

*Notes on days of the week and other date-related aspects
in three Greek inscriptions of the late Roman period*

This article consists of a series of comments, revisions, and new readings of three Greek inscriptions coming from different areas of the Roman Empire (Asia Minor, Thessaly, Gaul), and dating approximately from the third to the fifth century CE. I offer a restoration proposal and a new interpretation of inscription no. 1 – an votive dedication inscribed on an altar from Ankyra in Galatia – while my comments, revisions, and new readings of nos. 2 and 3 – two epitaphs, from Nea Anchialos in Thessaly and Augusta Treverorum in Gallia Belgica, respectively – concern primarily, though not exclusively, questions related to their date formulae.¹

1) Inscribed altar, third century CE (?) (figs. 1–4)

Square altar of pale limestone [63 x 59.5 (front) and 55 (shaft) cm. Letters height 2–2.5 cm.], broken at the top left and generally chipped and damaged. A deep basin has been cut into the top surface. Each face of the altar shows a different image in semi relief: below text (1) a thunderbolt (fig. 1); below text (2) a rounded item, interpreted by David French as a wreath (fig. 2); below text (3) a Nike holding a wreath (figs. 3–4); on the left face (4), a multi-petalled image, compass-drawn, circumscribed by a circle, interpreted by French as a flower

¹ The present article results from the research I have been conducting since September 2013 as a member of the team working on the ERC-funded project *Calendars in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Standardization and Fixation*. The project is based in the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at UCL and is led by Sacha Stern. As part of this project, I have been looking at the origins and the process of diffusion and standardization of the seven-day week in the Roman Empire. To this end, I have carried out an extensive survey, collection, and study of references to days of the week and the seven-day week in the entire corpus of epigraphic, documentary, and literary sources in Greek and Latin coming from the territory encompassed by the Roman Empire. I have arranged these sources in the form of a database, which includes the inscriptions analysed in this article. I am grateful to Sacha Stern for reading a draft of this article and for his advice. I would also like to thank Georg Petzl for his helpful suggestions. None of them is responsible for remaining flaws.

(fig. 4). The inscription shows lunate letters (*epsilon*, *sigma*, and *omega*). The altar was found at Ankara, in Turkey, the site of ancient Ankyra in the region of Galatia; no further details on its provenance were recorded. It is now in the Roman Baths of Ankara (Location J III; Inv. no. 113.508.99).

Editions: French 2003, 134, no. 33; *SEG* LIII 1439; Mitchell – French 2012, 385–387, no. 196.

(1) Front face	Ἑρμοῦ Διός
(2) Right face	Σελήνης Ἄρεως
(3) Back face	Ἀφροδείτη[ς]
(4) Left face	[Κρόνου Ἡλίου]

L. 4: [Κρόνου Ἡλίου] *supplevi*.

«(1) Of Hermes, of Zeus (2) Of Selene, of Ares (3) Of Aphrodite (4) [Of Kronos, of Helios]»

In all previous editions of this inscribed altar the text on the left face (4) has been simply defined as ‘lost’ – no reconstruction proposals have been thus far suggested. While in the *editio princeps* French alludes solely to the fact that the altar belonged to ‘several gods’, in *SEG* Chaniotis points out that ‘the only common denominator of these divinities is that they have given their names to planets’, and concludes that ‘this may not be an altar, but an astronomical text’. As Mitchell and French later observed, however, the deep basin cut in the top surface, which was clearly designed to receive votive offerings, demonstrates that the stone was indeed used as an altar within the context of a cultic activity.²

My assumption is that this altar was dedicated to the seven gods of the planetary week. It should be observed that the order by which the names of the gods are inscribed on the four faces of the altar corresponds exactly to the order of the seven days in the

² Mitchell – French 2012, 387. This further disproves, in my opinion, Arca’s argument (2005) that all altars with gods’ names in the genitive functioned as boundary stones of sanctuaries. Cf. Mitchell – French 2012, 386–387, who noted that Arca’s assumption ‘would lead to the conclusion that the present stone was a boundary stone of a sanctuary devoted to a very heterogeneous collection of named divinities’.

planetary week: if one starts reading the text from face (4) – as I restore it –, and follows with (2), (1), and (3), the resulting sequence of deities is Kronos, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, and Aphrodite, that is, in Roman terms, Saturn, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus, i.e. to the planetary week sequence Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. The explanation that is generally accepted for the order followed by the seven gods in the planetary week is conveniently illustrated by Cassius Dio (37.18–19), who takes up an astrological theory³ according to which the week was mapped out in one hundred and sixty-eight hours (7 days x 24 hours) with different influences ascribed to them. Dio informs us that the seven planetary gods, by order of distance from the Earth – Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and Moon – were assigned serially to the twenty-four hours of the day, and then to the one hundred and sixty-eight hours of the week, the god assigned to the first hour of each day also becoming the ‘lord’, or ‘governor’ of that particular day. Therefore each planet is assigned both to hours and to a whole day. According to this calculation the resulting sequence is indeed: day of Saturn (Saturday), day of the Sun (Sunday), day of the Moon (Monday), day of Mars (Tuesday), day of Mercury (Wednesday), day of Jupiter (Thursday), and day of Venus (Friday). This type of week starts on Saturday because Saturn is the furthest planet and therefore the first in the sequence of planets.⁴

Now my assumptions, i.e. that the left face of the altar was inscribed with the names of Kronos and Helios in the genitive, that the altar was dedicated to the seven gods of the

³ Vett. Val. 1.10.

⁴ That the planetary week started on Saturday is epigraphically confirmed by some of the earliest attestations of this temporal cycle, such as the Pompeian graffiti *CIL IV 5202*, *CIL IV 6779*, *Inscr.It 13.2, 53*, along with the Posillipo *parapegma* (*Inscr.It. XIII.2, 52*), which was attributed to the first century CE; as well as, in later periods, by a series of inscribed and illustrated *parapegmata* (e.g. *Inscr.It XIII.2, 56* – the Trajan’s Bath *parapegma*, dated to the Constantinian period –; Rostovtzeff 1936, 40–46 no. 622 – the Dura Europos *parapegma* of c. 165–257 CE), by inscribed objects such as a golden bracelet from Syria (de Witte 1877, 83–84, pl. 8.4–5, who ascribed it to c. 300 CE), a limestone cornice from ancient Thuburbo Maius in Africa Proconsularis (*JLPBardo 346*, undated), and further epigraphic and artifactual evidence.

planetary week, and that the order of the deities' names on it corresponds to the order of the seven days in the planetary week, which indeed began on Saturday, are supported by the fact that Aphrodite's name appears on its own on one face of the altar.⁵ Obviously, seven god-names cannot be distributed evenly onto the four vertical faces of a square altar; if the week begins on Saturday, and two deities are inscribed on each side, then for the fourth and last side of the altar there is only one deity left, i.e. Aphrodite.

As for the date of the altar, in his 2003 edition French attributed it tentatively to the first or second century CE, without providing any explanation for his supposition (the same chronological reference can be found in *SEG* LIII 1439, with question mark); in the second edition, Mitchell – French dated the inscribed altar to the third century on the basis of the letter forms (essentially the lunate letters) and the style of the reliefs that adorn the four vertical faces. The later date would fit better in the context of the diffusion of the seven-day, planetary week in the Roman world: the ancient sources indeed show that the planetary week started enjoying great popularity during the third century CE.⁶

⁵ The restoration [Κρόνου Ἡλίου] is further substantiated by the relief appearing on that face of the altar: as pointed out to me by Georg Petzl, the multi-petalled image circumscribed by a circle, which was previously interpreted as a flower, might instead symbolise the Sun (Fig. 4). In fact, as Petzl noted, each face of the altar shows a relief that appears to match the text inscribed above it: the thunderstorm under Ἐρμοῦ Διός clearly relates to Zeus (Fig. 1); the Nike holding a wreath (Figs. 3–4) could refer to Aphrodite (cf. Verg. *ecl.* 10.69: *omnia vincit Amor*); the rounded object under Σελήνης Ἄρεως (Fig. 2) represents a moon crescent, rather than a wreath, and is therefore associated with Σελήνη. A close parallel for this manner of representing a lunar crescent appears, e.g., in Petzl 1994, 81, no. 63.

⁶ Apparently starting with the reign of the Severans: cf., e.g., Cassius Dio (37.18), who writes at the time of Septimius Severus and says that the practice of naming the days of the week after the seven planets was then general not only at Rome, but 'among all mankind'. The literary sources refer to Septimius Severus as being a firm believer in astrology (Dio 77.11.1; *HA* Severus 2.8 f., 3.9, 4.3). According to the *Historia Augusta* (10.3.8-9, 11.9.6), the emperor himself was an expert in astrology. With specific respect to the planetary week, in addition to Septimius Severus' *Septizodium* or *Septizonium* in Rome, it is of particular

2) Epitaph of Maurilla and Theodoulos. Fourth century CE? (Fig. 5)

Stele of whitish stone (100 x 40 cm.; letters height 2–3 cm.), curved above, probably reused from an earlier Roman sarcophagus. The text is inscribed on the upper part of the stele. A large inscribed cross divides the text in two on the first three lines. The stele was found in a field next to the main road west of Nea Anchialos in Thessaly, Greece. The city was known in antiquity as Phthiotic or Thessalian Thebes.

The current location of the stone is unknown.

Editions: Soteriou 1929, 154, no. 11; McDevitt 1970, no. 108.

Cf. Avramea – Feissel 1987, 389 no. 33.

μημόρι- καὶ Θε-
ον Μαυ- ⊕ οδού-
ρίλλας λου ἀπὸ τ-
 ἡ<ς> Ἐπιφανίου.
5 ἡμέραι δέκα κατὰ <σ>ελη-
 νέον τελευτοῦσα Μαύρι-
 λλα. κατὰ σεληνέον. ἡμέ-

interest to consider an octagonal altar from the area of Vienne in Gallia Narbonensis (*CIL* XII 2183; Espérandieu 1907: 281-281, no. 412; *CAG* 38.1: 111-112, no. 176; *ILN* V.2, 320), which was attributed to the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (189–209 CE). On each of its faces, the altar bears the high relief bust of each of the seven planetary week gods (in week order, from Saturn to Venus). The eighth face shows the bust of the emperor Septimius Severus. Underneath the portraits of Jupiter and Venus is a dedicatory inscription to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, ‘and to all the other immortal gods and goddesses, for the protection of the emperors Lucius Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus’. According to D’Agostino 2008, 96 ff. and Lichtenberger 2011, 263 ff., the Septizonium and the altar from Vienne indicate that the motif of Septimius Severus being associated to the gods of the planetary week was part of an iconographical programme designed to emphasise the emperor’s role of *cosmocrator* and the inauguration of a new era of prosperity. On Septimius Severus and astrology, see Maass 1902, 142–153 and *passim*; Barton 1994, 46; Bakhouché 2002, 170, 178.

ρα κυριακή πρώτη.

«Tomb of Maurilla and Theodoulos, from Epiphanius' (house). Maurilla passed away on the tenth day according to the moon (= on the tenth day of the lunar month). According to the moon. On the first day (of the week), the Lord's day.»

The first editor, Soteriou, did not attempt to assign a date to this inscribed monument, which he defined broadly as 'Christian'. He pointed out that several of the numerous Christian epitaphs that were found in the area of Phthiotic Thebes could be dated to 'earlier than the early fifth century CE'.⁷ This observation, along with the palaeography of the inscription,⁸ and the fact that the city had been one of the two major Christian centres of the region (along with Larisa) since the early fourth century CE,⁹ suggest a possible date for the epitaph sometime in the fourth century.

Coming to the rather peculiar text inscribed on the tombstone, Soteriou interpreted the words ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπιφανίου ἡμέραι δέκα on lines 3–5 as meaning that Maurilla's death occurred 'ten days after the Epiphany'. This hypothesis would imply not only a unique attestation of the Christian feast of Epiphany in the whole early Christian epigraphic record, but also the wrong substantive form of the feast's name, whose correct form is indeed τὰ Ἐπιφάνια.¹⁰ The arrangement of the text, moreover, appears to suggest that the first four

⁷ Soteriou 1929, 6.

⁸ The list of early Christian inscriptions from Phthiotic Thebes compiled by Feissel (1987, 387–393) shows three cases in which the script is rather similar to that of Maurilla and Theodoulos' epitaph: nos. 41 and 55 (undated), and 53 (fifth or sixth century CE). Further inscriptions not included in Feissel's list, such as those published in Dina 1992, show quite different palaeographic features. A couple of close parallels can be found in Aegean Thrace: *IThrAeg* E329 and E330, two funerary inscriptions from Maroneia, both dating to the third century CE. Conversely, no closely comparable scripts and layouts appear in *RIChrM*.

⁹ Soteriou 1929, 6.

¹⁰ On the early history of the Epiphany, see *ODCC*, 'Epiphany', with references. As far as I have been able to ascertain, in Greek inscriptions of the Roman period the term ἐπιφάνια appears exclusively as a proper name. The epigraphic record shows that Ἐπιφάνια

lines were meant to identify the two deceased, whilst the last four lines provided information on the date of their death (or rather, seemingly, on the date of Maurilla's death only).¹¹ On these bases, I would like to propose a new interpretation of this puzzling text, which understands the formula ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπιφανίου as implying, in fact, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐπιφανίου: in other words, Maurilla and Theodoulos would have been slaves or ex-slaves of a certain Epiphanius. The presence of the feminine article in the genitive (τῆς) indicates that a feminine noun should be supplied after it. On the other hand, Ἐπιφανίου appears to be the male name Ἐπιφάνιος in the genitive form. The rather careless layout of the inscribed text seems to indicate that the cutter did not prearrange it before inscribing it and may therefore have been forced to leave out the word οἰκίας once he realised that there was not enough space for it on the stele – if he had intended to include οἰκίας at all. The proper name Ἐπιφάνιος/*Epiphanius* is very well attested throughout the Roman world, especially during the span of time between the third and the sixth century CE.¹² A sixth century CE dedication of a building by a bishop named Epiphanius was discovered at Phthiotic Thebes itself, thus suggesting that this name was in use in the specific area where Maurilla and Theodoulos' epitaph was found.¹³ The closest parallel for the formula ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐπιφανίου is in a first century CE honorific document for a Rebilus, from Macedonia;¹⁴ lines 2–4 of this inscription read: [...]λεῖσθαί τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ οἰκίας αὐτοῦ ἀπελευθέρους. The text refers to an unspecified number of ex slaves of the honoured as 'the freedmen from his house'. This parallel seems to fit rather well with the idea that Maurilla and Theodoulos

(including the variants Ἐπιφάνια and Ἐπιφάνεια; lat. *Epifania*) was a rather common name, especially during the imperial and late antique periods. I could not find any cases where Ἐπιφάνια refers to the Christian feast of Epiphany in the epigraphic record of the late Roman period.

¹¹ Since the eight inscribed lines only occupy slightly more than half of the stele's surface, it appears plausible that at the time of the engraving of the stele Theodoulos was not yet dead, and the space below the inscription was therefore left blank for him. I thank Sacha Stern for suggesting this possibility.

¹² This is confirmed by both the inscriptional record and *PLRE*.

¹³ *SEG* XXXVII 500.

¹⁴ *SEG* LIV 617.

would have been Epiphanius' slaves or ex slaves. This interpretation is further corroborated by the more or less equivalent Latin expression *ex domo*, which is sometimes found in connection with freedmen.¹⁵ Since our inscription is rather late, its language might be influenced by Latin parlance.¹⁶

As mentioned earlier, it would appear that the first part of the epitaph (lines 1–4) was designed to provide information on the identity of the two deceased, whilst its second part (lines 5–8) dealt with the date of their passing. The text refers explicitly to Maurilla's death only (lines 6–7); according to my reinterpretation of the inscription, she did not die (as Soteriou assumed) 'ten days after the Epiphany', but rather 'on the tenth day of the lunar month'. Still, the formula remains quite peculiar: first of all, *κατὰ σεληνέον* is a unicum. The closest parallel for *σεληνέον* is the term *σελήνιον*, a rare word whose meaning varies from 'moonlight', to 'moon phases', 'outline of the moon' (= 'crescent'), and 'little moon'.¹⁷ *σελήνιον* in the sense of 'moon phases' appears in the Aristotelian *Mirabilium auscultationes*, where it is used to say that 'the tide in the strait between Sicily and Italy grows and decreases according to the lunar phases'.¹⁸ Later on, presumably building on the connotation of *σελήνιον* as the totality of the lunar phases, the term appears to take on the meaning of 'lunar cycle', or 'lunar month'.¹⁹ It should be observed that from the third century BCE onwards, lunar days are occasionally included in date formulae of inscriptions from throughout the eastern Mediterranean. In these texts, lunar dates are typically expressed as *κατὰ σελήνην* or *κατὰ θεόν* (both meaning 'according to the moon', the latter literally meaning 'according to the goddess', by whom the moon is implied) accompanied by a numeral (either a Greek alphabetical numeral or a numeral fully written out).²⁰ The

¹⁵ Cf., e.g., *CIL* VI 5818, 8643, 8645, 8656, 9053, 9149, 14422, 26032.

¹⁶ Many thanks to Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz for pointing out this Latin parallel to me.

¹⁷ See *LSJ*, Chantraine 1968, and especially Montanari 2013, s.v. *σελήνιον*.

¹⁸ Aristot. *Mir.* 834b 4: Ὁ πορθμὸς ὁ μεταξὺ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας αὐξεται καὶ φθίνει ἅμα τῷ σεληνίῳ.

¹⁹ Syncellus 18.28, 233.3.

²⁰ e.g., *κατὰ σελήνην*: *SEG* VII 364, 366, and 370; *IGChREg* 663. *κατὰ θεόν*: *IG* II² 946, 947, 967, 979; *I.Eleusis* 233; *IG* VII 4135. In some cases, lunar dates are simply expressed as either

formula κατὰ σεληνέον in our inscription is therefore most likely to be interpreted as a variant of κατὰ σελήνην, indicating that the death of Maurilla occurred on the tenth day of the lunar month (ll. 5–7: ἡμέραι δέκα κατὰ σεληνέον τελευτοῦσα Μαυρίλλα). An alternative possibility, which, however, would lead to this same explanation, is that ΣΕΛΗΝΕΟΝ is a variant of σεληναῖον (thus σεληνῆον), ‘of the moon’.²¹ In this case, κατὰ σεληνῆον would presumably imply μῆνα, ‘according to the lunar month’. Eusebius’ partly preserved work *Eclogae propheticae* includes precisely the formula κατὰ τὸν σεληναῖον μῆνα, with reference to the length of the lunar month in the Jewish calendar.²² There are, however, no epigraphic parallels for this formula. While I cannot offer any definite explanation for the reiteration of κατὰ σεληνέον (ll. 5–6 and 7), it appears as though the purpose of repeating the formula could have simply been to make absolutely clear that Maurilla’s date of death had been given according to the lunar cycle.

The closing formula, ἡμέρα κυριακή πρώτη (lines 7–8), tells us that Maurilla’s death occurred ‘on the first day (of the week), the Lord’s day’, that is, on a Sunday. Sunday began to be called by early Christians ‘the Lord’s day’ (ἡμέρα κυριακή or simply κυριακή in Greek and *dies dominica*, *dies dominicus*, or simply *dominica/dominicus* in Latin) apparently after the unique mention of this designation in the New Testament.²³ As for the epigraphic evidence, days of the Christian week appear in inscriptions – predominantly epitaphs – of the eastern Roman Empire mostly in the fifth and sixth centuries. Apart from κυριακή for Sunday, the first day of the week, two further days of the Judaeo-Christian week had specific names: (ἡμέρα) παρασκευή, the ‘day of preparation’, for Friday, the sixth day of the week, and ἡμέρα σαββάτου or σάββατον, the ‘day of Sabbath’ or just Sabbath, for Saturday, the seventh day of the week. The rest of the days, from Monday to Thursday, were simply numbered by using either cardinal or ordinal numbers: ἡμέρα β΄ or ἡμέρα

σελήνης or σελήνη plus a numeral: e.g., Heberdey-Wilhelm 1896, 21.52; *IGLSyr* 3,1.727; *SEG* XXXIX 1016. On κατὰ σελήνην or κατὰ θεόν dates see Stern 2012, 59–62, 69.

²¹ *LSJ*, Montanari 2013, s.v. Many thanks to Georg Petzl for suggesting this possibility.

²² Gaisford 1842, page 152, line 32. This appears to be the only matching example in the literary sources.

²³ Rev. 1.10. Its name and special meaning for the Christians lay in the fact that this is the day of Jesus Christ’s resurrection. cf., e.g., Tert. *de Orat.* 23; Just. *Ap.* 1.67.

δευτέρα for Monday, ημέρα γ´ or ημέρα τρίτη for Tuesday, ημέρα δ´ or ημέρα τετάρτη for Wednesday, ημέρα ε´ or ημέρα πέμπτη for Thursday. In fact, Sunday, Friday, and Saturday too could equally be expressed in numeric form: ημέρα α´ or ημέρα πρώτη for Sunday, ημέρα ς´ or ημέρα έκτη for Friday, and ημέρα ζ´ or ημέρα έβδομη for Saturday. Interestingly, in the case of Maurilla and Theodoulos' epitaph, two different designations for Sunday have been combined: its specifically Christian name, κυριακή, and its numerical denomination, the ordinal πρώτη. It is also to be noted that should this epitaph actually date in the fourth century CE, it would find its place among the earliest epigraphic attestations of both formulae, ημέρα κυριακή and ημέρα πρώτη.²⁴

3) Epitaph of Eusebia, 12 July 409 CE

The inscription was found in St. Paulinus Church, in the area of St. Paulinus and St. Maximin Cemetery in Trier, Germany (the ancient Augusta Treverorum, in the province of Gallia

²⁴ The epigraphic documentation for ημέρα κυριακή includes c. 35 inscriptions. With the notable exception of Hyppolitus' inscriptions from the catacomb of S. Ippolito in Rome (*ICUR* VII 19934-35), which date to the mid-third century CE, the epigraphic record comprises only one inscription that can be securely dated in the fourth century CE, which comes from ancient Zoora/modern Ghor Es-Safi in the province of Arabia/Palaestina Tertia (modern Jordan): *I.Pal.Tertia.Ia* 232 (376 CE). An inscription belonging to the early fifth century (409 CE) from Trier in Germany (ancient Augusta Treverorum in the province of Gallia Belgica) represents an uncertain case: it is interpreted as including the formula ημέρα κυριακή in its latest edition (*RICGaule* I 93), whereas earlier editions, including *IG* XIV 2559, give a different reading of the relevant letters. See my interpretation of this text in the present article (no. 3). For the rest, eight further inscriptions from Zoora, as well as one from Amisos in Pontus, belong to the fifth century: *I.Pal.Tertia.Ia* 168 (441 CE), 174 (443 CE), 179 (445 CE), 215 (465 CE), 225 (473 CE), 227 (474 CE), 230 (475 CE); *I.Pal.Tertia.Ib* 36 (462 CE); *St.Pont.III* 14a (493 CE). The remainder are either undated or belong to the sixth and later centuries. The only securely dated occurrences of ημέρα πρώτη in the inscriptional record are *I.Pal.Tertia.Ia* 161 (439 CE) and 292 (first half of the fifth century CE), and *ALA* 164 (551 CE).

Belgica). The inscription is thought to have disappeared when St. Paulinus Church was demolished in 1674. The text was preserved through a series of transcriptions on manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (a full list of manuscripts appears in Gauthier's edition of the inscription in *RICGaulle*, along with images of three of them).

Editions: Le Blant 1856–1865, vol. 1, 353–357 no. 248; Suppl. vol. 2, 601 no. 248; Kraus 1890, 82 no. 163; *CIG* 9891; *IG XIV* 2559; Riese 1914, no. 2515; *IGCVO* 45; *RICGaulle I* 93 (N. Gauthier).

Cf. Le Blant 1892, 461; Schürer 1905, 10; H. Leclercq in *DACL* 15.2, s.v. Trèves, col. 2744–2745 no. 30; Ferrua 1969, 304; Worp 1991, 222.

ἔνθα κεῖτε Εὐσεβία ἐν εἰρ-
ίνι, οὕσα ΙΕΡΟΟΚΜΗΤΙ ἀπὼ κ-
ώμης Ἀδδάνων, ζήσας
μικρόπρος ἐτῶν ιε', ὑπατ-
5 ἰα Ὀνωρίου ὁ ἡ' καὶ Κωστιοντί-
νου τὸ α', μηνὶ Πανήμου
ιβ', ἡμέρᾳ Κι(ρίου) β', ἐν εἰρίνη.

L. 7 ἡμέρᾳ Κι<ρ>(ιακῆ)? Le Blant, Kraus, *IGCVO*, *RICGaulle*; ἡμέρᾳ <τῆ> β', *CIG*, *IG*.

«Here rests in peace Eusebia, who was ΙΕΡΟΟΚΜΗΤΙ (?) from the village of the Addanians; she lived a little longer than 15 years, (and she died) under the 8th consulship of Honorius and the 1st of Constantine, on the 12th (day) of the month Panemos, on the 2nd day of the Lord (= Monday). In peace.»

As Nancy Gauthier remarked in her edition (*RICGaulle I* 93), Eusebia's epitaph presents several interesting features, even though its reading and interpretation pose a series of difficulties. I refer to the exhaustive – albeit not always conclusive – discussions by Gauthier, which also sum up previous considerations by other scholars, for the puzzling letters sequence at line 2 (ΙΕΡΟΟΚΜΗΤΙ), for Eusebia's near eastern origins (ll. 2–3, ἀπὼ κώμης Ἀδδάνων), for the unique epigraphic mention of Constantine the Third, the usurper of 407–411 CE who was recognised in Bretagne, Gaul, and Spain, and for a few further noteworthy aspects.

My attention here shall be focussed on the last line of the inscription, in particular on the indication of the day of the week on which Eusebia passed away. Lines 4–7 provide a date for her death, which occurred ‘under the 8th consulship of Honorius and the 1st of Constantine’ (ll. 4–6: ὑπατίᾳ Ὀνωρίου ὁ ἡ’ καὶ Κωστιοντίου τὸ α’), i.e. in the year 409 CE, and ‘on the 12th of the month Panemos’ (ll. 6–7: μηνὶ Πανήμου ιβ’); the month day is given according to the calendar of Syria, which was widespread and well-known in the Roman Near East – where Eusebia came originally from²⁵ – and corresponds to 12th July. The reading of what follows the consular year and the month day and precedes ἐν εἰρήνῃ has been discussed and interpreted variously. All manuscripts appear to agree on the presence of the word ἡμέρα followed by the group of letters KI and the letter B, both provided with abbreviation signs above. Noting that 12th July in 409 CE fell on a Monday, some assumed that ἡμέρα KI B had to mean ‘on Monday’: accordingly, Curtius – Kirchhoff (*CIG* 9891) and Kaibel (*IG* XIV 2559) interpret the text as ἡμέρα τῆ β’, ‘on the 2nd day (of the week)’, i.e. Monday, in the Judaeo-Christian seven-day week (cf. above, 9–10). However, this version clearly implies, as Gauthier pointed out, ‘an excessive violence’ to the text, by transforming KI in TH. Moreover, I would add, there are no parallels for this particular manner of expressing a day of the week in the epigraphic record: while the formula normally used is ἡμέρα plus a numeral, either an ordinal or a cardinal, there are in fact no occurrences of the article τῆ being used in this context with ἡμέρα. Following Le Blant, Kraus, and Wessel, Gauthier preferred the reading ἡμέρα Κι<ρ>(ιακῆ), ‘the Lord’s day’, which, however, brings about the inconvenience of having the wrong day of the week, Sunday, being indicated here.²⁶

My proposal, ἡμέρα Κι(ρίου) β’, ‘on the 2nd day of the Lord’, not only places Eusebia’s death on the right day of the week (Monday, according to the calendar of Syria), but also obviates the need to correct one or more of the letters that appear consistently in

²⁵ As per *RICGaulle* I 93 (pp. 272–273), the κώμη Ἀδδάνων probably belonged to the district of Apamea of Syria.

²⁶ It is indeed, as noted above and as Gauthier herself pointed out, much more likely that the calendar used in Eusebia’s place of origin was the so-called calendar of Syria, rather than the calendar of Sidon or that of Tyre, according to which the 12th of Panemos in 409 CE fell on a Sunday.

the manuscript tradition; finally, the formula ἡμέρα Κυρίου β' is far from being unparalleled: the epigraphic record comprises more than one hundred occurrences of the formula ἡμέρα Κυρίου plus a numeral to express a day of the week. Most of the examples come from the site of ancient Zoora in the province of Arabia/Palaestina Tertia, which corresponds to modern Ghor Es-Safi in Jordan (cf. note 24 above).²⁷ At Zoora, the formula is attested both written out in full,²⁸ and, more frequently, abbreviated: ἡμέρα is normally expressed as ἡμ(έρα) and Κυρίου as KY for Κ(υρίο)υ.²⁹ It appears therefore more plausible that ἡμέρα KI B on our epitaph from Trier should be resolved as ἡμέρα Κυρίου β'.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

ALA = C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*, London (King's College) 2004 (Website).

CAG = *Carte Archéologique de la Gaule*, Paris 1988–

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1828–1877.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1893–

DACL = D. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, H.I. Marrou, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris 1907–1953.

ICUR = *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores*, Rome 1857–

²⁷ See the index in *I.Pal.Tertia.Ia* and *I.Pal.Tertia.Ib*. Two further examples come from Sicily: *IMC Catania* 181 (= *IG XIV* 556) from Catania, dating to the fourth or fifth century CE, has (ll. 4–6) τ[ῆ] πρὸ...] νωνῶν Σε[πτ(εμβρίων) ἡμέ]ρα Κυρίου ἐ[ν εἰρηνη ?]. One wonders if the last letter preserved here, *epsilon*, is not in fact the numeral ε' or the beginning of the ordinal ἕκτῃ or ἑβδόμη. The second example was found on Lipari (*SEG XXXVI* 848 = *SEG XLIII* 626.2) and dates to either 369 or 417–422 CE, but it is uncertain whether it actually included the formula ἡμέρα Κυρίου.

²⁸ *I.Pal.Tertia.Ia* 73, 78, 85, 97, 98, 101, 123, 128, 138, 147, 151, 157, 164, 166, 173, 175, 180, 188, 192, 200, 204, 205, 233, 235, 240, 255; *I.Pal.Tertia.Ib* 17, 19, 20, 21, 30, 35, 38, 44, 61.

²⁹ See the index in *I.Pal.Tertia.Ia* and *I.Pal.Tertia.Ib*.

- I.Eleusis* = K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. 2 vols. Athens 2005–2008.
- IGChrEg* = G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*. Paris 1907.
- IGCVO* = C. Wessel, *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae veteres occidentis*, 2nd ed. by A. Ferrua, C. Carletti, Bari 1989.
- IGLSyr.* 3,1 = L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, III,1. Région de l'Amanus. Antioche*, Paris 1950.
- ILN* = *Inscriptions Latines de Narbonnaise*. Vienne, Paris 2004 – suppl. *Gallia* 44.
- ILPBardo* = Z. Benzina ben Abdallah, *Catalogue des Inscriptions Latines Paiennes du musée du Bardo*, Rome 1986.
- IMC Catania* = K. Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania. Storia delle collezioni — Cultura epigrafica — Edizione*, Helsinki 2004.
- Inscr.It.* = *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Rome 1931–
- I.Pal.Tertia.Ia* = Y. Meimaris and K.I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia*, Vol. Ia, *The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor Es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora)*. Athens 2005.
- I.Pal.Tertia.Ib* = Y. Meimaris and K.I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia*, Vol. Ib, *The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor Es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora) (Supplement). Khirbet Qazone and Feinan*. Athens 2008.
- IThrAeg* = L. Loukopoulou et al., *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου: μεταξύ των ποταμών Νέστου και Έβρου, Νομοί Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης και Έβρου (Inscriptions of Aegean Thrace)*, Athens: Κέντρον Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών; ΙΘ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, 2005.
- LSJ* = H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1996.
- ODCC* = F.L. Cross (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford 1997.
- PLRE* = A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols, 1971–1992.
- RICGaule* = *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, publié sous la direction de Henri Irénée Marrou, Paris 1975–
- RIChrM* = D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle*. «Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Supplément» 8. Paris 1983.

- St. Pont. III* = J.G.C. Anderson, F. Cumont and H. Grégoire, *Studia Pontica, III. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie*. Fasc. 1. Brussels 1910.
- Arca, A. 2005. The genitive case on altars from Asia Minor indicating a boundary inscription, *Gephyra* 2, 47–58.
- Avramea, A., and Feissel, D. 1987. Inventaire en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. IV. Inscriptions de Thessalie (à l'exception des Météores), *T&MByz* 10, 357–398.
- Bakhouché, B. 2002. *L'astrologie à Rome*, Leuven.
- Barton, T. 1994. *Ancient astrology*, London.
- Chantraine, P. 1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, Paris.
- D'Agostino, S. 2008. Riflessi di culti orientali nel Settizonio di Settimio Severo, in B. Palma Venetucci (ed), *Culti orientali tra scavo e collezionismo*, Rome, 93–102.
- de Witte, S. 1877. Les divinités des sept jours de la semaine, *Gazette archéologique*, 49–57.
- Dina, A. 1992. Επιτύμβιες ενεπίγραφες στήλες παλαιοχριστιανικής εποχής από τις Φθιώτιδες Θήβες (Νέα Αγχιάλου), in *Διεθνές συνέδριο για την αρχαία Θεσσαλία στην μνήμη του Δ. Ρ. Θεοχάρη*, Athens 1992, 448–456.
- Espérandieu, E. 1907. *Recueil général de bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine, vol. 1*, Paris.
- Ferrua, A. 1969. Le iscrizioni paleocristiane di Treviri, in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Trier 5–11 September 1965*, Vatican City – Berlin, 283–306
- French, D. 2003. *Roman, Late Roman, and Byzantine Inscriptions of Ankara. A Selection*, Ankara.
- Gaisford, T. 1842. *Eusebii Pamphili episcopi Caesariensis eclogae propheticae e codice manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis*, Oxford.
- Heberdey, R. and Wilhelm, A. 1896. Reisen in Kilikien, *Kaiserliche Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften*, 44,6. Vienna.
- Kraus, F.X. 1890. *Die christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande*, Freiburg.
- Le Blant, E. 1856–1865. *Inscriptions Chrésiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIIIe Siècle*, Paris 1856-65.
- 1892. *Nouveau recueil d'inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, Paris.

- Lichtenberger, A. 2011. *Severus Pius Augustus: Studien zu sacraler Repraesentation und Rezeption der Herrschaft des Septimius Severus und seiner Familie (193-211 n. Chr.)*, Leiden.
- Maass, E. 1902. *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen: aus der Kultur des Niederganges der antiken Welt*, Berlin.
- McCabe, D.F. 1996. *Aphrodisias Inscriptions. Texts and List*. «The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia», The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (1991). Packard Humanities Institute CD #7.
- McDevitt, A.S. 1970. *Inscriptions from Thessaly: an analytical handlist and bibliography*, Hildesheim - New York.
- Mitchell, S. – French, D. 2012. *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), vol. 1: From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*, Munich.
- Montanari, F. 2013. *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, 3rd ed., Turin.
- Petzl, G. 1994. *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens (EA 22)*, Bonn.
- Riese, A. 1914. *Das Rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften*, Leipzig-Berlin.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., et al. 1936. *The excavations at Dura-Europus, sixth season*, New Haven.
- Schürer, E. 1905. Die siebentägige Woche im Gebrauche der christlichen Kirchen der ersten Jahrhunderte, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6, 1–66.
- Soteriou, G.A. 1929. Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας, *AEph*, 1–158 (also published as a monograph, Athens 1931).
- Stern, S. 2012. *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies*. Oxford.
- Worp, K. 1991. Remarks on weekdays in Late Antiquity occurring in documentary sources, *Tyche*, 6, 221–30.

Ilaria Bultrighini
 Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies
 University College London
 Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT
i.bultrighini@ucl.ac.uk