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## *HARPALIANI*: A new Village of the Roman Colony of Philippi

*Abstract:* First edition and historical commentary of an inscription inscribed at the front surface of a funerary altar dated to AD 2nd cent. The altar was found in the modern village of Kalamonas 9 km to the west of the Roman colony of Philippi. According to the text, which consists of excerpts of a testament, a certain Bacchanius Bizes left a bequest of two hundred and fifty denarii to the inhabitants of an otherwise unknown village (*vicus*) of the colony called *Harpaliani*. From the revenues of the bequest the latter were to provide an annual sacrifice on the deceased's monument, a feast on the day of the Festival of Roses (*Rosis*), and also to enjoy the *balneum* (*gymnasium*), a detail which is attested for the first time in inscriptions with similar testaments found in Philippi and its *vici*. If in any year these conditions were not fulfilled, then the money was to go to the members of the cult association of Jupiter Optimus Maximus residing in Philippi. *Harpaliani* is a new ethnonym derived obviously from the Greek name Harpalos. On this ground a hypothesis is suggested as to its history: the site of the village would be in the Hellenistic age a plantation belonging to a Macedonian Companion named Harpalos, on a piece of land given him by a king in the district of Kalamonas; after the fall of the Macedonian dynasty the plantation and its occupants would have become a village, which finally had been migrated into the *territorium* of the Roman colony of Philippi (42 BC).

*Keywords:* Philippi; Harpaliani; funerary inscription; Rosalia; Bacchanius Bizes; Calpurnia Cleopatra.

It is generally recognised that studying the life of ancient villages is a difficult enterprise, due to the absence of evidence. This is as true of Macedonia as elsewhere, with one exception: the Roman colony of Philippi (*Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis*). Our knowledge of the rural population of that great colony has now been enriched by a new Latin inscription found at Kalamonas (a village about 9 km west of Philippi), which is carved on the front of a funerary altar. This village has yielded a further six funerary inscriptions (five in Latin and one in Greek), three of them in very fragmentary condition.<sup>1</sup> The text of the new inscription reads as follows: Funerary altar made of coarse-grained white marble, kept in the atrium of the Museum of Drama with inv. nr. A 179. Found on a farm 800 metres east of the village of Kalamonas on 7.5.1994 and brought in by A. Mademlis. Retains part of the base, the shaft, and part of the crown. The front and sides of the shaft are carefully worked. There is some damage to the upper right front corner. The transition to the crown is achieved by a large bevelled surface without mouldings, as is the transition from the plinth. Above the



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<sup>1</sup> For the inscriptions found at Kalamonas see Pilhofer 2009, 479–481 nr. 398–403. For the archaeological finds, namely four capitals, see Avramea – Karanastassi 1993, 30, with the remaining bibliography.

ante-capital are pulvini with scrolls on the front face and, between them, a pine cone.<sup>2</sup> The upper surface of the altar is roughly worked. Dimensions: width 0.43 m (shaft), 0.58 m (crown); extant height 0.94 m and thickness 0.40 m. Letter height 0.025–0.045 m, line spacing 0.005–0.015 m (Fig. 1–2).

Date: 2nd c. AD.<sup>3</sup>

- Bacchaniu[s ]*  
*Bizes · vivus · vi[ca]-*  
*nis · Harpaliani[s]*  
 4 *donavit X CCL<sup>vac</sup>*  
*condicione · ita,*  
*ex reditu eorū*  
*quod · ann(is) · ad mon[um]-*  
 8 *ment(um) · suum · adalant [et]*  
*vescantur · Rosis · et u[t]*  
*et(iam) · gymnasio · fruant[ur].*  
*quot · si · condicionis [ali]-*  
 12 *quo · anno · n(on) · parue[r]int, pe[-*  
*cunia · s(ancti)s · cultorib(us) · I[ovis]*  
*Optimi · Maximi · redd[entur].*  
*[Cal]purnia Cleop[at]ra*  
 16 *f(aciendum) · c(uravit).*



*Bacchanius Bizes being alive left a bequest of two hundred and fifty denarii to the Harpaliani, who from its revenues are to provide an annual sacrifice on his monument [and] a feast on the day of the Festival of Roses (Rosis), and also to enjoy the balneum (gymnasium). If in any year these conditions are not fulfilled, then the money is to go to the association of initiates of the cult association of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. [Cal]purnia Cleop[at]ra took care in order this monument to be erected.*

Lines 1–3. The donor of the bequest, who is unknown elsewhere, bears the *nomen gentile* Bacchanius<sup>4</sup> and, as *cognomen*, the Thracian name Bizes. This last name is recorded in a Greek inscription found at Draveskos and is equivalent to the names Byzes and Byzos attested on other inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The participle *vivus* indicates that the will was drawn up while the testator was still living. The same form of words occurs in an act of donation from Photolivos.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For similar altars from Macedonia see Αδόμ-Βελώνη 2002 nr. 74 and plate 59, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, from Thessalonike. This kind of altar is also known from Rome and Spain, see Boshung 1987, 15, and Gamer 1989 plates 1–18, 41–67 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription is carefully worked, with deeply carved letters. The dating in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and probably the latter half of the century, is supported by the ligatures in the inscription and certain characteristic letters, such as the B, E, Q and R: cf the lettering of the inscriptions in Pilhofer 2009, 214 and 219. Photographs at the website [www.Philippoi.de/die-Inschriften-von-Philippoi-im-Bild](http://www.Philippoi.de/die-Inschriften-von-Philippoi-im-Bild).

<sup>4</sup> The name is not catalogued in Solin – Salomies 1994. It is obviously formed from the name Bacchus with the suffix *-anius*.

<sup>5</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 699 nr. 572.

<sup>6</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 635–636 nr. 529 ll 4–5: *viva [donavit thiasis]/ Bacchi X* etc. Based on the text that concerns us here, this inscription could be restored as follows: *[ut ex] / quo(r(um) redit(u) ad monu]/ment[um suam] Rosalibus*.

Line 4. For his bequest the author of the text preferred the verb *donavit*, which occurs in other testamentary inscriptions from Philippi, rather than *reliquit* or *dedit*.<sup>7</sup> As in the present case, the sums bequeathed generally do not exceed two to three hundred denarii.<sup>8</sup> The interest rate (see below, line 6) is never stated, so that we do not know what amount would be available for the annual celebration. We can, however, obtain a reasonable idea from loans attested in other Macedonian cities, e.g. Beroia, where in the first half of the 2nd century the interest rate on endowments was 6%.<sup>9</sup> At that rate of interest the sum available would have been 15 *denarii* (= 60 *sestertii* = 240 asses). If that is the case, the question is how many people (probably including women and children) the donor was expecting to take part in the events of the memorial celebration. No definite answer is possible without knowing e.g. the number and weight of sacrificial animals he wished to be purchased for the feast and the per capita cost of the other activity mentioned in line 10 (see below). However this may be, we may reasonably suppose, given the clause providing that if any one of these conditions was not fulfilled the sum would be given to the religious association of the *cultores Jovis Optimi Maximi*, that the number would not have exceeded a few dozen, since the largest association in the city of Philippi, that of the *cultores Silvani*, had approximately seventy members, while as far as we know the largest such association in Thessalonike at that time had only slightly over thirty members.<sup>10</sup> That the number of participants would not have been large is entirely probable, since there would likely have been other memorials of a similar nature to be performed on the same day.

Line 5. Usually the statement establishing such a bequest is expressed in a clause introduced by the conjunction *ut*. The formulation *ita* + subjunctive is attested for the first time in the inscriptions from Philippi, although the word *condicio* occurs in a similar funerary inscription from Philippi where we read: *[eadem] condicione ex fundo Psychiano vinearum p[lethra ... legavit]*.<sup>11</sup>

Line 6: The expression *ex reditu* occurs in other testamentary bequests, such as e.g. a second-century text from Charitomene leaving a legacy to the members of the *thiasus Liberi Patris Tasibasteni*,<sup>12</sup> and is unquestionably equivalent to the expression *ex usuris*, which is used to denote the annual return on a sum of capital put to loan.<sup>13</sup>

Lines 7–10. The testator made this bequest to the villagers conditional on their compliance with the provisions stated as his last will. These concern three actions that are to take place on the Day of Roses. As in other inscriptions from Philippi, this day is designated by the ablative of time *Rosis*, which is equivalent to the ablative *Rosalibus* in other Latin inscriptions and the dative Ῥόδοις in analogous Greek ones.<sup>14</sup> The events were associated, that is, with the Festival of Roses, attested in Italy and other

<sup>7</sup> For parallels with the verb *donavit* see Pilhofer 2009, 625–628 nr. 524 l. 6, 628–630 nr. 525 l. 6 and 635–636 nr. 529 l. 4 (certain restoration); for parallels with the verb *reliquit* see Pilhofer 2009 nr. 644 l. 3, and for parallels with the verb *dedit* see Pilhofer 2009, 606–608 nr. 512 l. 4.

<sup>8</sup> See indicatively the inscriptions from Charitomene (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD) Pilhofer 2009, 625–627 nr. 524, where the two donors left a combined sum of 300 *denarii*; from the same village (undated) comes the inscription Pilhofer 2009, 628–630 nr. 525, which preserves the sum of 100 *denarii*, and from Eletheroupolis (3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD) the inscription Pilhofer 2009, 808–811 nr. 644, which records the sum of 120 *denarii*.

<sup>9</sup> See Νίγδελης – Σουρής 2005, 80 = EKM I nr. 7 = SEG 55 678 = AE 1998, 1213. The term used here (l. 40) for the interest rate, τροπαιικός, is known from other parts of the Eastern Empire.

<sup>10</sup> For the number of members of Macedonian associations see Νίγδελης 2006, 110 and note 27.

<sup>11</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 51 nr. 45 l. 7.

<sup>12</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 625–628 nr. 524 ll. 6–7: ... *ex quorum redit(u) annuo Rosal(ibus) ad monument(um) eor(um) vescentur*. The word *monument(um)* in this inscription denotes the sarcophagus upon which the inscription was carved. Cf Pilhofer 2009, 635–636 nr. 529.

<sup>13</sup> For this expression see the funerary inscriptions Pilhofer 2009, 606–608 nr. 512 ll. 4–5: ... *ex usuris eius* and Pilhofer 2009, 808–811 nr. 644 ll. 8–9: ... *ex usuris eor(um)* ...

<sup>14</sup> See the examples in the preceding note, cf. Collart 1931, 63 notes 3 and 4.

parts of the Roman Empire, which accompanied the cult of the dead.<sup>15</sup> The festival took place in blossom-time, usually in the month of May (*Daisios*), more rarely in June (*Panemos*) or July (*Loos*)<sup>16</sup>.

Of these three actions, the easiest to understand is the one denoted by the verb *vescantur*: this verb, which occurs in another three inscriptions similar to the one we are considering here,<sup>17</sup> designates the meal that took place beside the funerary monument of the testator (*ad monumentum suum*). The other two, however, require more discussion. The first is expressed by a verb that appears in the text in the form *ADALANT*. To date this verb was known from a single inscription, a testamentary bequest from Eleutheroupolis in which, just as here, the donor, Dagus daughter of Zipyronis, left the sum of 120 denarii to the villagers of Scevenus (*vicani Sceveni*) so that: *ut / ex usuris eorum vescant/ur quotquot Rosis A/ALANT* (reading certain). The reading and sense of the last word have been a source of perplexity to scholars. Thus, the first editor, Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, read it as: *ut / ex usuris eorum vescant/ur quotquot annis Rosis adalant(ur)*, without giving an opinion as to its meaning.<sup>18</sup> Based on this text, she proposed correcting to this form (*ada<l>ant(ur)*) the verb *ADAINT* which appears in the executive clause of a similar bequest in a will from Prosotsani, which includes the phrase *ut ex usuris eius adaiant Rosal(ibus)*, for which earlier scholars had proposed different corrections, such as *adurant* (Ch. Picard – Ch. Avezou) and *adeant* (P. Collart).<sup>19</sup> G. Pikoulas later adopted the form *adalant(ur)* in the inscription from Eleutheroupolis, with the laconic observation “evidently in place of παρακαύωσι; peculiar unattested verb form”.<sup>20</sup> Both the reading and the interpretation were contested by P. Pilhofer in his second edition of the *repertorium* of inscriptions from Philippi, who followed his criticism of the views of the other two scholars with a declaration of his inability to understand the meaning of the verb. His objections were a) that the verb *adalo* is unattested, b) that the verb cannot be used in the sense of *vescor* (as he assumes is the sense understood by the first editor) and c) that there is an error of syntax in the passage since one would expect the two verbs to be connected by the conjunction *et*.<sup>21</sup>

Taken together with the inscriptions from Eleutheroupolis and Prosotsani, the new inscription from Kalamonas makes it possible to give a persuasive and better-founded answer to questions relating to the form and meaning of the verb, since they are similar texts following a stereotypical formulation, first and foremost grammatically. Since the inscription from Eleutheroupolis is preserved intact one must first of all accept that both there and in the new inscription from Kalamonas the correct grammatical type is *adalant*.<sup>22</sup> The more important problem that arises, however, concerns the meaning of the verb.

<sup>15</sup> For the *Rosalia* see Kokkinia 1999, 204–221.

<sup>16</sup> The days recorded in Latin and Greek inscriptions for the celebration of the festival are the 11<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, the 20<sup>th</sup> of June and the 15<sup>th</sup> of July. The date May 13 is recorded in an inscription from Thessalonike. See in this regard Nigdelis 2010, 31–32 and note 101, with bibliography.

<sup>17</sup> The verb is attested in the inscriptions: a) Pilhofer 2009, 625–628 nr. 524 ll. 5–6: *ex quor(um) redit(u) annuo / Rosal(ibus) ad monument(um) eor(um) vescentur* (2<sup>nd</sup> c., from Charitomene), b) Pilhofer 2009, 635–636 nr. 529 ll. 8–9: *Rosa[libus...] / vesc[antur]* (undated, from Photolivos), and c) Pilhofer 2009, 808–811 nr. 644 ll. 6–10: *ut / ex usuris eor/um vescant/ur quotquot Rosis* (Eleutheroupolis, 3<sup>rd</sup> / 4<sup>th</sup> c.).

<sup>18</sup> See Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1998/9, 56–59 (= Pilhofer 2009, 808–811 nr. 644) here 57 esp. note 119. For the analysis *adalant(ur)* the author refers to the undated inscription from Philippi Pilhofer 2009, 51–53 nr. 45 ll 5–6: *sed ut ex reditu eorum ii qui s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) monument[um] / [eiu]s et parentium eius colant et ipsi alantur*.

<sup>19</sup> See Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1998/9, 57 note 119. The first editor of the text, Perdrizet 1900, 310 nr. 3, saw the type as equivalent to *adeant*, followed by Collart 1931, 59 note 7 and 67 note 4, and, finally, Pilhofer 2009, 607–608 nr. 512, who comments (p. 607) that “Ich verstehe *adaiant* = *adeant* sc. ad monumentum, d.h. zum Zweck des Mahls”. The verb form was corrected to *adurant* by Picard – Avezou 1914, 49.

<sup>20</sup> See Πίκουλας 2001, 119–120 nr. 10. The latter rightly corrects the reading *quot{quot}* given by the first editor without comment.

<sup>21</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 810.

<sup>22</sup> A second argument is that the only fully preserved verb relating to the terms of the bequest, i.e. *vescantur*, does not accept an abbreviation.

Certainly, it cannot have the same meaning as *vescor*, since in that case we would on the one hand have a tautology and on the other need the form *alantur*, as in a similar bequest from Philippi.<sup>23</sup> A logical interpretation would be that it refers to another part of the celebration of the *Rosalia* expressed by the term *παρακαίειν* (it is perhaps no accident that the first element in both of these verbs is the preposition *ad/παρά*).<sup>24</sup> If this is the case, the two examples (Eletheroupolis and Kalamonas) would do much more than merely attest the existence of the verb *adalo*: they would show that this was a use (indigenous and influenced by Greek?) of a compound of *alo*, meaning to feed,<sup>25</sup> but in the sense of “present a burnt offering to the honoured dead as food”, just like the Greek *παρακαίειν*. In response to the view that *adalo* referred to the dead and not to the recipients of the donation, one might cite the inscription from Podochori in which one Zeipas leaves 120 denarii for *παρακαύσουσίν μοι ῥόδοις κατ’ ἔτος*.<sup>26</sup> As for the offerings, these must customarily have been small animals, usually hens, accompanied by other foodstuffs, as has already been observed in connection with the small sums of money bequeathed and based also on parallel texts from other parts of Macedonia.<sup>27</sup> The reading and interpretation of the new text from Kalamonas also require a correction of the corresponding passages in the inscriptions a) of Eletheroupolis and b) of Prosotsani, which should read respectively as: a) *ut / ex usuris eorum vescantur quot{quot} annis Rosis <et?> adalant. quot si* etc. and b) *ut ex usuris eius adalant Rosal(ibus)*.

Up to this point the testator from Kalamonas has expressed the same wishes as others from other villages around Philippi making similar bequests. But his will is different in that it makes an additional stipulation, expressed in the clause *et u[et] et(iam) gymnasio fruunt[ur]*, which occurs here for the first time not only in the inscriptions from Philippi but in Latin inscriptions generally. What does this clause mean? It is well-known that the word *gymnasium* appears in the phrases *gymnasium do, praebo*, etc., in numerous Latin inscriptions from the West, where it is used in a technical sense. There, depending on the context and the region, it can mean an elected official’s provision of oil or other goods to his fellow-citizens for use in a *balneum* – the commonest sense – or the organisation of athletic games or contests in a village’s gymnasium or other public place for purposes of public entertainment.<sup>28</sup> Although the interpretation of the phrase in the new inscription cannot rely on the expressions cited from inscriptions of the Western Empire, nonetheless the combination of the word *gymnasium* with the verb *fruor* gives it a content analogous to the most prevalent of those, in the sense that the testator sought to provide those taking part in his celebration with the pleasure of a public or private *balneum*. As we know from Greek inscriptions and later lexicographers, the word *gymnasium/γυμνάσιον* was used as a synonym for *balneum/βαλανεῖον*. The most characteristic example concerns the *balneum*

<sup>23</sup> See *supra*, note 18.

<sup>24</sup> For the sources see Collart 1931, 58–69.

<sup>25</sup> See TLL s.v. *alo* and especially citations in Latin-Greek glossaries.

<sup>26</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 730–732 nr. 597 l. 7. Analogous is the use of the related verb *ἀποκαίειν*, independently of the festive context in which it is used on each occasion. See indicatively the example of the priestess Eueia from Thessalonike whose bequest included the proviso (IG X 2 1, 260 ll. 9–13): ὅπως ἀποκέηται μοι ἀπὸ ἀγορᾶς μὴ ἕλαττον X ε΄, and that of one Marcus Aurelius Diodorus of Hierapolis in Phrygia who left three thousand denarii (Judeich 1898, 227 ll. b 1–5) τῷ συνεδρίῳ / τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφύρα/βάφω·ν ἰς ἀποκαυσμὸν / τῶν πάπων τῆ ἑθίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν.

<sup>27</sup> See Collart 1937, 484–485, who cites the known inscriptions IG X 2 2, 348 (cf IG *op. cit.* 349) from the village of Alkomeinai in Upper Macedonia (AD 192/3) where it is written that (ll. 4–23): ἐχαρίσα/το καὶ ἠρίθμησεν τῆ Ἀλ/κομεναιῶν κώμῃ, ταῖς / φυλαῖς, δηνάρια χεῖλια, ἴνα / ἄγωσιν αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν κα/τ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν τό/κων Δεῖου δευτέρᾳ, ἴνα ἢ / μὲν μίᾳ φυλῇ ἐνκαύσῃ Διὶ / Ἀγοραίῳ καὶ Ἡρα εἰς τὴν ἀ/γορᾶν ἄμνον καὶ ὄρνιν με/τὰ ποπάνων καὶ ἰσχαδοκα/ρύων καὶ εὐφραίνωνται ἐν / τῆ ἀγορᾷ, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τρεῖς / φυλαὶ ἐνκαύσωσιν ἐκάστη / ἄμνον καὶ ὄρνιν μετὰ ποπά/νων καὶ ἰσχαδοκαρύων τῆ αὐ/τῆ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς βωμὸν ἐν Ἀλ/κομενᾷ, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐποίησα / καὶ ἐπέγραψα, καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ...

<sup>28</sup> See Fagan 1999, 263–275.

endowed by Cn(aeus) Vergilius Capito, governor of Egypt and Asia, in Miletus. In the votive inscription with which the building was dedicated to the Emperor Claudius in the year AD 50, the donor uses the word βαλανεῖον;<sup>29</sup> later (in the second half of the second or first half of the third century), the same building is described in an inscription recording the *cursus honorum* of a Milesian named Menander as γυμνάσιον.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, according to Isidore of Seville (*circa* 570–636), based on the glossaries of Late Antiquity, *balnea* were also called *gymnasia* because their facilities included rooms for light exercise (the reference is to the rooms in public baths similar to the *palaestra* of a Greek gymnasium).<sup>31</sup> We must therefore accept that those who would be taking part in the memorial celebrations for Bizes would receive a sum to enable them to visit a public or private bathhouse, presumably the same day, in the afternoon, after the feast. The location of this *balneum* is not specified in the inscription. It might have been in their own village, as was the case with villages in many parts of Asia Minor,<sup>32</sup> or Bizes might have meant one of the *balnea* in the nearby city of Philippi, one of which has been excavated north of the Octagon.<sup>33</sup> With their share of the allotted sum, those taking part in the memorial festivities would have been able, for example, to pay for the oil they needed to scrape themselves down, or for a massage and/or a light evening meal, thus enjoying the *voluptas* of the *balneum* according to the custom of the time.<sup>34</sup>

Lines 11–12. The form of words is unknown elsewhere. Usually the possibility of failure to comply with the conditions of a bequest is formulated as *quod / quot si non fecerint*.<sup>35</sup>

Lines 13–14. That the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was widespread in Philippi and the villages belonging to the colony<sup>36</sup> is clear from the relatively large number of votive inscriptions to him, yet up to now we have had no evidence of the existence of a related association. The inference that those referred to in the inscription as *cultores* must have formed a religious association is further supported by their description, previously unattested in Philippi, as *sancti*, although one would rather have expected the epithet to be applied to the association, as is the case elsewhere, like the adjective ἱερός in the Greek

<sup>29</sup> See Milet I 9, 328 l. 3 ... τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>30</sup> I.Didyra 84 ll. 16–19: προστάτης τοῦ μεγάλου γυμνασίου ἔτεσι δυσὶν / καὶ τοῦ Καπίτωνος ἔτεσι δυσὶν .... For the interchangeable use of these two terms especially in inscriptions from Lycia, see Farrington 1995, 135.

<sup>31</sup> Etymologiarum sive Originum 15, 2, 40: *Balneis vero nomen inditum a levatione maeroris; nam Graeci βαλανεῖον dixerunt, quod anxietatem animi tollat. Haec et gymnasia dicuntur, quia ibi athletae uncto corpore et perfricato manibus exercitantur; nam γυμνάσιον Graece, Latine exercitium dicitur.*

<sup>32</sup> For the evidence attesting to the existence of public baths in nine Lydian villages see Schuler 1998, 257–258. It is worth noting at this point that in the Ἀπατειρηγῶν κατοικία (Ionia, probably in the vicinity of Ephesus) there was a large *balneum*, which means that the place also had a smaller one (see I. Ephesos 3249 ll. 16–18 ... εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βαλανεῖου..., AD 211/212), while in the famous collection of inscriptions from the time of Constantine I on the elevation of the village of Orkistos to the status of *civitas* (Phrygia Nacolea) there appears the expression *labacra publica privataque* (see MAMA VII 305 = IGLS 6091 ll. 25 ff).

<sup>33</sup> See Γούναρης 1990, cf Farrington 1999, 57–65 passim. This *balneum* had a central courtyard with a palaestra where bathers could take some gentle exercise before using the baths. For exercising in bathhouses, see Yegül 2010, 14. Another, less probable, version would be that the *balneum* belonged to the complex of a nearby station on the Via Egnatia (the highway probably passed through Kalambaki, five kilometres to the north). For the route of the highway in this region see Λώλος 2008, 84. For bathhouses on highway way-stations see Boersma 1999, 190–198.

<sup>34</sup> For the hours and probable activities that took place in bathhouses see Yegül 2010, 11–20.

<sup>35</sup> See indicatively Pilhofer 2009, 635–636 nr. 529 l.l 9–10 (completion uncertain) and Pilhofer 2009, 808–811 nr. 644 ll 10–11.

<sup>36</sup> For the cult of the god in Philippi and the epigraphic evidence from the Acropolis, Lydia, Drama, Prosotsani and Proti for the various epithets applied to him, see Pilhofer 2009, 282; cf Collart 1937, 393–395 and Τσώχος 2003, 72.

inscriptions.<sup>37</sup> The activities of the association must have been chiefly connected with the worship of the god on specific feast days and the cult of the emperors with which it was associated in Philippi.<sup>38</sup>

Line 15. The *nomen gentile* and Greek *cognomen* of the otherwise unknown woman who had the monument erected, evidently as *curator*, must necessarily be completed as [Cal]purnia Cleop[at]ra, based on the available *gentilicia* in *-purnius* from Macedonia and the beginning of the cognomen. This is the first attestation of this *nomen* in Philippi, although it is known from other regions and cities in Macedonia, including Eordaia, Dion, Thessalonike, Pella and Heraclea Lyncestis.<sup>39</sup> The name Cleopatra, on the other hand, is attested in one Greek and two Latin inscriptions from Philippi.<sup>40</sup> While the connection between Calpurnia Cleopatra and the author of the bequest is not specified, she may perhaps have been a relative.

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The new inscription attests one more instance of a testamentary endowment left to the inhabitants of a village within the *territorium* of the colony of Philippi with the proviso that they conduct certain ceremonies honouring the memory of the deceased at the Festival of Roses: for example, similar endowments were left to the Satriceni<sup>41</sup> and the Sceveni.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, the collective name 'Harpaliani' becomes the sixteenth in the list of local ethnonyms known from the *territorium* of Philippi,<sup>43</sup> along with the Calpapuriti (in the village of Vasilaki?),<sup>44</sup> the Satriceni (in the village of Mesorema),<sup>45</sup> the Media[ni] (in the same village),<sup>46</sup> the Pruptosureni (in the village of Choriste),<sup>47</sup> the Iollitae (in Koudounia),<sup>48</sup> the Scaporeni (in Prosotsani),<sup>49</sup> the Nicaenses (inscription from the village of Kokkinoyia),<sup>50</sup> the Sc [----]

<sup>37</sup> For the use of the epithet in Latin inscriptions see Ausbüttel 1982, 60 note 9. In the Greek inscriptions the epithet ἱερός is usually applied to associations connected with the mysteries, especially the Dionysian mysteries, see Pollard 1909, 169, and only rarely to their members, as for example in a votive inscription from Melos dedicated by the members of an association to its founder, see IG XII 3, 1098 ll. 3 ff.: ... Ἄλε/ξάνδρω κτίστη/ἱερώων μυστῶν.

<sup>38</sup> See Collart 1937, 395.

<sup>39</sup> The evidence is catalogued in Tataki 2006, 159–160 nr. 123.

<sup>40</sup> See LGPN IV s.v., with the sources.

<sup>41</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 54–61 nr. 48 l. 6 esp. 59–60. The sum of 140 denarii left to the *vicani* was for offering sacrifices to the gods of the underworld.

<sup>42</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 808–811 nr. 644 ll. 4–5.

<sup>43</sup> For the villages (*vici*) of the colony, their names and probable locations, see Collart 1937, 276–278, and Papazoglou 1988, 411, who lists 15 villages. This list includes two villages not in the table below, namely a) the Suritani, named in an inscription from Proti, Pilhofer 2009, 716–718 nr. 588 l. 9, and b) the Auloniti, from an inscription from Kepia, Pilhofer 2009, 772–774 nr. 619 l. 1, which labels a hero as *Aulonites*. I have not included them because there is some doubts whether these are in fact ethnonyms, see the discussion in the *corpus* in Pilhofer. Why Papazoglou omitted the Antheritani (see list below) I do not know. In addition, Pilhofer (2009, 471) expresses some doubt as to whether the ethnonym Polgenus in the funerary inscription Pilhofer 2009, 470–471 nr. 390 of 43/42 BC refers to a village in the vicinity of Philippi, as C. Veligianni believes (Βεληγιάννη 1997, 161). For the various views (e.g. of P. Perdrizet, P. Collart, D. Lazaridis and F. Papazoglou) concerning the boundaries of the *territorium* of the colony of Philippi within which these villages existed, see the detailed review by Pilhofer 1995, 52 ff and, most recently, Rizakis 2006, 123–130.

<sup>44</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 28–31 nr. 29 l. 5 and esp. pp. 30–31.

<sup>45</sup> See note 41.

<sup>46</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 51–53 nr. 45 l. 6.

<sup>47</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 534–537 nr. 456 l. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 498–500 nr. 417 ll. 2 and 5 and esp. pp. 499–500, where however he expresses some doubt as to whether this is actually a rural ethnonym.

<sup>49</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 606–608 nr. 512 ll. 1–2.

<sup>50</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 615–618 nr. 519 l. 3.

(same inscription),<sup>51</sup> the Coreni (same inscription),<sup>52</sup> the Zcambu [...] (same inscription),<sup>53</sup> the Tasi-basteni (in Charitomene),<sup>54</sup> the Sciazereni (in an inscription of unknown provenance),<sup>55</sup> the Cerdozi (inscription from the vicinity of Eleutherochori),<sup>56</sup> the Sceveni<sup>57</sup> and the Antheritani (these last two are mentioned in the same inscription from Eletheroupolis).<sup>58</sup>

The fundamental question raised by all these ethnonyms concerns the pre-history of the villages inhabited by their bearers. Solving this sort of puzzle is an extremely difficult undertaking, since what little we know about them comes exclusively from sporadic inscriptional evidence. As earlier researchers have noted, the etymology of their ethnonyms suggests – on the basis of current data at least – that in most cases they were not settlements founded by Roman colonists but villages pre-existing the Roman conquest.<sup>59</sup> The sole exception is the village of the Mediani, which was probably founded by colonists,<sup>60</sup> while the villages inhabited by the Nicaenses, the Coreni<sup>61</sup> and possibly the Sciazereni seem to have been Greek.<sup>62</sup> Most of the rest, however, appear to have been inhabited, initially at least, by Thracians. This conclusion derives in some few instances from supplementary information provided by the inscriptions concerning, mainly, cults and names: in the case of the village of the Tasibasteni, for example, in the Charitomene district, a Latin inscription mentions the cult of the *Liber Pater Tasibas-tenus*, which was observed by members of a particular family, all of whom had Thracian names, such as Bithys, Tauzies/Tauzi<x>s, Zipacenthus, Bithicen thus, Cerzula and Dioscuthis.<sup>63</sup> It is worth recalling here that the existence of a powerful Thracian element in the lands around Philippi is documented as early as the 4th century BC by, among other things, the famous letter addressed to the city by Alexander the Great, delimiting the areas allotted to the Thracians.<sup>64</sup>

Returning to the ethnonym Harpaliani in the new inscription, the obvious etymology from the Greek name Harpalos permits a reasonable hypothesis as to its history. Specifically, the proper name Harpalos is one of the set of indigenous Macedonian names<sup>65</sup> historically borne by persons in the circles of Perdiccas III, Alexander III and the Antigonids.<sup>66</sup> With all due reserve, since essentially we are working with a single piece of evidence, we formulate the hypothesis that the site of this village was in the Hellenistic age a plantation belonging to a Macedonian Companion named Harpalos, on land given

<sup>51</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 615–618 nr. 519 l. 2. Βεληγιάννη 1997, 161 ff., note 56) assumes this is the beginning of the ethnonym Sciazerenus.

<sup>52</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 615–618 nr. 519 l. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 615–618 nr. 519 l. 3.

<sup>54</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 625–628 nr. 524 l. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 589–591 nr. 509a l. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 791–793 nr. 636 l. 5 and 801–802 nr. 641 c

<sup>57</sup> See note 42.

<sup>58</sup> Pilhofer 2009, 808–811 nr. 644 ll. 14–15. For their probable location and that of the village of the Sceveni see especially pp. 810–811.

<sup>59</sup> See Collart 1937, 276–279; Papazoglou 1988, 411–412; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2011, 447.

<sup>60</sup> According to Pilhofer 2009, 52, the village was called Medius.

<sup>61</sup> See Salač 1923, 65, who, following P. Perdrizet, thinks that the the two ethnonyms correspond to villages called, respectively, Nicaea and Core, cf Pilhofer 2009, 616.

<sup>62</sup> See Βεληγιάννη 1997, 156–160.

<sup>63</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 625–628 nr. 524 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD)

<sup>64</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 185–182 nr. 160.

<sup>65</sup> For the Macedonian nature of the name see indicatively Kalléris 1954, 291 note 9 and Tataki 1988, 344. The name is considered an indigenous version of the Ionian Halpales, see Hatzopoulos – Loukopoulou 1996 (II partie), 225–226.

<sup>66</sup> See Hatzopoulos – Loukopoulou 1996, 225. For the documentation of the name in inscriptions from Macedonia generally see LGPN IV s.v.



him by the king in the district of Kalamonas.<sup>67</sup> The Latin ending of the ethnonym, *-ianus*, should be no more surprising than the equally Latin endings of ethnonyms like Nicaenses or toponyms like Psychianus (a *fundus* in the vicinity of Philippi),<sup>68</sup> formations linguistically normal in a Roman colony. If our hypothesis is sound, then given its short distance from the city of Philippi it is reasonable to assume that with the fall of the Macedonian dynasty the plantation at Kalamonas and its occupants would have become a village and as such have been integrated into the *territorium* of the Roman colony of Philippi after 42 BC.

As regards the population of the village in the imperial period, the new inscription, taken together with those already known, suggests that over time it became mixed, with the arrival of Roman incomers. Its inhabitants came to use Latin for their inscriptions far more than Greek. The use of Latin on the part of Bacchanius Bizes is of course related to the fact that he was a Roman citizen, but it also tends to confirm the linguistic assimilation of the Thracian population of the colony, already observed.<sup>69</sup> The cultural co-existence taking place within the *territorium* is further shown by the harmonious synthesis of local traditions and imported cults, as reflected for example in the celebration of the *Rosalia*: it is characteristic that in the new inscription the performance of the rites is assigned by a Roman citizen of Thracian descent not only to his fellow villagers but also to the followers of the cult of Jupiter Maximus Optimus.

#### Abbreviated Literature

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|-----------------------------|--|
| Avramea – Karanastassi 1993 | A. P. Avramea – P. Karanastassi, <i>Tabula Imperii Romani K 35, I: Philippi d'après la carte internationale du monde au 1:1.000.000</i> , Athens 1993.   |
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| Ausbüttel 1982              | Fr. Ausbüttel, <i>Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches</i> , Kallmünz 1982.  |
| Βεληγιάννη 1997             | Χρ. Βεληγιάννη, <i>Αφιέρωση στον Ποσειδώνα από Θράκα στην Ανατολική Μακεδονία</i> , <i>Τεκμήρια</i> 3, 1997, 152–164.  |
| Boersma 1999                | J. Boersma, <i>Designing and constructing Roman baths: the baths at the road – station mutatio Valentia</i> , in: J. De Laine – D.E. Jonston (eds), <i>Roman Baths and Bathing. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths</i> , Portsmouth 1999, 190–198 ( <i>JRA Suppl.</i> 37). |
| Boshung 1987                | D. Boshung, <i>Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropole Roms</i> , Bern 1987 ( <i>Acta Bernensia</i> 10).   |
| Collart 1931                | P. Collart, <i>Παρακαύσουσιν μοι ρόδοις</i> , <i>BCH</i> 55, 1931, 58–69.  |
| Collart 1937                | P. Collart, <i>Philippe, ville de Macedoine</i> , Paris 1937.  |
| Fagan 1999                  | G. G. Fagan, <i>Gifts of Gymnasia: A Test Case for reading Quasi-technical Jargon in Latin Inscriptions</i> , <i>ZPE</i> 124, 1999, 263–275.   |
| Farrington 1995             | A. Farrington, <i>The Roman Baths of Lycia. An Architectural Study</i> , Oxford 1995 ( <i>The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph</i> , no. 20).   |
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| Gamer 1989                  | G. Gamer, <i>Formen römischer Altäre auf dem Hispanischen Halbinsel</i> , Mainz am Rhein 1989 ( <i>Madriider Beiträge</i> , Bd. 12).   |

<sup>67</sup> See e.g. the donations in Cassandrea, Hatzopoulos 1988.

<sup>68</sup> See Pilhofer 2009, 51–53 ll. 4 and 7.

<sup>69</sup> See Mottas 1994, 22.

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### Özet

#### Harpaliani. Roma Kolonisi Philippi'de Yeni Bir Köy

İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde *colonia* statüsüne sahip Doğu Makedonia kenti Philippi'nin 9 km batısında Kalamonas Köyü yakınlarında İ.S. 2. Yy.da Latince kaleme alınmış bir mezar sunağı ele geçmiştir. Mezar sahibi Bacchanus Bizes mensup olduğu Harpaliani köy sakinlerine 250 *denaria* miktarında bir meblağ bırakarak bu ana paranın faizinden Rosalia Bayramı'nda her yıl kendisi için bir şölen yapılmasını ve şölene katılanların hamamda eğlenmesini buyurmuştur. Ölü kültü ile bağlantısı olan ve ilkbaharda kutlanan Rosalia Bayramı başka birçok yazıtta da belgelenmiştir.

Yazar yazıtın bazı özelliklerine değindikten sonra Harpaliani Köyü hakkında bazı düşüncelerini sunmaktadır. Köy ismi Makedonia kökenli Harpalos şahıs isminden türetilmiştir. Olasılıkla II. Philippos veya ardılları bu bölgede bulunan geniş bir araziye, kendilerine hizmet eden Harpalos adında bir şahısa devretmişlerdi. Philippi kentinin *colonia* statüsüne kavuştuğu İ.Ö. 42 yılında veya sonrasında bu arazi bir köy statüsüne kavuşmuştur. Büyük ölçüde Thrak kökenli olan bölge sakinleri kısmen Latinceyi kabul etmişler ve köyün ismini de Latinceleştirmişlerdir. Mezar sahibi de Roma vatandaşlığına sahip olan Thrak kökenli bir şahıs idi. İsmi Doğu Thrakia'da konumlanan Vize kentinden almıştır.

Makaleye konu olan mezar yazıtının çevrisi şöyledir:

*Bacchanus Bizes henüz hayattayken Harpaliani'ye 250 denarii miras olarak bıraktı. Onun gelirlerinden mezarında yıllık bir kurban kesilmesi [ve] Rosalia bayramlarında bir şölen yapılması ve ayrıca balneum'da eğlenmesi sağlanmalıdır. Eğer bu şartlar yerine getirilmezse, para, Iupiter Optimus Maximus'un kült derneğinin yeni üyelerinin derneğine verilmelidir. Calpurnia Kleopatra bu mezarın yapımıyla ilgilenmelidir.*

*Ahahtar sözcükler:* Philippi; Harpaliani; Mezar Yazıtı; Rosalia; Bacchanus Bizes; Calpurnia Cleopatra.