursus*, typically beginning with lower offices such as the priesthood and concluding in the archonship. Like other civic offices in the *cursus*, *agoranomia* became increasingly monopolized by elites.

⁴¹ *I.Pergamon* I. 183/1; *SEG* 28. no.967: ἀγορονόμος δάμου πάσαι χώραι τότε Ἀπελλῆς ἦν, ὅτ' ἀειμνάστου, ξεῖν', ἀγορανομίας μάρτυρα κρηναίαις με διάκτορον εἶσατο Νύμφαις Ἑρμῆν εὐνομίας αἰδίομ φύλακα τὰς ἔνεκ' εὐόλβου κέρασος ρύσις ἅδ' ἀγοραίοις μανύσει τακτοῦ τέρμα χυθεῖσα χρόνου.

⁴² *I.Ilion*, no.4.

⁴³ *I.Ephesos*, no. 938; *SEG* IV, no.518: [...] ἀγορανόμου καὶ πανηγυριάρχου τῶν μεγάλων Πασιθέων καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ πρώτου ἐλεοθεσίας τῆς ἐν τῷ καινῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος κόρος ἀγνεία· ἄρτου καθαροῦ λί(τρα) α', ὀβ(ολῶν) β'· ἄρτου αὐτοπύρου λί(τρα) α', οὐν(κία) α', ὀβολῶν β'· ἄρτου ῥαντοῦ οὐν(κία) θ', ὀβ(ολῶν) β'· ἄρτου σιλιγνείτου, οὐν(κία) θ', ὀβ(ολῶν) γ'· οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀνφόδων [...]

⁴⁴ *I.Priene*, no.189: Λυκομήδης Πολυστράτου ἀγορανομήσας Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

⁴⁵ *IMT*, no. 2505: [- -]νης Μειδίου [ἀγορανό]μος ὑπὲρ τῶν [καρπῶν καὶ] σίτων Διὶ Σω- [τῆρι καὶ] Ἡρακλεῖ εὐχαριστήριον.

This transition is clearly attested in Late Hellenistic inscriptions from Ilion, Parion, and Erythrai. This may be understood as proof of broader changes across civic bureaucracy during this period.

While elections appear to have remained the primary method of appointment, epigraphic evidence such as the Silandos inscription reveals alternative procedures. Although the list does not record offices held prior to the *agoranomos*, the consistent succession of them does not have any indication of election. Thus, the list suggests a predetermined, possibly hereditary or elite-controlled sequence of all offices. This deterministic model demonstrates that some exceptions to electoral norms of the period did occur.

The findings of this study also show the complex and multifaceted responsibilities of *agoranomoi*. In addition to overseeing wholesale and retail trade and controlling commercial taxes, they were also responsible for monitoring the use of funds and enforcing the *agoronomia* laws in case of disputes. Inscription from Miletos shows that *agoranomoi* had a quasi-judicial responsibility. Another noteworthy aspect of the *agoranomos*' duties is their religious dimension. Although in Asia Minor the office is typically associated with Hermes, *agoranomoi* are also known to have made dedications during times of scarcity or abundance. This practice provides valuable insight into the integration of religious thought within the civic administration of the city.

Bibliography

- Abbott, Frank Frost, Johnson, Allen Chester, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926.
- Aristot. *Athen.Pol.* (= Aristoteles, *Athenaion Politeia*): Text: Aristoteles. *Athenian Constitution. Eudemian Ethics. Virtues and Vices*. Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 285. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935.
- Bekker-Nielsen, Tønnes. *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia: The Small World of Dion Chrysostomos*. Aarhus University Press, 2008.
- Foster, Benjamin R., "Agoranomos and 'Muhtasib'". *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13/2 (1970): 128–144.
- Glötz, Gustav, *The Greek City and Its Institutions*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1929.
- Häderli, Richard, *Die Hellenischen Astynomen und Agoranomen vornehmlich im alten Athen*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1886.

- IMT, Inschriften von Mysia & Troas.* eds. M. Batth & J. Stauber. München: Leopold-Wenger-Institut für Rechtsgeschichte, 1996.
- I.Assos. Die Inschriften von Assos.* ed. R. Merkelbach, Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1976.
- I.Ephesos 3. Die Inschriften von Ephesos,* vol. 3. eds. H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe & R. Merkelbach. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1980.
- I.Ephesos I.2. Die Inschriften von Ephesos,* vol. 2.2. eds. H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe & R. Merkelbach. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1980.
- I.Erythrai I. Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai,* vol. 1. ed. Helmut Engelmann. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1972.
- I.Erythrai II. Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai,* vol.2. ed, H. Engelmann. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1973.
- I.Ilion. Die Inschriften von Ilion.* ed. Peter Frisch, Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1975.
- I.Kyme. Die Inschriften von Kyme.* ed. Helmut Engelmann. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1976.
- I.Pergamon. Die Inschriften von Pergamon.* eds. E. Fabricius, C. Schuchhardt & M. Frankel. Berlin: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1890.
- I.Priene. Die Inschriften von Priene.* eds. C. Frederich, H. von Prott et al. Berlin: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1906.
- I.Tralleis I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa,* vol.1. ed. F. B. Poljakov. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1989.
- I.Tralleis II. Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa,* vol. 2. ed. W.Blümel. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 2019.
- Malay, Hasan, *Research in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis.* Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999.
- MAMA. Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* vol. 8. eds. W.M. Calder & J.M.R. Cotmack. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962.
- Oliver, Graham, “The ἀγορανόμοι at Athens.” eds. L. Capdetrey, C. Hasenohr., *Agoranomes Et édiles.* 88 – 100. Pessac, 2012.
- Rahyab, Susan, “The Keepers of the Agora: Contracts on the Office of Agoranomos in the Epigraphic Record”. eds. R.R. Benefiel & C. M. Keesling, *Inscriptions and Epigraphic Habit.* 133-145. Leiden, 2023.
- Ramsay, William M., “Inscriptions inédites de l'Asie Mineure”. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 7 (1883): 258–278.
- RE.* Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 1.2, 883–885.
- Rizaki, A., “Urban Elites in the Roman East: Enchanting Regional Positions and Social Superiority.” ed. J. Rüpke, *A Companion to Roman Religion.* 317-330,

- Plat. Leg. (= Platon, Leges / Nomoi): Text: Plato. *Laws*, Volume I: Books 1–6. Translated by R. G. Bury. Loeb Classical Library 187. Cambridge, 1926.
- Salmon, John, “The Economic Role of the Greek City”, *Greece & Rome* 46/2 (1999): 147 – 167. Malden, 2007.
- SEG 4. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, vol. 4. eds. L. Robert, M.N. Tod et al. Brittenburg: Apud A.W. Sijthoff, 1929.
- SEG 14. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 14. Eds. A.G. Woodhead, M.N. Tod et al. Brittenburg: Apud A.W. Sijthoff, 1957.
- SEG 27. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 27. Eds. H.W. Pleket & R.S. Stroud. Maryland: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1980.
- SEG 29. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 29. Eds. H.W. Pleket & R.S. Stroud. Amsterdam: Brill Publishing, 1982.
- SEG 30. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 30. Eds. H.W. Pleket & R.S. Stroud. Amsterdam: Brill Publishing, 1983.
- SEG 32. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 32. Eds. H.W. Pleket & R.S. Stroud. Amsterdam: Brill Publishing, 1985.
- SEG 49. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 49. Eds. J. Bingen & P. Herrmann. Amsterdam: Brill Publishing, 1999.
- Sperber, Daniel, “On the Office of the Agoranomos in Roman Palestine”. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 127/2 (1977): 227–243.
- Strootman, Rolf, “Kings and Cities in the Hellenistic Age”. eds. R. Alston & O. M. Van Nijf, *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*. 141-153. New York, 2011.
- Tekin, Oğuz, “Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Weights from the Ephesus Museum”, *Gephyra* 28 (2024): 137 – 194.
- Theodorou, Eleni, “Neue und alte Marktgewichte und die Agoranomie im kaiserzeitlichen Ephesos”, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 91 (2022): 253 – 272.
- Weiß, Peter, “Jenseits der Agoranomie. Neue und alte griechische Marktgewichte der Kaiserzeit.” *ZPE* 200 (2016): 247-273.
- Wessley, von K., “Die ägyptischen Agoranomen als Notare”, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* 5 (1892): 83–115.

