Beyond Boundaries

Connecting Visual Cultures in the Provinces of Ancient Rome

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In Search of Identities: A Preliminary Report on the Visual and Textual Context of the Funerary Monuments of Roman Macedonia

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Past research concerning the funerary monuments of Roman Macedonia has focused only on their examination as either works of art or iconographic and structural types. Such studies overlooked the ideological as well as social dimensions of these monuments set within the context of an endlessly changing world with a tendency toward globalization, a world where cultural identity becomes an issue to address. This essay aims to discuss these neglected matters and, in spite of its preliminary nature, allows some conclusions to be summarized as follows.

Certain continuities, discontinuities, and variations can be noted in the funerary monuments of Roman Macedonia; this is true in terms of their chronological and geographic distribution, as well as in their structure, iconography, and funerary text. Although the architectural forms and iconographic repertoire of the rich Hellenistic tradition did not entirely cease to exist, new architectural styles, as well as new formulas and iconographic models, were gradually adopted from the Roman West beginning in the mid-first century CE. In some cases, however, the locals adjusted these models and practices to their own traditions. Although the frontal portrait heads or busts of the Roman West became dominant during the high empire, certain grave monuments remain characterized by a lack of uniformity with different traditions, illustrating the multicultural tendencies of the period coexisting on the same monument.[1] The funerary monuments, and the material culture in general, reveal the multifaceted identity of the peoples of Roman Macedonia, identities expressed in different ways depending on place and time, and influenced (consciously or not) by the broader cultural environment and its prevailing trends.

Contextualizing Material Culture: The Political, Economic, and Social Background of Late Hellenistic Macedonia

The Roman province of Macedonia retained the borders of the Macedonian kingdom of Classical and late Classical times, and the region was home to a heterogeneous population. The tribe of the Macedonians always held the position of a ruling minority among other ethnic groups gradually conquered from the northwest to the south and east of the traditional core of the kingdom. Migration and settlement of fugitives from southern Greece (the Peloponnese) were crucial in shaping the cultural characteristics of the state, as later would be the assimilation of southern Greek colonies on the northern Aegean coast. Certain kings, however, moved populations from the interior of Macedonia to the periphery for security reasons, while at the same time founding cities settled by Macedonian colonists.[2]

In terms of written language, it was the Hellenistic *koine* that connected all these heterogeneous entities. Regarding the material practices of funerary art in the fifth century BCE, Macedonia imported primarily Attic artifacts,[3] but local pieces of sculpture and painting from subsequent periods have been found in urban centers (Aigai, Pella, Aiane)[4] following prototypes from either the south or the colonies in the Chalkidike and the Thermaic gulf.[5] The material surviving from this early time is as yet insufficient to determine the extent and significance of the infiltration of the Hellenistic *koine* into smaller centers on the periphery or in the countryside,[6] so it is not possible to establish whether the use of such funerary monuments was a matter of personal choice, economic possibility, or simply fashion. The general conclusion is that in late Classical and Hellenistic times, even though Macedonia dominated in its role as a political and economic power, it neither supplanted the cultural centers of southern Greece (such as Athens and Delos) nor developed as a cultural leader among the new Hellenistic kingdoms of the Successors.

Compared with the large number of known funerary monument types used in the Hellenistic period generally (as in Smyrna, Athens, or Delos), few are found in Macedonia. The most characteristic types are oblong stelai with palmette finials (fig. 7.1)[7] or those with freestanding or inscribed pediments (with or without reliefs).[8] A third group consists of pillar-shaped stelai, with or without a relief capital.[9] Judging from these preserved monuments, their iconography is not distinguishable, by theme or decorative motif, from the larger Greek world. The most popular subject appears to be the heroization of the deceased in the presence of relatives or male and female slaves.[10] This particular theme, consisting of the image of the deceased standing and a seated (apparently mourning) female figure, constitutes a stereotypical iconography.[11] It was produced in the Beroia workshop throughout the period of its use, as well as in other areas of Macedonia during the entire Hellenistic period.[12] In Macedonia, the motif of the funerary banquet is uncommon.[13]

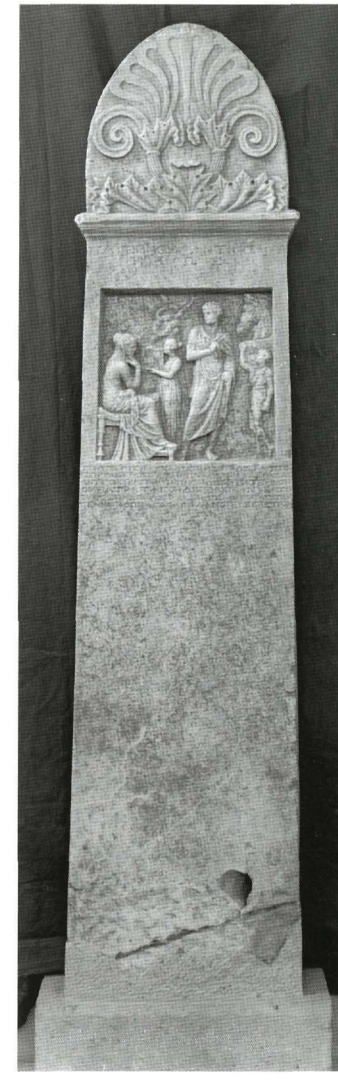

FIGURE 7.1 Stele of Paterinos, 1st century BCE. Marble. Height: 220.5 cm (86¾ in.); width: 51.5 cm (20¼ in.). Beroia, Archaeological Museum

Funerary Art in the Late Republican Period: The Persistence of Tradition

The establishment of Roman domination and the acknowledgment of its political superiority by the Macedonian elite were expressed through, among other things, the early and deliberate importation of the cult of Roma and by the public recognition of Romans as benefactors.[14] Yet in spite of this demonstrable awareness of change, the local artistic production of funerary sculpture shows no apparent foreign influence until the mid-first century CE. Hellenistic traditions

continued until this period with regard to both the architectural form of the funerary monuments and their iconographic content. This began to change toward the end of the period, owing to the temporary presence of Roman soldiers in Macedonia as a result of the civil wars[15] and to the presence of newcomers after the battle of Pharsalos. The massive and constant presence of the latter worked to enable a variety of contacts, cultural relations, and exchanges with the local population.[16] However, such developing interactions were tentative and, at least in the beginning, visible only in the burial monuments of the new arrivals; they can be observed in the adoption both of architectural models reflecting Roman tradition and of iconographic compositions and expressions echoing Hellenistic models.

Large marble slabs bearing reliefs of standing male and female figures (mainly in three-quarter view) that date from the mid-first century BCE formed part of the corpus of funerary monuments found in Thessaloniki, Beroia, and Lete (fig. 7.2).[17] As far as the iconography is concerned, it has recently been proposed that the design of the Thessaloniki slab derives from types in Rome and central Italy and that the scene blends Italian and Greek features.[18] Presumably this particular monument was a commission, perhaps by wealthy Roman freedmen; these may well have been among the numerous *negotiatores* in Thessaloniki.[19] This is the case as well of the patrons of two Hellenistic stelai from Thessaloniki, also dated to the middle of the first century BCE and bearing bilingual inscriptions (fig. 7.3). Large slabs such as these continue to be favored until the Augustan era,[20] though without any typological or stylistic continuity.

Funerary Monuments from Imperial Times: The Introduction of Novelty

The funerary monuments from imperial times are more numerous than those of the previous period, with the majority belonging to the second and third centuries CE. The *pax romana* allowed greater degrees of cultural exchange between the various communities of the Macedonian region, as well as between the provinces and Rome itself. The Roman state sought to better integrate its provincial subjects into its own political and administrative system by granting Roman citizenship to the local aristocracy.[21] "Mixed" marriages, patronage relationships with distinguished Romans, and the adoption of western trends and habits in various aspects of daily life express most vividly the changes that occurred in the local social milieu. More specifically, changes in burial practices become evident in spite of the persistence of certain local traditions, changes determined by the gradual adoption of some new elements originating in the West. Still, examples are known of monuments where heterogeneous elements coexist.[22]

The stele remains, as in the preceding period, the dominant architectural type of funerary monument, regardless of any sculptural decoration (pediments either framed or freestanding, pointed or semicircular, with or without a crown, and so on). Stelai are found throughout Macedonia, although some variations occur in specific areas (such as Paeonia).[23] From the end of the first century BCE, new architectural types of monuments (which initially appear rather infrequently) include first and foremost altars and sarcophagi, followed by tondo reliefs in the form of *imagines clipeatae*, whereas the use of freestanding statuary is limited.[24] Sarcophagi and altars are found chiefly in urban centers, whereas the tondo reliefs were preferred along the central zone of the Strymon River, as well as in Thessaloniki, Kilkis, and Thasos (fig. 7.4).[25]

It seems that Romans adopted the format of tondo reliefs from Asia Minor during the first century BCE,[26] using them to honor prominent political individuals and their ancestors.[27]

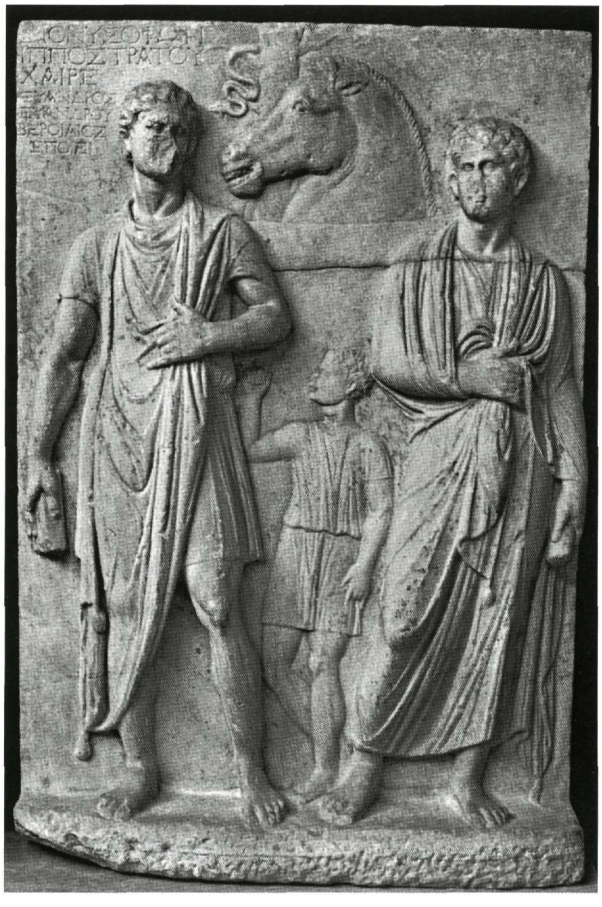

FIGURE 7.2 Funerary stele from Lete. Mid-1st century BCE. Marble. Height: 129 cm (50¾ in.); width: 89 cm tapering to 83 cm (35 to 32⅝ in.); depth: 6.5 cm (2½ in.). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum

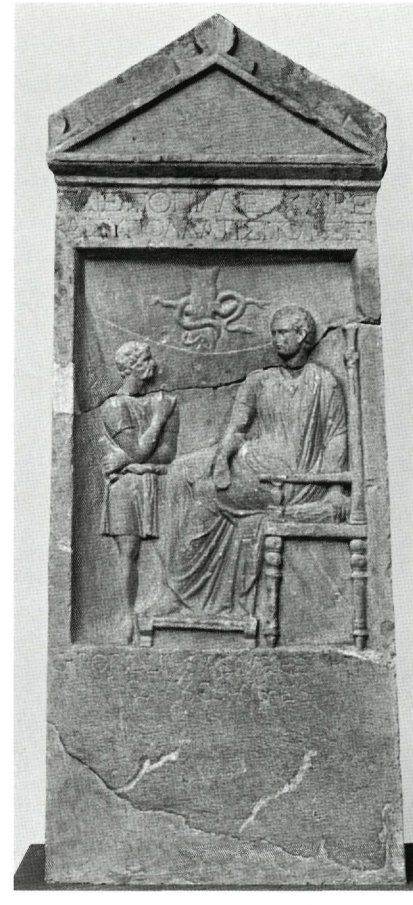

FIGURE 7.3 Grave stele of Gaius Popillius from Thessaloniki. Mid-1st century BCE. Marble. Height: 110 cm (43¼ in.); width: 50 cm (19⅝ in.); depth: 12 cm (4¾ in.). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum

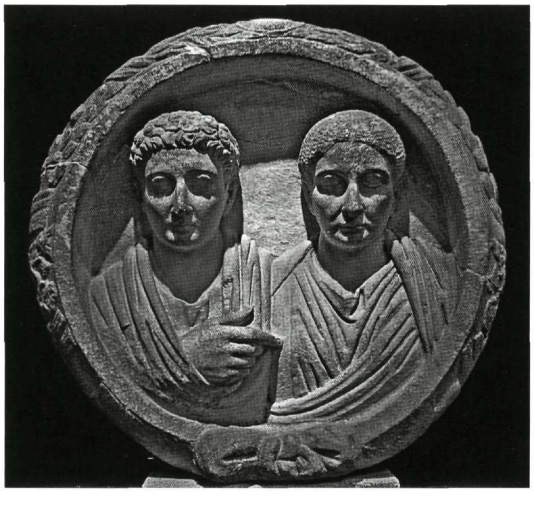

FIGURE 7.4 Tondo relief from Thessaloniki. Marble. Height: 82 cm (32¼ in.); width: 21.5 cm (8½ in.); depth: 10 cm (3⅞ in.). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum

However, Klaus Fittschen, following Rolf Winkes, argues that such monuments were first used in Greece before being adopted by the late Republican aristocracy.[28] More recently Bernard Holzmann reconsidered the Roman origin of tondo reliefs,[29] arguing that the busts inside a shield-shaped medallion in the *heroon* at Calydon and the late Hellenistic monument dedicated by Mithridates VI to the Kabeiroi at Delos are different.[30]

The use of tondo reliefs was widespread from the beginning of the imperial era and was frequently employed for both funerary and honorific monuments. From the first century CE (particularly in the Flavian period), shield busts proliferated in the provinces along the lower Danube and were particularly popular in Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia, and Macedonia.[31] Yet while shield-shaped medallions in Thasos, Noricum, and Pannonia usually included two busts at most, in Dacia the interior of the circular monument could enclose up to six busts in a symmetrical arrangement. In Noricum and Pannonia the medallions have a semicircular canopy hanging over the circle in a manner similar to the crowning of the stelai.[32] In examples from Dacia, they preferred to add wreaths, oak branches, and leaves in that position.

Macedonians also tended to use tondo reliefs in a regionally specific way, presenting freestanding shield-shaped medallions with a pointed rod at the base for support (see fig. 7.4). The depiction of the deceased alongside living members of the family was a common practice, although they tended not to make use of Dacian-like symmetry. Because the medallions appear in Macedonia at the same time as along the Danube, the assumption is that the habit was adopted from Italy.[33] The Macedonians who were recruited by the Roman army and served in the Danubian provinces could have introduced this type of monument, but this hypothesis requires more quantitative data from these areas to confirm it.

Similarly, the erection of funerary altars during the imperial period possessed a regional dimension within Macedonia, being restricted to the northwest, south, and central areas of the province. In urban centers (such as Herakleia Lyncestis, Thessaloniki, Beroia, Edessa, and Dion), this category of monument appears in great numbers and with several variations (fig. 7.5). The diffusion of these altars is wider from the first quarter of the second century CE onward, and they ceased to be made in the mid-third century.[34] The suggestion has been made that members of the indigenous prosperous middle class, as well as Roman citizens of Greek descent, were responsible for commissioning monuments of this kind.[35] To those groups Roman *negotiatores* should also be added.

The shape of the funerary altar, derived from northern Italy,[36] was adapted to the local tradition in Macedonia and thus exhibited an inscribed pediment atop the epithema, with acroteria in the center and on the corners.[37] Its large scale and vertical rectangular shape, as well as the frequent use of busts in relief, all attest to the influence of Rome and northern Italy. The difference in the altars' crown motif is worth highlighting, however, with the pediment in Rome usually being freestanding.[38] In addition, as for the medallions discussed above, north Italian funerary altars appear in Noricum, Pannonia,[39] and Dalmatia at the same time as in Macedonia. Some have argued that, following a decline in production of north Italian workshops, unemployed craftsmen moved to these provinces at the end of the first century CE and established new workshops.[40]

In Roman Macedonia, a significant number of funerary altars from Thessaloniki, Philippi, and Beroia, together with a few from other places, bear simple inscriptions and relief sculpture.[41] This distribution indicates that the altar type was valued in Roman colonies, especially in Philippi, where conformity to Roman and north Italian types is common.[42] In contrast, funerary altars are scarce in the rural areas of Upper Macedonia.[43] This rarity becomes especially noticeable in Elimeia, a region that maintained strong Hellenistic traditions.

Finally, sarcophagi were in use in Macedonia from the Classical period, although up to and during the Hellenistic period they were usually undecorated.[44] Roman Macedonia saw widespread use of both imported and locally produced sarcophagi, with a first-century CE proliferation in Philippi, and a wider adoption of the practice over the next two centuries.[45] These costly structures were employed mainly in urban centers large and small.[46] The sarcophagi from Philippi are by and large undecorated, though some bear on the front the image of the Thracian Rider in relief inside a vignette.[47]

Also to be noted are the imported sarcophagi from Attica, Rome, Proconnesos, and Assos. Attic sarcophagi have been found in Thessaloniki, Apollonia, Dyrrachium, Lychnidos, Bargala, Dion, and Edessa;[48] from Rome in Dyrrachium; from Proconnesos in Dyrrachium and Thessaloniki; and (in large numbers) from Assos in Thessaloniki.[49] Variations of Attic workshop forms have been detected in Beroia, Edessa, and Caesarea. Some sarcophagi and ossuaries found in Herakleia Lyncestis and Philippi can be associated with Thessaloniki and Thasos.[50]

The sarcophagi from Thessaloniki are of high quality and have been found in the greatest numbers, and as a result they have been more thoroughly studied. According to Guntram Koch, some of these monuments were imported from Attica (fig. 7.6), while others were manufactured locally.[51] The Thessaloniki examples are typically ornate, with elaborate mythological reliefs,[52] suggesting a sophisticated and wealthy patron. Despite their empire-wide popularity, Athenian sarcophagi served only partly as models for local workshop production, which could also take cues from imported sarcophagi from Asia Minor. The patrons of locally made sarcophagi belonged to various socioeconomic groups.[53] The fact that approximately 80 percent of these owners were *cives romani* does not seem to have influenced consumers' buying preferences. Indeed, despite the existence of an important quarter of *negotiatores* from early on in Thessaloniki, the scarcity both of products from Roman workshops and of the use of the Latin language is quite characteristic. Yet appearing on the grave monuments of Macedonian cities are names identified and known from Thyateira, Pergamon, Smyrna, Ephesus, Kyme, Amastris, Abydos, Lampsakos, Nicomedia, and especially Cyzikos.[54]

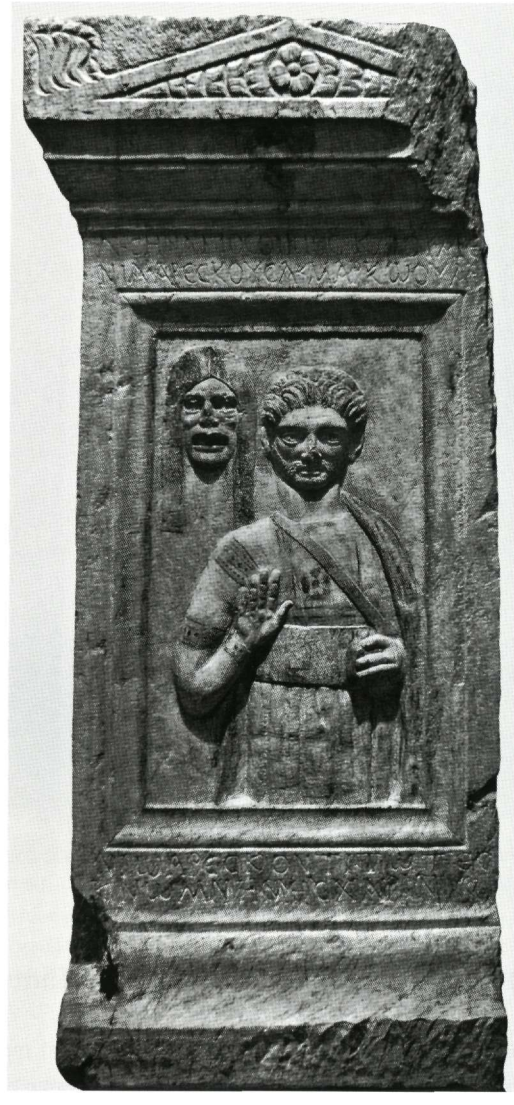

FIGURE 7.5 Funerary altar-shaped stele of actor Marcus Varinius Areskon from Thessaloniki. 1st–2nd centuries CE. Marble. Height: 170 cm (66⅞ in.); width: 70–72 cm (27½–28⅜ in.); depth: 51–66 cm (20⅛–26 in.). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum

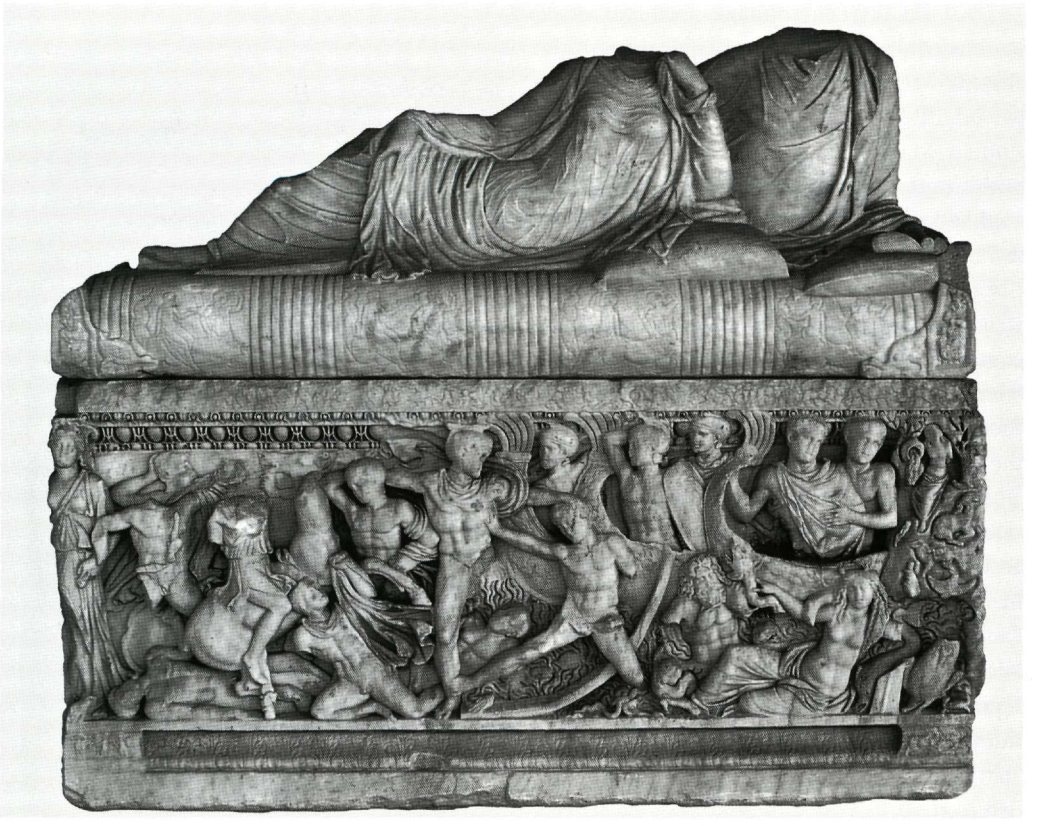

FIGURE 7.6 Attic sarcophagus from Thessaloniki. 2nd century CE. Pentelic marble. Height: 143.5 cm (56½ in.); width: 236 cm (92⅞ in.); depth: 99 cm (39 in.). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum

Funerary Monuments and Visual Culture

Portraiture is a significant element in several types of Macedonian funerary monuments, and is thus one of the principal visual traces of change wrought by Roman rule. Stelai, as noted above, are often provided with a series of frontal portraits in rectangular sections.[55] Altars have also been seen to display two or multiple figures,[56] while sarcophagi frequently involve portraits of the deceased, and *imagines clipeatae* always require their inclusion.[57] All of these portraits derive from the relief bust traditions of the West, such as those used by freedmen and sometimes imitated in Macedonia from the mid-first century CE.[58]

These multifigure works are linked to family tombs, which functioned as markers for the entire family, including those still living—a practice that diverged from the Classical and Hellenistic Macedonian habit of constructing tombs almost exclusively upon the occasion of a specific death. The earliest examples of portraiture on Macedonian stelai date to the Julio-Claudian period. The practice gained in popularity during the second century (fig. 7.7)[59] in ways that often blended with image traditions of the Hellenistic period, such as standing or seated figures.[60] Some stelai and grave altars also depict the so-called Thracian Rider (fig. 7.8), a widespread motif in the Danubian provinces whose origins remain unclear.[61] In Macedonia, funerary stones with such reliefs are

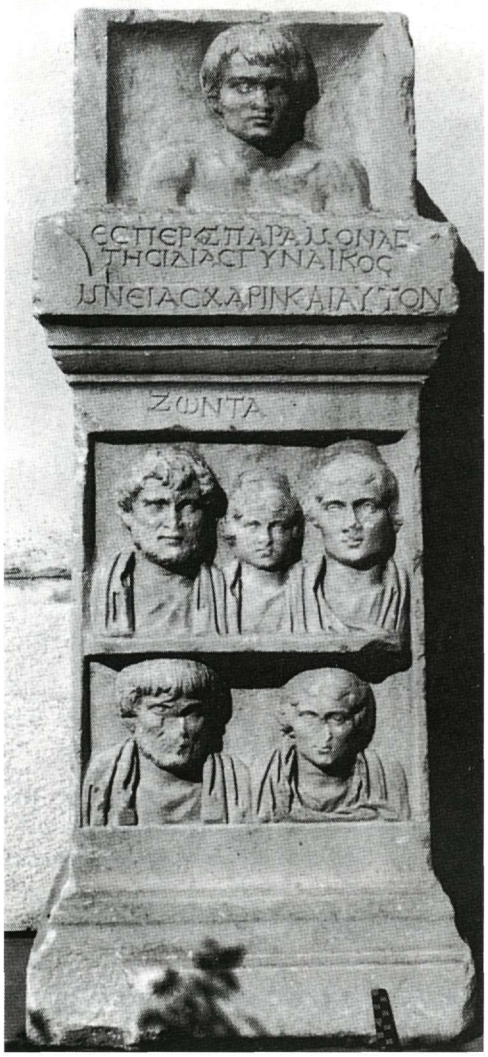

FIGURE 7.7 Funerary altar with six frontal portraits from Beroia. 2nd century CE. Local stone. Beroia, Archaeological Museum

FIGURE 7.8 Funerary stele of the so-called Thracian Rider from Lyncestis in Upper Macedonia. 2nd century CE. Local stone. Florina, Archaeological Museum

found especially in Baresani, Bitola,[62] Beroia,[63] Philippi,[64] and Thessaloniki.[65] G. I. Kazarow[66] has demonstrated the popularity of this type in the provinces of Thrace and Lower Moesia (in modern Bulgaria), especially in the area of the upper Evros River.[67] Its use around the middle course of the Strymon River in Macedonia derives from its proximity to ancient Thrace. However, the discovery of monuments bearing the Thracian Rider in Thessaloniki must be associated perhaps more with a minority of Thracians in the Macedonian capital and less with the spread of this particular cult,[68] although the latter might occasionally be the case in certain areas in Lower, Upper, and Eastern Macedonia, where inhabitants with Thracian names have been found.[69] In most examples of such

monuments in Thessaloniki and Upper Macedonia the image refers simply to the horseman hero, with whom the heroized dead is identified.[70]

The heroization of ordinary people was a characteristic funerary practice in Hellenistic times that reflected beliefs of the afterlife.[71] It can be noted that Attica and the Peloponnese (with the exception of Laconia and to a lesser degree Arcadia) are excluded from the geographic diffusion of the word *heros* (hero) on funerary epigrams. This may well stand as evidence for the prevalence of the practice of heroizing the dead in regions that had been directly or indirectly under the influence of Alexander the Great and his successors; it is well known, of course, that the Macedonian king was deeply devoted to the beliefs of the Homeric age.[72] Funerary monuments from Upper Macedonia frequently depict deities with the deceased, often at a larger scale.[73] The particular subjects in such reliefs are, primarily, Herakles and Aphrodite and, secondarily, Artemis, Athena, Eros, Hermes, and the deified Alexander.[74]

Owing to the lack of textual attestations, however, it remains difficult to interpret the phenomenon of heroization for ordinary people, insofar as it has a particular character in Macedonia.[75] Siegrid Düll notes that the depiction of deities on grave monuments either indicates the identification of the deceased with that specific deity or else underlines the former's hope for protection in the afterlife.[76] The reference to Alexander and the abundant use of metrical epigrams with Homeric and Hesiodic references, both in cities and the countryside (and dated mostly in the second and third centuries CE), are the visual and literary reflections of the Second Sophistic in Macedonia.[77]

Another common subject for funerary relief, one with a wide geographic distribution and no specific origin, is the funerary banquet.[78] Even though Macedonia produced images of this type from the Hellenistic period onward, and in large numbers, the quality of their manufacture undergoes a noticeable decline during the imperial period (fig. 7.9). Some funerary monuments from Macedonia are adorned with images of gladiators and soldiers.[79] A representation of a funerary banquet on seven funerary altars from Beroia, where the depicted deceased is a gladiator, is worth mentioning because of its rarity.[80]

Roman veterans in Macedonia favored grave monuments with relief depictions of military life, for example by portraying the deceased on horseback defeating a fallen enemy.[81] The origin of this sort of victorious-horseman image has recently been credited to Macedonia itself, as an inspiration for Classical reliefs such as the stele of Dexileos; their success led to the popularity of the image and its spread to the West.[82] There is also the likelihood that images of the galloping cavalryman, such as those from Elimeia and Eordaia, resonated with those of the Thracian horseman.[83] Examples of grave monuments for soldiers depicting the *dona militaria* of the honoree are also found, mainly in the Roman colonies of Dion, Cassandreia, and Philippi (fig. 7.10).[84] The different distributions of these military-themed reliefs can plausibly be taken to indicate that while the soldiers recruited from Macedonia or the Greek-speaking world favored local iconographies, soldiers from Italy and the northern provinces preferred themes more commonly found in the West.[85]

Finally, there are funerary monuments that employ reliefs of craftsmen, professionals, and intellectuals at work.[86] The subject of labor was not generally favored in Macedonia (or, for that matter, Greece), and such monuments were never as abundant as their counterparts from the Italian peninsula. The Greek and Macedonian rendering of such scenes displays certain similarities in style with equivalent examples in the West, whereas with regard to the shape and overall decorative elements of the stelai they follow the local tradition.[87]

FIGURE 7.9 Funerary banquet from Lyncestis. Local stone. Florina, Archaeological Museum

FIGURE 7.10 Funerary stele of a veteran. Local stone. Drama, Archaeological Museum

Regionalism and Macedonian Funerary Inscriptions

Macedonian funerary monuments typically have inscribed texts, which contribute to our understanding of the province in two chief ways: in the language itself and in the formula selected as appropriate for the funerary context. Greek was overwhelmingly the language of choice for funerary inscriptions in Macedonia, including for Thracians and others who resided there. Latin texts were chosen by colonists or other Latin-speaking immigrants and their descendants, as well as by a number of Thracians from the area of Philippi. Latin was rarely selected by natives who had returned to their Macedonian homeland after serving in the Roman army. This was also the case for Greek speakers with Roman citizenship.[88] Bilingual texts, attested only infrequently in Macedonia, are found primarily in the province's capital and at Pella.[89] Two such examples appear

to result from a process of cultural fusion. The first, an inscription from Kavadarci (Paeonia), uses a short Latin text with the name and the patronym of the deceased and the farewell expression *salve,* following Greek conventions.[90] The second, from Herakleia Lyncestis, renders a Latin text in the Greek alphabet.[91] Similar bilingual inscriptions belonging to Thracians were found at Philippi.[92]

When it comes to funerary formulas, a simple text typically consisted of the name and the patronym of the deceased. This basic format was in use during the Hellenistic period and retained in imperial times.[93] During the Hellenistic period, however, the invocation "farewell," χαῖρε, or "hero farewell," ἥρως χαῖρε, was used to draw the epitaph to a close, and became increasingly fashionable during the first three centuries CE.[94] In contrast to the inscribed monuments of the Hellenistic era, where the relatively simple inscription was carved as an independent feature in a predetermined space, those of the imperial times (primarily the stelai) used a more extensive field of text. Sometimes the text even appears to play a supporting role to imagery, in that it covers otherwise vacant or marginal space.[95]

Although it began in the Hellenistic period, in imperial times the dominant type of textual expression was the dedicatory epitaph.[96] Commonly these list the name of the deceased in the dative, imitating the normative Roman practice, as well as the name of the dedicator in the nominative. The use of the genitive for the name of the deceased is less common, while the accusative (which would correspond to the Greek practice) is even rarer.[97] The latter is adopted mainly in cases of the dedications of funerary statues. As time passed, and in accordance with Roman prototypes, it was thought necessary to provide additional data about the relationship between the dedicator and the deceased, the reason for the dedication, and the age and cause of death. The occasional quotation of the date of the erection of the funerary monument constitutes a Macedonian peculiarity.[98] Another distinctive feature is the mention of the dedication date for the monument, which has the gratifying consequence of allowing a fairly objective chronological framework to be constructed. Finally, Macedonians seem to have been uninterested in any codified correlation of image and text.

Toward an Epilogue

Even though monument types and visual elements drawn from the Hellenistic tradition were retained throughout the Roman period in Macedonia, novelties were gradually adopted, both as a direct result of Roman presence and through the indirect influence of neighboring and distant regions. The period during which these novelties were introduced lasted at least two centuries longer than in the provinces to the north of Macedonia. In Macedonia, the impact of Roman culture is evident only after the first century CE; before that time, Hellenistic traditions continued to be of vital importance for visual art and public writing. The mass settlement of Roman colonists and Italian immigrants, mostly around the mid-first century BCE, disrupted the region's demographic homogeneity while providing more opportunity for contact between the foreign and indigenous populations. In terms of funerary art, some tentative adaptations from Roman models appear about 50 BCE, even as influences from Attica, Asia Minor, and the East increased.

In the colonies, at least, Roman citizens defined themselves through the use of Latin, with funerary texts in Latin modes and via Roman visual tropes. Although the identity of the immigrant Roman citizens in the province, residing in the free (*liberae*) or tributary (*peregrinae*)

cities, was initially defined by their legal status (*cives Romani*), assimilation and the acceptance of some indigenous cultural elements soon blurred this distinction.

Nor did the indigenous population, in daily contact with the foreign settlers from Rome and elsewhere, remain untouched by or unaware of their Romanized fellow citizens who formed a regional ruling class. As a result, from the mid-first century CE, new architectural forms and visual models were gradually adopted from the West and adapted to local tradition. The introduction and widespread use of portrait busts can be taken to exemplify (and indeed to result from) the increase in political stability and the region's unprecedented economic development during the second and third centuries,[99] both of which played a role in the formation of common funerary fashions. As portrait genres proliferated, Hellenistic customs became increasingly marginalized.[100]

Within this overarching picture of change, a diversity of regional practices can be recognized in the variety and distribution of monument types and the genres of imagery. Some areas continued to adhere to Hellenistic modes, whereas other (more isolated) locations formed cultural "islands" where traditional practices persisted. In contrast, urban centers and places along busy routes like the Via Egnatia demonstrated strong tendencies to adopt elements of Roman funerary art.[101]

In terms of language, the introduction of dialogue between the living and the dead existed in the Hellenistic tradition, both as an invocation of the deceased and as the deceased's reply.[102] Although common throughout the Roman world generally, the practice seems to have been particularly significant in Macedonia. The dialogue between the *τεθνηκότας* (deceased) and the *περιόντας* (living) may reflect the belief that the dead retain a memory of their social and familial relations and are symbolically present on the stele. Moreover, the rendering of the frontal bust indicates the intention and desire of the living family members to converse with those left behind (that is, the dead). The extroverted tendency thus projected during this era—expressing the effort of the individual to achieve social distinction, even after death—stands in opposition to the introverted depiction of the deceased on Classical and early Hellenistic grave monuments. There the departed, portrayed in three-quarter view or in profile, is either engaged in direct conversation with other figures, such as relatives or servants, or stares into boundless space from a state of spiritual or even physical isolation.

Fashion was also involved in the actions and intentions of those members of the lower classes who nevertheless possessed a substantial enough income to advertise themselves socially.[103] In several cases, these particular works were not made solely on the occasion of a family member's death, as happened in Classical and Hellenistic times, but actually constituted a grave marker common to all members of the family, carved while those mentioned on it were still alive. This act, as an integral part of the family program, befits the era's worldview about the infinite nature of human life. This conscious act is further underlined by the use of the participle *ζῶν, ζῶσα, ζῶντες* (living) referring to all depicted figures. In the examples where the monument was built at the death of a family member, those who survived were separated from the dead by the use of certain terms denoting the difference. Still, there is not always a clear visual distinction for the portraits of those mentioned in the funerary texts.[104] This coexistence of different practices contributed to the creation of a new monumental tradition that hampers our identification of the identity of the deceased and of the mourning relatives.

Even though local practices were exposed to numerous regional or empire-wide influences, a number of enclaves in remote or less accessible regions in the northern part of Upper

Macedonia and in eastern Macedonia resisted fashion trends and maintained local customs and models that had no roots in the Hellenistic *koine*. Even if Roman cultural traditions prevailed in Philippi, a colony of veterans, a different development is observed in other Roman colonies in Macedonia (Pella, Dion, Cassandreia). And while the Latin language dominated in Philippi at least during the early imperial period, together with strong influences in architecture and monumental iconography, by contrast in the latter three the Roman impact was mild, its gradual demise traceable in the early second century CE.[105] Furthermore, some differentiation can be noted between the large cosmopolitan cities and the small peripheral centers, the city and the countryside, the poor and the rich. The only element of Roman inspiration that was universally accepted was the iconographic type of the forward-facing portrait bust.

It might be thought that the influence of the Second Sophistic throughout the second and third centuries CE remains invisible in the funerary art of Macedonia. On the contrary, the cult of Alexander—a distinctive feature of the third century CE in Macedonia and belonging to the same movement that sought an identity in the revival of the past—is reflected in the funerary and dedicatory monuments of some areas. In addition, nostalgia for the past is suggested in several funerary epigrams of the period in which archaic language or the occasional Homeric expression was included.

In the province of Macedonia, funerary monuments and material culture in general reveal a multifaceted set of identities for its peoples. This essay has sketched out how such diverse identities were expressed, taking account of differences in place and time as well as of the influence (conscious or not) of prevailing trends within the broader cultural environment.

Notes

1 The chronology of Roman Macedonian monuments is here reconstructed, in addition to typological, onomastic, paleographic, and stylistic criteria (Pflug 1989), with reference to the Actian and Macedonian calendars used on the monuments, separately or combined.

2 As in the cases of Philip II and V: Walbank 1967; J. R. Ellis 1969; Bosworth 1971; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 458–59.

3 For Upper Macedonia, Vasić 1971; Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1987, 195 and pl. T.I, no. 1; *IG* X 2.2, pl. I, no. 2; Tsougaris 1999, 617–19, fig. 12.

4 For Lower Macedonia, Saatsoglou-Paliadelli 1984 (Vergina/Aegae); Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008 (Pella). For Upper Macedonia, *EAM* (Aiane/Elimeia) and *IG* X 2.2, 2 (Srnbuki/Lyncestis); Andronikos 1983; Felten 1993; Konstantinidis 2010.

5 Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1993, 1287. Apparently, close proximity to Thessaly did not play the decisive role once thought, especially with regard to Elimeia. Biesantz 1965; Lukas 1992; Hatzopoulos 1994; Wolters 1994. For relations between Thessaly and Macedonia in their funerary sculpture, see Bosnakis 2013, esp. 201ff.

6 Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1993, 1288–89; 2000, 276, n. 176.

7 For Upper Macedonia: *EAM* 190 (Orestis), 118 (Eordaia), 191 (Orestis); *Spom.* 75, 1933, no. 15 (Lyncestis). For Lower Macedonia, Pella: Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 1971, no. 210; Beroia: Touratsoglou 1972, 153–59; Dion: Pandermalis 1981, 287–88, fig. 2; Vergina/Aegae: Saatsoglou-Paliadelli 1984, nos. 10, 16; Kalamoto/Kalindoia (Thessaloniki district): *ADelt* 29, 1973–74, 691, pl. 497γ, and Adam-Veleni 2009, 188. For Macedonia in general: S. Schmidt 1991, 32–34.

8 For Upper Macedonia: *EAM* 41–42 (Elimeia); Derriopos: Papazoglou 1974, 279, fig. 3c; Marvinci: Sokolovska 1987, 28, fig. 6. For Lower Macedonia: Thessaloniki: *IG* X 2.1, 107; Beroia: *ADelt* 2, 1916, 154–55, no. 10, fig. 9; *ADelt* 18, 1963, Chron. 233, pl. 265a; Touratsoglou 1978, 135, 137, 144, no. 12a. For Beroia in general: Allamani-Souri 2008, 2011; Pella: Daux 1973, 599, fig. 12; Vergina/Aegae: Saatsoglou-Paliadelli 1984, no. 2, 4 (type A with pilasters), no. 15, 26 (type B without pilasters); Dion: Pandermalis 1986, 26, fig. 4.

9 Upper Macedonia: *EAM* 119 (Eordaia). Lower Macedonia: Saatsoglou-Paliadelli 1984, no. 45 (Vergina/Aegae). In Aiane (Elimeia, Upper Macedonia), a stele was found with a carved impost block (ἐπίκρανον): *EAM* 43 (Elimeia).

10 Allamani-Souri 2012.

11 Papazoglou 1979; Wrede 1981; Terzopoulou 2010. On the themes of Macedonian funerary monuments of the Classical period, Felten 1993.

12 Misaelidou-Despotidou 1997; Allamani-Souri 2008, 269–90; also 2011, 2012.

13 Allamani-Souri 2008, 226–34. The funerary banquet was a prevalent subject on funerary monuments in Mysia and Bithynia from the second century BCE, but during the imperial period it gradually became unfashionable. The reasons behind this decreasing popularity are explained in Cremer 1991; 1992, 115. See also Thoeges-Strigaris 1964; Couilloud 1974, 301–4; Dentzer 1982; Zanker 1995, 253–54; Fabricius 1999.

14 Mellor 1975, 107–9; 1981, 950–1030; Fayer 1976, 13; Donfried 2002.

15 For the absence of the Roman army in Macedonia, Sherk 1957; for Roman soldiers or veterans in inscriptions, Sarikakis 1977; Papazoglou 1979, 338–51; Touratsoglou 1988, 16, n. 76; Sverkos 1999.

16 For Roman and Italian immigrants, Brunt 1971. For the civilians and veterans who settled mainly in the Roman colonies of Macedonia, Vittinghoff 1952; Papazoglou 1990; Rizakis 2003.

17 See respectively Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, no. 65 (Thessaloniki), nos. 54–55 (Beroia), nos. 56–57 (Lete); Linfert 1976, 128–29. Stelai found in Kalamoto/Kalindoia and one stele from Beroia belong to this same period: Allamani-Souri 2011, 160; 2012, 363–65. On the inset funerary reliefs in Thessaloniki: Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2009, 387–403.

18 Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, no. 65 (p. 86). For a Roman example, see Kraus 1967, pl. 285 = Allamani-Souri 2012, 364 and fig. 9; Kockel 1993.

19 Rizakis 2002.

20 Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, nos. 62–64 (Lete: Voutiras 1989 dates the slab to around 30 BCE).

21 Brunt 1974; Tataki 2006; Bartels 2007.

22 These funerary monuments have been classified into several architectural types, taking into consideration the iconography and funerary formulas that illustrate the various western or eastern influences: Rüsch 1969, 105–8; Wrede 1981, 54; Düll 1983, 77–87; Lagogianni 1983, 21–22, 27–28; also, especially for Upper Macedonia, Bitrakova-Grozdanova 2013, 619–39.

23 For Paeonia, see Proeva 1978, 1997, 2007. Anthropomorphic stelai were discovered in Pelagonia: Papazoglou 1974. On this type of stele in Greece throughout the ages, Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2004. On specific examples, Koursoumis and Karapanagiotou 2009; Koursoumis 2011. Stelai with inscribed decoration were found in Lyncestis and Eastern Macedonia: *EAM* nos. 153–54, with figures; Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1993, 1293–94. On the decorative interlaced pattern on funerary stelai from the area of the middle and lower course of the Strymon River, Kaftantzis 1967; Turcan 1971, 92–139; Heidebroek-Soldner 2004; Manov 2008, 19, 27, 63–66, 82, 91, 94α and 94β, 126, 156.

24 Sverkos 2010 (Orestis, funerary column).

25 For the Strymon valley, Dimitrov 1945–46; Rüsch 1969; Manov 2008; for Thessaloniki, Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2001, 2010; for Kilkis, Ioakimidou 1999; for Upper Macedonia, Bitrakova-Grozdanova 2013; for Thasos, Holzmann 2012; for east Macedonia, Dimitrov 1942, 378ff.; Ioakimidou-Kontsé 2006, 121–28, and 2009, 133–43; for Thrace, Slawisch 2007, 149–50.

26 Walde 2005. On remaining issues, the studies of Bolten 1937 and von Heintze 1949 remain essential. See also Flämig 2007, 71–74, and Scarpellini 1987 on stelai with *imagines clipeatae* in Italy.

27 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 35.3.3.

28 Fittschen 2008, 335, n. 59, referring to Winkes 1969, 10–15, and Neumann 1988, 230–38.

29 Holzmann 2012. In contrast, Stefanidou-Tiveriou (2010) believes that Thessaloniki is the production center of this type of monument.

30 Dyggve, Poulsen, and Rhomaios 1934; Bol 1988, 24–33 (Kalydon); Chapouthier 1935, 13–43 (Delos). We cannot agree with this interpretation, since the form of those Hellenistic examples is completely different from that of the Roman ones and, in any case, limited to particular monuments.

31 Bolten 1937; for Dacia, see Ţeposu-Marinescu 1982; Ciongradi 2007, 93–96.

32 For Noricum, see Kremer 2001.

33 Rüsch 1969, 103–4.

34 Both the early honorific and funerary altars that were built in Rome in the first century CE and spread to the Germanic provinces appeared in Asia Minor and Macedonia (though in insignificant numbers in the province of Achaea) from the second century CE: Böschung 1987. For Patrai, Rizakis 1998, 71–72; von Hesberg 1992. They are equally rare in the province of Thrace: Slawisch 2007, 55, 164–65.

35 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010.

36 A detailed analysis is in Dexheimer 1998.

37 Pelekidis 1934, 30–31; Adam-Veleni 2002; 2009, 59, with bibliography; for altars in Thrace, Bakalakis 1963.

38 Kleiner 1987.

39 Schober 1923. Regarding the architectural shape, Gabelmann (1967, 233) has demonstrated common elements between the monuments in northern Italy and the altars of Beroia.

40 Adam-Veleni 2002, 57, with bibliography.

41 A small number of sarcophagi refer to children. In general, see Huskinson 1996; Dixon 2001; Adam-Veleni 2002; Musco and Catalano 2010; *Spom.* 71, 1931, 14, no. 19 = Papazoglou 1961, 30 = *IG* X 2.2.136; *Spom.* 71, 1931, 24, no. 46 = *IG* X 2.2.169; *Spom.* 98, 1941–48, 16, no. 40.

42 The altars in the Roman colonies in Macedonia, especially in Philippi, can be undecorated, have a molding, or be more elaborate, sometimes reaching more than 2 meters, and with the crowning consisting of a pinecone and side cushions (*poluini*). Dion: Oikonomos 1915; Demaille 2013. Philippi: Pilhofer 2009. For the funerary altars of Rome, Böschung 1987.

43 Eordaia: *EAM* 138, Lyncestis: *EAM* 160, 168; *Spom.* 77, 1934, 33–34, no. 5; *IG* X 2.2, no. 10. Orestis: *EAM* 165 and 219. Pelagonia: *Spom.* 71, 1931, 148, no. 369, add. 246 and 183, no. 492 = *IG* X 2.2, no. 314. Paionia: *Spom.* 71, 1931, 98, nos. 231, 245. See also Bitrakova-Grozdanova 2013.

44 G. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 35–37, 480–84; G. Koch 1993, 62–95.

45 G. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 346–57. See also G. Koch 2012. Pilhofer 2009, no. 1, 46 (cf. Herderjürgen 1981, 41) and 639; cf. Brélaz 2014, no. 48 (?), 503, 206 and nos. 63–65. For the diffusion of such monuments associated with inhumation instead of cremation, see Herdejürgen 1981, 413–22; G. Koch 1993, 142.

46 G. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 347–50; G. Koch 1993, 143–46 with figs. 79–80 (local production); for Macedonia, Epirus, and Achaia, see G. Koch 1993, 140–43; Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2000, 244–45, no. 6; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2001, 200.

47 The frontal view occasionally displays the image of the Thracian Rider in relief within a small rectangular frame, sometimes with a pedimental crown.

48 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010.

49 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010.

50 G. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 347–50.

51 Analyses of the manufacturing techniques and of the artistic elements indicate that 13 percent of the sarcophagi found in Thessaloniki had been imported from Attica: Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2001 and 2010; Koch 2012; Papaghianni 2012.

52 For Macedonia in general, see G. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 346–57. On mythological representation, see Zanker 2000b and Oakley 2011.

53 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2001, 115; 2010, 157 with figures.

54 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2001 and 2010.

55 On the religious and social significance of representing the deceased, see M. L. Anderson and Nista 1988. For Macedonia, see Dimitrov 1942, 365; Rüsch 1969; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1988, 21–23. On attitudes toward death in the Roman world as revealed by funerary architecture and iconography, see Zanker 1992; Cumont 1942 remains of great use.

56 See Kleiner 1987 on Rome.

57 Fittschen 1984.

58 Zanker 1975; Allamani-Souri 2012.

59 Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998.

60 On Hellenistic grave reliefs, their iconography and architectural form, see Schmaltz 1983, 224–49; also Pfanner 1989, 185. The approach of Schmidt (1991, 32) on the production of funerary sculpture in Hellenistic Macedonia does not take full account either of the geography or of demographic differentiations in relation to provenance (urban centers/countryside, old territories/conquered lands); Allamani-Souri 2012, 367.

61 The study of Kazarow 1938 remains essential. The recent works of Oppermann 2006 and Goyeva 2009 supplement the body of information. See also Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1962–63, 1982; Rüsch 1969, R43 (Laskarevo/Constantinian), R45 (Vranja/Severan), R75 (Pipirica/ Constantinian); Waelkens 1982 (Asia Minor); Goyeva 1987; Delemen 1999; Dimitrova 2002; Boteva 2011, 85–106 (Thrace).

62 Herakleia Lyncestis = Rüsch 1969, R31 (235–253 CE). On the distribution of the type in FYROM (part of Upper Macedonia), see Goyeva 2009 and Bitrakova-Grozdanova 2013.

63 Rüsch 1969, R3 (Hadrianic); Adam-Veleni 1983.

64 Rüsch 1969, R23 (Antonine). On representations of the Thracian Rider on sarcophagi from Philippi, see Brélaz 2014, nos. 72, 112, 114, 144, 193, 209. Also see nos. 94, 98, 199, 210.

65 Rüsch 1969, R12 (first century CE), R13 (Antonine?), R16 (235–253 CE), R17 (Hadrianic-Antonine).

66 Kazarow 1938. Ivanov 2013 analyzes funerary monuments and material culture to decipher a multi-faceted cultural identity for the inhabitants of Roman Thrace.

67 *EAM* no. 159 (Lyncestis); *IG* X 2.2, nos. 13 (?), 92, 223, 242, 309.

68 Rüsch 1969, 101–3.

69 For Lower and Upper Macedonia, see Touratsoglou 1978 (Beroia and western Greek Macedonia) and Bitrakova-Grozdanova 2013 (mainly for the part of Upper Macedonia now in FYROM); for eastern Macedonia, see Bakalakis 1974 and Dana 2009.

70 On representations of the Thracian Rider on funerary monuments as well as the origins, distribution, and interpretation of the type, see Koukouli-Chryssanthaki and Machaira 1992.

71 Graf 1985.

72 Such as Hephaistion's pyre in Babylon: Völcker-Janssen 1993, 100.

73 Mainly on funerary stelai in Pelagonia and Lyncestis (Pelagonia: *Spom.* 71, 1931, 159, no. 412; 163, no. 423;

183, no. 493; 162, no. 422; 177, no. 463; 241, no. 643; *Spom.* 77, 1934, 34, no. 6; Lyncestis: *EAM* 148, 157–62; *Spom.* 77, 1934, 33, no. 5; *Spom.* 98, 1941–48, 14, no. 31; and in Eordaia: *EAM* no. 129.

74 In Macedonia, reference to the past is primarily expressed in the third century CE through the cult of Alexander. The cult was appropriated by the emperors of the second and third centuries to reinforce their policy against the Parthians and Sassanids. It was introduced in Macedonia through the games held in Beroia in the name of Alexander, aiming at the renewal of Macedonia's glorious past (Gagé 1975; Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1999, 956–59; and Asirvatham 2000). For coins and medals of the third century CE depicting Alexander, as well as scenes from his life, see Touratsoglou 2000 (with previous bibliography) and 2008.

75 For depictions of the deceased *in formam deorum* in Macedonia, see Adam-Veleni 2002, 79–86; Terzopoulou 2010. On the phenomenon of Alexander's cult, see Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1999, 956–59, and Touratsoglou 2008. On the origins of heroization, its diffusion in the Roman period, and its interpretation, see Wrede 1981, 62–63. On its spread in Macedonia, see Terzopoulou 2010.

76 Düll 1975, 115–35, and 1983, 77–87; Zanker (1992, 356–57) explains the habit from a sociological point of view.

77 The biggest number of funerary epigrams (about thirty-one) comes from Upper Macedonia (*IG* X 2.2; *EAM*) and Lower Macedonia (sixteen from Thessaloniki: *IG* X 2.1; nine from Beroia: *EKM* I, passim; and two from Kalomoto/Kalindoia: Adam-Veleni 2009, 193 (first century BCE), 196 (second and third centuries CE). A smaller number has been recorded in Roman colonies: six in Philippi, one in Latin: Pilhofer 2009; and eight in Dion, the majority of which are in Greek: Demaille 2013, nos. 54, 59, 60, 77, 97, 112, 117, 118.

78 Upper Macedonia: Eordaia: *EAM* no. 121; Lyncestis: *EAM* no. 167; Pelagonia: *Spom.* 71, 1931, 28, no. 54 (Vêles); 165, no. 431 = *IG* X 2.2, no. 257 (Prilep); 169, no. 446 = *IG* X 2.2, no. 259 (Prilep); 184–85, no. 496 = *IG* X 2.2, no. 303 (Prilep). See Cremosnik 1959. Lower Macedonia: Allamani-Souri 2008, 26–34 (Beroia); East Macedonia: Alexandrescu-Vianu 1975 (and 1977 on the dissemination of typology in Lower Moesia); Dentzer 1982; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998, 95. On the importance of funerary banquets, see Effenberger 1972.

79 On depictions on military grave monuments, see Papaghianni 2012 and *EAM*.

80 On monuments of gladiators from Beroia and its vicinity, see Allamani-Souri 1987, 33–51; Nigdelis and Stefani 2000, 94–107, figs. 1–6; Adam-Veleni 2002, 86; Spiliopoulou-Dondener 2002, 70; Allamani-Souri 2008, 227, no. 1081.

81 Papaghianni 2012.

82 Gabelmann 1977; Papaghianni 2012.

83 *EAM* no. 49 (Elimeia). Also *EAM* nos. 125, 127 (Eordaia).

84 Papaghianni 2012.

85 Maxfield 1981; Bopper 1992.

86 Zimmer 1982, 179, and Zanker 1992, 352–53; Panaghiotatou-Charalambous 1987–88, 31, no. 1, with bibliography. Two metalworkers with their tools, between them the busts of two horses: Minkulčič 1966, (Pelagonia); *EAM* 48 = Panaghiotatou-Charalambous 1987–88, 34 (Elimeia). Stele of a nurse (carrying a baby) from Eordaia: Keramopoulos 1931–32, no. 11 and fig. 11 = *EAM* 128. Carpenter tools depicted on a grave altar at Dion: *Οἱ αρχαιολόγοι μιλούν για την Πιερία* 2, 1986, 29–30. Stele from Philippi with the image of a sculptor (according to Zimmer 1982, 78, it is probably a metalworker): Lazaridis 1961–62, 240, fig. 287γ; Panaghiotatou-Charalambous 1987/88, 37, no. 6 (fig. 2β); Pilhofer 2009, 177–78, no. 154. Stele of a sailor from Thessaloniki: Daux 1974, 539, fig. 7 = Panaghiotatou-Charalambous 1987/88, 42–43, no. 41 (fig. 9δ). Stele of a freedman slave trader from Amphipolis: Duchêne 1986, 512–30. On representations of professionals on grave monuments found in Greece, see Panaghiotatou-Charalambous 1987/88, 31–54. See also Adam-Veleni 2002, 96–98, on depictions of professionals on altars from Thessaloniki and Beroia; Voutiras 1989.

87 For examples from Greece, see Panaghiotatou-Charalambous 1987/88, 36–45, nos. 1–51. The theory that only members of the middle and lower classes chose these themes (Panaghiotatou-Charalambous 1987/88, 31, nos. 1, 45–46) can be only partly verified.

88 Rizakis 1995, 367–88, with previous bibliography.

89 On bilingual dedicatory inscriptions of the Roman period found in the East, see Touloumakos 1995, 79; Touloumakos 1996, 43–54; Nigdelis 1995, for fifty bilingual inscriptions from Thessaloniki.

90 *Spom.* 71, 1931, 73, no. 170. Similar bilingual texts are found on late Republican monuments in the colony of Pella (*SEG* 24, 1969, 552–53); Chrysostomou 2003, 93–97.

91 Wace and Woodward 1911–12, 173, no. 10: *Ευρώπη λιβέρτα Μανικοί/, Τ. Κλημέντι αννώρουμ ουειγέντι* 146; Dimitsas 1896, 266, no. 237 = Papazoglou 1961–67, 1:25, no. 62 (p. 26).

92 Pilhofer 2009, nos. 48, 614.

93 Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2000, 245–46, no. 20.

94 Examples from Upper Macedonia: *EAM*, *IG* X.2.2; from Thessaloniki and Beroia: *IG X* 2.1, *EKM* I; on the diffusion of the invocation χαῖρε on grave

monuments in southern Greece: Kahrstedt 1954, 261–80; Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2000, 245–49.

95 *EAM*, *IG* X 2.2, *EKM*, and *IG* X 2.1.

96 Eordaia: *EAM* no. 120 (only names of the deceased in dative); *EAM* no. 119: name of the dead person and ἥρωι; Elimeia: *EAM* nos. 41 and 44: name of the dead person and ἥρωι.

97 Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2000, 255–56, and, as an example, the inscriptions on grave altars from Thessaloniki and Beroia (Adam-Veleni 2002, 103–4). On this issue in general, see Mednikarova 2003.

98 Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2000, 257–58.

99 In general, this is true for all Roman provinces. "The portraits are standard product and the faces are characterized by a stereotyped geometry and bear the marks of the workshop in which they were carved": Ţeposu-Marinescu 1982, 51.

100 Spiliopoulou-Donderer 2002.

101 On via Egnatia, see Lolos 2008, 2009; Rizakis and Chandezon 2010.

102 Johnston 1999.

103 For example, Petronius's *Satyricon* and Trimalchio's famous dinner. On wealthy freedmen showing off their riches, see Zanker 1975. For Athens, see Oliver 2000, 67–78.

104 The same occurs in other provinces. For Dacia see Ţeposu-Marinescu 1982, 51: "A relation between the iconographic representation and the epitaph can hardly be established since the number of persons mentioned in the inscription does not always correspond with that of the figures shown on the monument."

105 Rizakis 1995.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AAT	*Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie* (Babelon et al. 1893)
ADelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
AE	*L'année épigraphique*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
AR	*Archaeological Reports* (supplement to *Journal of Hellenic Studies*)
AR ID	*Archaeology of Greece Online/Chronique des fouilles en ligne*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CILA	*Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*
CIMRM	*Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentum Religionis Mithriacae*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
EAM	*Épigraphes Ano Makedonias* (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1985)
EKM	*Épigraphes Kato Makedonias* (Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos 1998)
FrGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Jacoby 1927)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IMS	*Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure*
IRBaelo	*Inscriptions romaines de Baelo Claudia* (Bonneville, Dardaine, and Le Roux 1988)
KERA	Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
LSD	*Liddle and Scott Greek Dictionary*
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*
OLD	*The Oxford Latin Dictionary*
RPC	*Roman Provincial Coinage*
RRC	*Roman Republican Coinage* (Crawford 1974)
SAM I	*Saturne africain: Monuments I* (Le Glay 1961)
SAM II	*Saturne africain: Monuments II* (Le Glay 1966b)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIRIS	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Serapiacae* (Vidman 1969)
Spom.	*Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka*

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