Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections
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PREFACE

The inscription presented in this volume, a first-century AD ephebic list in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (NMS), has never previously been published. Peter Liddel and Polly Low found a reference to it in an online catalogue in 2018 during the course of work on the *AIUK* project. In July 2021, Margaret Maitland, Principal Curator of the Ancient Mediterranean at National Museums Scotland, was able to access the stone and take several photographs, from which it became apparent that this was an inscription new to scholarship. Dr Maitland was immensely helpful in facilitating a visit by Polly Low and Chris de Lisle to autopsy the stone in August 2021, when the coronavirus restrictions meant that that was still a difficult undertaking, and she also organised high-quality photography. We therefore register our profound gratitude to her and the rest of the NMS team. We also thank Jaime Curbera, Heikki Solin and Tim Parkin for advice on onomastic matters (particularly hypocoristic names and the new name of line 29, Εὔθικτος), Stephen Lambert for his guidance on many points, Niall Bootland for his statistical expertise, as well as Alasdair Grant, Ian McHaffie, Daniel Potter, and Lorraine McLoughlin for notes on A. W. Inglis. We are grateful also to the two anonymous readers of this volume in draft for their comments and suggestions. We also acknowledge the dedicated work of Alice Wyllie (Communications Manager, National Museums Scotland) in successfully disseminating news of the inscription to the national and international press in May 2022.[1]

[1] See, for instance, *The Times*, Thursday 2nd June 2022, p. 23, "Graduates in 1st century had yearbook"; *The Daily Telegraph*, Thursday 2nd June 2022, p. 8 (not in all print editions), "Ancient Greek teenagers signed 'school yearbook' tablet to set friendships in stone"; *The Scotsman*, Thursday 2nd June 2022, p. 18, "Edinburgh's ancient Greek 'grad school yearbook' find"; and, among many online publications: *Ekathimerini*, Thursday 2nd June 2022, "Ancient Greek slab at Scottish museum found to list military academy cadets," https://www.ekathimerini.com/culture/1185858/ancient-greek-slab-at-scottish-museum-found-to-list-military-academy-cadets/ (accessed 02.06.22).

ABBREVIATIONS

Balzat 2019: J.-S. Balzat, "The Diffusion of Roman Names and Naming Practices in Greek Poleis (2nd C. BC – 3rd C. AD)," in R. Parker ed., *Changing Names: Tradition and Innovation in Ancient Greek Onomastics*, 217-36

Baslez 1989: M.-F. Baslez, "Citoyens et non-citoyens dans l'Athènes impériale au Ier et au IIe siècles de notre ère," in S. Walker and A. Cameron eds. *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, 17-36

Bechtel: F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (1917)

Brixhe and Hodot 1988: C. Brixhe and R. Hodot, *L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud: inscriptions inédites*

Byrne, *RCA*: S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* (2003)

Camia 2011: F. Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi: Il culto degli imperatori Romani in Grecia (provincia Achaia) nel secondo secolo d.C.*

Chankowski 2010: A. S. Chankowski, *L'Éphébie hellénistique: Étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la mer Égée et de l'Asie mineure*

Clinton 1997: K. Clinton, "Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius," in M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff eds., *The Romanization of Athens*, 161-82

Curbera 2017: J. Curbera, "Words, Names and Suffixes. Four Notes," in A. Alonso Déniz, L. Dubois, C. Le Feuvre, and S. Minon eds., *La suffixation des anthroponymes grecs antiques*, 267-78

Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: T. Drew-Bear and C. Naour, "Divinités de Phrygie," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.18.3: Religion (Heidentum: Die religiösen Verhältnisse in den Provinzen)*, 1908-2044

Dudgeon 1882: R. C. Dudgeon, *History of the Edinburgh, or Queen's Regiment, Light Infantry Militia*

Fossey 1995: J. M. Fossey, "Ηράκων," in *Boeotia Antiqua V*, 71-90 (= *SEG* 45.2285)

Fraser: P. Fraser, "Ethnics as Personal Names," in S. Hornblower and Elaine Matthews eds., *Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence*, 2000, 149-57

Friend 2019: J. L. Friend, *The Athenian Ephebeia in the Fourth Century BCE*

Geagan 1967: D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*

Geagan 1997: D. J. Geagan, "The Athenian Elite: Romanization, Resistance, and the Exercise of Power," in M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff eds., *The Romanization of Athens*, 19-32

Gibb 1906: R. Gibb, *Catalogue of the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh*. 40th ed.

Graindor 1922: P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*

Grasberger: L. Grasberger, *Die griechischen Stichnamen. Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung der alten Komödie und des attischen Volkswitzes* (1883)

Henderson 2020: T. R. Henderson, *The Springtime of the People. The Athenian Ephebeia and Citizen Training from Lykourgos to Augustus*

Hitchman and Marchand 2004: R. Hitchman and F. Marchand, "Two Ephebic Inscriptions: *IG* II^2 1973 A and 1973 B," *ZPE* 148, 165-76

Immerwahr, *CAVI*: H. R. Immerwahr, *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions* (2009)

Kajanto: I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965)

Kantiréa 2007: M. Kantiréa, *Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens*

Kennell 2009: N. M. Kennell, "The Greek Ephebate in the Roman Period," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, 323-42

Kogon and Fontanille 2018: A. Kogon and J.-Ph. Fontanille, *The Coinage of Herod Antipas: A Study and Die Classification of the Earliest Coins of Galilee*

König 2005: J. König, *Athletics and Literature in the Roman Empire*

LGPN: *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*

Liddel and Low 2015: P. P. Liddel and P. A. Low, "An Honorific Gnome of the Koinon of the Phrikyladai: a New Inscription from Liverpool," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 110, 263-84

Michaelis: A. D. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882)

Newby 2005: Z. Newby, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue*

Obit. 1929: "Obituary," *University of Edinburgh Journal* 3.2, 164-74

PAA: J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* (1994-2021)

Pape: W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. 3rd edition, G. E. Benseler, ed. 2 vols (1863-70)

Parker 2000: R.C.T. Parker, "Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion," in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews eds., *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, 53-79

Pélékidis 1962: Ch. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 av. J.-C.*

Perrin-Saminadayar 2004: É. Perrin-Saminadayar, "L'Éphébie attique de la crise mithridatique à Hadrien: miroir de la société athénienne?" in S. Follet ed., *L'Hellénisme d'époque romaine: Nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches*, 87-103

Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: É. Perrin-Saminadayar, *Éducation, culture et société à Athènes. Les acteurs de la vie culturelle athénienne (229-88): Un tout petit monde*

PSAS: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, a journal, available online at https://www.socantscot.org/publications/psas/

Rizakis 1996: A. D. Rizakis, "Anthroponymie et société: Les noms romains dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire," in A. D. Rizakis ed., *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East*, 11-30

Solin: H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, 2nd edn. Volume 2 (2003)

Solin 1982: H. Solin, "Analecta epigraphica LXXIX," *Arctos* 16, 165-222

Spawforth 2012: A. J. S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*

Thompson: M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961)

Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (I 1980, II 1996)

Van Nijf 2008: O. Van Nijf, "Athletics and Paideia: Festivals and Physical Education in the World of the Second Sophistic," in B. E. Borg ed., *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*, 203-27

Zgusta 1964: L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*

1. THE ATTIC INSCRIPTION OF ALEXANDER WOOD INGLIS

This small inscribed stele has been in the collection of National Museums Scotland since 1954, first as a long-term loan, and then, from 1956 as a permanent part of the collection. Before that it was held by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland on Queen Street, Edinburgh (where its inventory number was 1545).[2]

The Society of Antiquaries received the stele from Alexander Wood Inglis, Esq. (1845-1929), who was the son of John Inglis, Lord Glencorse (1810-1891), Lord Justice of Scotland. Alexander Wood Inglis was a Justice of the Peace for Midlothian, captain in the Edinburgh County Militia (from 1873) and Secretary to the Board of Manufacturers, which managed the National Gallery of Scotland (located in the same building as the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland).[3] He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland from 1891,[4] but his antiquarian interests focussed mostly on Scottish history. He was President of the Scottish Text Society and was particularly interested in Scottish military songs, publishing several collections of songs, writing several piano pieces of his own under the pseudonym of Alexander Selva, and bequeathing 306 volumes of music to the National Library of Scotland.[5] There is no evidence for him ever having visited Greece, or even having left Scotland. Inglis donated the NMS inscription at the Society of Antiquaries' meeting of 26th March 1888, before his election as a Fellow, along with a cast of an inscription from the doorway of an old house in Edinburgh, a Hindu statuette, and an Egyptian statuette.[6] Six further donations followed in subsequent years, mostly small items of Scottish craftsmanship.[7] One gets the strong impression that the items in the original donation did not greatly coincide with Inglis' interests and we hazard a guess that he had inherited them (though evidently not from his father who was still alive when the donation was made) or obtained them as a gift. The fact that it was donated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1888 meant that, rather like some of the ancient Greek inscriptions in the collection of the National Museums Liverpool,[8] it came into the public domain too late to be included in A. D. Michaelis' 1882 catalogue of marble sculptures and inscriptions in the UK; moreover, the updates to Michaelis' work by Vermeule and von

[2] We discuss the institutional histories of these collections in *AIUK* 10 (*National Galleries of Scotland*), n. 26.
[3] Dudgeon 1882, 170; *The Solicitors' Journal* 35, 29.08.1891, 738; Gibb 1906, iii, 45, 55, 289; Obit. 1929, 170.
[4] *PSAS* 25, 1891, 64.
[5] A. Cherry, et al., *Fontes Artis Musicae* 47, 2000, 7; National Library of Scotland, "Inglis Collection" https://digital.nls.uk/catalogues/special-and-named-printed-collections/?id=591 (accessed 4.3.2022).
[6] *PSAS* 22, 1888, 172. The NMS's archives record the donation as having taken place in 1887.
[7] 14th March 1892: a jointed iron collar (*PSAS* 26, 1892, 171); 9th February 1903: an old oak coffer (*PSAS* 37 1903, 144); 14th March 1904: three forks and a spur (*PSAS* 38, 1904, 253); 13 Feb. 1911: a wooden chair from Shetland (*PSAS* 45, 1911, 221); 12th December 1921: a plaster cast of the Duke of Albany's arms from the library of Trinity Hospital (*PSAS* 56, 1921, 19); 11th January 1926: wrought-iron door plates from Hammermen's Chapel and Parliament House (*PSAS* 60, 1926, 96).
[8] See Liddel and Low 2015.

Bothmer concentrated mostly on private collections rather than those, like this inscription, held in UK public museums.[9]

2. THE INSCRIPTION

1 LIST OF EPHEBIC FRIENDS. A.1956.368 = L.224.519 = SAS no. 1545. Small stele of white marble, preserved on all sides, except for a lower right corner. At top, a simple pediment with a recessed, rough-picked surface and a relief of an urn at the centre. Rear is concave, and smoothly worked, perhaps to allow the stele to be attached as a plaque to a curved surface. H. 0.368 (to top of pediment), w. 0.169, th. 0.04. Letter h. 0.007 (omicron) - 0.012 (phi) (ll. 1-39); 0.015 (sigma) - 0.019 (kappa) (l. 40). Imperial letters with serifs and apices. Alpha = Ⱥ; Delta = often broad and short; Epsilon = E; Theta = ⱺ / ⊙; Mu = splayed legs, centre does not reach baseline; Pi = Ⲡ; Sigma = Σ; Phi = hyper-extended vertical; Omega = ⱳ. Right stroke of triangular letters sometimes extends past apex (esp. l. 23). Guidelines. Autopsy Low and de Lisle 2021, Liddel 2022. *Fig.* 1.

41-54 AD

Relief

ἐπὶ Μητροδώρου
ἄρχοντος, κοσμη-
τεύοντος Διονυ-
σοδώρου Ↄ Φλυέος,
Ἀττικὸς Φιλίππου
τοὺς ἡατοῦ συνεφήβους
γράψας ἀνέθηκεν φίλους.

col. 1		*col. 2*
Αἰολίων		Ἑρμᾶς
Διονυσᾶς	25	Θεοφᾶς
Ἄνθος		Ελις
Ἡράκων		Ἄτλας
Θεογᾶς		Ζώπυρος
Χαροπεῖνος		Εὔθικτος
Τρύφων	30	Μουσαῖς
Δωρίων		Ἀνείκητος
Φιδίας		Σεκοῦνδος
Σύμμαχος		*vacat*
Ἀθηνίων		Ζώσιμος
Ἀντιπᾶς		Πρῖμος
Εὔοδος	35	Διονῦς
Μητρόβιος		Εἰσιγένης
Ὑψίγονος		Σωτας
Ἀπολλωνίδης		Ἀνδρόνεικος

Καίσαρος

[9] Michaelis; Vermeule, *AJA* 59, 1955, 129-50; Vermeule and von Bothmer, *AJA* 60, 1956, 321-50.

4 Ↄ = son of a man of the same name | 6 ἡατοῦ = ἑαυτοῦ. ἀτοῦ / ἑατοῦ for ἑαυτοῦ is found predominantly ca. 50 BC – ca. 30 AD, cf. *SEG* 30.81, *AIO Papers* 11, p. 5 on *IG* II^2 1043 with add. p. 671, l. 63; H for E before back vowels (α, ο, ω, αυ, ου) occurs ca. 100 BC – 100 AD, cf. *IG* II^2 4186, l. 7 ἡαυτοῦ; 4051, l. 3-4 ἡαυτ[ῆς, Threatte I 146-47 | 13 Χαροπεῖνος, confusion of EI and long I very common from end of i BC, Threatte I 198-99, cf. ll. 16, 31, 37, 39 | 26 Ελις for Ηλις, cf. Threatte I 160-61, 163 | 30 Μουσαῖς for Μουσαῖος, Threatte I 400-404, 416 | 37 Σωτᾶς or Σώτας, Threatte I 72-73 | 38 A, both feet visible; Σ, top vertical and upper diagonal.

Relief

41-54 AD

In the archonship
of Metrodoros, when the super-
intendent was Diony-
sodoros (son of Dionysodoros) of Phlya,
Attikos son of Philippos,
having inscribed his own fellow ephebes
(and) friends, dedicated (this).

col. 1		*col. 2*
Aiolion		Hermas
Dionysas		Theophas
Anthos		(H?)elis
Herakon		Atlas
Theogas		Zopyros
Charopeinos		Euthiktos
Tryphon		Mousais
Dorion		Aneiketos
Phidias		Sekoundos
Symmachos		*uninscribed space*
Athenion		Zosimos
Antipas		Primos
Euodos		Dionys
Metrobios		Eisigenes
Hypsigonos		Sotas
Apollonides		Androneikos

Of Caesar

Fig. 1. **1**. National Museum of Scotland A.1956.368. Image © National Museums Scotland.

This small stele, set up during the reign of Claudius (AD 41-54) by one Attikos son of Philippos, is a *philoi* list, a record of a group of friends who went through the Athenian ephebate together. The ephebate was a year (originally two years) of education which young men undertook around the age of eighteen to prepare themselves for life as adult members of the community. It has an attested history extending from at least ca. 335 BC to 267 AD.[10] From the third century to the late first century BC it was common practice for the city to honour the ephebes and their officials in inscribed decrees. After a period in which no datable ephebic inscriptions are attested at all, lists of ephebic friends, like this one, appear in the mid-first century AD, starting in the reign of Caligula – the earliest dated example is *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 4 from 36/7 AD. Most of these inscriptions were erected by an individual ephebe. As in this case, they usually contain a prescript with the names of the archon and the ephebic superintendent (*kosmetes*) in the genitive as a dating formula, the name of the ephebe erecting the inscription in the nominative, and a statement that he has listed his fellow ephebes (*synepheboi*) and friends (*philoi*). This is followed by a list of names, in the nominative (as here) or the accusative.[11] The genre had its heyday in the reign of Claudius and, although examples continued to be produced into the second century AD (e.g., *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 9 of 175/6 AD), they seem to have been largely superseded by the full catalogues of ephebic year-groups that began to be erected by the ephebic superintendents in the second half of the first century AD.[12] There is no information about the new inscription's original location, but it is likely that it stood in the Diogeneion Gymnasium, which was the headquarters of the ephebes in the Roman period. It is believed to have been located in the area to the east of the Tower of the Winds, where many *philoi* lists and other Roman-period ephebic inscriptions have been found.[13]

The NMS inscription belongs to the archon-year of Metrodoros. The exact date of this archonship is unknown, but we have another (incomplete) *philoi* list from the same year, *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, erected by one Alexander son of Alexander of Azenia, which explicitly states that it was set up in the reign of Claudius (41-54 AD). Graindor and Byrne placed that inscription early in the reign based on stylistic links with dated inscriptions. Notopoulos and Schmalz present prosopographic arguments for a later date.[14] None of these arguments is decisive. The ephebes' weapons trainer, Nikias, appears in both *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5 and *IG* II^2 1974, and the secretary of the ephebate, Menandros, appears in both *IG* II^2 1974 and *IG* II^2 1988=2264, indicating that these inscriptions were produced in sequence, but none of them can be dated to a specific year and it is unclear whether *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5 and the NMS inscription mark the beginning or end

[10] On the Roman-period ephebate, see Newby 2005, 160-201; Kennell 2009; Wiemer, *Chiron* 41, 2011, 487-538; *AIO Papers* 12, with further references. For the ephebate in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see RO 89, Pélékidis 1962, 104-277; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007; Chankowski 2010; Friend 2019; Henderson 2020, and for the first century BC, see *IG* II^2 1039, Perrin-Saminadayar 2004, *AIO Papers* 11 and 11B, with further references.

[11] On *philoi* lists: *AIO Papers* 12, pp. 8-9.

[12] On the ephebic catalogues, see *IG* II2 1990, *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, and *AIO Papers* 12, pp. 9-12.

[13] On the Diogeneion, see *AIO Papers* 12, section 0.1 with further references.

[14] Graindor 1922, 79-82; Byrne, *RCA*, p. 523; J. Notopoulos, *Hesp*. 18, 1949, 25-26; Schmalz, no. 62; *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), p. 52, n. 228.

of the sequence. The NMS inscription includes various linguistic features typical of the early Imperial period (confusion of EI and long I throughout, the Ↄ symbol in l. 4, H for E before a back vowel in l. 7, confusion of E and H in l. 26, -αῖς for -αῖος in l. 30), which are discussed in more detail in the commentary below, but it provides no new information that bears on the question of the exact date. We shall see that comparison of the NMS inscription with *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5 provides interesting points of commonality and difference.

The urn in the pediment is probably an oil amphora, referring to athletic competition, which was one of the ephebes' main activities and was closely tied to ideas of masculinity and Greek identity in this period.[15] It could be a prize amphora, awarded to victorious athletes, as seems to be the case with the ornate vase featured on *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5. The association with victory is also seen in *IG* II^2 3734 (126/7 AD) and *IG* II^2 2047 (140/1 AD), where the amphorae are accompanied by crowns and palms, indicating that victory was the central connotation in those cases too. A dedication by an ephebic gymnasiarch, *IG* II^3 4, 406 (95/6 AD) features an oil amphora, again paired with a victory-palm, but in that case it was also relevant because the main duty of the gymnasiarch was to supply oil for athletic activities.[16] In *IG* II^2 2017 (109/10 AD), a set of four ephebes are depicted naked, except for their cloaks, holding strigils and palms, and crowning their superintendent, with oil amphorae at their feet, perhaps again showing a link with victory, but also clearly indicating that these amphorae were one of the key symbols of the ephebate in general.[17] Thus, the inclusion of this motif might indicate that Attikos had won some athletic victory (with the named "fellow ephebes and friends"?), had served as a gymnasiarch himself, or that the monument belongs to a Great Panathenaic year (during the reign of Claudius: 42/3, 46/7 and 50/1 AD).[18] Most likely, it was chosen simply for its general relevance to the ephebate.

One of the purposes of *philoi* lists was to commemorate the close relationships formed by the ephebes during their year of service and express the desire for those relationships to endure. The sense of camaraderie within the cohort is palpable in the reference to the youths as "fellow ephebes" and "friends." As in most *philoi* lists, the ephebes are listed with their given name only, without patronymics or demotics – an egalitarian touch, as it obscures differences in social background, especially the distinction between citizen and non-citizen ephebes (see further discussion below).[19] An unusual feature of this inscription is the use of hypocoristic forms for many ephebes' names (e.g., Theogas for Theogenes, l. 12). These are shortened forms of names, analogous to English Steve for Stephen or Pete for Peter, which were sometimes used as names in their own right, but could also be used to create a tone of familiarity and casual camaraderie.[20] The latter interpretation seems most likely in this case, since several of the ephebes with hypocoristic names in this inscription appear to be attested in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5 and elsewhere

[15] König 2005; Newby 2005, 160-201; Van Nijf 2008; *AIO Papers* 12, pp. 31-34, with further bibliography.
[16] Gymnasiarch: L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, 599-600; *AIO Papers* 12, p. 23.
[17] Cf. Louvre MA 833 in T. F. Winters, *Hesperia* 61, 1992, 381-84.
[18] For this suggestion on *IG* II^2 2208 see J. L. Shear, *ZPE* 180, 2012, 166.
[19] On these, see *AIO Papers* 12, pp. 45-50 with further references.
[20] On hypocoristic forms, see Curbera 2017, 269-72. For the -ᾶς suffix used to form most of them, see Threatte II 71-74 and 86. For the -ῦς suffix in l. 35, see Threatte II 227-28.

with the full forms of their names (see below, on ll. 9 and 12). Another purpose of *philoi* lists was to allow the inscribing ephebe, Attikos son of Philippos, to present himself as the central figure of a privileged social circle. The total size of an ephebic cohort in this period was at least a hundred individuals, so the "fellow ephebes and friends" presented in the *philoi* list were an "inner ring", whose membership was determined by Attikos. As we will see, a number of the ephebes that made the cut belonged to prominent families – several of them also appearing in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5.[21] Finally, the inclusion of the inscriber's name in the prescript meant that it stood alongside the names of the archon of Athens and of the ephebic superintendent. All of these aspects presented a claim for Attikos' social prominence in a permanent, public, medium. Moreover, most public inscriptions that were honorific in character in Roman-period Athens seem to have required permission from civic authorities (usually the Areopagos Council),[22] but *philoi* lists seem not to have, which may explain why ephebes were keen to erect them.

Both our inscription and the Ashmolean text include the emperor's name in the genitive case, placed in a prominent location and in larger letters than the rest of the text – in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, the emperor's *tria nomina*, "Tiberius Claudius Caesar," appear at the top of the stele, on the moulding; in the NMS inscription "of Caesar" appears at the bottom. Similar references to the reigning emperor occur in other types of public inscription as well, starting in the reign of Augustus (e.g., *IG* II^2 1069). This is part of an important development in Athens and other Greek city-states in the Imperial period – the incorporation of expressions of loyalty to and veneration of the emperor into all aspects of civic life. This involved the incorporation of the emperor into significant locations within the cityscape (e.g., the erection of a temple for Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, *IG* II^3 4, 10), the establishment of imperial cults and festivals that incorporated the emperor into the civic calendar (e.g. *Agora* XVI 336), and the creation of links between the emperor and civic institutions (e.g. the Athenian archon became *ex officio* priest of Drusus from 9 BC).[23] As a key institution of civic life, such expressions of loyalty and veneration were also incorporated into the ephebate.[24] The reigning emperor is often named in ephebic

[21] Ephebic catalogues from the Classical and Hellenistic periods and from after the Flavian period give us a clear idea of the size of ephebic cohorts at those times, but for the Julio-Claudian period our only evidence is a set of *philoi* lists belonging to AD 45, which show that the cohort in that year contained at least seventy individuals: *AIO Papers* 12, p. 8-9. Between them, this inscription and *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5 record 49 ephebes, of whom seven or eight (Aiolion, Dionysas/Dionysodoros, Herakon, Theogas/Theogenes, Charopeinos, Tryphon, Sotas, and possibly Dionys/Dionys-) appear on both lists. If the names appearing in the lists were randomly selected, it would be possible to estimate the total size of the ephebic cohort statistically from the number of names appearing in both lists. Niall Bootland (Mathematics and Statistics, University of Strathclyde) used MATLAB to run 10,000 probability experiments on this data, showing that on average 5.6 ephebes would be expected to appear in both lists in a cohort of 100, 3.1 ephebes in a cohort of 180, and 1.4 ephebes in a cohort of 400. Unfortunately, as discussed here and below, the names that appear in the lists are not random, but chosen by the inscriber in order to associate themselves with the most prominent members of the cohort.

[22] Geagan 1967, 32-36, 41-48.

[23] Clinton 1997; Geagan 1997, Kantirea 2007; Spawforth 2012, 83-86.

[24] On ephebes and the emperor, see *SEG* 50.155 with AIO's notes, J. H. Oliver, *Historia* 26, 1977, 89-94; Camia 2011, 99-103; *AIO Papers* 12, pp. 29-31, 40-42.

inscriptions from the time of Claudius until the end of the second century.[25] The bare "of Caesar" of the NMS inscription also occurs often (e.g., *IG* II^2 1969, 44/5 AD). In inscriptions, names in the genitive often serve as a dating formula, indicating when and under whose authority the inscription was produced, as with the naming of Metrodoros and Dionysodoros in ll. 1-4. Given the extreme vagueness of "of Caesar" and the way the name is separated from those of Metrodoros and Dionysodoros, the dating function cannot be significant in this case, but the idea that the stele was produced under Caesar's overarching authority might still apply. In some cases, the genitive appears with explicit reference to a desirable attribute (e.g., *IG* II^2 1975-76: νείκη Τι. Κλ. Καίσαρος "victory of Tiberius Claudius Caesar"; *IG* II^2 1989: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Νέρωνος "with/for good fortune of Nero") but there is no such reference in the NMS inscription.

As discussed above, the names of the ephebes are given in a bare form, without patronymics, demotics, or the Roman *tria nomina*, which leaves their citizenship status unclear. Non-citizen foreigners (*xenoi*) participated in the ephebate in during late Hellenistic period. In the Roman period there is a class of ephebes called Milesians or *epengraphoi*, who were non-citizens (probably including resident foreigners, illegitimate children, and freedmen).[26] The final reference to *xenoi* occurs in IG II^2 1043 (37/6 or 36/5 BC) and the first reference to Milesians/*epengraphoi* in Attic epigraphy is *IG* II^2 1996 (87/8 AD), so there is no explicit evidence for or against the participation of foreigners and freedmen in the ephebate in the Julio-Claudian period. However, there are some aspects of the NMS stele that might indicate that there was no break in the participation of non-citizens in the Athenian ephebate in the early Imperial period. As we show below, prosopography and onomastics provide indications of the backgrounds of some of the ephebes. Aiolion (l. 8) is known from other sources to have been an Athenian and Roman citizen. Other ephebes are likely to be Athenian citizens, based on other attestations (Dionysas, Herakon, Theogas, Charopeinos, ll. 9, 11-13). On the other hand, two ephebes, Hypsigonos and (H)elis (ll. 22, 26), have names with strong regional connections, which are not otherwise attested in Attica in this period, and might be resident foreigners or naturalised citizens. Two other ephebes, Euodos and Euthiktos (ll. 20 and 29), have names associated with slaves, which might indicate that they were freedmen or descendants of freedmen.

In ephebic catalogues from the late first century AD onwards, it is normal for Milesians/*epengraphoi* to be recorded in a separate section after the Athenian citizen ephebes. In these catalogues, the non-citizen ephebes are explicitly labelled as such. As Stephen Lambert suggests to us, the *vacat* in the right-hand column (after l. 32) of the NMS list, and the slightly larger than normal spacing between l. 17 and l. 18 at the parallel point in the left-hand column, may mark out the ephebes below that point (ll. 18-23, 33-38) as Milesians/*epengraphoi*. The inscription's lack of an explicit label might be a diplomatic way of indicating a difference of status between citizen and non-citizen ephebes, while maintaining the idea of collegiality that was so important to the *philoi* list as a genre. This

[25] e.g., *IG* II^2 1970 (Claudius), *IG* II^2 1990 (Nero), *IG* II^2 1996 (Domitian), *IG* II^2 2017 (Trajan), *IG* II^2 2040 (Hadrian), *IG* II^2 2044 (Antoninus Pius), *IG* II^2 2090 (M. Aurelius and L. Verus), *IG* II^2 2113 (Commodus).

[26] On the participation of non-citizens in the Hellenistic period, see Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 250-53, 449-78; Henderson 2020, 267-73. On the Milesians/*epengraphoi*, see Baslez 1989; *AIO Papers* 12, p. 45-53, with further references.

interpretation is supported by the fact that *philoi* lists rarely label ephebes as Milesians/*epengraphoi* even in the period when we have explicit attestations of them in ephebic catalogues.[27] If Lambert's suggestion is correct, the two ephebes in the upper section whose names suggest non-citizen origin (Helis, in l. 26 and Euthiktos, in l. 29) could be explained as naturalised citizens (or descendants of naturalised citizens named after non-citizen grandfathers). There are some other *philoi* lists contemporary with the NMS inscription that appear to use formatting in similar ways. *IG* II^2 1974, from around the same date as this inscription, includes two separate lists in a single column (ll. 18-24, 25-30), separated by a *vacat*, each entitled "fierce friends" (φίλοι γοργοί), and *IG* II^2 1992 from 55-65 AD includes a first list of names (ll. 9-14, 19-20) and a second list, starting midway down a second column, entitled, "friends" (ll. 21-25). It is likely that in these inscriptions the first set of ephebes were Athenian citizens and the second set were not.

Since this is the *editio princeps* of the NMS inscription we append a full line-by-line commentary on names and persons listed:

Column 1: Upper Section

ll. 3-4: Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros of Phlya was the *kosmetes* or superintendent of the ephebes for the year in which this stele was erected.[28] Ephebic inscriptions normally include the *kosmetes* in the dating formula. One reason for this is the central role of the *kosmetes* as a focal point and role model for the cohort. His inclusion also indicates that the erection of the inscription, like all other activities of the ephebes, had been done under his authority, in the same way that dedications in sanctuaries usually include the priest of the sanctuary alongside the eponymous archon.

l. 5: Attikos son of Philippos: like the erector of *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, this individual does not seem to be otherwise attested. His name is very rare in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (*IG* II² 2356, l. 59; *Agora* XVII 739), but became common in second-century AD Athens, when the term "Attic" referred to an oratorical style grounded in the language of the fourth-century BC Attic orators and epitomised by sophists like Herodes Atticus. This inscription is one of a group of mid-first century AD attestations, which mark the beginning of the name's popularity.[29]

l. 8: Aiolion is M. Vipsanius Aiolion, son of Antipatros of Phlya (*PAA* 114312 = 114317), whose name appears within a crown on *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, ll. 8-10 and who served as archon ca. 75 AD (*IG* II^2 1998). His family is one of a group of hitherto obscure families who rose to prominence after the Battle of Actium, when his great-grandfather Antipatros served as Hoplite General seven times, and was the first prominent Athenian to receive Roman citizenship, from Augustus' deputy Marcus

[27] There are only two instances: *IG* II^2 2024 (111/2 AD) and *IG* II^2 2026a (115/6 or 116/7 AD). By contrast, Milesians/*epengraphoi* are not explicitly mentioned in *IG* II^2 2285 (late i-early ii AD), *IG* II^2 2030 (100/1 AD); *IG* II² 2018 (early ii AD); *IG* II^2 2002 (after 117 AD); *IG* II^2 2021 (ca. 120 AD); *IG* II^2 2117 (180/1-191/2); *IG* II^2 2227 (after 218/9 AD).

[28] On the *kosmetes*, cf. *AIO Papers* 12, pp. 16-19 with further references.

[29] *IG* II² 1945, l. 87 (45/6 AD, gymnasium dedication); *IG* II² 1974, l. 27 (40-54 AD, *philoi* list); Att[iko]s son of Diodotos of Marathon in *IG* II^2 1723 + *SEG* 26.166, l. 18 (ca. 60 AD, prytany list); *IG* II² 1984, l. 19 (mid-i AD *philoi* list); *IG* II² 1987 = *Hesp*. 16 (1947) p. 68, l. 5 (mid-i AD?, *philoi* list); *SEG* 44.127, l. 6 (mid-i AD, *philoi* list?).

Vipsanius Agrippa, around 16 BC.[30] Aiolion's grandfather, Aiolion, was archon late in the Augustan period (*IG* II^2 3242) and his father Antipatros was archon in 45/6 AD, around the time that this stele was erected (*FGrH* 257 F 36.6, *IG* II^2 1945, 1969-1970).

l. 9: Dionysas is a hypocoristic form of Dionysios and Dionysodoros. Probably this ephebe is the same as the one who is named first in the main list in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, l. 16 (i.e. at top left); if so, this is an unusual case where a person referred to by a hypocoristic name can plausibly be identified with one referred to elsewhere by a full form of the name (see also below, line 12 on Theogas). His prominent position in both lists suggests that he was the son of the *kosmetes*. Sons often went through the ephebate in their father's year of office and enjoyed prominence in the cohort when they did so.[31]

l. 10: Anthos does not appear in the surviving text of *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5. His high position on this list, alongside ephebes whose names appear within crowns on the Ashmolean inscription might indicate that his name appeared in the now-lost lower right crown on that inscription, or just that he was particularly close with Attikos. The name, meaning "blossom", becomes very common in second-century AD Athens (*PAA* 130335-515). This inscription is one of its earliest appearances, along with an Anthos who appears in two *philoi* lists and a gymnasium dedication from 45/6 AD (*IG* II^2 1969, l 9; 1970, l. 46; 1945, l. 88), and an Anthos was also one of the *pyloroi* in the mid-first century AD (*IG* II^2 2299, l. 7).

l. 11: Herakon, son of Herakleides of Marathon, is crowned in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, ll. 13-15. The name was originally a hypocoristic form of Herakleides/Herakleitos, which developed into an independent name in central Greece (especially southern Boiotia), first appearing in Attica in the second century BC.[32] Dow restored his name as one of the *thesmothetai* in *IG* II² 1735, but this is probably incorrect, since it would have required him to hold the magistracy while he was an ephebe, which is unprecedented.[33]

l. 12: Theogas, the hypocoristic form of Theogenes, is not otherwise attested in Attica. He is probably the same individual as Theogenes son of Theogenes of Kephisia, whose name appears within a crown in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, ll. 11-12. This is another rare case where a person referred to by a hypocoristic name can plausibly be identified with one referred to elsewhere by a full form of the name (see also above, line 9 on Dionysas). Theogenes (or a homonymous son) appears as Treasurer for Erechtheis in a list of *prytaneis* from the 90s AD (*Agora* XV 312, l. 10). A regular ephebe of 142/3 AD, Theogenes son of Theogenes of Kephisia (*IG* II^2 2049, l. 38) might be a descendant.

l. 13: Charopeinos appears at the top of the central column of the main list in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, l. 29. T. Claudius Charopeinos, son of Phrasineikos of Rhamnous made a dedication at Peparethos in 99/100 AD (*IG* XII 8, 645) and a probable son

[30] Geagan 1997, 21; Byrne, *RCA* pp. 423-24, 484-86 and stemma xvi; Schmalz 233-36; *AIUK* 2 (BSA), no. 5; *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), p. 52-53.
[31] *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), p. 52.
[32] Fossey 1995.
[33] Dow, *Hesp.* 3, 1934, 169; Hitchman and Marchand 2004, 11; *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), p. 53, n. 234.

Claudius Charopeinos of Rhamnous served as a *prytanis* around 130 AD (*Agora* XV 322, l. 60-61) and may have made a dedication honouring Hadrian as his personal benefactor in 132 AD (*IG* II^2 3320). The name is so rare that these are likely to be descendants of this ephebe, who might have been the father of Phrasineikos and would likely have been the original recipient of the family's Roman citizenship.[34] Names ending in -ῖνος are very commonly spelt with EI in Roman-period inscriptions.[35]

l. 14: Tryphon also appears in the main list on *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, l. 30. In the Hellenistic period, the name, meaning "luxurious," is associated with Syria and appears in the Aegean only in the second century BC, when there are a number of attestations among Roman freedmen at Delos (*ID* 1692, 1754-1755, 1763). It first appears at Athens in the late first century BC (e.g., *I Rhamnous* 203, l. 23), and occurs occasionally in the first century AD, becoming common in the second and third centuries AD.

l. 15: Dorion is attested at Athens in all periods, but is fairly rare (19 instances in seangb.org). In the Roman period, bearers are known from Paiania (*IG* II^3 4, 10, father of Areios, archon ca. 20 BC), Halai (*IG* II^2 5484), Phlya (*IG* II^2 1072, l. 3), and the tribe Pandionis (*IG* II² 2245, l. 115), as well as several Milesians/*epengraphoi* (*IG* II^2 2024, l. 51; 9505; 9528; *SEG* 12.115, l. 50).

l. 16: Phidias is a fairly common name in all periods (48 instances in seangb.org). The spelling Phidias rather than Pheidias is a frequent hypercorrection reflecting the confusion of EI and long I in the Roman period.[36]

l. 17: Symmachos is a common name in all periods (57 instances in seangb.org). This name is in line with the *vacat* in the right-hand column (l. 33), and there is slightly more space between this name and the one below, so, as discussed above, the names below this point may be marked off as non-citizen ephebes.

Column 1: Lower Section

l. 18: The name Athenion is attested at Athens from ca. 500 BC (Immerwahr, *CAVI* 8001c), but becomes substantially more common in the Roman period (29 instances from v-i BC and 68 from i-iii AD in seangb.org).

l. 19: Antipas is another hypocoristic form, best known from the literary accounts of Herod Antipas, the first-century AD tetrarch of Galilee.[37] In epigraphy, it is rare everywhere (*LGPN* lists fourteen examples). There is only one other example from Athens: Antipas son of Neikon, an *epengraphos* in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 10, l. 216 (195/6 AD). Thus, like the other ephebes who bear hypocoristic names in this inscription, this ephebe probably went by the full form, Antipatros, which is a common name at Athens in all periods (99 instances in seangb.org).

l. 20: Euodos is a common name at Athens from the second century AD onwards (92 instances out of 105 on seangb.org). It is also a common name for slaves and freedmen

[34] Byrne, *RCA*, p. 133, no. 47-50; *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), p. 53.
[35] Threatte I 198.
[36] Threatte I 198-99. Other examples: *IG* II^2 1968, l. 11; 6633; *IG* II^3 4, 559, l. 20; *SEG* 28.161, l. 88; 28.170, l.46; *IGUR* 1588.
[37] Kogon and Fontanille 2018, 33-38. The hypocoristic form appears to be informal; in epigraphic and numismatic texts he is always Herod the Tetrarch.

in the West in the Imperial period (e.g., *CIL* VI 9545; X 1403 a I, l. 17; 6985) and McGuire argues that bearers of the name in the Athenian context should be understood as freedmen and their descendants, noting the frequency with which the name appears among the Milesians and *epengraphoi* in ephebic lists.[38] The only attestations from the first century AD at Athens are *IG* II^2 6758 (funerary inscription for Eisid- son of Euodos of Lousia) and *IG* II^2 1996, ll. 44, 79, and 161 (ephebic catalogue of 87/8, Euodos son of Hermias of Kydathenaion, Euo[dos] son of Eu[odos] of Araphen, Euodos son of Heraklei- the Milesian), and *IG* II^2 9812 (funerary inscription for Euodos son of Nikolaos the Milesian). There are also two second- or first-century BC funerary inscriptions for bearers of the name who were foreign residents of Antiochene origin (*IG* II^2 8190 and *I Rhamnous* 258). Though certainty is impossible given the three incidences of citizen-bearers of the name, the high proportion of non-citizens within this relatively small number of bearers tends to support McGuire's argument. Consistently with this he is listed in the lower section of the list, which, as we have seen, may have contained non-citizen ephebes.

l. 21: Metrobios is attested for most of the period between the fifth century BC and the second century AD, but is a fairly rare name (20 examples in seangb.org) and this happens to be the only example known from the first century AD at Athens. Outside of Athens, the name is virtually restricted to western Asia Minor (45 examples in *LGPN*), the Black Sea (10 examples), and Phrygia (7 examples).

l.22: Hypsigonos is a rare name not previously attested in Attica. *LGPN* gives 11 attestations, of which 5 derive from the Black Sea region, 4 from Phrygia. This might indicate that the ephebe was an immigrant to Athens or part of a family that had immigrated to Athens from either of these regions. Consistently with this he is listed in the lower section of the list, which, as we have seen, may have contained non-citizen ephebes.

l. 23: Apollonides is a common name in all periods (98 instances on seangb.org). This is the last name in the left-hand column.

Column 2: Upper Section

l. 24: Hermas is a relatively rare name, attested at Athens in the first or second centuries AD. Most bearers are "Milesians" or men whose citizenship status is unclear (seven out of ten attestations on seangb.org). However, it is also the hypocoristic form of names starting with Herm-, like Hermias and Hermogenes, which are very common.

l.25: Theophas is the hypocoristic form of common names like Theophanes and Theophrastos. The only other attestation of the short form in Attica is the late first-century AD *philoi list*, *IG* II^2 1998 l. 29. *LGPN* gives only two other attestations outside Athens.

l. 26: Elis is not an attested name, nor a Greek word, and the initial epsilon is probably a mistake for eta,[39] giving the name Ηλις, which is attested four times at Athens in the

[38] M. R. P. McGuire, *AJPh* 67, 1946, 140-47.

[39] E and H are occasionally confused in Attic inscriptions of the early Roman period – from the second century this becomes much less common, as H merged with I instead: Threatte I 160-61, 163.

second and third centuries AD, mostly borne by *epengraphoi*.[40] There are two sources for this name: the Greek ῞Ηλιος ("Sun"), a common name for slaves and freedmen (for the omission of omicron, cf. Mousais in l. 30, discussed below) and the pre-Greek Phrygian name, Ηλις (accentuation and breathing uncertain). These names became conflated in Phrygia in the first century AD.[41] *LGPN* gives a total of 158 attestations, of which 36 come from Phrygia, 40 from the rest of inland Asia Minor, 43 from the Black Sea region, and 39 from everywhere else. As with Hypsigonos, it seems very plausible, then, that this ephebe was of Phrygian or Black Sea origin and potentially a non-citizen ephebe (or perhaps a naturalised citizen: see above). The second- and third-century Athenian bearers of the name might be descendants or subsequent migrants from Phrygia. It is also possible that this name is associated with the toponym ᾿Ηλις in the Peloponnese; there are a number of other city-toponyms and other place-names attested as personal names (see Bechtel, 552-54; Fraser, 154-57), but ᾿Ηλις until now is attested only as a place.

l. 27: Atlas appears to be named after the mythical sky-supporting Titan. The name is not previously otherwise attested for human beings in Athens (*PAA*, seangb.org) or anywhere else (*LGPN*). At Athens, the adoption of mythical names by mortals seems to begin in the late first century BC and continues through the third century AD (cf. seangb.org, s.v. Ἑρμῆς, Ἡρακλῆς, Θησεύς, Ὀρέστης, Ὀρφεύς, Περσεύς, Ὠκεανός; on theonyms as human names see Parker 2000, 53). A notable, though later, comparandum is T. Domitius Prometheus of Oa, father of another Prometheus and a Narkissos (*IG* II^2 3769, ca. 240-253 AD).

l. 28: Zopyros is another name that is common in all periods.

l. 29: Euthiktos is not previously attested as a personal name in Athens (*PAA*) or anywhere else (*LGPN*). The adjective εὔθικτος, -ον means "clever, quick, witty" (*LSJ*), from εὖ ('well') + θιγγάνω ('touch, grasp'). Like many other Greek names it appears to refer to an aspect of temperament or character: see also below, l. 31 (Aneiketos, meaning "invincible").[42] It is probably unrelated to the Latin name Euthyct[us] (or Euthyct[etus]) which is attested on an imperial-period Latin funerary inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 23866 l. 2).[43] The element -θικτος is attested in the name ᾍθικτος elsewhere in the Greek world, especially Ionia, but not at Athens (e.g. Samos, 2nd century AD: *IG* XII 6, 1.235 l. 4; Ephesos, imperial period: *SEG* 33.955 ll. 6-7); its adjective ἄθικτος, -ον means "untouched" or "incorruptible". Solin (917-18) suggests that the forms Athictus/ ᾍθικτος are especially associated with slaves or freedmen. Although his name appears in the upper part of the inscription, which we

[40] (H)eleis son of Dionysios, an *epengraphos* (*SEG* 29.152 ii, l. 78, AD 140); (H)eleis son of Theodoros, an *epengraphos* (*IG* II^2 2097, l. 308); Aurelius (H)eleis son of Koitonikos of Marathon, a regular ephebe (*IG* II² 2208, l. 120, 211/2 AD); (H)elis son of Exekestides (*SEMA* 1917, funerary, uncertain date).

[41] Zgusta 1964, 180-81, no. 399; Brixhe and Hodot 1988, 84-85; Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, p. 1969 n. 215.

[42] For the common phenomenon of Greek personal names formed from adjectives see Pape xvi-xvii xviii, xix, xx-xxi; Bechtel, 500-506.

[43] Solin (866-71) implies that Euthyctus may be a form of the very common Latin name Eutychus or that the name should be restored alternatively as Euthyct[etus] (Solin 1982, 186).

have argued lists citizen ephebes, it is possible that our Euthiktos was of non-citizen descent or himself a non-citizen. Euthiktos is unlikely to be a nickname: Greek nicknames could make reference to physical or mental characteristics but not usually by straightforwardly describing an attribute[44] and anyway it would be surprising for an individual to be referred to by a nickname alone in an inscribed list.

l. 30: Mousais is a form of Mousaios, a name which appears occasionally at Athens, mostly as a name of slaves, foreign residents, and visitors from the fourth century BC (Lys. F 91; *IG* II^2 7232, 10394), before rising to popularity in the late second century BC (*FD* III.2 24, l. 31; *IG* II^2 1009 ii, l. 85; Thompson 616-18 are the first citizen examples), where it remains throughout the Roman period. It is tempting to identify our ephebe as the father of Mousais son of Mousais of Myrrhinoutta who was an ephebe in 87/8 AD (*IG* II^2 1996, l. 41), but the popularity of the name makes this hazardous. The spelling without the omicron, which also occurs in *IG* II^2 2046, l. 53, is seen with other names in -αιος (like Athenaios, Dikaios, Hermaios), -ιος (like Demetrios), and -ιον (like Erotion), starting in Egyptian papyri texts in the mid-third century BC. There are a couple of examples from Attica in the first century BC (*IG* II^2 4709, 8905, 10418), but this inscription is part of a cluster of attestations from the Claudian period, along with *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 4, l. 13 (36/7 AD), *IG* II^2 1969, l. 16 (45/46 AD), *IG* II^2 1737, l. 14 (53/4 AD), after which this becomes a regular feature in Attic epigraphy.[45]

l. 31: Aneiketos ("Invincible") is known from several examples at Athens (*PAA* 129442-75, 130635), all substantially later than this inscription.[46]

l. 32: Sekoundos (i.e. Secundus) and Primos (l. 34, i.e. Primus) are Roman names, meaning "first" and "second," which probably originally related to the birth-order of children but very frequently used as *cognomina*,[47] but also were commonly adopted by Greeks from the first century BC onwards. When given as *nomina nuda* (i.e. without a *praenomen* or a *nomen*), as here, they need not indicate that the individual was a Roman citizen or of non-Greek descent.[48] This inscription belongs to the same period as the earliest attestations of both names at Athens. The fact that these earliest attestations include two archons, might indicate that elite citizen families were the first adopters of these Latinate names at Athens.[49]

The next line is uninscribed, perhaps to mark a distinction between citizen and non-citizen ephebes (see above for discussion).

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[44] See Grasberger, 19-63. For further discussion of double-naming, see *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam*) no. 9 with n. 144.

[45] Threatte I 400-4, 416.

[46] *Prytanis* (*Agora* XV 466, l. 59, 220/1 AD). *Sophronistes*: *IG* II^2 2269 (184 AD). Citizen ephebe: *IG* II^2 2245, l. 357 (235/6 AD). *Epengraphoi*: *IG* II^2 2064 ll. 25-26 (mid-ii AD), *IG* II^2 2245, l. 433 (255/6 AD). Fathers of ephebes: *IG* II^2 2001, l. 24 (120/1 AD), *IG* II^2 2120, l. 32 (150-172 AD), *IG* II^2 2245, l. 375 (235/6 AD).

[47] On cognomina referring to the order of birth, see Kajanto, 290-94.

[48] Rizakis 1996, 21-23; Balzat 2019, 218-30.

[49] A Sekoundos was eponymous archon ca. 38-48 AD (*IG* IV^2 1, 83, l. 7; 84, l. 21), and another sometime later (*SEG* 29.153). Sekoundos son of Sophron appears in a gymnasium dedication of 45/6 AD (*IG* II^2 1945, l. 96). A Prim[os] son of Xeno- appears in a Claudian-period *philoi* list (*IG* II^2 1974, ll. 14-15), another in the 45/6 AD gymnasium dedication (*IG* II^2 1945, l. 94).

Column 2: Lower Section

l. 33: Zosimos is a very common name at Athens in the first three centuries AD (622 out of 626 instances on seangb.org).

l. 34: Primos. See discussion above, l. 32.

l. 35: Dionys is a hypocoristic form of names like Dionysios.[50] The short form is very rare – only two examples are known from Attica (an ephebe in 44/5 AD, *IG* II^2 1969, l. 17 and a third-century BC foreign resident *IG* II^2 8800), and *LGPN* has only 29 examples (mostly restricted to western Asia Minor before the Imperial period, then largely found in the Black Sea and Macedonia). However, the long form is very common in all periods and this form might have been adopted to distinguish this ephebe from the Dionysas in l. 9. Perhaps this ephebe is the same as Dionys- in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, l. 27.

l. 36: Eisigenes, like other theophoric names based on the goddess Isis, is common at Athens from the late second century BC (51 instances on seangb.org). The spelling with EI for long I is frequent in Attic epigraphy in the Imperial period, as has already been mentioned, particularly with names derived from Isis.[51]

l. 37: Sotas appears in *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 5, l. 17 (second from top in the left-hand column). The name is borne at Athens by citizens and non-citizens from 200 BC and is a common name at Athens in the Imperial period (84 out of 88 instances on seangb.org). It might be a hypocoristic form of names like Soteles and Soterichos, or a variant of the name Sotes, which disappears around the time Sotas appears. In the former case it should be accentuated as Σωτᾶς, in the latter as Σώτας.[52]

l. 38: Androneikos is a very common name at Athens from the second century BC onwards (55 instances on seangb.org).

[50] Robert, *L'Antiquité classique* 32, 1963, 10-16; Threatte II 227-28.
[51] Threatte I 198-99. On theophoric names, see Parker 2000.
[52] Threatte II 72-73.